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Mariana Bolfarine

BETWEEN "ANGELS AND DEMONS": TRAUMA IN FICTIONAL REPRESENTATIONS OF ROGER CASEMENT

(Exemplar Corrigido)

São Paulo

2015

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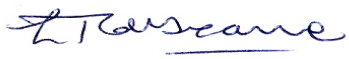
Tese de doutorado apresentada ao Programa de Pós- Graduação em Estudos Linguísticos e Literários em Inglês, do Departamento de Letras Modernas da Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, para obtenção do título de Doutor em Letras.

Orientadora: Profª. Drª. Laura Patricia Zuntini de Izarra:

De acordo:



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Título: Between “Angels and Demons”: Trauma in Fictional Representations/ “Entre Anjos e Demônios”: o Trauma em Representações Ficcionais de Roger Casement

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ABSTRACT

The life of the controversial Irish nationalist Roger David Casement, who was sentenced to death for high treason by the British Crown, has inspired writers to produce works of various literary genres: prose, poetry, drama and critical essays. This doctoral dissertation aims to investigate, under the light of trauma theory as suggested chiefly, but not solely by Cathy Caruth, Ron Eyerman and Dominick La Capra, the ways in which the figure of Roger Casement can be associated with traumatic events that have sealed Anglo-Irish relations. Thus, I have selected works that deal with Casement's "Life" as he acts both for and against the trauma inflicted by imperialism respectively as a Victorian hero in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* (1912) and as an oblique presence in the 1916 Easter Rebellion in Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys* (2001); the trauma surrounding his "Trial" and the discovery of the homosexual *Black Diaries* that culminated in his hanging through his representation as a "whole man" in Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Dream of the Celt* and in Patrick Mason's *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2010); and finally, the trauma that persists unresolved in his "Afterlife", as a ghost in David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* and as traumatic memory in the Annabel Davis-Goff's *The Fox's Walk*. As a result, we have found that the representation of Roger Casement in these works, although in various ways, is a metaphor for the traumatic process itself: "an embodiment of the disjunction of temporality, [and] the surfacing of the past in the presente" (Whitehead) as his presence continues to haunt the story of the transatlantic world.

Key-Words: Roger Casement, representation, trauma, novel, radio drama

RESUMO

A vida do controverso nacionalista irlandês Roger David Casement, condenado à morte por alta traição pela Coroa Britânica, inspirou a escrita obras de diversos gêneros literários: prosa, poesia, teatro e ensaios críticos. Esta tese de doutorado tem como objetivo investigar, sob a luz da teoria do trauma, tal como sugerido principalmente, mas não exclusivamente por Cathy Caruth, Ron Eyerman e Dominick La Capra, diferentes maneiras pelas quais a figura de Roger Casement pode ser associada a eventos traumáticos que selaram as relações Anglo-irlandesas. Dessa forma, foram selecionados trabalhos que lidam com a "Vida" de Casement, como ele age a favor e contra o trauma causado pelo imperialismo como herói vitoriano em *The Lost World* (1910) de Arthur Conan Doyle e como uma presença oblíqua na Revolta da Páscoa de 1916 em *At Swim, Two Boys* de (2001) Jamie O'Neill; o trauma em torno de seu "Julgamento" e da descoberta dos *Black Diaries* que o levaram à forca por meio de sua representação como um "homem completo" em *The Dream of the Celt* (2012) de Mario Vargas Llosa e em *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012) de Patrick Mason e, finalmente, o trauma não resolvido que persiste em sua "Vida após a Morte", como um fantasma em *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* (1973) e como memória traumática em *The Fox's Walk* de Annabel Davis-Goff. Verificamos que as representações de Roger Casement nessas obras, ainda que de formas distintas, representam uma metáfora do processo traumático em si: "Uma personificação da disjunção da temporalidade, [e] o surgimento do passado no presente" (Whitehead), visto que sua presença continua a assombrar a história do mundo transatlântico.

Palavras-chave: Roger Casement, representação, trauma, romance, peça radiofônica

RESUMO EXPANDIDO

Esta tese se propõe a tratar da questão que há anos tem sido abordada por historiadores, antropólogos e acadêmicos das mais diversas áreas: quem é Roger David Casement? Sabe-se que Casement foi um revolucionário irlandês controverso. Ele foi aclamado por expor atrocidades contra a humanidade no Congo Belga e na Amazônia peruana, mais especificamente no Putumayo, uma região fronteiriça entre o Brasil, o Peru e a Colômbia. Ele foi condenado à morte por alta traição e impedido de alcançar status de mártir e herói revolucionário irlandês devido a um conjunto de diários de cunho homossexual conhecidos como *Black Diaries*, fortuitamente encontrados pelo Ministério do Interior britânico. Excertos desses documentos foram distribuídos entre membros que compunham sua defesa e grupos de apoio, como o liderado pelo escritor detectivesco Arthur Conan Doyle. No entanto, apesar das discussões acaloradas sobre a controvérsia em torno tanto das motivações políticas como da vida privada de Casement, uma resposta definitiva a seu respeito ainda é alusiva.

Como estudiosa de literaturas em língua inglesa, falando a partir de uma perspectiva brasileira, está longe de meu alcance decifrar esse enigma de forma definitiva. Porém, tenho a intenção de lançar luz sobre esse assunto, ao abordar não apenas Casement, como homem, isto é, como figura histórica cuja vida tem sido objeto de muita disputa, mas Casement como um personagem retratado em obras de ficção e peças radiofônicas produzidas no espaço de cem anos, de 1912 a 2012. Tais obras foram escritas por autores oriundos de diversos lugares, em momentos distintos, embora alguns deles têm sido negligenciados pelo mundo acadêmico.

Trabalhar com esse material tão diversificado, possibilita traçar as diferenças e semelhanças em termos da abordagem, da reescrita e, logo, da re-significação por parte dos autores escolhidos tanto sobre Roger Casement como do passado no qual ele esteve originalmente imerso. Defendo que as representações ficcionais de Casement trabalhadas na tese, que são, em grande parte, baseadas em fatos documentados, fornecem perspectivas individuais e exclusivas a respeito de um determinado momento histórico de forma distinta de um relato inteiramente histórico e factual. Isso ocorre porque embora o resultado de um processo histórico já seja conhecido, os mesmos eventos são "vividos" ou "encenados" por personagens que não estão necessariamente conscientes disso.

Este estudo tem como objetivo investigar as diferentes representações ficcionais de Roger Casement sob a perspectiva da teoria do trauma, tal como sugerido principalmente, mas não exclusivamente por Dominick LaCapra, Cathy Caruth, e Ron Eyerman. As discussões estão centradas na forma pela qual uma narrativa escrita em um presente "x" é assombrada por acontecimentos ocorridos em um passado "y" a partir do conceito de "belatedness", que ocorre tardiamente, e "repetition", repetição. Dessa forma, demonstro que a passagem do tempo é essencial para se lidar com um evento traumático que passa a ser inconscientemente "reencenado", ou "reescrito". Por fim, esse trabalho também revela a forma pela qual um trauma considerado coletivo, ou cultural, alcança o nível individual, ou seja, o modo como eventos traumáticos afetam o indivíduo.

Parto do pressuposto de que a figura de Roger Casement tem sido associada a eventos traumáticos que selaram as relações anglo-irlandesas: (a) as consequências deletérias do imperialismo, do qual Casement foi tanto agente como vítima, e o seu envolvimento no Levante de Páscoa de 1916 que culminou na morte dos 16 rebeldes associados a esse evento; (b) o julgamento e o enforcamento de Casement quando os *Black Diaries,* diários de cunho homossexual cuja autoria lhe foi atribuída, foram encontrados pelo Ministério do Interior, e (c) os traumas associados à sua vida após a morte, pois, conforme ilustrado pelo célebre poema de W.B. Yates "The Ghost of Roger Casement", ele continua a ser representado como um fantasma assombrando as relações anglo-irlandesas.

As obras selecionadas estão organizadas e divididas em três capítulos principais: O primeiro é (1) "Life", ou seja, Roger Casement em vida, como ele age ao mesmo tempo a favor e contra o trauma causado pelo imperialismo, respectivamente, como herói vitoriano em *The Lost World* (1912) de Arthur Conan Doyle e em termos de sua presença oblíqua no Levante da Páscoa de 1916, que é uma resposta ao imperialismo britânico no romance *At Swim, Two Boys* (2001), de Jamie O'Neil, no qual a revolução que almejava a liberdade da nação coincide com o movimento pela liberdade de escolha individual. O segundo é (2) "Trial", isto é, o trauma em torno do julgamento de Casement como traidor à Coroa e da descoberta dos *Black Diaries*, que contribuíram para que fosse levado à forca e que comprometeram o seu legado como herói revolucionário irlandês. Esse momento é retratado em *The Dream of the Celt* (2010), de Mario Vargas Llosa e na peça de rádio *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012) de

Patrick Mason. Ambos escritores buscam representá-lo como um sujeito multifacetado, nas palavras de Angus Mitchell, "as a whole man", um "homem completo". No último capítulo, "Afterlife", o assunto principal é o trauma não resolvido da morte e do reenterro de Casement no cemitério de Glasnevin, em Dublin. Tanto na peça de rádio *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* (1974) de David Rudkin, como no romance *The Fox's Walk* (2001) de Annabel David-Goff, Casement é retratado como um fantasma que persiste assombrando a história da Irlanda.

A conclusão irá destacar a inter-relação entre os três capítulos que estruturam este estudo, a fim de demonstrar o processo de transformação que Casement sofre ao longo de sua vida, de imperialista, a rebelde e a revolucionário, utilizando os termos da biografia de Séamas O'Síocháin. Isto irá evidenciar a maneira na qual este trabalho se propõe a romper o silêncio sobre a figura histórica multifacetada de Roger Casement como personagem das obras de ficção e peças de rádio selecionadas, com o objetivo de transformar esse silêncio em palavras como ferramentas para "work through"[1], utilizando o conceito de Dominick LaCapra (*Representing the Holocaust*), alguns dos traumas que macularam as relações anglo-irlandesas. Por isso, espero que este trabalho seja um primeiro passo para conceder a Roger Casement um lugar merecido na história ao promover um rico encontro entre o presente, o passado e o futuro.

Apresentamos, no Anexo, uma sessão biográfica, "The Life of Roger Casement", a transcrição do poema "The Dream of the Celt", de Roger Casement, e duas entrevistas com os dramaturgo Patrick Mason e David Rudkin.

[1] Em português o termo "work through" pode é traduzido como "perlaboração", ou seja ao processo de reelaboração da experiência traumática.

INTRODUCTION

> *If it be treason to fight against such an unnatural fate as this, then I am proud to be a rebel, and shall cling to my "rebellion" with the last drop of my blood. If there be no right of rebellion against a state of things that no savage tribe would endure without resistance, then I am sure that it is better for man to fight and die without right than to live in such a state of right as this.* (Roger Casement, 1916)

This PhD dissertation begins by posing a question that has long been addressed by scholars and critics: who is Roger David Casement? It is known that the man was a controversial imperialist, a rebel and a revolutionary[2] born on 1 September 1864, in Sandycove, Dublin, of a Catholic mother and a Protestant father. He left his native land following his parents' death to live with paternal relatives in Antrim, Northern Ireland, and then with maternal relatives in Liverpool, England. In his youth, he started working for Elder Dempster Shipping Line and soon left for Africa. He arrived in the Belgian Congo in 1884 and was appointed colonial agent of King Leopold II's International Association. After allegations of atrocities[3] committed against the Africans, Casement journeyed to the upper Congo in 1903 to investigate and officially report to the British government about working conditions during the rubber boom. As a result, Casement produced a report to the Foreign Office condemning the conduct of Leopold II and, later, he joined the French Journalist E. D. Morel to found the Congo Reform

[2] I here refer to the title of Séamas O'Síocháin's biography – *Roger Casement: Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* (2008) – that traces precisely his transformations from a loyal British Consul, to defender of the underdog in the Congo and in Amazonia, and finally to a fierce Irish nationalist.

[3] These atrocities refer to the ill treatment and mutilations inflicted upon the Congolese natives for not collecting the rubber quotas during the reign of the absolutist monarch, Leopold II. Casement wrote a report denouncing such acts of violence that helped put an end to that evil system of human and environmental exploitation in the Congo Free State. For more information see the section Roger Casement in "Africa", in Attachment 6.1 (241).

Association (CRA). Weakened by ill health, Casement moved temporarily away from the Foreign Office to devote his energies to the CRA and to his early interests in the cause of the independence Ireland.

From 1906 to 1913 Casement took up different Consular postings in Brazil: as British Consul in Santos (September 1906-January 1908), in Belém do Pará (February 1908-February 1909) and as Consul-General in Rio de Janeiro (March 1909-August 1913). Given the positive results of his operations in the Congo, in 1911 the Foreign Office assigned him a second trip to Brazil and Peru, in the upper Amazon, to investigate atrocities committed against the Barbadians, British subjects that were brought to South America, and the indigenous peoples who worked as rubber gatherers for the Peruvian Amazon Company[4]. Casement wrote two reports that were compiled into a Blue Book, which reveals the *modus operandi* of the rubber extractive industry in the Putumayo[5].

Years later, completely disillusioned with the British Empire and converted into Irish nationalist, Casement resigned from his official duties and returned to Ireland from Germany in 1916 aboard a U19 submarine and was arrested on 21 April, Good Friday, in Tralee, southwest coast of Ireland. He was taken to England, questioned by several members of the British intelligence and imprisoned in the Tower of London. He met his death at the gallows of Pentonville Prison on 3 August, 1916. But his story is far from being over. He was prevented from achieving martyrdom due to a controversial set of so-called *Black Diaries*[6], of homosexual content, fortuitously found by the British Home Office and circulated among his defence and supporters. The authenticity of these documents is still reason for much debate among historians. Despite heated arguments on the ongoing controversy surrounding both Casement's political motivations and his private life, an agreed answer is still allusive.

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[4] The issue of the Barbadians working as overseers for the Peruvian Amazon Company and of the indigenous peoples is more deeply explained in the section "South America", in Attachment 6.1 (244).

[5] The Putumayo is a disputed frontier between Colombia, Peru and Brazil. In the *Amazon Journal* (1997) there are many allusions to Casement catching butterflies describing their physical attributes and naming them: "We lunched in the abandoned Muinanes house, Borborini coming bare-legged along and cooking the lunch. O'Donnell caught several splendid Blue Emperor butterflies for me with his hands and Sealy two also" (Casement qtd. in Mitchell *Amazon Journal* 322).

[6] For more information on the *Black Diaries* and the alleged foregery controversy, please refer to the section on "Afterlife" in Attachment 6.1.

As a literary scholar, speaking from a Brazilian perspective, it is beyond my reach to effectively crack this enigma, yet I intend to shed some light on it by approaching not Casement, the man, i.e. the historical figure whose life has been the object of much dispute, but the representation of Casement as a character portrayed in works of fiction and radio drama. Therefore, it is necessary to explain what I mean by representation, which involves applying to a concept a range of new meanings and interpretations.

According to theorist Noel Salazar, interpretation can be understood etymologically as "a presentation drawn up not by depicting the object as it is, but by re-presenting it or constructing it in a new form and/or environment". (172)[7] In ancient times, Salazar explains, representation was used to understand aesthetics and the arts in general. This concept has evolved into a significant tool for the analysis of contemporary artistic production such as cinema, theatre, literature and visual arts. It is important to underscore, that representations are not neutral as Salazar explains, "it is impossible to divorce them from the society and the culture that produces them." (172) In addition, there will "always be a gap between intention and realization, original and copy", however they are still able " to take a life of their own in the public sphere." (172) Hence, as Salazar elucidates, there are many forms of representation, and the kinds that most suit the subject of this dissertation are the notions proposed by postcolonial critics, the Jamaican sociologist Stuart Hall and the Indian critic Gayatri Spivak.

In "The Work of Representation" Stuart Hall writes that in representation there must be a "shared conceptual map" for the sharing of thoughts and the expression of ideas about the world through a common language and culture. Hall describes three theories of representation. The first is the reflexive approach, where meaning is thought to lie in the object, person or event in the real world; like the Greek concept of mimesis, language functions as a mirror to reflect meaning as it exists in the world. The second is the intentional approach that holds it is the author that imposes his/her unique meaning through language, which is dependent on shared linguistic conventions and codes for meaning to be conveyed. The third approach, which is the one that is of interest, is the recognition of the public, social character of language that argues that things do not mean, we construct meaning through representational systems of concepts and signs: "It

[7] International Encyclopedia of The Social Sciences, 2nd Edition.

is the social actors who use the conceptual systems of their cultures and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning and to communicate about that world meaningfully to others." (Hall 193)

Another approach to representation is that by the Indian critic Gayatri Spivak in "Can the Subaltern Speak?" According to Salazar, Spivak alerts for the danger of confusing "speaking for" someone or something in the world as political representation and "speaking about" or "re-presenting" in the sense of making a portrait of something/someone. Salazar affirms that Spivak's main concern surrounding the issue of representation is that of "unequal power relationships" between what she calls the West's Other (developing world) and the World's Other (the Subaltern) as she affirms that re-presentation cannot escape "othering" (Spivak qtd. in Salazar 172). Spivak's idea of representation is, thus, tied up with Hall's constructionist approach. In this regard, I the works that were selected for this dissertation are relational and active forms of fictional re-presentations that are being applied to the historical figure Roger Casement by each author discussed, and at the same time, to my own representation of Casement and of these same works.

The works that will be dealt with in this dissertation were written in the time span of one hundred years, from 1912 to 2012, by authors from various places, at different times, and some of them have been overlooked by academia. In working with such diverse material, it is possible to trace the differences and similarities in terms of the writers' approaches to both the depiction of Roger Casement as a character and of the past in which he was originally immersed. I claim that fictional representations that are based on documented facts, provide a unique perspective on a historical moment, which is distinct from a wholly historical account, for although the outcome of a historical process might be well known, the same events are re-enacted by characters who are not necessarily aware of it.

This study aims to investigate, under the light of trauma theory as suggested chiefly, but not solely by Dominick La Capra, Cathy Caruth, and Ron Eyerman, the ways in which the figure of Roger Casement has been associated with traumatic events that have sealed Anglo-Irish relations: (a) the deleterious aftermath of imperialism, of which Casement was both an agent and a victim and Casement's involvement in the 1916 Easter Rising and the subsequent killing of the rebels associated to it; (b) Casement's trial that coincides with the moment when the homosexual *Black Diaries*

were found. The propagandistic tone that set his trial, which took place during the First World War served as warning against treachery and other forms of misbehaviour; (c) and the traumas associated to Casement's afterlife for he is still represented as a ghost haunting Anglo-Irish relations, as his reburial in Glasnevin, Dublin, is portrayed as an object of dispute between the opposing sides of the sectarian conflict that plagued Northern Ireland and The United Kingdom until the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, in 1998. At the outset of each chapter, a brief historical overview is presented, which will serve as background for the literary analyses conducted.

I have selected literary works that deal with a) Casement's "Life" where he acts both for and against the trauma inflicted by imperialism respectively as a Victorian hero in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* (1912) and as an oblique presence in the 1916 Easter Rebellion in Jamie O'Neil's *At Swim, Two Boys* (2001); b) the trauma surrounding Casement's "Trial" and the discovery of the *Black Diaries* that ultimately led to his hanging through his representation as a "whole man" in Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Dream of the Celt* (2010/2012) and in Patrick Mason's *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012); and finally, c) the trauma that persists unresolved in his "Afterlife", as a ghost in David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* (1974) and as traumatic memory in Annabel David-Goff's *The Fox's Walk* (2003).

What follows are reasons for the choice of these works, the theoretical framework, and the questions that this dissertation aims to address. Since these novels and radio plays were inspired to a greater or lesser extent by the life of Roger Casement, the section "The Life of Roger Casement", included as the Attachment 6.1, provides a historical and biographical overview that outlines the main events that marked his trajectory to guide readers who are not aware of the particularities that have made Casement into such a fascinating figure. It is also relevant to explain that I have written this dissertation in English due to the year that I spent in Ireland, supported by FAPESP, and the report that had to be submitted in English. Therefore, I make use of MLA (Modern Language Association) formatting style. Nevertheless, it is my intention to translate this study into Portuguese for a wider readership in Portuguese, if need be.

One hundred years of Roger Casement in Fiction and Radio Drama

First and foremost, I would like to reflect upon the image of Roger Casement as a window (which is the meaning of the word "casement") since this is how I conceive of him, "mediated between two realms and […] contained in neither" (Solnit 40). This metaphor of Casement as a window is employed in "The Butterfly Collector", by North American non-fiction writer Rebecca Solnit, having come across one of the butterflies that Casement had caught during his investigation in the Amazonian Putumayo displayed in the Natural History Museum in Dublin. In her essay, Solnit reflects on Casement's life and the impact that Ireland, the Congo and the Putumayo had in making him into the man he was.

Solnit first situates Casement as being in favour of the expansion of the British Empire; as he himself expressed: "British rule was to be extended at all costs, because it is the best for everyone under the sun, and those who opposed that extension ought rightly to be 'smashed'" (Casement qtd. in Solnit 43). Moreover, she writes, "for Casement, Ireland seems to have functioned more as an ideal home, a ground for identity, than as a place that could contain him"; for, she remarks, "that it was in colonial Africa that he felt most at ease perhaps because colonial Africa was itself as between definition as he was" (49). Although his subsequent mission in the Putumayo in 1910 seemed to have exhausted any sympathies he had left for Britain, his actions in Africa, especially in 1903 were, certainly outstanding in terms of his efforts to bring the truth of the atrocities to light.

Another image that Solnit uses to refer to Casement is that of the butterfly, sparked by the specimen she saw at the Museum. Solnit saw the butterfly as a sort of monument – she was surprised not to find bronze busts of him in Dublin – that outlasted even Casement's remains lying in quicklime. Solnit compares Casement's habit of catching and naming butterflies to the legacy of the Victorian practice of collection and taxonomy. His butterfly catching became useful in the Putumayo as an excuse for him to be alone amid the natives and the Barbadians and it helped him to obtain evidence out of the reach of the overseers. Several writers of fiction and non-fiction have chosen to look through this window and to follow Casement's fluttering across continents,

and to write their impressions and views of this intriguing and multifaceted historical figure, in most cases aspiring to comprehend the man behind the diaries and the history within which he is placed.

This study explores the ways in which the figure of Roger Casement has been associated to the traumas[8] that have tainted Anglo-Irish relations for at least 300 years. In this respect, Irish scholar Luke Gibbons ("The Global Cure") asserts that "bringing down a curtain on the past is not as simple as walking out of the theatre as soon as the play (or the film) is over" (94). He cites the example of Francis Ford Coppola who answered that his masterpiece *Apocalypse Now*, loosely based on Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness*, "was not about Vietnam, it was part of it." (95) What Coppola means is that although news and images about this bloody massacre are no longer on the media, the silence that takes their place does not camouflage the trauma, which will be transferred to future generations. Yet, Gibbons explains that Coppola's journey into this "heart of darkness" was conducted allegorically, "as if the self-awareness brought about by representation was simply too painful to clarify while that carnage was going on" (95). As a result, according to Gibbons, "the experience of pain and suffering may not coincide with its moment of articulation, often leaving a considerable time-lag before a catastrophe or shock to the system achieves any kind of symbolic form" (95).

Roger Casement, Gibbons claims, is an Irishman whose Irishness was fundamental to elicit anti-imperialist feelings that would lead him to empathise with the oppressed peoples in the Congo and in the Amazon. The point of Casement's example given by Gibbons,

> [...] is not to claim that they were representative of Irish people in general or even mainstream Irish nationalism, but rather to contest the common assumption that preoccupation with one's culture and one's past, particularly an oppressive past, militates against international solidarity and an embrace of cultural diversity in a modern social polity ("The Global Cure" 102).

[8] Trauma theory was originated to a study of the aftereffects of the holocaust on its survivor victims (trauma suffered by an individual), as well as on future generations: transgenerational trauma. In this dissertation I propose that this theory can be applied to other traumatic contexts, such as the Irish case, as it has been done by Luke Gibbons in "The Global Cure? History, Therapy and the Celtic Tiger." *Reinventing Ireland: culture, society, and the global economy* (2002).

When discussing controversial historical figures such as Casement, Gibbons predicates that "to reclaim the memory of those who have been forgotten or who have been written out of history" would not be to "indulge in the self-absorption of victim-culture" ("The Global Cure" 104). Instead, engaging in acts "of ethical imagination in which one's own uneven development becomes not just a way in, but a way out, a means of empathising with other peoples and societies in similar situations today" ("The Global Cure" 104).

Hence, this study approaches, via works of fiction and radio drama, the ways in which Casement was able to reshape this empathy into the political agency that converted him to a nationalist and that led him to collaborate with the 1916 Rising. This dissertation investigates how writers such as the Northern Irish playwright David Rudkin in *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*, and Irish writer Jamie O'Neill in *At Swim, Two Boys* tackle contemporary issues that stem from past traumatic events involving Roger Casement in an allegorical, oblique form. Therefore, trauma theory will provide a better understanding of the way in which Roger Casement is linked to some of the traumas that have resulted from British imperialism in the transatlantic world.

According to North American historian Dominick LaCapra (*Representing the Holocaust*)[9], there are two ways of remembering trauma and historical writings about it. The first is the "acting-out", and the second is the "working-through" of traumatic events. To LaCapra, "acting out" is a process of repetition and denial of the traumatic event that leads to a tendency to re-live and re-enact the past as if no time had elapsed between the present and the past traumatic event. On the other hand, the ability of "working through" is a counter-force to "acting out" as it enables a critical understanding of the traumatic event through temporal and even spatial distancing from it. He conceives of "working through" as a process whose outcome could be a positive one, which allows for the possibility of turning one into an "ethical agent". As LaCapra explains, empathy enables one to be touched by a traumatic event allowing for the formation of a critical subject. He underscores the importance of not confusing empathy with identification, whose outcome could be the same as that of "acting-out" and in the repetition of a traumatic event without promoting the necessary ethical agency

[9] In *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory and Trauma* (1994), Dominick LaCapra focuses on the impacts of the collective trauma of the Holocaust in different generations of survivors.

prompted by critical distance. Thus, I believe that the fictional works dealt with in this dissertation portray an intention to "work through" traumatic events associated with Roger Casement and aim to evoke the sentiment of empathy on behalf of the reader.

Moreover, drawing on Freud's "Mourning and Melancholia", LaCapra deduces that the way in which language plays an important role in communicating trauma: "How language is used in a crucial consideration in working through problems, and the historiographical use of language confronts specific difficulties and challenges in the face of limited cases that may reduce one to silence" (156). In this sense, traumatic, or unprecedented events may require a new linguistic apparatus in order to be properly dealt with, which is the case with the legacy of Roger Casement, achieved through temporal, and even spatial dislocations. I argue that fictional representations of past events allow the writer to profit from a certain level of anachronism that permits the writer to expose – and the reader to re-signify – polemical issues in the present that were unspeakable at the time of the traumatic event. For instance, anachronism is essential in dealing with controversial matters, which did not have a proper terminology in Victorian England, i.e. Casement's alleged homosexuality and his supposed writing of sodomite experiences in the *Black Diaries*, which have become part and parcel of his legacy since its discovery.

In the groundbreaking *Unclaimed Experience*, North American theorist Cathy Caruth defines trauma in an individual level, as an "overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, uncontrolled repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena" (11). It is also important to emphasise the "belatedness" of the impact of a traumatic experience, which is commonly marked by silence, for the victim (or victims) may not have the proper language, or word, to describe it. Moreover, Caruth argues that it is through the notion of trauma that one should be able to rethink a traumatic event, and that this process of "rethinking" is directed not "at eliminating history, [but] at resituating it in our understanding, that is, at precisely permitting history to arise where our immediate understanding may not." (11).

Although Caruth is known for having described the impacts of the traumatic experience at an individual level, her view on trauma theory allows one to read the repetition of traumatic events, such as, I believe, those connected to Casement's life in the Congo, the Amazon, and in Ireland:

> […] not as the story of the individual in relation to the events of his own past, but as the story of the way in which one's own trauma is tied up with the trauma of another, the way in which trauma may lead, therefore, to the encounter with another, through the possibility and surprise of listening to another's wound (*Unclaimed Experience* 8).

This interconnectedness and repetition of traumatic events is present throughout the literary works tackled in this dissertation. In *Critical Encounters: Reference and Responsibility in Deconstructive Writing,* Caruth implies that literature is relevant for the process of coping with traumatic incidents, as it presents a narrative that is not referential, in the sense that it does not refer directly to the traumatic event, but that, in its obliqueness, it brings to fore the relations between history and memory, closely related to trauma: "How can we think of a referential – or historical, or material – dimension of texts that is not simply opposed to their fictional powers? How might the very fictional power of texts be, not a hindrance to, but a means of gaining access to their referential force?" (2). Thus, to Caruth, in fictional works that deal with traumatic events, such as those delved into this study, there is an intricate relation between what is fictional and what is not.

Another viewpoint on this issue is offered in *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity*, where North American sociologist Ron Eyerman traces the difference between trauma as it affects individuals, and trauma as a cultural process. In the latter case, of the cultural process, trauma "is mediated through various forms of representation and linked to the reformation of collective identity and reworking of collective memory" (Ch. 1). Eyerman argues that in contrast to psychological or physical trauma, which involves a wound that strikes the individual, cultural trauma "refers to […] a tear in the social fabric affecting a group of people that has achieved some degree of cohesion. In this sense, trauma need not necessarily be felt by everyone in a community or experienced directly by any or all" (Eyerman Ch. 1). Eyerman also notes that "it may be necessary to establish some event as the significant 'cause'" so that its traumatic meaning can be "established and accepted, a process

which requires time, as well as mediation and representation" (Ch. 1). As it will be shown, in this dissertation the line between collective and individual trauma is not an easy one to draw, for in some cases the individuals embody collective traumas, as is the case with Roger Casement in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* and in David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*; in others a collective trauma will haunt an individual, as is the case with Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys* and Annabel Davis-Goff's *The Fox's Walk*. In Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Dream of the Celt* and in Patrick Mason's *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*, this line is even more blurred.

In the abovementioned fictional works, the authors re-write past or present traumatic events related to the birth of the Irish nation through a contemporary lens. Hence, these novels and radio plays illustrate what Arthur Neal (qtd. in Eyerman) calls "national trauma", which is defined according to its "enduring effects" (Ch. 1). National trauma relates to events that "cannot be easily dismissed", becoming "ingrained in collective memory" (Ch. 1). Thus, a trauma experienced by a nation, such as that of imperialism in Ireland, as well as that of the aftermath of the Easter Rising – as a reaction against British imperial domination – and the executions that followed it, must be understood, explained, and made coherent through public reflection and discourse. The silence that immediately followed the Easter Rising and Casement's execution can be explained as the "belatedness" of the impact of a traumatic experience, which is commonly marked by silence, for the victim (or victims), may not have yet the proper words to describe it. In this sense, the notion of trauma enables one to rethink a certain traumatic event resituating it in one's understanding allowing a hidden history to arise where our immediate understanding may not: "For history to be a history of trauma means that it is referential precisely to the extent that it is not fully perceived as it occurs; or to put it somewhat differently, that a history can be grasped only in the very accessibility of its occurrence" (Caruth, *Explorations in Memory* 18)

Eyerman explains that due to the belatedness of the traumatic experience, dealing with trauma requires a reflexive process that "links past to present through representations and imagination" (Ch. 1), for it is a process that involves spatial as well as temporal distance between the event and its experience. Pyotr Sztompka (in Alexander *at al*. qtd. in Eyerman Ch. 1) claims that "allowing for the centrality of mediation and imaginative reconstruction", one should conceive of traumatic

"events" rather as traumatic "affects", or feelings, for considering an experience as "traumatic" would require appropriate interpretation of it. Mass mediated experience – such as television, news, radio, and, I would add, literary works – is one of the channels through which cultural trauma is conveyed, for it "always involves selective construction and representation, since what is seen is the result of the actions and decisions of professionals as to what is significant and how it should be presented" (Eyerman Ch. 1).

Therefore, national or cultural trauma always engages a "meaning struggle", a grappling with an event that involves identifying the "nature of pain, the nature of the victim and the attribution of responsibility" (Alexander et al., qtd. in Eyerman Ch. 1). In this process of dealing with trauma, that which Eyerman calls "carrier groups" – who can also be writers of fiction – play a significant role through the articulation and representation of the "interests and desires of the affected to a wider public" (Eyerman Ch. 1). The belatedness of the experience, in this case, is positive, for time distance enables authors of fiction and non-fiction to rewrite, and therefore, to "work through" themes that would have been silenced in the past, due to their controversial aspect, even if in an anachronistic form. For example, in Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys* and in Patrick Mason's *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*, the theme of nationalism intersects with that of homosexuality, a taboo subject in Ireland in the 19th and early 20th centuries and it is in this context that the figure of Roger Casement plays an essential role in the novel.

This work argues that artistic forms are means of "working through" trauma in an individual level, due to its focus on fictional representations of the historical figure of Roger Casement, but that aims to reach the collective level, i. e. readership and/or audience. Writers of fiction play a similar role as intellectuals not so much representing and giving voice to their own ideas and interests, but rather articulating ideas to and for others. According to Eyerman, the articulating discourse surrounding cultural trauma is a process of mediation that "aims to reconstitute or reconfigure a collective identity through collective representation, a way of repairing the tear in the social fabric" (Ch. 1). The repairing of this trauma, or this "tear" in society involves according to Grace Hale (qtd. in Eyerman Ch. 1), "reinterpreting the past as a means toward reconciling present/future needs". Along these lines, this study aims to show that "working through" cultural trauma by means of literature, involves reconstructing and

redefining identity through the memory of each individual author and his/her fictional reconstruction of each traumatic event or events.

Trauma is, therefore, associated with silence, and there have been many silences in Anglo-Irish history concerning Roger Casement along these almost one hundred years since his execution on 3 August 1916 – in Africa, South America, Ireland and Britain. The works tackled in this dissertation seek to shape this silence into a narrative form in order to grant Casement a proper place in history from which he has long been foreclosed. The main concern is with the analysis of fictional representations of three moments in Irish and world history intricately associated with Roger Casement under the light of trauma theory: firstly, the deleterious consequences of imperial practice, chiefly in Ireland and in South America; secondly, Casement's polemical collaboration with the 1916 Easter Rising and the subsequent executions of the rebels – including that of Casement; and thirdly, Casement's trial along with the detrimental effects of the *Black Diaries* which still fuel the controversy that surrounds his afterlife. Yet, due to the temporal proximity that these historical incidents took place, there will be constant overlapping between them, which is positive in the sense that the three chapters will are in constant dialogic relation with each other.

In order to approach the relations between fiction and trauma, I also refer to works by British academic Anne Whitehead (*Trauma Fiction*) and Spanish scholar Constanza del Río (2010) who underscore certain particularities in literary works about trauma in terms of form. German theorist Geoffrey Hartman, quoted in Whitehead, suggests that the two aspects of trauma – the event (content) and its respective symptomatic response (form) – operate in literary terms: "On the level of poetics, literal and figurative may correspond to these two types of cognition" (qtd. in Whitehead 162). Whitehead contends that this interconnectedness between the event and the response to it "resonates with the suspension of trauma fiction between its attempt to convey the literality of a specific event and its figurative evocation of the symptomatic response to trauma through formal and stylistic innovation" (162). Along these lines, Del Rio also claims that "the haunting dialectic between past and present at the core of the gothic novel" – which I believe is also applicable to trauma fiction – "replicates the temporal structure and dynamics of the traumatic event" (3). Hence, I will pinpoint that in fictional works about the figure of Roger Casement something similar occurs, and the

result is a narrative crafted in the present, which will be constantly haunted by the past.

The number of literary texts that deal with the period Casement spent in the Congo is not vast, but they appear in much greater number than the ones about other equally relevant moments of his life, and have received much more attention. Even though this study is not focused on the years Casement spent in the Congo, a brief discussion of the most renowned works on this period will follow as to provide background knowledge to enable a more profound glimpse through the window of Casement's life.

Fictional representations of Roger Casement: an Overview

It is important to mention that by employing the term "fictional representations", I mean works that deal with the historical figure of Roger Casement that go beyond that which is the biography as a genre. I have chosen works whose authors have, to a greater or lesser degree, made use of poetic license, where instances of historical accuracy are interwoven by instances of literary imagination. In this sense, this study approaches two different literary genres: the novel and the radio play. There are two main reasons for this. The first reason is that the number of the literary works that deal with Casement in Africa is vaster than those that deal with the Amazon, his trial and afterlife, which are my focus. There are as few novels as there are plays on the periods I have selected to work on, yet the issue with radio drama is that there are not many published scripts. Hence, of the two radio plays approached, David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* was officially published in 1974, whereas English playwright Patrick Mason's *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* has not yet been published, and the playwright himself provided me with a copy of version broadcast by RTE, Irish radio company.

The second reason is that, considering the specificities of each literary genre, the radio play and the novel are not as far apart as one might think. Both radio drama theorists Tim Crook and Dermot Rattigan have pointed at similarities between the

experience of reading a novel and that of listening to audio drama[10]. Crook draws on Lance Sieveking's belief that the imaginative process of reading a novel is similar to that of listening to a radio play: "a reader of a novel always has to meet the author half way and do half the work. He has to imagine for himself what the people look like and the scenery, creating them out of their own experience. So he has in the radio play" (Crook 9). In a similar fashion, Rattigan affirms that radio drama is not handicapped by its "sightlessness", it is, instead, the basis for its appeal, which promotes an imaginative visualisation on the part of its listeners, process which is recognized by Orson Welles: "This is because the nature of the radio demands a form impossible to the stage. The images called up by a broadcast must be imagined, not seen. And so we find that radio drama is more akin to storytelling, than to anything else of which it is convenient to think" (qtd. in Rattigan 2).

Since previous scholars, such as North American scholar Lucy McDiarmid[11], have already published compilations on fictional representations of Roger Casement, it is not the purpose of this study to refer to each of them. I will, however, go through some of the works that I find relevant for a better comprehension of what has been written about Casement and why I have chosen each piece. The best-known works of fiction refer to Casement's years in Africa, such as *Heart of Darkness* (1902), by Joseph Conrad, British writer of Polish origin. Conrad went to the upper Congo in 1890 to follow a career as a steamer captain, which was unsuccessful, yet fundamental to his conception of the novel that would eventually turn him into a celebrated writer. It was in that same year, 1890, that Conrad met Roger Casement and they shared a room for three weeks in Matadi[12]. Conrad was greatly impressed by Casement as he later wrote: "Made the acquaintance of Mr. Roger Casement, which I should consider a great pleasure under any circumstances and now it becomes a positive piece of luck. Thinks,

[10] Brief considerations on radio drama will be presented in the second section of Chapter 2, on Patrick Mason's radio play *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*, which can also be applied David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his bones are brought to Dublin*, approached on the first section of Chapter 3.

[11] A thorough list of fictional representations of Roger Casement had been compiled by Lucy McDiarmid in *The Irish Art of Controversy* (2005: 154-155).

[12] "I met Casement for the first time in the Congo in 1890. For some three weeks he lived in the same room in the Matadi Station of the Belgian Societé du Haut Congo. He was rather reticent as to the exact character of his connection with it, but the work he was busy about then was recruiting labour. He knew the coast languages well. I went with him several times on short expeditions to hold 'palavers' with the neighbouring village chiefs" (Letter to John Quinn, 24 May 1916 – *The collected letters of Joseph Conrad*, Vol. 5, Cambridge UP, p 596-597).

speaks well, most intelligent and very sympathetic"[13] (67). The letters[14] exchanged between them show how the Irishman greatly influenced Conrad's view of the negative impact of Leopold's regime in that region. Conrad's change of perspective in relation to imperialism is clearly stated in *Heart of Darkness*. Although it is risky to pinpoint Casement as a character, biographers argue that he played an important role in Conrad's African experience.

According to biographer B. L. Reid (1976), "one is haunted by the feeling that Casement as well as Conrad stands somewhere near the *Heart of Darkness*" (13). While Reid claims he is unable to spot Casement as a character in the novel, he sustains that, "It is clear that Conrad 'met Africa' through the eyes of Casement – as corrected by his own powerful vision" (Reid 14), for Conrad himself has admitted that, "He [Casement] could tell you things! Things I have tried to forget, things I never did know. He has had many years of Africa as I had months – almost"[15]. On this matter, British historian Angus Mitchell (*Roger Casement in Brazil*) draws a parallel between the protagonist Marlowe and Roger Casement, as that both went down the Congo River and were shocked by the atrocities they had witnessed, which, each in his own way, narrate to others upon their return to England. Reid, on the other hand, sees the image of the Irishman as a sort of amalgam suggesting that the novel reveals that "an apprehension of the character of Casement himself was in Conrad's mind as he thought about Marlow as well as Kurtz" (Reid 14).

As a result of this fortuitous encounter, Casement, along with the French journalist Edmund Dene Morel, sought Conrad's support for the Congo Reform Association, which they had recently founded in response to the atrocities that had been reported in Britain. Conrad contributed with a couple of letters, but later ceased his support as he was focused on his career as a writer seeking financial independence. Years later, having learned of the news of Casement's imprisonment, trial and reprieve,

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[13] Conrad, Joseph. *Last Essays.* New York: Doubleday & Company, 1926, p. 161, qtd. in Hawkins, 1881-82, p. 67.

[14] Many of them are held at the National Library of Ireland.

[15] Letter to Robert Cunningham Graham, 26 December 1903 – *The collected letters of Joseph Conrad*, Vol. 3, Cambridge UP, p.101. This certainly brings to mind the relationship between the characters Marlow and Kurtz in *Heart of* Darkness (1902). Marlow worked as a sailor to the British Empire in Africa where he met Kurtz, a commander of an ivory trading post in Africa, whose madness and death unveils to Marlowe the horrors of imperialist practice.

Conrad, turned his back on his friend claiming that "He was a good companion; but […] of no mind at all. I don't mean stupid. I mean that he was all emotion"[16]. This is doubtlessly a harsh statement made in a letter to John Quinn who was seeking support for Casement's reprieve. By explanation perhaps, Conrad, who had a son fighting in France during World War I, had his own reasons for choosing not to sign the petition that could have prevented Casement from being hanged.

The conflict in the Congo is also approached by the celebrated North American writer Mark Twain in the monologue *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905), published soon after Casement's Congo report went public. According to critic Stephen Railton, after the outbreak of the Hispano-American War in 1900, Twain turned against imperialism and decided to act by using "his celebrity status as a pulpit from which to denounce European and American brutalities in China, the Philippines, and the Congo Free State" (Railton51). After he became aware of the atrocities committed against the natives of the Congo Free State, Twain ("In Genial") affirmed in an interview to the newspaper *The Boston Globe* (1905), that he was averse to King Leopold's effort to defend himself from the accusations revealed in Casement's 1903 report:

> The missionaries are to be believed. I have seen photographs of the natives with their hands cut off because they did not bring in the requited amount of rubber. If Leopold had only killed them outright it would not be so bad; but to cut off their hands and leave them helpless to die in misery--that is not forgivable. (Twain, "In Genial" 9).

Twain's outrage is expressed in *King Leopold's Soliloquy* (1905) where he deploys a propagandist tone against the barbarity that took place in the Congo. In this piece, Leopold II confesses his guilt in trying to defend himself and calls Casement a traitor

[16] In continuation to the previous excerpt of the same letter to Quinn, "He was a good companion; but already in Africa he was a man, properly speaking, of no mind at all. I don't mean stupid. I mean that he was all emotion. By emotional force (Congo report, Putumayo, etc.) he made his way, and sheer temperament – a truly tragic personality: all but the greatness of which he had not a trace. Only vanity. But in the Congo it was not visible yet". [16] (24 May 1916 – *The collected letters of Joseph Conrad*, Vol. 5, Cambridge UP, pp. 596-597).

for having read and copied a page from the diary of one of his employees about the amputation of limbs of Africans who supposedly used the ammunition that was given to them in hunting instead of in killing runaway "employees":

> […] And the British consul, Mr. Casement, is just like them. He gets hold of *a diary which had been kept by one of my government officers*, and, although it is a private diary and intended for no eye but its owner's, Mr. Casement is so lacking in delicacy and refinement as to print passages from it. [*Reads a passage from the diary*] "Each time the corporal goes out to get rubber, cartridges are given him. He must bring back all not used, and for every one used he must bring back a right hand. M. P. told me that sometimes they shot a cartridge at an animal in hunting; they then cut off a hand from a living man. (Twain, *King Leopold* 44-45)

The paper "A Belgian king against a British consul in *King Leopold's Soliloquy: a Defense of his Congo Rule*, by Mark Twain" [17] investigates textual references to both Roger Casement and the powerful Belgian monarch Leopold II in order to verify how Twain points to incoherencies in Leopold's discourse. At the same time Leopold II tries to defend himself, he ends up confessing his guilt. The paper also questions the extent to which Leopold's monologue can be considered an example of pamphlet literature used as a weapon of denunciation against the administration of the Congo Free State, as well as the consequences of the propaganda war between the Belgian King and the British Consul in his search for truth regarding the violence underlying the rubber extractive economy.

Following a similar line as Twain's, North American author Adam Hochschild wrote *King Leopold's Ghost: a story of Greed, Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. It is a non-fiction work that draws chiefly on the trajectory of the French Journalist E. D. Morel, who, as an employee of a Liverpool Shipping Line realized that there was no trade going on between Belgium and the Congo Free State, "Little or nothing is

[17] Bolfarine, Mariana and Mitchell, Angus. "Um Rei Belga Contra um Cônsul Britânico em *King Leopold's Soliloquy: A Defense Of His Congo Rule*, de Mark Twain/ A Belgian King Against a British Consul in *King Leopold's Soliloquy: a Defense of his Congo Rule"*. In *Polifonia*, Cuiabá, MT, v.19, n.26, p.206-217, ago./dez., 2012

exchanged for ivory and rubber" (Hochschild 2). The book describes how Morel's path crossed with that of the Irishman Roger Casement and of the Polish expatriate Joseph Conrad, as it offers an account of the role that these three men played against the Congo atrocities. It focuses especially on the founding and on the impact of the Congo Reform Association (CRA) founded by Morel and Casement, as "it draws in the example of men and women who fought against enormous odds for their freedom, from the slave revolts of the Americas to the half century of resistance that brought Nelson Mandela to South Africa" (Hothschild 306). The legacy left by Morel and Casement, according to Hothschild, is a crucial link in the chain of historical events that have led to the development of human rights today.

German writer W.G. Sebald has also explored the time Roger Casement spent in the Congo in *Rings of Saturn*, a work of non-fiction that combines autobiography, novel and travel writing, where there is no straightforward plot, nor any particular aspect of the journey purported. The book begins with a narrator in a hospital. From a window[18], the only link with the outside world, the narrator is able to glance into a shrunken version of the sky he had seen at the walking tour on the coast of England, chiefly East Anglia, on the previous day. While convalescing, he remembers several moments of life, and reflects upon issues related to art, literature and world history. In this manner he begins to make sense of the way in which violence stems from viewing the "other" as less human than oneself. One of the issues Sebald tackles in *The Rings of Saturn* is precisely the moment in which Joseph Conrad makes the acquaintance of Roger Casement as the narrator falls asleep in front of a television showing a BBC documentary on the issue. Here, the television also functions as a window, one from which the narrator is able to look back into the past of Casement and Conrad in Africa. The narrator engages in reconstructing the story of both men after he awakens. This reconstruction triggers further reflection upon the traumas related to imperialism, such as slavery and the mutilated bodies of the natives in the Congo. The narrator keeps moving backward and forward in time – from Imperial China, to the violence of the First World War, to the conflict in the Balkans during War World War II – and the

[18] Here, we can draw a parallel with Rebecca Solnit's idea of Casement as a window, for the narrator of *The Rings of Saturn* compares himself to Franz Kafka's Gregor Samsa and his need to look out of a window to reassure himself of a reality he feared had vanished: "I could not help thinking of the scene in which poor Gregor Samsa, his little legs trembling, climbs the armchair and looks out of his room, no longer remembering (so Kafka's narrative goes) the sense of liberation that gazing out of the window had formerly given him" (4-5).

result is a patchwork quilt, and the thread that joins each patch is violence and destruction perpetrated by man to man.

A further example of a brief, yet by no means arbitrary, reference to Casement and his Congo report also appears in the following dialogue in the novel *Ulysses* (2000/1922), by James Joyce:

> —Well, says J. J., if they're any worse than those Belgians in the Congo Free State they must be bad. Did you read that report by a man what's this his name is?
>
> —Casement, says the citizen. He's an Irishman.
>
> —Yes, that's the man, says J. J. Raping the women and girls and flogging the natives on the belly to squeeze all the red rubber they can out of them. (434-435)

In this famous excerpt from the Cyclops episode, we note that in the midst of a discussion at Barney Kiernan's pub concerning newspaper headlines contemporaneous to the time the novel is set, the character of the citizen, a nationalist, reads aloud the news about the cotton magnates of Manchester, whose position is compared by character J.J. O'Molloy to that of the Congo Free State. In Belgium the monarch Leopold II exploited the natives to obtain more and more red rubber, a reminder of the natives' blood that was shed if they did not meet the rubber quotas that were being increasingly imposed on them. O'Molloy also alludes to Roger Casement's investigation in 1903, the year in which the saga of *Ulysses* takes place, and which led to the publication of his report as an official Blue Book in 1904.

Joyce's reference to Casement leads to several implications within the context of *Ulysses*, specially if we consider that the aforementioned passage follows a discussion on capital punishment and the effects that being hanged has on the body, chiefly on the male reproductive organ, referred to by protagonist Leopold Bloom as "the poor bugger's tool that's being hanged" (263). Considering that the novel was published in 1922, six years after Casement himself had been hanged, this reference is by no means incidental. Patrick Mullen affirms that although scholars like Enda Duffy believe that Joyce presents a "sanitized" version of Casement, omitting his nationalism and homosexuality, Mullen believes in the opposite. Mullen claims that Casement's Speech

from the Dock, that preached mutual love and respect for one's nationality, is a "shadow text" in the Cyclops episode, which coincides with the moment when the protagonist Leopold Bloom becomes self-conscious of his own national identity as an Irishman and a Jew.

It is also worth mentioning a few works that deal with Casement's afterlife. William Butler Yeats's acclaimed poems "Casement" and "The Ghost of Roger Casement", both written in 1936, will not be approached in this study.[19] However, they are a watershed in terms of the way in which writers have conceived of Casement in artistic terms. It was not incidental that Yeats decided to portray Roger Casement as a ghost seeking revenge against the injustice that was done against him. Yeats defines ghosts as beings that "live in a state intermediary between this life and the next. They are held there by some earthly longing, or duty unfulfilled, or anger against the living" (*Fairy and Folk Tales* 84). It is this image of the wandering ghost – the poem is written in four stanzas, interspersed by the haunting refrain "The ghost of Roger Casement is beating at the door" – that can be applied to Roger Casement for two reasons. In the first place, he died without accomplishing his goals in coming back to Ireland from Germany in 1916, either to stop the Rising or to die in it. In the second place, his dying wish was not attended to, as he was not buried in Murlough Bay, in Northern Ireland.

This image of Casement as a ghost inhabiting some kind of limbo, or purgatory in Yeatsian terms, has been extensively appropriated in numerous fictional texts up to this date. Among the most well known is David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* and the poem "Casement's Funeral" [20], by Irish poet Richard Murphy. According to Kiberd ("Richard Murphy and Casement's Funeral"),

[19] The forthcoming paper in *Revista de Cultura e Extensão da Universidade de São Paulo*, São Paulo: Humanitas (2014), by Mariana Bolfarine, "Irish Nationalism and the Uncanny: a Reading of 'The Ghost of Roger Casement'" focuses on Yeats's poem under the light of Freud's concept of the uncanny while spotting the influences of Irish myth and folklore in his own views of Roger Casement.

[20] Scholar Julian Moynahan ("The Battle of Aughrim: A Commentary", *Irish University Review,* Vol. 13, No. 1, *The Long Poem*, pp. 103-13, Edinburgh University Press, 1983), who was living in Ireland at the time of Casement's funeral, remembers "a small parade of pipers, bandsmen and scouts of both sexes during summer, 1964, marching up the Sandycove high street to place a wreath on the door of the house where Roger Casement was born. In the coming months his remains would at long last be returned from Portland Prison yard to Ireland for a patriot's funeral and reinterment; and a drunken English journalist in El Vino's in Fleet Street would be heard to say, 'The bloody Irish think we've sent them Casement's bones but we've sent them Dr Crippen's instead'" (104). This about the disinterring Crippen's remains instead of Casement's – for it is said both men shared the same grave – was joke that was generally told at the time and it will be referred to in David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*.

Murphy's poem "Funeral" is both an allusion to and a rewriting of W.B. Yeats's poem "Parnell's Funeral" (1935). This correlation between Parnell[21] and Casement[22] is pertinent as both men were admired agents in Irish history whose public images were tainted owing to their private lives: the former was cited as co-respondent in a divorce case, the latter was accused of writing the *Black Diaries*.

British writer Michael Carson's *The Knight of the Flaming Heart*, is a more contemporary account of the return of Casement's ghost to fulfil issues that were left unresolved after his death. In the novel, Roger Casement's ghost acts as mediator between the two main characters, Boma and Tim, who, in turn, mirror some of the social changes that were taking place in 1990's Ireland such as racism and homosexuality. There are other unexplored works of fiction about Roger Casement, and hopefully this dissertation will pave the way for future scholars.

Finally, as this brief panorama has shown, Roger Casement can, indeed, be compared to a window through which the reader may gaze not just into the evils of imperialism, as subtly implied in *Ulysses*, but also into the strengths and flaws that are inherent to human nature. What follows is a discussion of the works that are the focus of this study.

Roger Casement's "Life", "Trial" and "Afterlife"

As I have formerly mentioned, this dissertation will explore works written, published or broadcast in the time span of 100 years, from 1912 to 2012. However, the actual fictional time frame approached within the selected works in which we are interested ranges from 1910 to 1965, where they portray Casement in the Putumayo, his collaboration with the 1916 Rising, his trial, and his reburial. I have chosen not to arrange the works in chronological order, but to group them according to the main

[21] Charles Stuart Parnell was the first Anglo-Irish president of the Land League (1879) and Leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party (1880). In 1889 he was cited as co-respondent in the divorce petition between Captain William O'Shea and his wife Katharine. The news that Parnell and Katharine had had an affair for three years while Kitty, as she was known was still married to Capitan O'Shea, became a scandal in the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland, put an end to his political career and led to his premature death three years later.

[22] In this regard, while comparing the two poems, Declan Kiberd states that little has changed from the fall of Parnell to that of Casement: three decades later "the new Ireland seems like a parody of the old." (Kiberd, 1996: 587)

traumas that have been part of the formation of the Irish nation: British Imperialism, the consequences of the 1916 Easter Rising and the Troubles. These traumas are present in the fictional works selected for this dissertation and are reflected respectively in the organization of its three main chapters: "Life", "Trial" and "Afterlife".

This work will demonstrate, firstly, that the image of Casement, although side lined from both history and literature, still elicits various responses from writers, biographers and historians in that there is a simultaneous attraction to this historical figure and repulsion to one or another aspect of his life. In this sense, this dissertation aims to pinpoint how most of these writers have undertaken the challenge of approaching controversial aspects of Roger Casement that, in his time, did not conform to an idealized notion of a revolutionary hero, and of disputed historical events, such as the 1916 Irish Rebellion, and Casement's reburial in Glasnevin cemetery in Dublin rather than in Murlough Bay, in the North of Ireland.

It is important to mention the mosaic nature of this dissertation, which deals with six works of fiction and radio drama under different perspectives by writers of various backgrounds approaching the same historical figure. Hence, eventual missing pieces from one Chapter might be complemented in another Chapter in such a way that, by the end, a complete picture of Casement will be formed. I have chosen to work in this way, as a kind of emulation of the style of the works themselves, for most of them tend to depict Casement as a fragmentary and/or multifaceted figure. In order to further contribute to the field of Irish Studies, I have chosen to approach works by writers that are unknown in Brazil or that do not pertain to the academic realm, such as those by the Scottish writer of Irish descent Arthur Conan Doyle, the English born playwright Patrick Mason, and the Irish writer Annabel Davis-Goff. These are intermingled with works written by more celebrated writers, such as the Peruvian Mario Vargas Llosa, Jamie O'Neill who was born in London and raised in Dublin, and the English playwright of Northern Irish ancestry David Rudkin.

The first Chapter of this dissertation is divided in two sections and is concerned with two novels that portray Casement during his "Life". The first novel dealt with is *The Lost World*, by Arthur Conan Doyle, published in 1912, during Casement's lifetime. The aim of this section is to trace the way Lord John Roxton, the character based on Casement, is portrayed as a heroic figure in *The Lost World*, which Conan

Doyle had called a "wild boy's book"[23]. An analysis of the intrinsic elements in this novel that bear an intertextual[24] relation to Roger Casement's travelogues, in the form of his letters and his Amazon journal written during the period he spent in the Putumayo, is performed. These travel narratives are not only responsible for constructing the setting and the characters of the novel, but they also function as a tool that aids the structuring of the plot itself, as it will be shown by the juxtaposition of excerpts of both texts. Furthermore, I will illustrate the novel's relevance in terms of Casement's legacy. In *The Lost World*, the fictional representation of Casement as Lord John Roxton is a window through which one may glimpse into the trauma inflicted by the aftermath of the rubber boom in the early 20th century Amazon region. Even though Conan Doyle claims that the novel does not aim to promote social consciousness it faces the trauma of imperialism in the sense that Casement, under the guise of Lord John Roxton, brings to the fore what Michel Foucault (*Society Must be Defended*) terms "biopower", that is the holding of control by a sovereign power over who/what lives and who/what dies.

The second section of Chapter 1 will explore Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*, which provides a different perspective of Casement as hero than that of *The Lost World* given its 1916 Easter Rising[25] context in which Casement acts only at the backstage. North American critic Joseph Valente has described *At Swim, Two Boys* as a double *Bildungsroman* that traces the coming of age both of the Irish nation and the discovery of homosexual love between two boys, Jim Mack and Doyler Doyle. Although these stories are intertwined, the focus of this study is on the implications of the role played by the peripheral character based on Roger Casement during the 1916 Easter Rising, the climatic moment of the novel. I will analyse how Casement's collaboration to the Rebellion is reflected and paralleled in the actions of Eva MacMurrough, a female aristocratic patron of the nationalist cause, both through her memories of Casement and through a couple of pieces of news that are spread in Dublin

[23] Arthur Conan Doyle to Roger Casement, 5/08/1910, NLI, also quoted in Angus Mitchell's *Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, p. 378.

[24] I take into consideration the concept of intertextuality coined by Julia Kristeva that will be explored in more detail in the first section of Chapter 1.

[25] The 1916 Easter Rising, also known as the 1916 Rebellion, was an armed insurrection that took place in Ireland, whose aim was to found an independent Irish Republic. Casement's controversial role is tackled throughout this dissertation and is introduced in the section on Ireland in the section "Ireland and North America in Attachment 6.1 (294).

about his actions in Germany that led to his further imprisonment and trial. Firstly, it investigates the way in which the trauma of making contentious overseas alliances, dating back to the 12th century, is mirrored in the years that preceded the 1916 Rebellion. Secondly, it focuses on the trauma of sexual politics and how it reverberates in contemporary Ireland. Although Roger Casement is not bodily present in the novel, I argue that the absence of Casement as a character in the traditional sense does not imply his exclusion from the nationalist project of turning Ireland into "a nation once again", a republic independent from Britain. On the contrary, it will be shown that Casement's oblique presence looms anachronistically both over the rebellion and over two boys, Jim and Doyler, who have chosen to fight in the Rising in the name of their particular cause. This cause was termed by their older mentor MacMurrough and his dead lover Scrotes "a nation of the heart", one where the struggle for the independence of the Irish nation would coincide with the movement for individual freedom to choose whom to love.

Chapter 2 addresses the trauma evoked by Casement's "Trial" – and by the subsequent execution of the 1916 rebel leaders – under two different perspectives. The first is *The Dream of the Celt*, by Peruvian Mario Vargas Llosa. This novel was written by an author allusive of the English or the Irish literary traditions, yet it is relevant as it shows the extent to which Casement's actions, whether in the Congo, the Putumayo, in Germany an in Ireland, continue to reverberate across the Atlantic. This novel was widely published and translated owing to its release coinciding with the appointment of Mario Vargas Llosa as a Nobel Prize laureate in 2010. Although its success is far from being equated to that of other historical works, *The Dream of the Celt* deserves examination as it depicts Casement in the chief moments of his life, ending with his death at the gallows of Pentonville Prison in London. The main thread of the novel is the moment subsequent to Casement's trial, when he is incarcerated waiting for the result of the plea for clemency. It is by means of Casement's reminiscences and memories of the past, recounted by an omniscient narrator, that the main events of his life are unveiled to the reader. My purpose is not to consider whether *The Dream of the Celt* belongs to the realm of fact or fiction, but rather to analyse the representation of Casement's trial as a trauma in the making, and to later compare it to that depicted in the radio play *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*, by Patrick Mason. This section will concentrate on the instances of fantasy and dreams that Casement had while he is incarcerated. This device, of intersecting the main narrative with dreams and fantasy,

is employed by both Vargas Llosa and Patrick Mason as a means of dealing with Casement's alleged sexuality and the so-called *Black Diaries*, a subject that has been most disputed among scholars. I argue that the dreams described by the omniscient narrator are a pathway that allows the flow of Casement's forbidden desires, therefore enabling a more neutral approach of polemical issues such as his homosexuality.

The second piece dealt with in Chapter 2 is *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*, first broadcast in May 2012 on *RTÉ Radio1 – Drama on One*. It was written and directed by English born playwright Patrick Mason. Like Vargas Llosa's *The Dream of the Celt*, the main thread of *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* is Casement's trial, although it begins somewhat earlier, with the landing of the U19 German submarine on the coast of Kerry. The aim of this section is twofold. Firstly, it will pinpoint the way in which the trauma of Casement's trial is tied to the life of his cousin Gertrude Banister, or Gee, who is ambiguously represented. On the one hand, she is given voice and agency once she seeks the support of intellectuals of the time to struggle against her cousin's fate in facing the gallows in 1916. On the other hand, it is she who recognizes and admits to foreign office employee, Sir Ernley Blackwell that the *Black Diaries* were written in Casement's own hand. Secondly, it deals with the way in which Casement's homosexuality is used by the Home Office to undermine his achieving martyrdom after the 1916 Rebellion and execution of the rebel leaders. Furthermore, in a similar fashion to *The Dream of the Celt*, the main narrative axis is concerned with the last period of his imprisonment and trial is constantly intersected by Casement's dreams. I will point out differences and similarities in the way in which both texts, Mason's and Vargas Llosa's, make use of dreams to access Casement's imaginary. These works reveal, in fact, two Casements struggling with one another: the British Consul and the Irish Revolutionary in juxtaposition with his homosexual double, active only in his imaginary and in his dreams.

Chapter 3 is concerned with the traumatic impact of Roger Casement's "Afterlife", especially its resonance among the Anglo-Irish Protestants who sympathized with the Irish nationalist cause. Also, it deals with the impacts that Casement's death would have in the future in the shape of the trauma caused by the relation between Casement's reinternment in Glasnevin Cemetery, in Dublin, 1965, and the Troubles motivated by the partition of Ireland. Casement's representation in his afterlife as a haunting figure, as done by W. B. Yeats in his renowned poem "The

Ghost of Roger Casement", reverberates in both texts dealt with in this chapter. The first work is *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*, a radio play that seeks a holistic representation of Roger Casement. My analysis is based on Ian Rabey's premise that Rudkin "fragments [his] subject in order to see him whole" (50). This fragmentation is present both in form and in content, and it is the task of an active reader to join these fragments and create a whole image of the man. Two main aspects of *Cries from Casement* will be approached: firstly, the manner in which the character of the metafictional *Author* joins different fragments of Casement's identity in an attempt to make sense of the whole man, given that the role of his homosexuality in his transformation into a nationalist has been foreclosed from both history and literature. Secondly, the controversy over the repatriation of Casement's remains, which is represented as an allegory of a fragmented Ireland that deals with the consequence of partition as well as an attempt to promote the reconciliation of Ireland with the traumatic aftermath of the 1916 Easter Rising, and with the present time of the Troubles. I claim that Rudkin's piece suggests a hypothetical situation, according to which the conflict in Northern Ireland could have signified the end of what Antonio Gramsci terms as "interregnum", a utopian moment in history that could have been followed by "new arrangements" whereby Casement's remains would be granted a third burial in Murlough Bay, and, for that reason, in a united Ireland.

The second section of Chapter 3 focuses on the *The Fox's Walk* (2003), by Irish writer Annabel Davis-Goff, a novel about traumatic incidents that have marked Anglo Irish relations, and its aim is to revisit the past as a way to deal with historical memory. The story is told through the perspective of middle aged Alice Moore, in 1965, the same year that the action of *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* takes place, as she reminisces on events that preceded the Easter Rising. Her memories are recovered by the reinternment of Casement's remains in Glasnevin cemetery, Dublin. Alice's remembrance of Casement's trial in 1916 elicits the trauma caused the hanging of Casement by the British and the impact this had to the Anglo-Irish Protestants supportive of the Irish nationalist cause, of which Casement himself was part. Morevoer, *The Fox's Walk* reveals how history is interlinked. In the context of the novel, the violence that succeeded Casement's hanging affected negatively the Anglo-Irish who became victims of ambushes and had their houses burned down, which was

ultimately the case with Ballydavid, Alice Moore's family property, signalling the end of an old order, that had existed for 300 years, and its replacement for a new one.

Finally, the conclusion will highlight the interconnection between the three Chapters that give structure to this study in order to demonstrate the process of transformation that Casement undergoes along his life arc, to use Séamas O'Síocháin's words, from imperialist, to rebel, to revolutionary. For this, I use the distinction made by French writer and philosopher Albert Camus in *The Rebel: "*While even the collective history of a movement of rebellion is always that of a fruitless struggle with facts, of an obscure protest which involves neither method nor reason, a revolution is an attempt to shape actions to ideas, to fit the world into a rhetorical frame." (n. pag.) This will evince the way in which this work proposes to break the silence about the multifaceted historical figure of Roger Casement as character in works of fiction and radio drama, and to transform this silence into words as a way of "working through" the main traumas that have stained Anglo-Irish relations. Thus, I hope that this work is a first step to grant Casement a proper place in Brazilian and, hopefully, in world history by promoting rich engagements between the past, the present and the future.

Chapter 1 – "Life" and the Response to the Trauma of Imperialism

> *I was the flail of the Lord up in those parts, I may tell you, though you won't find it in any Blue Book. There are times, young fellah, when every one of us must take a stand for human right and justice, or you never feel clean again.* (*The Lost World* 69)

> *The first time I saw him, I was struck. I knew immediately I was in the presence of something extraordinary in our land. Something we had not seen in Ireland for centuries. The soul shone through his face*. (*At Swim, Two Boys* 449)

Chapter 1 delves around the trauma inflicted by imperial practice in the Peruvian Amazon and in Ireland respectively by Scottish writer with Irish ancestry, Arthur Conan Doyle, who was contemporaneous to Casement, and by Irish born author Jamie O'Neill,

eighty-five years after Casement's death. Its aim is to demonstrate that the figure of Roger Casement epitomizes the way in which British imperialism reached the Atlantic world as, albeit in different ways, it affected both South America and Ireland. What follows is an overview of British imperialism in Ireland and South America, important for the understanding of the section on Conan Doyle's *The Lost World*, and, secondly, of the 1916 Easter Rising as a response to imperialism, as it will be approached in the section that deals with O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*.

To consider Ireland as a former colony of the British Empire that was victimized during its gradual process of colonisation is to step on shaky ground. However, when dealing with the fictional representation of Roger Casement, it is difficult to conceive of Ireland as otherwise. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Britain was still a powerful empire that had Irishmen, like Casement, working in its most remote outposts who became completely immersed in and aware of its mode of operation.

In *Writing Ireland: colonialism, nationalism and culture*, Shaun Richards and David Cairns assert that, since its inception, Ireland under British imperialism has had to deal with "the reality of the historic relationship of the colonized and the colonizer" (1). It is thereby important to consider the originary moment of the colonial relationship between Britain and Ireland and its unfolding consequences. The medieval colonization of Ireland dates from the 12th century onwards and is characterized by the gradual displacement of the native rulers by Norman, and later English, noble families – an issue that will be dealt with in the second section in this chapter about Jamie O'Neill's novel *At Swim, two Boys*. Nevertheless, according to Richards and Cairns (*Writing Ireland*), it is the 16th century that effectively marks the beginning of the exchange of cultural engagements between the English and the Irish peoples, which will later culminate in their identity and cultural formation.

British poet Edmund Spenser (qtd. in Richards and Cairns 4), considered the Irish a barbaric race that descended from the ancient Scythians, Iranian equestrian tribes. Thus, in Spenser's view, in order for these backward societies to attain the features of more "advanced" ones they should undergo some sort of "cultural trauma", such as the suffering caused by famine and wars,[26] as "the necessary precondition to all social and political reform" (Brady, qtd. in Richards and Cairns 30). From its early inceptions, imperialism is characterized by a different array of traumatic experiences

[26] In Edmund Spenser's words, barbaric societies "must be broken by famine and sword before they can be remade as biddable and law-abiding" (qtd. in Richards and Cairns 4).

imposed on the land whose natural resources are often depleted, on the colonized peoples who are often subjected to the colonizer by means of physical and psychological forms of violence, and even on the perpetrator who might eventually become conscious of the role he/she has to play for the effectiveness of the whole system.

Along the same lines, Declan Kiberd was one of the first critics to conceive of Ireland as a postcolonial country, that "through many centuries, [...] was pressed into service as a foil to set off English virtues, as a laboratory in which to meet fairies and monsters" (*Inventing Ireland* 1). As far as imperialism in Ireland was concerned, Kiberd explains that political rule came from London and Dublin Castle was its headquarters; in addition, the plantation of English settlers followed economic expropriation. These measures resulted in psychological issues such as "self-doubt and dependency [...] linked to loss of economic and political power but also the decline of native language and culture" (*Inventing Ireland* 6) that the Irish, although in an attenuated form, still face.

What adds to the complexity surrounding Ireland is its geographical proximity to the metropolis leading to a relationship "of prolonged, if forced, intimacy" between the two islands (Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* 6). From the 16th century, the English presented themselves to the world as controlled, refined and rooted, so it suited them to find the rough Irishmen the perfect foil on which to project their own virtues. Another peculiarity concerning Irish colonial experience was the physical similarity between the two peoples, "The Irish, despite their glibs and mantles, actually looked like the English to the point of undetectability" (Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* 11). However, it is the "mixed nature of the experience of the Irish people, as both exponents and victims of British imperialism, which makes them so representative of the underlying process" (*Inventing Ireland* 5), and Roger Casement is certainly a product of this ambiguous imperial mode of operation, in-between England, Ireland, as well as the other colonies.

Even though the Irish imperialist experience was unique for the reasons cited above, Spenser's writings reveal insightful transatlantic intersections between imperialism in Ireland and in South America. Spenser claims that one point of similarity between the Irish and the natives of the New World was their refusal to readily accept the conqueror's religion, as the Natives were pagan and to the Irish, Protestantism was

considered a "superior English practice"[27]. Moreover, Spenser explores the risks of cultural pollution that would result from the contact between the colonizer and the colonized. In his view, the Irish would have "to be remade" in order to labour for the New English (as the yeomanry was insufficient), in a similar fashion to what was happening to the Portuguese and Spanish colonies as of the 16th century, with the difference that in the former case, there would be a larger rate of assimilation.

In addition, Spenser (qtd. in Richards and Cairns) notes that during the 17th and 18th centuries, the understanding of the native Irish by the English required the latter to treat the former as permanently subordinate inferiors. This relationship of subordination between colonizer and colonized is another point of intersection between the natives of the New World and the Irish, which Casement became aware of along his many years as a British Consul. In this way, Casement occupied a liminal place within the British Empire: at the same time that he is a colonial agent responsible for mapping and naming the vast African territory during the first twenty years of his career, his traumatic exposure to the evils of imperialism both in Africa and in the Amazonian Putumayo is one of the factors that contributed to his conversion to Irish nationalism once he compared the suffering of the natives of these far-flung regions to those of his own people in Ireland.

A more thorough understanding of the relationship between Ireland and its position within the British Empire is necessary, and what Kiberd suggests is an analysis of Irish writing in the English language. Kiberd considers the origins of postcolonial writing not as coinciding with the moment the occupier withdraws; rather, "it is initiated when a native writer formulates a text committed to cultural resistance." (*Inventing Ireland* 6) Although Kiberd cites as an example of the postcolonial artist the Irish poet and playwright William Butler Yeats and the Irish Literary Revival, or Renaissance[28], I would consider that Roger Casement a postcolonial writer ahead of his time. In his Consular reports to the Crown, as well as in his Congo and Amazon diaries, Casement acknowledges the downside of imperialism, and reflects upon the importance of culture for Ireland to regain political consciousness by means of recovering the Irish Language

[27] In Edmund Spenser's words: 'They are all Papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed for the most part as that you would rather think them as atheists or infidels' (Spenser, 1934, p. 109, qtd. in Richards and Cairns 5).

[28] A literary movement (late 19th, early 20th century) that aimed to recover the long lost Irish culture and literary tradition in the English language.

and sports, respectively with the Gaelic League[29] and the Gaelic Athletic Association. The final response to British imperial practice in Ireland was, according to Kiberd, conducted within language in the shape of the 1916 Easter Rising, which he sees as a "poets' rebellion", for its leaders were mostly educated men.

In *Inventing Ireland*, Kiberd places the "Irish renaissance in a constellation with the current moment" of the mid 1990s, "conceiving works of art as products of their own age; not in splendid isolation, but in relation to one another" (3). According to Kiberd, "The imagination of the artworks produced in Ireland, have always been notable for its engagement with society and for its prophetic reading of the forces at work in their time" (*Inventing Ireland* 4). What makes the Irish renaissance remarkable is that the cultural revival preceded and in many ways enabled the political revolution that followed. Although Roger Casement's writings reveal his wish to have taken part in the movement for the independence of Ireland, he did not participate directly in the 1916 Rebellion, for he was in Germany seeking support to run guns and to form the Irish Brigade with Irish Prisoners of war. In fact, as it will be shown in the discussion concerning Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*, Casement's contribution to the Rising remains paradoxical, for he thought the decision to go ahead with the Rebellion too abrupt and unplanned, and would result in nothing but bloodshed after the failure of his German mission. Consequently, at the same time as Casement vehemently wished to stop the Easter Rising, he wished for Ireland to be freed from imperial Britain.

The first section focuses on Casement as an imperialist hero in the Putumayo in Conan Doyle's *The Lost World*, while the second section concerns Casement's role as an offstage collaborator to the movement for Irish independence from imperial Britain, which culminated in the 1916 Easter Rising in Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*. I will show, in the first place, how the echoes of Roger Casement in both novels are essential for providing a coherent background and setting, while functioning as a tool to the structuring of the plot itself, as they both address different historical moments in which Casement was actively involved. Afterwards, considering that these novels were published 89 years apart, I will look at the way in which the dichotomy hero/homosexual, which has generally shaped the construction of Roger Casement as a

[29] The Gaelic League, or *Conradh na Gaeilge*, founded in 1893 by Douglas Hyde and Eoin MacNeill, was a movement that was part of the Irish renaissance that began aimed at recovering the Irish culture and, in this case specifically, if its language, whose use was long forbidden and gradually substituted by that of the colonizer.

fictional character, is absent from the first novel, and only obliquely present in the second.

1. Casement as a Victorian Hero in The Lost World (1912)

The Lost World is one of Arthur Conan Doyle's first science fiction works in which European journalists and scientists share the Amazonian landscape with native Indians, ape-men and prehistoric animals, such as pterodactyls and dinosaurs. This novel has often been compared to Henry Rider Haggard's *She: a history of adventure* as well as Jules Verne's *Journey to the Centre of the Earth* and *The Giant Raft: Eight Hundred Leagues on the Amazon*[30]. Critics and scholars such as B.L Reid and Angus Mitchell suggest that Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* was the first novel loosely based on Casement and his experience in the Congo. Nevertheless, *The Lost World* is also one of the earliest attempts to capture the historical figure of Roger Casement as the fictional adventurer Lord John Roxton in the Amazonian forests, and this is the reason why this novel is of interest to this dissertation.

[30] I thank Dr. Leopoldo Bernucci for this reference.

TLW[31] is included in the first chapter of this study in that it was published in 1912, during Casement's lifetime, and due to the fact that he is portrayed as a Victorian[32] and Edwardian subject, a notion that will be explored and, at the same time, challenged. The purpose of this section is to perform a study of intrinsic elements in the novel that bear an intertextual[33] relation to Roger Casement's travelogues which include some of his letters and his *Amazon Journal*[34] written during the period he spent in the Putumayo, from August 1910 to January 1911. I suggest that these narratives have not only shaped the construction of the setting and of the characters of the *TLW*, but that they also function as a tool for the structuring of the plot itself, as I will demonstrate by juxtaposing excerpts from both texts. Furthermore, I will illustrate the way in which *TLW* gives the reader an instructive glimpse into the aftermath of the rubber boom of the early 20th century Amazon region. Along these lines, I argue that Casement, as the adventurer Lord John Roxton in *TLW*, unveils one of the main traumas of imperialism: the sheer slavery and decimation of indigenous peoples. The theoretical framework to understand this process is based on Michel Foucault's notion of "biopower" of Empire, whereby one of the "privileges of sovereign[35] power has the right to decide life and death" (*Society Must be Defended* 135).

In *Society Must be Defended* Foucault states that "one of the basic phenomena of the 19th century was what might be called power's hold over life", in other words, "the

[31] From this moment on we will refer to *The Lost World* as *TLW*.

[32] Queen Victoria's reign lasted from 1837 to 1901. After her death, she was replaced by her son, Edward VII (1901-1910).

[33] It is important to examine the concept of intertextuality coined by Julia Kristeva who takes into consideration "the status of the word in its articulations (as semic complex) with other words in the sentence, and then to look for the same functions or relationships at the articulator level of larger sequences". She argues for a spatial conception of language's poetic operation in a sense that the "horizontal axis (subject-addressee) and vertical axis (text-context) coincide, bringing to light an important fact: each word (text) is an intersection of words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read". She relies on Bakhtin's premise that there is no clear distinction between these two axes, but instead a relation of dialogue and ambivalence. However, she continues: "what appears as a lack of rigour is in fact an insight first introduced into literary theory by Bakhtin: any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another. The notion of intertextuality replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least double" (*The Kristeva Reader*, Ed. Toril Moi, Columbia UP, 1986, 36-27).

[34] The manuscript of Roger Casement's travelogues written in the Putumayo is held in the National Library of Ireland and was published by historian Angus Mitchell as *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, in 1997.

[35] According to Richard Kearny, "Originally, the concept of the sovereign meant 'supreme power'. As derived from the Latin *superanus* through the French soveraineté, the term connoted the ultimate authority or overseer of order." (*Postnationalist Ireland* 18)

acquisition of power over man insofar as man is a living being, that the biological came under state control, that there was at least a certain tendency that leads to what might be termed State control of the biological." (239-240) What this means is that "from the point of view of life and death, the subject is neutral", and the sovereign grants himself/herself and, in return, is granted the power over his/her right to be dead or alive. Paradoxically, when the sovereign exercises his/her power to kill, in reverse he/she exercises his/her right over life; it is what Foucault calls "the right of the sword" (240). Foucault also discusses the issue of "social contract", and what leads individuals to delegate to a sovereign "absolute power" (214). The explanation for this is that the subjugated individuals – which in this study are the Putumayo Indians – engage in this sort of social contract for they have no other alternative: "They do so in order to protect their lives. It is in order to live that they constitute a sovereign." (*Society Must be Defended* 241) In Casement's time, this could be perceived in the way the sovereign Julio César Arana, owner of the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company, controlled the Amazonian Indians, who were powerless in the face of the overseers and their firearms.

Moreover, Foucault explains that the 17th and 18th centuries were focused on "techniques of power" centred on the body, chiefly in physical exercise and military drilling, that aimed for a kind of power "[…] that had to be used in the least costly way possible thanks to a system of surveillance, hierarchies, inspections, bookkeeping and reports – all the technology that can be described as the disciplinary technology of labour." (242) These "techniques of power" can be seen at work in the early 20th century in the way the Peruvians transformed the Indians into their workforce, as they were drilled to bring in as much rubber as possible to the Peruvian Amazon Company by the fear of flogging.

These "techniques of power" are visible throughout Roger Casement's writings, for in his diaries and ledgers he systematically registered what took place in his surrounding: things or events that were quantifiable, such as numbers of Indians killed[36], their wages, their debts, the prices of goods sold by the stores of the rubber

[36] In *The Amazon Journal*, Casement writes about the number of dead Indians: "Gielgud [one of the members of the Commission of Inquiry] admitted last night, at dinner, to me, that he knew "the Indians were very reduced in numbers" in the Company's properties. [...] I had said it was clear to me that Mr. Tizon's estimate of 14,000 was excessive – at least I thought so – and put them at only 10,000." (233)

stations. Also, what was not quantifiable: such as the suffering[37] of the Indians. Therefore, it is through these "techniques of power" that Casement's writings on the Putumayo Indians enabled him to call European attention to the evils of unwatched imperialism. Published as a Blue Book[38], Casement's report eventually helped to bring down the London registered Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company. In Conan Doyle's novel, this journal writing style is, up to a certain extent, emulated, as it is by means of the writings of the journalist Ed Malone that the reader of *TLW* gains access to the events that were taking place across the Atlantic in the "lost world" of the Tropics.

Arthur Conan Doyle and Roger Casement: Crossing Paths

It is little known that the paths of Arthur Conan Doyle, and that of the Irish Consul Roger Casement have crossed in real life. Apart from the social and political affairs that connected both men they also shared a similar familial background. Casement was born in Sandycove, Dublin, 1864, raised in Antrim as a Protestant and was secretly baptized a Catholic by his mother, Anne Jephson. Conan Doyle, raised as a Catholic, was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1859, to Mary Doyle, née Foley, an Irishwoman who descended from Catholic and Protestant landowners and to Charles Altamont Doyle, an Englishman who descended from Irish Catholics from Dublin.

Conan Doyle's views on bearing a double Scottish-Irish identity are expressed in his autobiography, *Arthur Conan Doyle: Memories and Adventures*: "I, an Irishman by extraction, was born in the Scottish capital" (4). In this respect, Catherine Wynne[39] states that "The Irish Catholic and artistic tradition of his paternal side converged with the military tradition of his maternal one" and that "Doyle could neither banish nor

[37] In the *Amazon Journal*, Casement constantly describes the ill treatment suffered by the Indians when carrying rubber: "The woman who has appealed to me in the morning was unable to go further. She was crying bitterly and trembling all over ..." (269)

[38] Blue Book is a term that dates back to the 15th century used for the compilation of statistics and information in blue covered books kept by the Parliament in the United Kingdom.

[39] In *The Colonial Conan Doyle: British Imperialism, Irish Nationalism, and the Gothic* (2002), Catherine Wynne writes an entire session on the relationship between Conan Doyle and Casement and about how the former influenced the latter to adhere to Irish Home Rule "Doyle's allusion to Ireland in his catalogue of colonization is notable. Sometime between 1911 and 1912, probably partially as a result of Casement's influence, Doyle became converted to the principle of Irish Home Rule (105).

harmonize his familial traditions. They became central to an understanding of the author as they explain his vocation and non-literary pursuits, and they clarify 'shadows surrounding his work'" (Wynne 3). Thus, according to Wynne this duality "converges biographically in Conan Doyle and replicates in his writing and his public career" (3). This "convergence" is clear in *TLW*, where one is able to trace resonances of the aftermath of British Imperialism and Irish nationalism as a result of his meeting the British Consul Roger Casement.

As reported by biographer Martin Booth, "He [Casement] and Conan Doyle met in 1910, shortly before Casement left for Peru, and they kept in correspondence"[40] (759). Booth traces the circumstances of their meeting as dating back from the aftermath of the Berlin Conference, which handed over to Belgian King Leopold II the administration of the Congo in 1885. The Congo Reform Association (CRA), run by E.D. Morel and Casement, had approached many influential writers for support, including Conan Doyle. According to Booth, in 1909, after meeting the journalist E. D. Morel, Conan Doyle "put his back to the wheel and went into a Sherlock Homesian retreat to his study ..." and this resulted in the pamphlet *The Crime of the Congo*[41], written in eight days "by a burning indignation" (Booth 679).

Wynne also dedicates a section of her study to the relationship between Conan Doyle and Casement, on how the former influenced the latter to adhere to Irish Home Rule: "Doyle's allusion to Ireland in his catalogue of colonization is notable. Sometime between 1911 and 1912, probably partially as a result of Casement's influence, Doyle became converted to the principle of Irish Home Rule." (105) Yet, Conan Doyle's stance changed at the outbreak of World War I, when the Sinn Feiners[42] opposed to Britain and sided with Germany. Conan Doyle was in favour of Home Rule in Ireland

[40] It is important to underscore that the only letters available are those from Arthur Conan Doyle to Roger Casement, held at the National Library of Ireland, and most were published by historian Angus Mitchell in *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness: 1911 Documents*. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2004. In this dissertation I have consulted both original sources and the published version.

[41] *The Crime of the Congo,* a pamphlet denouncing the atrocities committed in the Belgian Congo Free State, first circulated in 1909. In the "Preface", Conan Doyle writes: "There are many of us in England who consider the crime which has been wrought in the Congolands by King Leopold II of Belgium and his followers to be the greatest which has ever been known in human annals". In his account, Conan Doyle recognizes the relevance of Casement's report: "In 1904, this policy of reticence was abandoned, and the historic report of Consul Roger Casement confirmed, and in some ways amplified, all that had reached Europe from other sources." (57)

[42] Sinn Fein, whose name in Gaelic stands for "ourselves alone" is an Irish political party, founded in 1905 by Irish writer and politician, Arthur Griffith.

only if it meant staying loyal and within the Empire. Shortly after War was declared, when Casement began to enquire about German support against Britain, Conan Doyle believed he was insane, describing him in his autobiography as a "fine man inflicted with mania" (Doyle, "Casement Insane" 761). After Casement's death sentence was placed, Conan Doyle thought that if Casement were in fact to be executed, the British government would transform him into a martyr for the Irish nationalists, as well as propaganda coup for Germany in a time of war.

Conan Doyle contributed 700 pounds for Casement's defence, and he wrote and organized a petition to Prime Minister Herbert Asquith in which he stated that although Casement might have been guilty of treachery, he should not be executed. Clemency, he argued, "would soothe the bitter feelings in Ireland and make a favourable impression throughout the Empire and abroad" (qtd. in Booth 455). The petition was signed by illustrious connections such as: Arnold Bennett, G. K. Chesterton, John Galsworthy, John Drinkwater, Israel Zangwill, Jerome K. Jerome and John Mansfield, whereas H.G. Wells, Joseph Conrad, and Rudyard Kipling refused to sign (Booth 456).

Even when copies of the *Black Diaries* were later distributed by the British Government, which caused a number of the signatories to withdraw their support, Conan Doyle kept with his views that they bore no relevance to the charge of treason. Instead, he advocated for Casement to be classified as a Prisoner of War. In spite of that, Conan Doyle's pleas were irrelevant to the court's final statement and Casement was hanged on 3 August 1916[43]. Although even after Casement's execution Conan Doyle continued to maintain that it was an unfair trial, little was done to undo the wrongs committed to Casement after his death, as it will be discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Conan Doyle, however, did contribute to Casement's legacy by immortalizing him in the character of Lord John Roxton, in *TLW*.

Early Origins of *The Lost World*

Although the actual inception of *TLW* is uncertain, critics and biographers, like Martin Booth, have made an effort to trace a couple of sources that might have inspired Conan

[43] According to Martin Booth, one of the consequences of his support of Casement was that Conan Doyle lost a chance to be elevated to the House of Lords, as it had cost him a baronetcy at the time of war.

Doyle. Booth affirms that *TLW* did not derive exclusively from the writer's rich imagination; the creator of Sherlock Holmes enacted "his hunt for realism" as he looked to "[Percy] Fawcet and [Henry Walter] Bates for some of his descriptions [and] he also relied upon newspaper reports of other parts of Brazil" (Booth 731). Conan Doyle's research comes through in *TLW*, for its geographical background is exquisitely drawn, and bears resemblance to Mount Roraima, located in a frontier region between Venezuela, Brazil and Guiana, where there are hundreds of *tepuis*, or table-like plateaus, whose difficult accesses make most of them unexplored to this day (Booth 426).

I will show how, amongst Conan Doyle's sources, the correspondence belonging to British Consul Roger Casement, who was on a mission to the Putumayo, from late 1910 to early 1911, should be closer examined. The extent to which Casement's journey influenced Conan Doyle is uncertain[44], yet there are elements in the letters that suggest Casement did supply the writer with important raw material about South America that seem to have been stitched into the fabric of *TLW*. In Conan Doyle's earliest letter to Casement, he writes:

> I envy you your journey up the Amazon. What an experience! I have a sort of wild boy's book in my head. The idea roughly is that news reach a group in England of a peculiar place in the unexplored parts at the head of one of the tributaries of the Amazon. At this spot a considerable plateau has been elevated many years ago, and left with cliffs all round which forbid access. On the 40 square mile of the top the extinct flora and fauna still live, dinosaurs, mastodons, & a weird prehistoric race up the trees. My group go there, take photos and have wondrous adventures. This is a fine idea, I think. Now if you hear of anything

[44] Unfortunately, according to Angus Mitchell: "While Casement clearly wrote to Conan Doyle on more than one occasion during his 1911 journey, none of Casement's letters have, to date, come to light". (*The 1911 Documents* 683).

> weird and strange let me know, and I'll sew it with my patchwork quilt (5/08/1910, NLI)[45].

Here, Conan Doyle compliments his friend on his adventures and then shares with him the creative process of writing *TLW*. Doyle's feeling envious of Casement's Amazon journey is further proof that they kept in touch and exchanged previous details about this exotic experience. Casement is told a brief summary of the plot of the novel and becomes familiar with its setting. He is also asked to keep an eye on strange happenings that he should find interesting enough to be recorded for Conan Doyle to add to his patchwork quilt. By using the term "quilt", Conan Doyle implies that *TLW* is made up of many "patches" of stories, some of them are likely to have been provided by the then British Consul.

This process can be also observed in the following excerpt of a letter written in 30 August 1911, where Conan Doyle, once more, commends Casement on the adventurous life he was leading, and on his efforts to reveal the atrocities that were committed against the Indians: "What a wonderful life you live! And how much good you have done! You should be a happy man. I will be anxious to hear again and learn how things are with you." (Doyle to Casement qtd. in Mitchell, *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness* 683) Next, Conan Doyle mentions once more his idea of writing a novel that would make reference to the atrocities that Casement was investigating:

> Your Amazonian voyage will lack the novelty which made it of interest before. I do hope you will do a novel. […] My own (which makes some progress) is frankly Jules Vernes and fantastic so that no sober cause could be the better for it. I have occasion to allude to rubber atrocities but in the very nature of the book it is hopeless to try any good by it. I live, like yourself, in South America, but in a more remarkable region than any which you have encountered. You will smile indulgently when you read it. […] (Doyle to Casement qtd. in *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness* 683).

[45] Also quoted as a footnote in Angus Mitchell's *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, p. 378. However, I transcribed it from the original manuscript, and, therefore, it differs slightly from Mitchell's

This letter points to the fact that both men had been recurrently exchanging letters, for Conan Doyle was aware that Casement would return to the Amazon region to follow up on the way the criminals were being handled by Peruvian authorities after his report had been handed in to the Foreign Office: "Your Amazonian voyage will lack the novelty which made it of interest before." Moreover, another aspect of this letter that calls attention is the way in which Conan Doyle asserts that *TLW* would have no serious social implications. He affirms that "no sober cause could be the better for it", and he suggests there is no intention to raise his readership's awareness on the Putumayo issue. Still and all, I will demonstrate that this is not what actually happens.

Two years later, as in the following letter from Conan Doyle to Casement, the story finally came out:

> My story 'The Lost World' begins to sell in the stand in April, but it won't come out as a book until November. I'll send it along when it does. It will certainly tell you some things about the hinterland of the Amazon which you have never known. I get quietly off the river into a land of my own. It has one character which is about the best I ever drew (NLI, MS: R1271, 1912).[46]

This quote suggests that Conan Doyle sought to engage Casement in the process of the making of *TLW*, seeing that he received a copy of the book once it came out. Moreover, I interpret the passage where Conan Doyle tells Casement that *TLW* would unveil "some thing about the hinterland of the Amazon" he had never known, in that he is actually telling Casement about the plot of the novel itself. *TLW* is divided in two parts. The first part revolves around an expedition being sent to Maple White Land, in the heart of the Amazon forest, to inquire if pre-historic life existed or not. The second part concerns the expedition getting trapped in Conan Doyle's plateau, the fictional lost world from where the group have to find their way out.

In the aforementioned excerpt, Conan Doyle implies that the first section of the novel might be familiar to Casement, who, like his character Lord Roxton, was sent to the Peruvian Amazon as a member of a Commission of Inquiry to investigate if rumours

[46] Transcribed from the original document, held at the National Library of Ireland.

of atrocities committed against the Indians were true. According to Conan Doyle's letter, Casement should be familiar with the plot of *TLW* until the moment when the expedition reach a river belonging to the Amazon region, for it is where Casement's investigation took place, and from where he sent letters to Conan Doyle. Nonetheless, it is the second part about the group entering Conan Doyle's fantastic pre-historic territory that would reveal to Casement facts about the "hinterland of the Amazon" which he had never known. The focus of this study is on the first part of the novel, until the expedition reach the lost world, for this is also a chapter of Casement's own history.

It is also relevant to draw attention to the fact that *TLW* was published in 1912, the same year Casement's Putumayo report on the treatment of the Indians, native to the Amazon, and of the Barbadians, British subjects, was published in London as an official Blue Book. Furthermore, in June 1911 Casement was granted Knighthood by George V in recognition of his actions in the Putumayo. Therefore, a while before Conan Doyle published *TLW*; the British Consul was revered in Britain as a hero for getting the truth out to the world through his written words. It is this facet of Casement's subjectivity that the reader has access to via Lord John Roxton, his fictional double.[47]

Literary elements in *The Lost World:* Setting, Characters and Structure

The plot of *TLW* is weaved around the ordinary life of the journalist and first person narrator, Ed Malone, who, in order to impress his girlfriend, Gladys, accepts the task of interviewing Professor George Edward Challenger[48] who had been singled out by the Royal Society in London for claiming to have found evidence of prehistoric life in the heart of the Amazon forest. After a scientific gathering, Ed Malone, along with the adventurer Lord Roxton and professor Sumerlee, Challenger's scientific antagonist, go on an expedition to the tropics in order to discover if there was, in fact, prehistoric life

[47] As *TLW* was published in 1912, previously to Casement's alleged treachery, imprisonment and trial, the *Black Diaries* were still unknown. Thus, Casement as the homosexual and traitor to the Crown, are completely, and obviously, absent from Conan Doyle's fictional portrayal of him.

[48] *TLW* is the novel where Prof. George Edward Challenger appears for the first time.

in this preserved lost world. This quest is successful, and evidence in the form of a pterodactyl is presented to a scientific committee in England.

Malone is an Irish character, loosely modelled on E.D. Morel co-founder of the CRA along with Casement, which Doyle also actively supported. At the outset, Malone made it clear to the reader that, while on the expedition, he would write a journal in which he would register everyday happenings to McArdle, editor of the *The Gazette*, newspaper where he worked and who assigned him the mission of interviewing Challenger:

> And now, my patient readers, I can address you directly no longer. From now onwards, (if indeed any continuation of this narrative should ever reach you) it can only be through the paper which I represent. In the hands of the editor I leave this account of the events which have led up to one of the most remarkable expeditions of all time, so that if I never return to England there shall be some record as to show how the affair came about (*TLW* 72).

Travel writing in the form of journals and of letters was at the time an important means of bringing out the news about an unexplored place, as was the case of the Amazon in the early 20th century. In a similar way to the configuration of the novel – that would not exist without Malone's travel accounts in the form of letters to McArdle – Casement wrote letters to Conan Doyle from the Putumayo whose factual content seems to have been transformed and thus grafted into the texture of the fictional account of *TLW*. Yet, the gaps between fact and fiction remain to be filled by the reader who is aware of both historical and fictional narratives. According to postmodern theorist Linda Hutcheon:

> History and fiction have always been notoriously porous genres, of course. At various times both have included in their elastic boundaries such form as the travel tale and various versions of what we now call sociology. It is not surprising that there would be overlapping of concern and even mutual influences between

the two genres (*Historiographical Metafiction* 106).

Thus, Hutcheon explains that the line between fact and fiction is not always a clear one to draw, and this ambiguity prevails in *TLW* in the sense that, apart from the fantastic presence of the dinosaurs in the novel, one cannot precisely tell what belongs to travelogues written by Casement and other explorers, from what is the fictional crafting of the fictional author. There are, however, clues left by the creator of Sherlock Holmes that will enable a sagacious reader to spot references to the life of Roger Casement in terms of the creation of the setting, the characters, and the plot itself.

The element that first stands out in the novel, as already mentioned, is the "exotic" tropical setting. The story begins in urban London, and as the narrative subsequently shifts to South America once the expedition arrives in the city of Manaos, in Brazil, a link with civilization is maintained. Before long, the characters enter the Amazon forest and finally reach their destiny: Maple White Land. This plateau was named as such by Professor Challenger who had been there two years before and found the body of Maple White, an American explorer who died but left behind a travel journal. Challenger had, since, kept this notebook that contained insightful drawings of the place and of the prehistoric animals that lived on that spot. Professor Challenger claimed that being a basaltic, and therefore plutonic continent, South America was full of isolated cliffs and *tepui*-plateaus that provided the natural conditions for the preservation of creatures that might otherwise have disappeared.

By tracing the influence of Casement's Putumayo experience in Conan Doyle's work, it is noteworthy to explore the way in which the setting of *TLW* resembles real South American sites. This can be affirmed in a statement made to the British Home Office by Dr. Herbert Spencer Dickey[49], who was posted in the Peruvian Amazon Company, where he met Casement in 1911. In his statement, Dickey affirms that the Consul had to deal with a huge amount of correspondence, and he calls attention to the letters that Casement exchanged with Conan Doyle:

[49] Dr. Herbert Spencer Dickey was a North American physician whom Roger Casement met in the Amazon. They travelled together during most of Casement's 1911 mission in the Putumayo and was important in trying to prove Casement's innocence during his trial. He was connected to the Peruvian Amazon Company and wrote the account *Misadventures of a Tropical Medico* (1929) about the time he spent in Colombia.

> […] Among his letters was one of several sheets which he displayed to me, saying it was from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle […] Previously we had a conversation about Conan Doyle, who, Sir Roger informed me, was writing a book called *TLW*, for which Casement claimed to have supplied the setting. According to Sir Roger, Doyle had inquired if there was, along the Amazon but separated from it by a considerable distance, **a high plateau**. He responded that there was and described its main features. Doyle had used it in his story. (Dickey, qtd. in *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness.* Emphasis given by the editor)[50].

Dickey's words give strength to the argument that the fictional lost world, where the dinosaurs and the ape-men[51] inhabited, was located in the Amazon. Hence, Casement could have provided Conan Doyle with specific information about this plateau in terms of its geographic features, climate and vegetation. The researcher John Lavas[52] affirms that other researchers have tried to locate this plateau, and that Maple White Land recalls two distinct geographic regions:

> […] Mt Roraima (*tepui*) on the border of Venezuela, Brazil and Guyana was probably the main inspiration for Conan Doyle, while another was the Ricardo Franco Hills where Fawcett almost met an untimely fate during an expedition to the River Verde on the Bolivian-Brazilian border in 1908. Maple White Land

[50] Dr. Dickey's Statement was given to the Home Office long after Casement's death, on 16 May 1938, and it is published in the "Appendix" of *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness*, by Angus Mitchell.

[51] For the sake of curiosity, it is worth mentioning that the ape-men in the novel refer to the Piltdown Man, one of the longest enduring hoaxes in history. In 1912, an amateur archaeologist claimed to have found a skull he believed to be the link to the evolution of man. One hundred years later, it was discovered that the Piltdown was a composite of a human skull and the jaw of an orangutan. It is also alleged that Arthur Conan Doyle was involved in the hoax. The are several references to this hoax in *TLW*. McArdle, the editor of the newspaper, told Malone before he met Professor Challenger, that the Scientific committee thought him a forger and did not believe in his photograph of a pterodactyl flying over the plateau: "if you are clever and you know your business you can fake a bone as easily as you can a photograph." (41)

[52] John Lavas is a researcher from Auckland, New Zealand who edited in the year 2000 a volume of the 90th anniversary *The Lost World*, along with comments and essays, and the 2012 centenary edition.

> does indeed have elements of both places. […] (Lavas, "Arthur Conan Doyle's Lost World", n. pag.)

In order to explore the way in which the style of travel writing shapes the setting of *TLW*, I refer to theorist David Spurr, who discusses the importance of the act of "surveillance" for the travel writer to inspect and to describe a certain site. Spurr adds that the rhetorical convention of the "sweeping mastery of a scene" was "an important feature of nineteenth-century poetry and fiction as well as of the narratives of explorers such as Mungo Park and Sir Richard Burton." (17) Spurr also recalls how this way of seeing was practiced by Victorian explorers to convey "moments of important geographic discovery." (17) Spurr mentions how Henry Morton Stanley, British explorer in Africa, "made use of the rhetorical method of placing himself on some noble coign of vantage" (18) in order to survey the scene below. Likewise, in *TLW* these features of travel writing are applied in the account by Ed Malone once the expedition reach the plateau for the first time:

> Close to us was the high thin pinnacle of rock which I believe I mentioned earlier in this narrative. It is like a broad red church spire, the top of it being level with the plateau, but a great chasm gaping between. On the summit of it there grew one high tree. Both pinnacle and cliff were comparatively low – some five or six hundred feet (*TLW*104).

In this quote, analogously to late 19th and early 20th century explorers, Malone performs the "sweeping mastery of the scene" by placing himself in a "coign of vantage" when facing the Amazonian plateau, and depicts it to his reader. Malone makes use of a rhetorical trope that Spurr defines as "parataxis", which is, a means of description whereby visual elements are placed side by side. By the mid-nineteenth century this technique had become a "standard adaptation of language to the scientific method, in which the process of knowing the world became largely a matter of establishing natural objects as visually accessible" (Tafford, 34, qtd. in Spurr, 18). The use of parataxis is manifest in the aforementioned account of the fictional journalist and narrator of

TLW, as Malone describes the geographic elements surrounding him by juxtaposing them: the crag, the pinnacle, the plateau, the chasm and the summit.

In the late 19th, early 20th centuries, travel writing in the form of letters and journals had the aim of transmitting information to the European centre about a distant place. Though Conan Doyle might not have had the direct experience of gazing at the South American plateaus that he describes in *TLW*, it is likely that he appropriated aspects and impressions of other travel writers of such places, including those of Roger Casement. Thus, I draw on Kristeva's concept of intertextuality, where a text is a mosaic of other texts, which results in a dialogic relation that can be observed between the text of the *TLW* and travel accounts in the form of Conan Doyle's letters to Casement, as shown.

The second element of the novel that must be underscored is the way in which Conan Doyle might have created his characters out of historical figures. In this regard, the character Lord John Roxton[53] might have been based on aspects of Sir Roger Casement, who was working for the British Crown at the time that Conan Doyle was writing the novel. In *TLW* there is direct reference to a specific moment in history, which was Casement's Putumayo investigation. The descriptions of the character Lord John Roxton, physically and in terms of personality by Ed Malone, suggests resemblance to the historical figure Roger Casement:

> No wonder the ginger-headed man with the silky voice and the free and easy manners was now looked upon with deep interest upon the banks of the great South American river though the feeling he inspired were naturally mixed, since the gratitude of the natives was equalled by the resentment of those who desired to exploit them. One result of his former experiences was that he could talk fluently in the Lingoa Geral, which is the peculiar talk one third Portuguese and two-thirds Indian, which is current all over Brazil. I have said before that Lord John Roxton was a South Americomaniac. He could not speak of that great country without ardour, and this ardour was infectious, for, ignorant as I was, he

[53] According to Martin Booth, "[...] Roxton was more firmly based on Casement, and Malone was modelled on Edmund Dene Morel" (Booth 425).

> fixed my attention and stimulated my curiosity. How I wish I could reproduce the glamour of his discourses, the peculiar mixture of accurate knowledge and racy imagination which gave them their fascination […] He would tell the history of the mighty river so mightily explored […] and yet so unknown in regard to all that lay behind its ever-changing banks (*TLW* 80-81).

Different from Lord John Roxton, Roger Casement was known to have had dark hair. Regardless of Lord Roxton being described as red-headed, a trait commonly associated with the Irish, can be read as an indirect reference to both men's Celtic origins. Malone also mentions Lord Roxton's gentle voice, his being at ease with the tropical environment, his ability to learn local idioms as Portuguese, Spanish and native languages, and the stories he told about his excursions along the mighty Amazon river. These traits, coupled with Lord Roxton's passionate discourses on the injustice that was being done to the indigenous peoples, whom he thought were no different from their masters, are features that could be easily applied to Casement[54].

Interestingly, Joseph Conrad says similar things about his companion Roger Casement in the Congo in his 1903 correspondence with John Quinn.[55] Conrad compares the Irishman's journeys into the forest to a "stroll in the park", his "swinging a crookhandled stick for all weapon" and his ability "to hold 'palavers' with the neighbouring village chiefs". (100-101) These features of Casement's personality – that can also be applied to fictional Lord John Roxton – led Conrad to associate him with

[54] In *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary*, there are many descriptions of Casement's appearance by his friends: to journalist and friend E.D. Morel, he had "A long, lean, Vandyck type of face, graven with power and withal of great gentleness. An extraordinary and arresting face." (182) To Eoin MacNeill, one of the Irish Volunteers founders: "His dark earnest eyes gazed out from a the spare features of an enthusiast. He was handsome mainly because of the earnestness of his expression; he spoke eagerly and convincingly …" (365)

[55] "I send you two letters I had from a man called Casement, premising that I knew him first in the Congo just 12 years ago. Perhaps you've heard or seen in print his name. He's a protestant Irish man, pious too. But so was Pizarro. For the rest I can assure you that he is a limpid personality. There is a touch of the conquistador in him too; for I have seen him start off into an unspeakable wilderness swinging a crookhandled stick for all weapon, with two bulldogs, Paddy (white) and Biddy (Brindle) at his heels and a Loanda boy carrying a bundle for all company. A few months afterwards it so happened that I saw him come out again, a little leaner, a little browner, with his sticks, dogs, and Loanda boy, and quietly serene as though he had been for a stroll in a park. […] I have always thought some particle of La Casas' soul had found refuge in his indefatigable body." (Letter to Robert Cunninghame Graham, 26 December 1903 – *The collected letters of Joseph Conrad*, Vol. 3, Cambridge UP, p 100-101).

Spanish Friar Bartholomé de las Casas, known as the protector of the Latin American Indians.

Before the expedition head to *TLW*, Malone once more meets Lord Roxton, his expedition partner, at the latter's house in order to discuss particularities of the journey they were about to undertake. There, among a collection of relics gathered during his travels, Lord Roxton points at one of his rifles and recounts to Malone a previous affair with which he had been involved in the Putumayo some years before:

> That's the rifle that I used against the Peruvian slave-drivers three years ago. I was the flail of the Lord up in those parts, I may tell you, though you won't find it in any Blue Book. There are times, young fellah, when every one of us must take a stand for human right and justice, or you never feel clean again. That's why I made a little war on my own. […] Each one of those nicks is for a slave murderer – a good row of them what? That big one is for Pedro Lopez, the king of them all, that I killed in a backwater of the Putumayo River (*TLW* 69).

The excerpt above discloses the way in which Conan Doyle crafts the character Lord Roxton as an amalgam of fiction and history, for this is a fictionalized version of Casement's mission in the Putumayo. Here, like Conrad's description of Casement, the adventurous Lord Roxton is portrayed heroically. Like de las Casas, he is eager to take justice into his own hands, having killed with his rifle the slave driver and murderer Pedro Lopez, an occurrence that, according to Malone, will not be registered in any official Blue Book. This is also a clear reference to Casement's two Blue Books, the one on his Congo mission published in 1904, and the one on the atrocities committed to the Putumayo Indians in which he kept the names of the Peruvian wrongdoers that would be published in 1912, the same year that *TLW* came out. If we consider this excerpt as a reference to the Congo report, which had the names of the Belgian authorities involved erased from the document, one may infer that what is written for official purposes does not always encompass the totality of facts, and that even heroic figures, like Lord Roxton, could have hidden facets.

Although in *The Amazon Journal* there is no mention of Casement killing any man – he would not touch his rifle – in some passages he openly expresses his wish to kill some of the criminals in Peru, such as a man called Adán Negretti, who was at the service of the Peruvian Amazon Company:

> I have several times averred to Fox and other members of the Commission privately, viz.—that if, by chance, he surprised any of them in the act of flogging an Indian […] he would shoot the man without a moment's hesitation. I told him such had been my intention for sometime back. I did not add that I had loaded my revolver and had it ready on Wednesday last in the Muinanes house, on the road down from Andokes, in case Negretti had arrived in the night and begun to maltreat the sick woman. It is a strange thing perhaps, the only time I have thought even of using a revolver has been against a *racional* employee of the Company. I have never otherwise had it near me, it has been carried by one of the servants or locked up. (Casement, qtd. in *The Amazon Journal* 310)

In the aforementioned excerpt, an important parallel between the historical figure Casement and the character Lord Roxton can be drawn in terms of the role that they played in Brazil and Peru during the rubber boom. Both Lord Roxton and Casement are portrayed heroically and this is shown in their rage against the ill-treatment of the indigenous populations, which is directed at the Peruvian slave drivers: Pedro Lopez, who Lord Roxton kills in *TLW*, and Negretti who Casement wishes to kill in *The Amazon Journal*.

In *TLW*, although Malone was aware of his companion's great knowledge of South America, he mentions that Roxton "[…] spoke little of his own exploits in Brazil and Peru." Nevertheless, Malone was surprised to see how the exploits of the "Red Chief", the way Roxton was known among the natives, "had become legendary amongst the riverine native, who looked upon [Roxton] as their champion and protector" (77). Malone, then, narrates what he calls "real facts" of Roxton's life:

> These were that Lord John had found himself some years before in that no-man's land which is formed by the half-defined frontiers between Peru, Brazil, and Colombia. In this great district the wild rubber tree flourishes and has become, as in the Congo, a curse to the natives […] A handful of villainous half-breeds dominated the country, armed such Indians as would support them, and turned the rest into slaves, terrorizing them with the most inhuman tortures in order to force them to gather the India-rubber, which was then floated down to river Para. Lord John Roxton expostulated on behalf of the wretched victims and received nothing but threats and insults for his pains. He then formally declared war against Pedro Lopez, the leader of the slave-drivers, enrolled a band of runaway slaves in his service, armed them, and conducted a campaign, which ended by his killing with his own hands the notorious half-breed and breaking down the system which he represented (*TLW* 78).

This passage details the facts of Lord John's life that are intimately connected to Casement's. Both fictional and historical figures feel disappointed and disillusioned towards the system of exploitation that was imposed upon the Putumayo Indians. In *TLW*, Lord John literally arms the Indians, declares war against the employees of the Company and ultimately kills one of them, Pedro Lopez. Similarly, Casement expresses in *The Amazon Journal* that he was inclined to do what Lord John had done. During the process in which the revolutionary facet of Casement's identity begins to overshadow the imperialist one, the British Consul reveals his feelings towards the indigenous peoples and his wish to arm them against the villains: "I have more than sympathy—I would dearly love to arm them, to train them, and drill them to defend themselves against these ruffians" (Casement, qtd. in *The Amazon Journal* 310).

As a result of Casement's Putumayo investigation, he declares war against the way the rubber economy was being led in the Amazon, and thus played an important role in denouncing the atrocities committed by the Peruvian Amazon Company, toward the Amazonian Indians. Hence, Casement demonstrates against the violence inflicted

by imperial practice not by any killings – as it was done by Lord Roxton – but rather by writing the report in which, through words, he helped bring down the whole system of gathering rubber in Peru.

Aside from the setting and characters, the echoes of Casement's travelogues are also of interest in the third element that must be highlighted, which is the structure of *TLW*. The historical facts drawn from Casement's investigation on the rubber atrocities in the Peruvian Amazon are fundamental to the causality of the events and in the plot sequence. The use of Casement's travelogues to structure the narrative can be demonstrated in the sequence on page 69 where Lord Roxton first tells Ed Malone about his killing Pedro Lopez, the king of the murderers of the Indians, with his own rifle.

As a master of detective story writing Conan Doyle would not be casual with this reference, for he is committed to detail and is, according to the Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg, a follower of the Morellian method of analysing paintings by noticing traits as fingernails and earlobes in order to trace recurrent features that are unique to an artist's paintings. Although this is not a story written along the Sherlock Holmes lines, in the abovementioned excerpts Conan Doyle expects his readers to act as detectives in search of clues left by him to fill in the gaps between fact and fiction and to disclose important events in the narrative. Ginzburg states that both Morelli and Conan Doyle were trained physicians and this is, in some cases, the way to reach the correct diagnosis. For Conan Doyle, *TLW* reader should act as a "historian", who "is like the physician who uses nosographical tables to analyse the specific sickness in a patient. As with the physician's, historical knowledge is indirect, presumptive, conjectural" (Ginzburg 106).

In following the Morellian method applied by Conan Doyle in his detective stories, it can be deduced that the Putumayo account in *TLW* works as a clue that prefigures another event that plays a decisive role to the plot as the members of the expedition are trapped in the plateau, with no way out. Ed Malone writes about this in his journal: "We had turned away from the edge, and had penetrated about fifty yards of close brushwood, when there came a frightful rending crash from behind us. With one impulse we rushed back the way that we had come. The bridge was gone!" (*TLW* 127). The tree, whose trunk had served as a bridge from the continent to the plateau of Maple

White Land, had been cut by their guide named Gomez. The cutting of the bridge transfers to the present tense of the narrative an event that had occurred in the past:

> "We nearly killed you with a stone at the cave", he cried; "but this is better. It is slower and more terrible. Your bones will whiten up there, and none will know where you lie or come to cover them. As you lie dying, think of Lopez, whom you shot five years ago on the Putomayo River. I am his brother, and, come what will I will die happy now, for his memory has been avenged". A furious hand was shaken at us, and then all was quiet. (*TLW* 126-127).

This excerpt reveals that the Putumayo account provided by Casement becomes a key event that leads to the moment of climax in *TLW*, for it is the expedition guide, Gomez, who cuts the tree bridge as a way to revenge the killing of his brother, Lopez, by Lord John Roxton. As a result, Lord Roxon and the other members of the expedition are now trapped in this isolated plateau. After this moment, the narrative will take a significant turn, for practically the remainder of the novel focuses on the aim of the expedition to find the dinosaurs that Challenger believed to exist, and to keep themselves alive among the peculiar wildlife by which they were surrounded. The second part of *TLW*, where the commission finds and registers its encounter with the dinosaurs and the ape-men before returning to the "civilized world" will not be dealt with in this dissertation. Nevertheless, I suppose that these pre-historic beings trapped in the isolated plateau, could be read as an allegory of the forgotten native indigenous peoples of the Putumayo trapped within the boundaries of The Peruvian Company, which was "Arana's lost world", where violence, flogging and threat of death were norm, that could only be challenged by Casement's presence in the commission of inquiry that would ultimately bring the truth of the atrocities to light.

Given the evidence that Conan Doyle did correspond and keep in contact with Roger Casement at different moments of his life, I am led to believe that the former was inspired by the latter's travel journey accounts, particularly those that concern *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*. The role played by intertextuality could be seen in the creation of the setting, of the characters and of the structure of the plot, for

Casement's Putumayo account sets the context to the moment of climax that leads the expedition to being trapped into the exotic plateau inhabited by the pre-historic beings where most of the remaining action will take place. What follows is a brief discussion of the role played by Roger Casement and Lord Roxton via Michel Foucault's logics of "biopower", as well the implications of *TLW* as a means of raising the reader's consciousness in respect to the consequences of exploitation of rubber by a British Company.

The Lost World: Biopower and Imperialism

Lord John Roxton in *TLW,* as well as Roger Casement in the Putumayo, occupy an ambiguous position in relation to imperial Britain for they witness and question the traumatic historical process of imperialism. The character Lord Roxton is first and foremost a British explorer, who is also seen by the riverine natives as a hero. The same is experienced by Roger Casement, who is in the pay of the Crown as a British Consul and at the same time fighting for the cause of the Indians in the Peruvian Amazon. In this section, this kind of trauma will be conceptualized by the use of Michel Foucault's notion of "biopower".

In regard to their affiliation with the British Empire, Lord Roxton and Roger Casement can primarily be considered as what Foucault calls the "sovereign power". Yet, at the same time, both fictitious and historical figures witness the horrors that a company registered in London is capable of committing while supposedly "unwatched", namely, the unwonted slavery and death of the subjected native peoples in the Congo and in the Amazon. From this point onwards, I will explore the way in which Roxton's and Casement's dissatisfaction with imperialism unveils the mode of operation of the rubber industry and, at the same time, are responsible for inverting the logics of Foucault's "biopower".

Accusations of the Putumayo atrocities were first communicated locally by Peruvian Jew Benjamin Saldaña Rocca[56] in the newspapers *La Sanción* and *La Felpa*,

[56] After the accusing the Peruvian Amazon Company of committing atrocities against the Indians, Benjamin Saldaña Rocca fled Iquitos with his family in early 1908 and died a destitute in Lima (Mitchell, 1997, p. 216).

and began to reach Europe by the American explorer W.E. Hardenburg[57] in the periodical *Truth.*[58] Hardenburg had witnessed the ill-treatment of the Indians as rubber collectors as they suffered severe flogging and even death by the employees of the Peruvian Amazon Company. As a result, in 1910 the British government sent a Commission of Inquiry to the Amazon, and the Consul Roger Casement was charged with reporting on the veracity of the accusations. This is where the paths of Roger Casement and Conan Doyle's character Lord John Roxton intersect, as they both expose and eternalize this atrocious chapter of history.

The rest of the world was not aware of the Putumayo atrocities; for they were being strategically concealed in the name of the glamour of the first automobile mass-produced the Ford Model T (1908), whose pneumatic tyres required rubber. However, as a result of Casement's report, the London registered Peruvian Amazon Company's wrongdoing came to light. As it was shown, albeit somewhat superficially, Conan Doyle makes use of Casement's writings to expose in *TLW* the ideology that underpins the fetish of such a desired commodity in the face of a market whose demand for rubber was becoming greater and greater. Conan Doyle's inclinations to raise his readership's awareness of the consequences of the uncontrolled exploitation of the colonies, through stitching the patch of the Putumayo narrative into the quilt of *TLW*, is of interest especially given that in the first half of the 20th century Conan Doyle was already a popular writer in Europe.

As shown, during their journeys, Lord Roxton and Casement perceived that the extractive mode of rubber production taking place in the Putumayo functioned to the disadvantage of the native peoples' lives. In *TLW*, Roxton finds that in the great frontier district between Peru, Brazil and Colombia, "the wild rubber flourishes, and has become, as in the Congo, a curse to the natives which can only be compared to their forced labour under the Spaniards upon the old silver mines of Darien." (*TLW* 67) This

[57] Walter Ernest Hardenburg published, also in 1912, *The Putumayo, the devil's paradise; travels in the Peruvian Amazon region and an account of the atrocities committed upon the Indians therein,* about his horrific experience in the Putumayo: "Under the Peruvian republic and the regimen of absentee capitalism to-day, tribes of useful people of this same land have been defrauded, driven into slavery, ravished, tortured, destroyed [...] In order to obtain rubber so that luxurious-tyred motor cars of civilization might multiply in the cities of Christendom, the dismal forests of the Amazon have echoed with the cries of despairing and tortured Indian aborigines. These are not things of the imagination, but a statement of factual occurrence, as set forth by the various witnesses in this volume" (12).

[58] The periodical *Truth* was founded by the English politician Henry Labouchère in 1877.

deleterious relation between the sovereign and the natural environment and its inhabitants in colonial societies, brings to mind what Foucault's conceives of as "biopower":

> The right of life and death is exercised in an unbalanced way, generally tipped in favour of death. Sovereign's effect over life is only exercised when the sovereign can kill. The essence of the right of life and death is the right to kill. It is at the moment when the sovereign can kill that he exercises his right over life. It is essentially the right of the sword. It is the right to take life or let live – a startling dissymmetry. (*Society Must be Defended* 240)

Foucault claims that societies governed under these laws follow the "classical theory of sovereignty", according to which the sovereign power had the right over life and death. This meant that the sovereign could either "have people put to death or let them live, or that life and death are not natural phenomena, and which fall outside the field of power" (*Society Must be Defended* 240). This idea of the sovereign having the right over life and death is applicable to societies that have undergone imperialism such as the Putumayo, a disputed frontier region between Colombia, Peru and Brazil: three countries that had been under the imperial rule of the Spanish and the Portuguese. The sovereign powers – both the Peruvian ruling class and the complacent London headquarters – had dominion over this territory, and judged themselves superior in relation to the native Indians. The Peruvians and the British freely exercised the right to plunder the natural environment, extract natural resources as well as exploit and, ultimately kill the natives, in the name of modern day capitalism.

This unequal imperial system of sovereignty in the Putumayo, whereby the Indians were exterminated and the native trees were drastically plundered during the rubber boom, was finally put to an end as a result of, among other reasons, the successful cultivation of rubber trees in Asia and the investigation along with the report written by Roger Casement. Therefore, the excerpts of *TLW* and *The Amazon Journal* that have been discussed so far, point to a reversal in the logics of Foucault's "Biopower" put in practice in the Putumayo, for Roger Casement and Lord Roxton

wish to kill the Peruvian slave drivers who play the role of the sovereign absolute power, in order to save and empower the subjugated Indians.

Conan Doyle's *TLW* is to be commended for having eternalized in its few pages this forgotten chapter of the history of Brazil and Europe. Interestingly, one year after the publication of *TLW,* Conan Doyle was still concerned with the outcome of the Putumayo question as it is shown in the following excerpt from a letter to Casement in which he praises him and comments on Hardenburg's aforementioned book: "been reading 'The Putumayo' by Hardenburg. It makes me understand better what you have done. It was a great deed. Will these villains ever be punished!"[59]

TLW works as an insightful metaphor for the process of colonization itself, as it shows that unless a land is naturally unreachable to the civilized man it will not remain untouched; as Lord Roxton remarks before they reach Maple White Land: "'What is there?' He would cry pointing to the north. 'Wood and marsh and unpenetrated jungle. Who knows what it may shelter? And there to the south? A wilderness of swampy forest, where no white man has ever been. The unknown is setup against us on every side.'" (79) The dinosaurs, the ape-men, and that untouched environment only remained so in that they were located in a region that was of difficult access, surrounded by cliffs, crags and pinnacles; once discovered, named and mapped, it would become as exploited and depleted as the Amazonian Putumayo.

In this first section, the appropriation by Arthur Conan Doyle of the travel-writing genre as a means of transmitting news from a remote place to the metropolitan centre of London is presented. Secondly, the similarities first between both the historical and the geographical setting of Conan Doyle's novel and that of Casement's writings in terms of the Amazonian landscape and the Putumayo affair, which were contemporaneous to both Doyle and Casement, have been traced. Thirdly, the likenesses between Conan Doyle's Lord John Roxton and that of the historical figure Casement, out of whom the character may have been wrought, have been presented. Finally, the extent to which the Putumayo narrative becomes essential to the plot structure was discussed as with reference to Michel Foucault's concept of "biopower", *TLW* has potential to function as a metaphor for the imperialist process of exploitation itself. Although Doyle's true sources remain uncertain, Casement's echoes do reverberate between the lines of *TLW* either in the form of letters to the author, as stated

[59] June 8, 1913, Roger Casement Papers, NLI.

by Dickey, Booth, Wynne and Mitchell, or as registered in Casement's *Amazon Journal*. In tandem with Casement's potential presence in *TLW* was his and Roxton's actual time spent in the Putumayo, which led to their dissatisfaction with the treatment of the Indians inflicted by employees of the Peruvian Amazon Company.

In the second section of this chapter, I will discuss the way in which this heroic representation of Roger Casement is still maintained, although in a whole different context of the 1916 Easter Rising in Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*, in which Casement is still portrayed as a peripheral figure, despite all his efforts taking place five years before his execution, and inseparable from his homosexuality.

1.2 Casement at the Backstage of the 1916 Rising in At Swim, Two Boys (2001)

The novel *At Swim, Two Boys,*[60] by Jamie O'Neill, revolves around the story of two friends, Doyler Doyle and Jim Mack, who along with their "mentor" Anthony

[60] From this moment onwards, I will refer to *At Swim, Two Boys*, as *ASTB*.

MacMurrough, plan to swim out and claim Muglins Rock, an island in Dublin Bay, just before the outbreak of the 1916 Easter Rising, where Jim and Doyler plant a green Irish flag and consummate their love. What makes this novel unique among Irish historical fiction is the way in which "it is peopled with caricature of Irish revolutionaries and First World War Veterans, viewed from the dislocated perspective of adolescent homosexuality" (Patten 263). The excerpt below, which is an exchange between Anthony MacMurrough and the ghost of Scrotes, his dead lover and prison cellmate encapsulates the main themes of *ASTB*:

> - Help them make a nation, if not once again, then once for all.
>
> - What possible nation can you mean?
>
> - Like all nations, Scrotes answered, a nation of the heart. … The struggle for Irish Ireland is not for truth against untruth. It is not for the good against the bad, the beautiful against the unbeautiful … is for the heart, for its claims to stand in the light and cast a shadow its own in the sun.
>
> - Help these boys build a nation of their own. Ransack the histories for clues to their past. Plunder the literatures for words they can speak. And should you encounter an ancient tribe whose customs, however dimly, cast light on their hearts, tell them that tale; and you shall name the unspeakable names of your kind [...] (*ASTB* 286)

Here, two important issues can be highlighted: the first is the need to look into, and understand the past in order to build a "nation of the heart", one in which marginalized groups, more specifically the "unspeakables" who did not conform with the fixed social and gender categories of the time, would be able to step into the light, in other words, would be welcome and accepted. The second is the idea of building this "nation of the heart", that originally stems from the nationalist motto of "a nation once again"[61], as

[61] "A Nation Once Again" is the lyrics of a song written by Irish revolutionary Theobald Wolf Tone, and it refers to the dream of an Ireland independent from Britain. Wolf Tone was the founder of the United

place where the struggle for the independence of the Irish nation would coincide with the movement for individual freedom, where one has the right to choose whom to love, regardless of gender and social class.

Jamie O'Neill was born in London, in 1962, to Irish parents. He was raised in Dublin and went to school at the Presentation Brothers, in Glasthule.[62] Like many of his predecessors, O'Neill later immigrated to England where he lived for 20 years, 10 of which he worked as a night porter in a psychiatric institution. He is also the author of *Disturbance* (1989) and *Kilbrack* (1990), about the "tormented relationship existing between male selves and the hostile environment that surround their quest for true identity" (Oliva 186). Although these novels were not widely successful, they sowed the seeds that would later grow into his masterpiece, *At Swim, Two Boys,* published in 2001. According to Terry Pender, "With only this work O'Neill can take his rightful place among the great Irish writers beginning with Joyce and ending with Roddy Doyle[63]" (n. pag.).

The aim of this second section is to explore how *ASTB* approaches two instances of historical trauma of the Irish nation that can be associated with the figure of Roger Casement. Firstly, it investigates the way in which the trauma of making contentious overseas alliances, dating back to the 12th century, is mirrored in the years that preceded the 1916 Rebellion. Secondly, it focuses on the trauma of sexual politics and how it reverberates in contemporary Ireland, for O'Neill does in *ASTB* what is also proposed by Scrotes in the aforementioned quotation: the need to look into the past to talk about the present. Under the light of trauma theory, I understand that Roger Casement's oblique presence in the backstage of the novel does not imply his exclusion from the nationalist project of turning Ireland into a "nation once again". On the contrary, Casement's oblique presence looms anachronistically over Scrotes' ambitious idea of

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Irishmen, inspired by the ideals of French Revolution, who advocated for Irish Republicanism. He was involved in the first Irish Rebellion that took place in 1978, which turned out unsuccessful.

[62] This is the same school depicted in *ASTB*, which the character Jim Mack attends as a scholarship student.

[63] Roddy Doyle is a prolific Irish writer of novels and plays that focus on marginalized groups of Dublin society, chiefly those belonging to the poorer north side of the city. Critical of nationalism, Doyle also writes about the 1916 Rising under the perspective of the Dublin underdog in *A Star Called Henry* (1999) part of the Roundup trilogy, such as the MA thesis *Entrelaçando temporalidades:* passado e presente em *A Star Called Henry* (2014), de Roddy Doyle**,** by Camila Batista.

building "a nation of the heart", where the struggle for the independence of Ireland would coincide with the movement for individual freedom.

The contemporary (Historical) Novel and *At Swim, Two Boys*

It is important to begin this section by briefly expounding on the context in which the Irish contemporary novel arose and the way it is intrinsically political. According to theorist John Wilson Foster, the varying literary contexts of the Irish Contemporary Novel "keep pace with the cultural and political situations in which it is written" for it has firstly "had [its] impact on the society out of which the novel springs" (11).

In this regard, Eve Patten ("Contemporary Irish Fiction") links the socio-political changes that occurred after the election of Mary Robinson in 1990, when the economic prosperity brought by the Celtic Tiger period reached its peak, to the fact the Irish began to see themselves as modern Europeans. Patten considers that the impact of the politics of this time on the making of Irish contemporary fiction is quite clear for "Where political culture led, writers followed" and the 1990s saw a publishing boom where "the Irish novel repeatedly highlighted the institutional and ideological failings of the country, tracing the haltering progress of Ireland's cultural, sexual and economic evolution, and foregrounding its voices of dissent" (Patten 259).

Gerry Smyth (qtd. in Patten) contends that the "New Irish Fiction" was less philosophical and idealist, becoming more matter-of-fact and realist: "Less of an intellectual and more of an artisan the new Irish novelist is concerned to narrate the nation as it has been and is, rather than how it should and might have been" (259), and this is the underlying idea in Jamie O'Neill's *ASTB*, for it is a novel focused on the nation as it was: on the lives of ordinary Irishmen who participated in the notorious 1916 Easter Rising, to fight for an independent Irish nation, but also who had reasons of their own. From this perspective, Patten affirms that the fiction of the contemporary period is better categorized as post-national[64] than as post-colonial, for its birth coincides with the birth of Ireland as a nation.

[64] The term postnational has been discussed by Richard Kearney in *Postnationalist Ireland* (1997), where he addresses the sectarian conflict between the North and the South of Ireland. I believe that by using the term "post-national" to refer to *ASTB*, Patten implies a break from the post-colonial paradigm that has as its core the binary opposition between colonizer and colonized, for a new kind of literature would, in fact,

It is also relevant to this study what Patten points out in relation to Irish historical fiction, which provides "a relevant departure point for the survey of the contemporary Irish novel" (260). Patten explains how historical novels of the 1980's and 1990's still shared the "big house"[65] framework as well binary oppositions concerning Protestant aristocracy and Irish peasantry. In contrast, this historical novel approached Irish history under a new light as it focused less on "broad national narratives" in favour of "micro histories obscured by summary and generalization" (260).

In the Irish historical novel the imagined past is well documented, "resourced with analytic skill and authentic data", at the same time that it strategically reviews "the key events of the century from ironic or marginal positions" (Patten 263). This kind of creative process is clear in *ASTB*, as it is a novel that tells the "micro-story" of ordinary Irishmen, and the individual significance that the broad nationalist narrative of the Easter Rising had in their lives. In an interview to Jonathan Padget for the *Metro Weekly*, Jamie O'Neill explains that he did extensive research "to get the history right, just to get the swing of it in [his] head" (n. pag.), and that his choice of looking back to the 1916 Easter Rising enabled him to tackle the complexity of being Irish and being a homosexual at the turn of the century Ireland:

> 1916 is the soul of my country. You don't talk to your country any other way. Irish people are a bit annoyed about it in a way. It's nearly a sacred event in Ireland, and some people are slightly appalled that I should be doing this. The other strand of Irish thinking is, "It's all history. Why is he dragging that up? Why

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emerge with the founding of the Irish nation, a process that began in 1916. Hence, Kearney advocates for a "transition from nationalism to a post-nationalism which preserves what is valuable in the respective cultural memories of nationalism (Irish and British), while superseding them" (969). To Kearney postnationalism "does not solicit a liquidation of the past, but its reinterpretation, or *Aufhebung*", which means to suspend, or sublate" (69) and this argument can certainly be applied to the kind of inclusive nationalism proposed in *ASTB* by Jamie O'Neill.

[65] The Big House novel is that which is about the downfall the Anglo-Irish Ascendency, which began in 1919, after the 1916 Revolution, at the brink of the Irish Civil War. The Irish nationalists, who considered the Big House as a symbol of the Anglo-Irish rule, burned most of these properties to mark the beginning of a new era of Irish republicanism.

> can't he address our current concerns?" But see, my current concerns are being gay and Irish. This is how I address it. (Jamie O'Neill, *Metro Weekly* n. pag.)

Consequently, as previous critics have pointed out[66] in terms of content, *ASTB* is an example of a historical narrative being told from the marginal perspective of the "gay and Irish" (*Metro Weekly*). North American scholar Joseph Valente ("Race/Sex/Shame") claims that *ASTB* is a coming of age tale both of the Irish nation and of the discovery of homosexual love between the two boys, Jim Mack and Doyler Doyle; it is, thus, the tale of the 1916 Easter Rising told from the point of view of the marginalized homosexual. In terms of form, according to Eve Patten, *ASTB* "flirts with pastiche mode" (263), as it is possible to pinpoint traces of the language used by other celebrated Irish writers such as James Joyce, Sean O'Casey, Flann O'Brien and Oscar Wilde. Thus, Patten concludes that the "confidence with which recent generations of writers drawing on tactics of subversion and irony, [update] the historical novel, already a strong player in the Irish canon, towards a contemporary ideological non-conformism" (qtd. in Foster 263).

Editors of *Contemporary Irish Fiction: Themes, Tropes, Theories* (2000), Liam Harte and Michael Parker have noted that, the contemporary Irish novel "frame[s] the history which itself has framed them" (2) as in a *mise en abyme* style. Therefore, "they claim that the private individual experience often becomes an illuminative metaphor of the public and national identity" (Harte and Parker 2). In addition, according to Harte and Parker, while this kind of novel "deals with specific situations and characters which may or may not have been treated in fictional form before, many also bear the imprint of unresolved political and cultural narratives and debates, and of other texts that have engaged with them" (2).

[66] *At Swim, Two Boys* has been extensively written on, however, not under the perspective of the fictional character Roger Casement. The most prominent critics are David Halperin in the review "Pal O' Me Heart" (2003), Joseph Valente in "Race/Sex/Shame: The Queer Nationalism of *At Swim, Two Boys*" (2005), Josie Medd "'Patterns of the Possible': National Imaginings and Queer Historical (Meta)Fictions in Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*" (2007), John Brannigan "'The Battle for the GPO': Literary Revisionism in Roddy Doyle's *A Star Called Henry* and Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*" (2003), Margot Backus in "'More Useful Washed and Dead': James Connolly, W. B. Yeats, and The Sexual Politics Of 'Easter, 1916'" (2008), Juan Ignacio Oliva "Overtones and Disturbances in Jamie O'Neill's Dissidence Novels" (2014), Aída Diaz-Bild in "*At Swim, Two Boys*: In Search of the Nation of Freedom" (2007), among others.

In most fictional representations of Roger Casement, the line between fact and fiction is not an easy one to draw. Richard Kearney acknowledges the differences and similarities between fictional and historical discourses mentioning that "It is certain that both history and fiction imagine and structure a past which neither could make known without sharing the images and structures of narrative. Both discourses enable the entry of what has been lost into a society's understanding of its present" ("Paper Landscape" 119). As a result, silenced or hidden histories of the past emerge in these narratives which, whether intentionally or not, shed light into polemical issues contemporary to the moment they have been published. This is clear in *ASTB*, as by embedding stories with the main story O'Neill addresses themes and characters that had been, up to then, sidelined from the national narrative as of the Irish Revival in pre-national Ireland. One of these characters is Roger Casement, who will be the focus of this section.

Trauma and imperialism in *At Swim, Two Boys*

This section argues that *ASTB* is a trauma novel in that it is an attempt to re-write a traumatic moment in Irish history: the 1916 Easter Rising – which was a response from the Irish to the 300 years of British imperialist domination – and the executions that stemmed from it. As explained in the Introduction to this dissertation, Cathy Caruth (*Explorations in Memory*) conceives of trauma at an individual level, but at the same time, as an experience that is connected with the trauma of another. Trauma theory, as Caruth explains, allows one to read the repetition[67] of traumatic events: **"**[…] not as the story of the individual in relation to the events of his own past, but as the story of the way in which one's own trauma is tied up with the trauma of another, the way in which trauma may lead, therefore, to the encounter with another" (*Explorations in Memory* 8).

[67] In *Unclaimed Experience* (1996), Caruth gives three main examples of trauma as a wound that has a voice that repeatedly addresses an "other" as a way to promote the re-enactment of the traumatic experience: the story of the man who walks out of a train accident seemingly unharmed and that comes to feel the symptoms only weeks later. The second is Tasso's epic poem *Gerusalemme Liberatta*, in which Tancred accidentally kills his lover Lucinda and her scream uncannily haunts him as he slays a tree with his sword after her death. The third is Freud's patient's dream of the burning child, where the father who had lost his child of fever is mourning the body, yet the father falls asleep and dreams that his son tells him he is burning; when the father awakes, the body is fact catching fire. These three examples illustrate the repetition of the traumatic event which, I believe, is fundamental for the victim's understanding of trauma and for the possibility of "working through" them.

In *ASTB,* this fortuitous "encounter with another" is suggested, as it will be shown, in the repetition and the interconnectedness between particular traumatic incidents and experiences associated with the imperial domination of Britain over Ireland, generationally transmitted among the MacMurrough lineage as well as those lived by Roger Casement, and by the way in which the trauma of an individual can undertake a national dimension.

According to scholar Maria Mulvany, although "at a narrative level [*ASTB*] is not framed by a traumatic recollection of an actual act of violence in the present", it is an "attempt to write certain "Unclaimed Experiences" back into the national imaginary" (211). Mulvany believes that the use of "traumatic history to engage contemporary social issues" (114) by contemporary writers, reveals limitations of the established theories of trauma. This would include the Caruthian notion of trauma as the after-effect of a violent event whose devastating emotional impact continues to haunt the subject in the present. Yet, Mulvany continues, this causal framework limits trauma to an experience of extreme violence and, thus, "elides what Greg Forter has theorized as the 'mundanely catastrophic' traumas of sedimented structures that naturalize specific hierarchical social relationships and traumatically exclude certain subjects" (211) – such as Casement's marginal appearance in Irish literature and history.

Under this perspective, I will explore the way in which Jamie O'Neill conceives of the 1916 Rising in a non-idealized manner granting its rebels, including those like Roger Casement who have been excluded from the pantheon, a place in the narrative of Irish history. Since the novel recreates historical events at the time they were taking place, the writer also embarks upon the issue of homosexuality among the 1916 revolutionaries in a symbolic form, through the oblique presence of Roger Casement and the Irish Volunteers leader Patrick Pearse.[68] I argue that the connection between the figures of Pearse and Casement with homosexuality is mediated by the character Eva MacMurrough, whose nephew had been convicted of "gross indecency", the same crime that led to the conviction and exile of Oscar Wilde in 1895.

[68] Apart from being a poet and founder of the Gaelic School, St. Enda's, Patrick Pearse was an Irish nationalist, and a prominent rebel leader of the 1916 Easter Rising, having signed and read the Proclamation of the Irish Republic. He was the first of the rebels to be executed on 3 May 1916, at the age of 36.

Moreover, it is important to underscore the complexity of dealing with the 1916 Rising[69] – and the executions – for it arouses traumatic affects and memories of the imperial relation between England and Ireland. The Irish, even those who enlisted to fight for Britain in the First World War, could not accept the shooting of the 15 rebel leaders ordered by Westminster. This feeling of uncertainty brought about a more acute nationalist response rather than fear of retaliation. There was, on behalf of the Irish in the south, a similar response to Casement's execution that took place months after those of rebel leaders, as it will also be seen in Chapter 3, section 2, on Annabel Davis-Goff's *The Fox's Walk*. The feeling of uneasiness was somewhat pronounced among the Anglo-Irish, for Casement was also an Anglo-Irishman who had been a Consul to the Crown. Since Casement did not contribute directly with the 1916 Rising, it can be said that he is in the limbo: not considered a martyr of the Rising like the other 15 in Ireland, but still a traitor in England and, to make things worse, a closeted homosexual[70].

Although Jamie O'Neill does not touch openly on the subject of Casement's homosexuality for it would have been anachronistic and inaccurate, as the Diaries had not been discovered at the time, this is embedded between the lines of *ASTB*. However, this study shows that homosexuality is implicit in the way the character Eva MacMurrough conceives of Casement, which is in a dialogic relation to her acceptance of her nephew Anthony MacMurrough's homosexuality. Thus, I argue that Casement can be conceived of as an oblique presence that looms over the three boys – Jim, Doyler and MacMurrough – along their struggle to build a "nation of the heart", one in which being a homosexual would be equal to being an Irishman.

ASTB approaches the controversial aspects of Casement that do not conform with an idealized version of the 1916 Irish Rebellion depicted, for instance, in William

[69] The importance of the 1916 Easter Rising among Irish historians is still highly debatable. As it will be discussed in the introduction to Chapter 2, for some it was seen as a great event that has changed the course of Irish History, for others it was not as important as the 1923-23 Civil War that led to the creation of the Irish Free State. However, the number of works that are still being published on the 1916 Rising by Irish writers show the opposite, that there is still a need to write about, and read about this event: *The Last September*, by Elizabeth Bowen (1929), *A Star Called Henry* (1999) by Roddy Doyle, *The Fox's Walk*, by Annabel Davis-Goff (2003), *A Long Long Way*, by Sebastian Barry (2005), *Fallen*, by Lia Mills (2014), just to name a few. The complexity surrounding the Rising will be dealt with throughout this dissertation, especially in the second section of Chapter 3, on Annabel Davis-Goff's *The Fox's Walk*. However, in this section, *At Swim, Two Boys* is placed in Chapter 1 because the 1916 Rising is seen as a response against the trauma inflicted by British imperial policy in Ireland, and because it portrays, albeit obliquely, Casement during his lifetime, as in *The Lost World*.

[70] I would like to underscore I do not intend, by any means, to reduce Casement to his alleged homosexuality, however since this issue is approached by contemporary writers, it should not be ignored, but brought to the fore to be discussed.

Butler Yeats's celebrated poem "Easter, 1916", to which the title of the novel loosely alludes. The comma that divides "Easter" and "1916" also divides "At Swim" and "Two Boys". Also, the titles are complimentary, for "Easter" was the time chosen by Jim and Doyler to "Swim" to the Muglins rock and claim an island of their own. In addition, Margot Backus ("More Useful Washed and Dead") contrasts Yeats's version of the Rebellion in "Easter, 1916" to Jamie O'Neill's. Backus claims that *ASTB* can be considered the first successful effort to rewrite the Rising claiming three stigmatized groups that have been excluded from the established Yeatsian version: the poor (James Connolly's Citizen Army), the queer (Roger Casement and Patrick Pearse) and the female (Constance Markiewicz) in the figure the female nationalist patron of Eva MacMurrough. The focus of this section is on the figure of Roger Casement, who is obliterated from Yeats's poem in this moment of the formation of the Irish Republic. I will go even further in arguing that there is a fusion between the queer and the female in the novel as Casement is present through the memory and the actions of Eva MacMurrough.

As follows, I will pinpoint the way in which the trauma of the Easter Rising – as a response to imperial Britain's postponing Home Rule – and the executions that stemmed from it, is approached in O'Neill's novel by means of the *mise en abyme*. This literary device is also employed in Flann O'Brien's[71] celebrated novel *At Swim-Two-Birds* (1939), which certainly inspired the title and, to a certain extent, the form of *At Swim, Two Boys*. As is characteristic to the *mise en abyme* device, along the lines of Linda Hutcheon (*Narcissistic Narrative*), in the embedding of minor sub-plots within the broader meta-narrative of the birth of the Irish nation, mirroring each other like a Chinese Box, *ASTB* grapples with certain themes and aspects in the lives of fictional and historical characters that have not been much developed in Irish literature. For this reason, this study addresses two particular segments of the novel: the first is the dialogue between the historical figure Tom Kettle[72] and the character Anthony

[71] Flann O'Brien was the pseudonym of Irish writer Brian O'Nolan. *At Swim-Two-Birds* is one of the most acclaimed examples of Irish metafictional modernist writing. By means of the *mise en abyme* literary device several stories, mostly of ancient Irish legends and folktales, are embedded within the main storyline, which is written by an Irish Student of literature.

[72] Thomas Michael Kettle was one a leading political figure of his generation. Born in Dublin, in 1880 he was a barrister, an economist and a writer. He was for Home Rule in Ireland and became a Member of Parliament at Westminster. He joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913 and then enlisted for service to fight in the First World War. He was killed in 1916 in the Battle of the Somme, where he was leading an Irish regiment.

MacMurrough in the library at the garden party organized by the his aunt, Eva MacMurrough. The second is the moment of epiphany that Eva MacMurrough experiences at Easter Mass in relation to her acceptance of her nephew's sexuality.

The Trauma of Treachery and the *Marriage of Strongbow and Eva*

It is not incidental that the fictitious characters Eveline and her nephew Anthony MacMurrough are the main channel through which the character based on Roger Casement features in *ASTB*. Eva MacMurrough is a nationalist who does not conform to traditional roles reserved to Irish women. She is a combination of powerful and influential female historical figures that cooperated directly with the Rising in Dublin, such as Constance Markiewicz and Maud Gonne. Likewise, she echoes women who were acquainted with Roger Casement, such as Ada McNeill[73], an Anglo-Irish Protestant from Antrim who fell in love with him, as well as Alice Stopford Green and Molly Childers who, along with Casement, planned and participated in the Howth gunrunning that armed the Volunteers with 900 German Mauser rifles.

At the outset of the novel, the following excerpt suggests that Eva and Casement had met in the recent past:

> She would take the mountain road to High Kinsella, she would drive through the dark if need be, and she would sit in the room he had slept in there, when convalescent he came and she had nursed him, Casement. And she would pray for his return, for soon and safe and conquering return, to the Ireland that he loved. And if God willed it, and God send He did, to her. (*ASTB* 108)

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[73] It has been documented that Ada MacNeill influenced Casement in terms of his love for the North of Ireland, for both took long walks on the Glens of Antrim, and talked about Irish history, religion and culture. Yet, for some time, their friendship was shaken, according to biographer Brian Inglis, "by the embarrassing fact that Ada (Íde) MacNeill, his early mentor in the Irish language, had fallen passionately in love with him. 'I wish, poor soul, she would leave me alone,' he had written – when he realized – to tell his cousin […] 'these repeated invitations to go to 'meet her' are a bit out of place … I have very strong feelings of friendship for her, and goodwill, and brotherly Irish affection – and I wish she could leave other things out of her reckoning.'" (Casement, qt. in Inglis 233)

Here, Eva is described as a passionate and generous woman who had given Casement shelter in High Kinsella, a big house that was part of the MacMurrough property. Although this incident is fictional, Eva's attitude in nursing a rebel fugitive reveals an act of courage and dissidence on her side, as Casement's movements would have been closely followed by the Irish Constabulary at the brink of the 1916 Rising. Also, through Eva's eyes, Casement is described as a saviour, an almost a god-like figure: "The first time I saw him, I was struck. I knew immediately I was in the presence of something extraordinary in our land. Something we had not seen in Ireland for centuries. The soul shone through his face."[74] (*ASTB* 449). This idea of the sun shining through Casement's face suggests honesty and transparency, a face that belonged to someone who has nothing to hide. However, there is another way of approaching this sentence, as a reference to the following biblical passage:

> It appears that the light and power of God which dwelt in his soul shone through his face, and God gave them this proof of the falsity of the testimony which was now before them; for, as the face of Stephen now shone as the face of Moses did when he came down from the mount, it was the fullest proof that he had not spoken blasphemous words either against Moses or God, else this splendour of heaven had not rested upon him. (New Testament, *Acts* 6:15)[75]

This sacred episode can be read as a foreshadowing of the birth of Jesus, the coming of the Messiah who would be revealed over a millennium later. In this context, the sun shining through St. Stephen's face (*Acts* 6:15)[76] gains significant connotation, as he became the first martyr of Christianity, being stoned to death, after proclaiming to the

[74] Interestingly, this view of Casement actually recalls descriptions of him by some of his closest friends, such as the following by the artist and sculptor Herbert Ward: "Imagine a tall, handsome man, of fine bearing; thin, mere muscle and bone, a sun-tanned face, blue eyes and black curly hair. A pure Irishman he is, with a captivating voice and a singular charm of manner. A man of distinction and great refinement, high-minded and courteous, impulsive and poetical." (qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 25).

[75] (Available at: http://www.sacred-texts.com/bib/kjv/act006.htm#015. Web. 25 June 2015)

[76] I would like to thank Bruno Ochman Lustoza for providing me with this piece of information about St. Stephen being the first martyr of Christianity and for the *ACTS* 6:15 quotation.

Jews the salvation of humanity in the death and resurrection of Christ. Similarly, in *ASTB* the image of Casement is imbued with messianic connotations, as a controversial martyr and Irish hero, as it will be shown later in this section. Thus, it is through Eva's memories of, and reflections about Casement that the reader is granted access to the part that he played in the process of Irish independence.

Despite Eva's progressive way of thinking shown in her interest in Casement, she is opposed to her nephew's sexual preferences. In *ASTB*, Anthony MacMurrough bears resemblance with Oscar Wilde in terms of his dandy-like attire and for feeling attracted to young men. In addition, MacMurrough, as he is referred to, has been living with his aunt after serving two years in Wandsworth[77] prison for "gross indecency with a chauffeur-mechanic" (*ASTB* 170). With the aim of reintroducing MacMurrough into Irish society, Eva organizes a garden party that was in fact a volunteer rally, and her nephew would lead local parish boy's band: "I shall invite all the leading families. The nationalist ones, naturally. They will see a bright likely young man leading local youth in patriotic song and everyone shall be charmed … and you shall marry" (*ASTB* 170).

In the course of the party, MacMurrough met his childhood friend, Tom Kettle, a nationalist and Home Ruler who enlisted for service in the Irish Regiment to fight in the First World War. The two men were standing among the shadows and silhouettes in the library discussing among other subjects, Roger Casement. By means of the *mise en abyme* technique, two different narratives unfold after Kettle makes a remark at the painting *Marriage of Strongbow and Eva*, by Daniel Maclise, that was hanging above them:

> "And she never married, did she, our particular Eva [...] though they did say she made quite a run at Casement when he was here."
>
> MacMurrough turned. "Casement?"

[77] Oscar Wilde, like the character Anthony MacMurrough, was imprisoned during two years for gross indecency under Section 11 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885[77]. First in Pentonville, like Casement, then in Wandsworth Prison, London. In the strict Victorian and Edwardian eras being a homosexuality was a taboo subject and it was considered a sin in the Catholic faith and it was only decriminalized in Britain after the Sexual Offenses Act in1967.

> "Don't start me on that blackguard. An Irishman, a Protestant even, prancing about Deutschland tempting our men to turn traitor. Our brave Irish prisoners of war, wants to turn them into renegades. Man's a blackguard, a cad".
>
> A name at last. Casement. "In Germany, you say?" (*ASTB* 267)

In this quote, Tom Kettle brings up Roger Casement's name as he implied that Eva "made a run at Casement". This suggestion is relevant to the narrative. Since Casement was away from Ireland in the year that preceded the 1916 Easter Rising, for him to be present in the backstage of the plot O'Neill creates a situation in which Eva is in love with this polemical Irishman, who is in turn taken by Kettle as a traitor. Thus, this reference is an indication of how ambivalently Casement was seen: different from Kettle, who sees Casement as a traitor, Eva is not only aware, but also supportive of the fact that Casement is collaborating with the Rising from Germany, and looks forward to his return.

Apart from Casement's ambivalence, as Julieann Ulin, author of *Medieval Invasions in Modern Irish Literature* (2014) has pointed out, the aforementioned excerpt brings to light "the concealed historical identity in which the MacMurroughs are descended not from fervent nationalists, but from the father and the daughter guilty of inviting the invasion and sealing the bargain with the (Norman and then British) invaders" (156). Here, according to Ulin, Kettle draws Eva MacMurrough into the Maclise's picture as he connects her to Aoife, who became Queen of Leinster after having consented to an arranged marriage to the leader of the Norman force, Richard de Clare, known as "Strongbow". Following the death of Aoife's father, Diarmuid, Strongbow ruled over Ireland. Yet, aware of Strongbow's power, Henry II, King of England, landed in Wexford with his army and claimed Ireland, where the British were to remain for the next 700 years.

This history of medieval invasions is reflected in Eva and MacMurrough, and is, in turn, mirrored in the disputable role Casement played in Irish history. The first time Casement's name is mentioned in the novel, is by Eva at the outset of *ASTB,* when she had just returned home from a drive in her green Prince Henry motorcar. She had come from a meeting with the new parishioner Father Amen O'Toiler. They had discussed her good name and how her own father, Dermot MacMurrough, had been the first to

denounce the scandal of Charles Stuart Parnell, the notorious leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party who was involved in a divorce scandal.

The trauma of making contentious overseas alliances by the MacMurroughs is repeated as Eva had once cared for Roger Casement, who, in turn, was also seen as a traitor. By 1914, Casement had already turned into a fierce nationalist, and in the two years that preceded the Rising he concentrated his efforts in seeking overseas allies to arm the Irish Volunteers. He first went to the United States to meet John Devoy and Joseph MacGarrity, leaders of the *Clan na Gael* who supported the cause of the Independence of Ireland. Given the backdrop of the First World War, the *Clan na Gael* decided that German collaboration with arms and a trained Brigade formed with Irish Prisoners of War would be essential for the success of the Rising, so they planned and financed Casement's journey. In spite of this, the mission, turned out a failure, for Casement could not convince the Irish Prisoners of War in Germany to fight against Britain, for they knew they would be considered traitors and would be hanged were they to survive. Neither did the arms and ammunition make their way to Ireland, as on Casement's way back to Ireland, the steamer *Libau*, later called *AUD*, which carried 20.000 rifles and 10 machine guns, under a Norwegian flag, was intercepted by the British Naval Forces and scuttled. One day before the Rising began, Casement landed in Kerry, where he was arrested and sent to the Tower of London to be tried for treason.

Casement's offstage collaboration with the Rising remains controversial, as Tom Kettle remarks in his exchange with MacMurrough, precisely due to numerous young Irishmen losing their lives fighting for England during the war. Furthermore, Casement's effort in making an alliance with Germany would, in the near future, undermine his own plea for clemency, as it will be discussed in Chapter 2, since many of his friends and acquaintances who had lost their loved ones in the trenches withdrew their support during Casement's imprisonment.

Here, traumatic repetition as theorized by Caruth is present, for "one's trauma is tied up with the trauma of another": As the Irish High King Diarmuid seeks support from the English, Eva is a nationalist who supports Roger Casement, a traitor who is also seeking German support for the independence of Ireland. It is a cycle of disputable connections that dates from the 12th century and lasts until the early 20th century: Diarmuid MacMurrough – Henry II, Aoife – Strongbow – Henry II, Eva MacMurrough – Casement, Casement – Germans. It is the making of these connections that have

maculated Casement's reputation, resulting in his being reduced to a traitor and, after his execution, a sodomite, to use the terms of the time. What follows is the analysis of the section of *ASTB* that is a way to draw Casement into the narrative of the 1916 Rising, as a controversial revolutionary hero.

Easter Mass and the (re)birth of a "Nation of the Heart"

The second part of this section deals with the way in which, again by the *mise en abyme* technique, Jamie O'Neill provides an alternative and anachronistic version of Irish history where Casement is a fundamental piece if not for the founding of "a nation once again", of Scrotes' "nation of the heart". This idea has as its origin the exchanges between Scrotes and MacMurrough about homosexual love. After Scrotes' death MacMurrough' is freed from Wandsworth prison by his aunt and returns to Ireland, where he must rebuild his life. Instead, as if wrapped in paralysis, he spends his days seeking pleasure swimming at the forty-foot, a bathing spot on the river Liffey reserved for men. There, MacMurrough would meet Doyler Doyle, the 16-year-old boy whose mother washed the MacMurrough laundry. They were in an unequal relationship, for Doyler slept with MacMurrough in exchange for money.

At the forty-foot, Doyler also introduced MacMurrough to his friend from the parish boy's band Jim Mack, a scholarship student at the Glasthule Presentation Brothers School, who was also 16 years of age. A love triangle between them was formed, as both Doyler and MacMurrough were in love with Jim. Doyler joins the Irish Citizen army, and moved away from town. As a result, Jim and McMurrough become close. MacMurrough becomes Jim's mentor and talks to him about love between men through the "Sacred band of Thebes", which was a blessing ceremony held by the Spartans when two men loved each other:

> "Tell me about the Sacred Band again, of Thebes."
>
> MacMurrough laughed. "It's caught your fancy, that, I believe."
>
> "I don't know. To fight with your friend beside you. That would be grand. There's

> grand things ahead. Can't you feel it?" "Yes, I do feel grand things coming, sometimes." (*ASTB* 378)

Hence, MacMurrough and Jim end up joining Doyler in his fight for change in an independent Ireland. Yet, the real motivation for the boys is actually the feelings they nurture for one another, as Jim explains to MacMurrough:

> "We'll be asked to fight for Ireland, sure I know that."
>
> "But what is Ireland that you should want to fight for it?"
>
> "Sure I know that too." He raised a shoulder, his head inclined then turned: an attempt to shrug shake and nod, all the same time. When he was shy or self-conscious of something he would say, his body would often fail him. "It's Doyler," he said.
>
> "Doyler is your country?"
>
> "It's silly, I know. But that's how I feel. I know Doyler will be out, and where would I be but out beside him? I don't hate the English and I don't know do I love the Irish. But I love him. I'm sure of that now. And he's my country … I think a little bit of it too is yourself, MacEmm." (*ASTB* 378-9)

In Jim's view, to fight for Ireland is to fight for Doyler, the boy he loves, and for MacMurrough, his mentor. Thus, in this context, Doyler is a metaphor for Ireland; and this makes sense considering the way in which Richard Kearney has traced the semantic transformation from the word "nation" to the word "people": "At a certain point of history – to be precise in early 16th century England – the word 'nation' in its conciliar meaning of 'an elite' was applied to the population of the country and made synonymous with the word 'people'" (Kearney *Postnationalist Ireland* 9). While Doyler is Jim's country, Eva is also fighting for the Independence of Ireland with one man in her mind, and that is Roger Casement.

Anthony MacMurrough overhears his aunt Eva talking about Casement, of whom he had never heard, apart from what his aunt would say about him. So, he asks her about him and when he would return to Ireland:

> "I see. Sir Roger Casement is an attachment of yours?"
>
> "He is an acquaintance."
>
> "Of long standing?" She did not care to answer. "When may we expect Sir Roger?"
>
> "Soon I trust. Every day we delay brings the war closer to its end. And what is the use of a German victory if we have not risen to help it? These men before us will take Dublin and hold her in readiness for Casement's coming. Yes, dear old dirty Dublin, city of the foreigner, the Pale, the Castle city: she was ever the curse of Irish hopes. Now comes the time she must redeem herself." (*ASTB* 392)

Eva believed Casement would return after the war to an independent Ireland, with Dublin as its capital. Notwithstanding, Casement's efforts to run guns from Germany to arm the Volunteers in April 1916, and his actions are mirrored in *ASTB* by Eva and MacMurrough's engagement in the clumsy effort to run guns to Ferns, where the Rising would take place: "Whatever happens, they must not get the rifles. I have bartered half my jewels and all of my influence for these rifles. […] We cannot proceed without them" (*ASTB* 426). Like Casement, Eva and MacMurrough were unsuccessful. Eva crashed her car into a lamppost, an incident that led to her arrest. From the military hospital, she heard by a note in the press that the Rising had been cancelled. Eva was deeply disappointed, especially when she heard that Casement was seized, for she viewed his participation as imperative for its success:

> Poor dear Casement. Yet one other uncrowned king in this land of kings uncrowned. […] Nothing could be salvaged. […] Let her go, let her go with what

> grace was left her, into exile in England. She might come to see Casement there. A personal recompense after his national disgrace. (*ASTB* 472).

This is a reference to Irish politician Charles Stuart Parnell, who was dubbed the uncrowned king of Ireland. Parnell was an illustrious politician whose stellar career was put a final stop after he married the divorcée Kitty O'Shea. In this excerpt Eva claims that Casement will be another uncrowned king of Ireland, and this is another oblique reference to an event that had not yet taken place in *ASTB*, for in both cases, Parnell's divorce scandal and Casement's Black Diaries, their private lives stood in the way of their political paths.

While still held at the military hospital, on Easter Sunday Eva is allowed to leave to attend mass, where she notices a service boy who seems familiar to her. The boy is wearing the green Volunteer uniform under his tunic, and Eva becomes fascinated by him. All of a sudden, the mass no longer seemed conventional to Eva as the priest read a sermon regarding a tomb:

> […] It no longer seemed any ordinary mass: no common rubric was told. The priest took a book whereof was read some circumstance regarding a tomb[78]. The server listened with an interested curiosity. There was a sense of his waiting, of his being long prepared for this coming event. A god would be brought down to the altar. An extraordinary notion: a god to come down before Eva's eyes. Though it seemed to Eva it was the server now, not the priest, who was the centre of this mystery (*ASTB* 473-4).

[78] By which she means the story of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, who, according to the Christian belief, after being crucified by the Romans he raised again from the dead after the third day. Here, the sermon regarding the tomb symbolises the resurrection of the Irish Nation after the deaths following the 1916 Rebellion.

As if in a moment of epiphany, Eva interpreted the sermon not as concerned with the resurrection of Christ, but rather as the rebirth of the Irish nation where the agent of transformation is no longer a religious leader, but the service boy himself. Eva, however, fears this boy would have to fight by himself for the independence of Ireland, for Roger Casement, the man who would lead the young soldiers to fight for the independence of Ireland, awaited his own fate in London:

> This lad would go out alone, she made no doubt, with his bare hands to fight, were but one good man to lead the way. That one good man lies in chains in London. Now when she saw them joined in prayer, how white and fine were his fingers: a virile delicacy that carried her to Casement. How he had delighted, that noble hearted man, in the upright spirit of the young. (*ASTB* 472)

An alternative narrative is embedded in this excerpt as Eva sees in the boy's fair and delicate hands joined in prayer those of Casement. According to Declan Kiberd what marked the beginning of the Revolution was the founding of the Gaelic League, the recovery of Gaelic language and culture. What came second was the fact that the rebels saw themselves as "martyrs for beauty", for "they aestheticized their sacrifice. Most of all", he continues, "they followed the gospel which asserted 'the triumph of failure', the notion that whoever lost his life would save it" (Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* 201).

This idea of self-sacrifice for Ireland underpins one of rebel leader Patrick Pearse's most political play, *The Singer*, which was supposed to be staged prior to the Rising, whose hero says: "One man can free a people as one man redeemed the world. I will take no pike. I will go into battle with bare hands. I will stand up before the Gall as Christ hung naked before a man on a tree" (Kiberd, *Inventing Ireland* 201). I believe that the aforementioned quotation of *ASTB* makes reference to this passage in Pearse's play, for the service boy echoes Pearse's hero, who in Eva's view, "would go out alone with his bare hands to fight, were but one good man to lead the way" (*ASTB* 472), who was Roger Casement.

Furthermore, Casement's delight in the spirit of the young, as stated in the last sentence, can be read either as his attempt to form and train the Irish Brigade in

Germany to fight in the Rising, or as an anachronistic reference to his homosexuality that came to light due to the polemical set of *Black Diaries,* found by the British Home Office, whose authorship has been attributed to Casement. Excerpts of these diaries, in which Casement supposedly recorded homosexual activities with young men from the Amazon and the Congo, were circulated among influential figures in Ireland, Britain and the States during his trial. As a result, Casement was convicted for High Treason and met his death on 3rd August 1916. Nevertheless, contrary to that of Patrick Pearse, his legacy would remain compromised and, as W. B. Yeats famously expressed in the poem "The Ghost of Roger Casement" (1936), he continues to be depicted as a spectre haunting Anglo-Irish relations and as a marginal figure among Irish rebels.

Michael Cronin ("Review of *At Swim, Two Boys"*) has written that the question of Casement's sexuality is meaningless "since it involves anachronistically applying to Casement a political and sexual identity, which did not then exist as we now know it" (n. pag). However, as Cronin indicates, dealing with this matter almost 90 years after the Rising, as O'Neill does, is worthwhile for 1916 is also known as the founding myth of Irish nationality as well as that of Irish masculinity. Although Casement's homosexuality can be only hinted at in the aforementioned excerpt, in Eva's mind it is his resemblance to the service boy and his delight in young men that link him also to MacMurrough:

> Casement and Pearse: now came, unseemingly, the image of her nephew […] watching this lad. She recalled his face upon their last interview, soul pained and doomed, there too a shade of Casement. And then, this love he had not blushed to avow: some bathing boy, he too perhaps in the joy of his youth; a love which tomorrow would send him, her nephew, to the trenches. And it seemed of a sudden inevitable that this love should be so. Inevitable that such love should send him to war. Inevitable as war was inevitably male. […] They knelt beside her, Casement and Pearse and her nephew, each feasting upon this lad […] (*ASTB* 474)

Here, masculinity and nationalism converge as Eva is finally able to accept that MacMurrough's love for the boys, Jim and Doyler, is legitimate inasmuch as the service boy becomes an amalgam not only of Casement, whom she loved, but also Patrick Pearse, one of the leaders of the 1916 Rising, and of MacMurrough, her nephew. Moreover, through Eva's chimerical perception, Casement's shadow is anachronistically cast over McMurrough, as a soul pained and doomed after he had admitted being in love with "some bathing boy".

In this regard, the tragic end of the life of Roger Casement, who is also known for swimming with native boys in the Congo and in the Amazon, foreshadows that of *ASTB*. Doyler, the pal of Jim's heart, meets a heroic death in the 1916 Rising in the same way Casement himself wished to have died for Ireland. Nonetheless, hope still lies in the service boy who is the embodiment not of the messiah[79], but of the new nation:

> […] Soon [Eva] was alone in the chapel. She waited, certain of his coming, as she was certain now of the rising to come. But a rising not as Eva hoped nor any sane person would hope. Rather black Good Friday than Easter triumphant: not the opened tomb, but the cross on the hill[80]. He would go out, this young Ireland, he and a necessary few. In the beauty of his boyhood he would offer his life, by the overwhelming sword to die: a ravishment really: and Irishmen everywhere would shake for shame (*ASTB* 475).

In the name of freedom the service boy's life would be sacrificed, like that of Casement and the other rebels, for a nation in which the "unspeakable sorts" mentioned in the

[79] According to Declan Kiberd, Like Joseph Plunkett, Patrick Pearse will only liberate the captive woman, who is Ireland, by dying, to prove his "excess of love": "Such cold, marmoreal love is all that is possible to an ascetic who holds out to his followers something even better than victory – salvation. ... Modern revolutions have often been carried out by intellectuals who transmute the images and ideas of Christianity into a secular code. When Pearse called the people 'its own Messiah', he was simply repeating Rousseau's insistence that 'the voice of the people is, in fact the voice of God.' What made Pearse and his comrades different from modern revolutionaries was that the religious rhetoric was never occluded or buried, but remained visible and audible on the text surface." (*Inventing Ireland* 210-211).

[80] In contemporary Christianity, the cross is a symbol of the atonement and reminds Christians of God's love in sacrificing his own son for humanity. It represents Jesus' victory over sin and death, since it is believed that through his death and resurrection he conquered death itself.

quotation that opened this section, which is, according to Joseph Valente, a reference to both Irish nationality and homosexuality, as forms of marginalized identities that in *ASTB* come together in the form of the young Irish revolutionary that symbolizes the merging of masculinity and nationalist in the boys' fight in the 1916 Easter Rising.

In a nutshell, Jamie O'Neill's use of the *mise en abyme* device is a form of dealing with specific traumatic events in Irish history, such as Roger Casement's controversial collaboration with the 1916 Easter Rising, as a response to British imperialism. Casement's oblique and anachronistic presence in the novel is, therefore a metaphor for the traumatic process itself, which is regarded, according to Anne Whitehead, as "an embodiment of the disjunction of temporality, [and] the surfacing of the past in the present." (*Trauma Fiction* 6)

The fact that Scrotes' "nation of the heart" was not yet accomplished reflects the context in which *ASTB* was published. In an interview, Jamie O'Neill (*Metro Weekly*) claims that there is a specific contemporary parallel he is commenting on, which is the revolutionary aspect of The Gay Liberation Front[81] in the late 1960s and 70s that was formed in the United States after the Stonewall Riots, known as a series of violent demonstrations against the police by members of the gay community that took place in New York. The riots became known as the incident that led to the gay movement of liberation to decriminalize homosexuality, which was only decriminalised in 1993[82]. In addition, in 2001, three years after the Good Friday Agreement, Ireland was still under an infrastructure of discrimination against minorities that [was] "extremely difficult to dismantle and which can reproduce itself in different guises" (Rose 61). Therefore, if

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[81] In an interview to Jonathan Padget in *Metro Weekly*, O'Neill says: "In the late 1960s and 70s, when there was such a thing as the Gay Liberation Front, I really think it's a shame they didn't shoot anybody. Because you get people going up in pulpits, or politicians, and they denounce people. I don't mind being denounced myself, because I'm older and strong enough to deal with it. But kids listening to this and just coming to terms with their sexuality [are harmed by] being denounced from pulpits and television screens. It costs these people no courage to do that. They're not risking anything. If we'd shot a few people back then when the time was right, when we had a very socialist call to revolution and arms, these people would be a bit more wary of what they're saying." (n. pag.)

[82] The issue of the decriminalization of homosexuality in the form of gay and lesbian relationships only took place in 1993. The 1990s as a moment of economic development that led to such social transformations, known as the Celtic Tiger is illustrated in works of gay Irish writers (Tom Lennon, Keith Ridgway, Colm Tóibín, and Jamie O'Neill) by Michael Cronin in "'He's My Country': Liberalism, Nationalism, and Sexuality in Contemporary Irish Gay Fiction". The whole process of homosexual decriminalization is minutely described in Kieran Rose, *Diverse Communities: the evolution of lesbian and gay politics in Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press/Field Day, (1996).

nation has been conceived of as having been synonymous to people (Kearney, *Postnational Ireland*), Jim's further fighting in the Civil War after Doyler's death, implies the distance to go, and the many battles to be won[83], for a nation in which to love Ireland would be equal to love a friend.

1.3 Afterword

This first Chapter has explored the way in which the historical figure Roger Casement is represented during his "Life". On the one hand, he is a Victorian-Edwardian subject dealing with the trauma of British imperialism in action during the rubber boom in the Peruvian Amazon in Arthur Conan Doyle's *TLW* (1912), under the light of the notion of "biopower", by Michel Foucault. On the other hand, he is represented as an oblique revolutionary presence at the backstage of the 1916 Easter Rising, dealing with the Caruthian notion of repetition of the trauma of making disputable overseas alliances and sexual politics in Ireland in Jamie O'Neill's *ASTB* (2001).

I have shown that these novels convey opposing facets of Roger Casement: in *TLW* the rebel Lord John Roxton is portrayed by Conan Doyle as a mirror image, albeit distorted, of Roger Casement as member of the Commission of Inquiry in the Peruvian Amazon. In contrast, in *ASTB*, Casement embodies the traitor, marginalized "Irish and gay" revolutionary that has been excluded from W. B. Yeats's canonical version of the accounts in his poem *Easter, 1916*, but whose oblique presence looms over the boys Jim, Doyler and MacMurrough.

Despite the differences, echoes of Roger Casement reverberate in both novels and are essential for providing coherent characters, background and setting, while functioning as a tool to the structuring of the plot, for they approach different historical moments in which Casement was actively involved. Moreover, the time distance of 89 years that separates these novels must be taken into account. Casement was alive during

[83] It is important to mention that on 22 May 2015, almost 100 years after the Easter Rising, and 14 years after *ASTB* was published, Ireland has voted in favour of same-sex marriage in a historic referendum.

the making of *TLW*, and the *Black Diaries* had not been yet discovered by the British Home Office, whereas, in *ATSB* Casement's history is known by the reader and writer.

It is precisely this time distance that inevitably sets the different tones that shape the representation of Roger Casement as fictional a character in this Chapter: the dichotomy hero/homosexual that is frequently associated with the memory of Roger Casement is absent from the first novel, *TLW*, and only implicitly present in the second, *ASTB*. What follows is a discussion of the representation of Roger Casement in a different moment of his life: his trial as a traumatic legacy that haunts Anglo-Irish relations.

Chapter 2 – "Trial" and the Trauma of Death

> *Slowly his compatriots became resigned to accepting that a hero and martyr is not an abstract prototype or a model of perfection but a human being made of contradictions and contrasts, weakness and greatness, since a man, as José Enrique Rodó wrote, "is many men," which means that angels and demons combine inextricably in his personality.* (*The Dream of the Celt* 354)

> *I had no choice. Of course I was shocked, frightened when I read. But then I thought of you and I found I was no longer frightened. However strong, however hurtful, I saw that it was human. A part of what you are, but it was still you, still the same brave lovely boy that I have always loved and always will.* (*The Dreaming of Roger Casement* 28)

The main focus of Chapter 1 was the depiction of Roger Casement in his "Life", as an epitome both of the trauma inflicted by imperialism in the Putumayo, and by his participation in the 1916 Rebellion. This second chapter is an extension of the first, as it

focuses on the aftermath of the Rising, chiefly on Roger Casement's "Trial" for treason and on his subsequent execution by the British. It differs from the other chapters as the main action of both *The Dream of the Celt* (2010), by Mario Vargas Llosa and of the radio play, *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012), by Patrick Mason revolves around Casement's trial. As a result, the storylines of both aforementioned texts are concerned with a traumatic event at the moment it takes place – Casement's trial – while it simultaneously refers to the protagonist's life previous to his imprisonment in Pentonville Prison in London in the form of flashbacks. Many critics, such as Declan Kiberd, consider the Rising a tragic spectacle, and its participants as performers whose deeds eventually cost their lives. In Kiberd's view, the achievement of the 1916 rebels, who "staged the Rising as a street theatre" (*Inventing Ireland* 203), was depicted in metaphors and drama by Yeats, for instance, in his celebrated poems "Sixteen Dead Men" and "Easter, 1916", both written and published in the early 20th century.

Although Declan Kiberd states that Patrick Pearse and James Connolly thought that to strike was to win, he believes that the Rising was doomed, in many ways. What affected the Irish people the most was the deliberate execution of the rebel leaders, including that of Casement, "despite a strong consensus that they should have been treated as prisoners of war." (*Inventing Ireland* 193) After the Rebellion was over, according to Declan Kiberd, Irish writer and poet George Russell would admit that what lay between the idea and the action was Pearse's imagination: "and the chief imagination which inspired was that of a hero who stood against a host ... I who knew how deep was Pearse's love for the Cuchulain O'Grady discovered or invented" (Russell qtd. in *Inventing Ireland* 197). Besides, Russel continues, in 1914 Lenin had written that a blow against the British Empire in Ireland was of "a hundred times more significance than a blow of equal weight in Asia or in Africa" (*Inventing Ireland* 197). The Rebellion was, if anything, ahead of its time, as Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin later remarked: "The misfortune of the Irish is that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat had not yet matured. The rebels sought a dream of which they could not directly speak: they could only speak of having sought it" (qtd. in "Embers of Easter" 3).

Given not only its controversial origins, but also the tragic way the events unfolded leading to the death of the revolutionaries, it is wrong to believe that it is not difficult to conceive of the transposition of the 1916 Rebellion into artistic form.

Kiberd underscores the difficulty for Irish writers to describe the Rising for it appeared at first to be indescribable in any language: "how to express the unknown in terms of the known?" (200) In this respect, Ron Eyerman expounds that, to Cathy Caruth, "it is not the experience itself that produces the traumatic effect, but rather the remembrance of it" (Ch. 1). Caruth (qtd. in Eyerman) explains that a traumatic event is followed by a period of latency in which forgetting takes place between the event and trauma as experience. In the form of a "reflexive process", according to Eyerman, "trauma links past to present through representations and imagination" (Ch. 1). That is the reason why Eyerman speaks of traumatic effects rather than events, because referring to an experience as traumatic requires interpretation.

In addition, according to Kiberd, there is a dialectical tension between the action known as the 1916 Rising and its representation. The whole event started to become textualized: for, more than its protagonists, the Rising itself became an instantaneous martyr to literature (213). Kiberd cites as an example of representation of the Rising, Yeats' poem "Easter, 1916", whose power derives of the process of postponing his naming some of the leaders of the Rebellion until the very last moment, and its *tour de force* is precisely the fact that he delays such naming (213).

The Rising, when it came, was seen by many, including Roger Casement, as a foredoomed tragedy. Although Casement was not in Ireland, and initially planned to stop the Rising, in many moments in his correspondence he states his wish to have taken part in the insurrection due to his knowing it would be disastrous without the men, arms and ammunition that were supposed to come from Germany. So, he decided that since it was inevitable, his only wish was, in the end of his life, to die for Ireland. After his arrest, Casement still hoped for a last-minute reprieve, but he no longer desired it:

> It is better that I die thus on the scaffold ... it is a glorious death, for Ireland's sake ... If it be said I shed tears, remember they came not from cowardice but from sorrow ... I hope I shall not weep, but if I do it shall be nature's tribute wrung from me – one who has never hurt a human being – and whose heart was always compassionate and pitiful for the grief of others (Casement qtd. in Inglis 370).

Father Carrey, whom Casement met at Pentonville, described Casement's last moments: "He feared not death", Carrey wrote, 'he marched to the scaffold with the dignity of a prince'. To Ellis, the hangman, depicted in Vargas Llosa's novel, he appeared to be 'the bravest man it fell in my unhappy lot to execute' (Inglis 370).

The representation of, as well as the trauma evoked by Casement's "Trial" – and the subsequent execution of the 1916 rebels – will be analysed under two different perspectives. The first is *The Dream of the Celt* (2010[2012]), by Peruvian Mario Vargas Llosa. It is important to underscore that, although Vargas Llosa does not belong to the English literary tradition, the decision to include *The Dream of the Celt* in this dissertation was supported by the fact that it is a contemporary text written by a renowned writer that has Roger Casement as its protagonist. This novel is relevant as it shows the extent to which Casement's actions, whether in the Congo, the Putumayo, in Germany or in Ireland, have had a powerful impact, which continues to reverberate across the Atlantic. *The Dream of the Celt* deserves examination as it approaches Casement as a whole man, including his death at the gallows of Pentonville Prison in London. The main thread of the novel is the moment subsequent to Casement's trial, when he is incarcerated waiting for the result of the reprieve. It is by means of Casement's reminiscences and memories of the past, recounted by an omniscient narrator, that the main events of his life are unveiled to the reader.

The second section of this Chapter will analyse Patrick Mason's radio play, The *Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012). As with Vargas Llosa's *The Dream of the Celt*, I will concentrate on Casement's trial, firstly on how the main narrative is intersected by instances of fantasy and dreams that Casement had while he was incarcerated. This device, of intersecting the main narrative with dreams and fantasy, is employed by both Vargas Llosa and by Patrick Mason as a means of dealing with Casement's alleged homosexuality and the so-called *Black Diaries*, a subject that has been most disputed amongst scholars. I propose that the dreams described by the omniscient narrator are a pathway that grants access to Casement's unconscious in order to give flow to his repressed desires, therefore enabling a more neutral approach of polemical issues such as Casement's alleged homosexuality. Secondly, this section will also deal with the way in which Casement's cousin Gertrude, or Gee, is ambiguously represented: on the one hand, she is given voice and agency once she seeks the support of intellectuals of the time to struggle against her cousin's fate in facing the gallows in 1916; on the other

hand, it is she who recognizes and admits to foreign office employee, Sir Ernley Blackwell that the *Black Diaries* were written in Casement's own writing.

In a similar fashion to the *The Dream of the Celt*, the main narrative axis of *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* is concerned with the last period of Casement's imprisonment and trial is constantly intersected by Casement's dreams. To conclude, I will point out differences and similarities in the way in which both texts, Mason's and Vargas Llosa's, challenge the representation of Casement as an idealized hero, in favour of a man who had to battle with his own "angels and demons".

2.1 Casement as "angel and demon" in *The Dream of the Celt*

This first section of Chapter 2 deals with the way in which Roger Casement is represented as protagonist of the novel *The Dream of the Celt*. Primarily, a brief background to Mario Vargas Llosa and his importance among historical novelists will be presented. Then, the structure and style of the novel will be discussed – along with the construction of the protagonist based on the historical figure Roger Casement concomitantly as perpetrator and as victim of British imperialism. Afterwards, the way in which Llosa deals with Casement's alleged homosexuality – restricted to instances of reverie and dreams – will be assessed. Finally, it is important to underscore that while this Chapter focuses on the story of Casement's trial, this first section tackles the moment when he awaited the result of the reprieve organized by his supporters. In accordance with this, the ensuing hypothesis will be verified: in telling the story of Casement's trial and subsequent death, Vargas Llosa portrays a traumatic time in the life of a hero who, as angel and as demon, remains a haunting figure in the history of three continents: Europe, Africa and Latin America.

Jorge Mario Pedro Vargas Llosa, born in Arequipa, Peru, in 1936, is one of the most illustrious writers of the Latin American literary boom. According to theorist Phillip Swason, the boom refers to an unmatched "explosion" of literary manifestations by Latin American writers who were interested in documenting their own histories

(7). The boom was preceded by important socio-political transformations, such as the Cuban Revolution of 1959, which was followed by the dictatorships in Argentina, Peru, Chile, Brazil, Paraguay and the like from the 1960s to the 1970s (Swanson 7-8).

Vargas Llosa's work shares themes in common to the other South American boom writers – Carlos Fuentes, Julio Cortázar and Gabriel Garcia Marquez – such as corruption, injustice, violence and human exploitation having as a backdrop the Latin American landscape. The boom was significant as it brought Latin America to the forefront of Western literature. Although one of the main stylistic advances of the boom was the challenge of realism (hence the term Marvelous Realism coined in that period), Vargas Llosa is predominantly a realist writer. However, I would add that he wrote mostly realistically, yet it was what I would call "realism with a twist", as he employed innovative realistic techniques that give the effect of verisimilitude. In a 2013 interview to his translator, Edith Grossman, he affirms to have had William Faulkner as a main influence:

> I think I discovered the importance of form, structure, time, points of view, reading Faulkner. … You know, the world of Faulkner is so similar to Latin America. A primitive society with a very sophisticated elite, different races, different cultures. Great tensions in social and cultural terms, repression, prejudices, imagination. And deep violence. So, as Latin American writers, we discover reading Faulkner that it was a way all this could become art, beauty (Llosa, "In Conversation" 210)

In the same interview, apart from the influence Faulkner had on the way Vargas Llosa conceives of the Latin American world, especially in terms of form and structure, space and time, there is another invaluable source to his writing. In terms of content, history plays a main role in the making of his novels:

> … I discovered that history can also be fantastic raw material for writing novels. I have written, as you said, novels that are based on historical characters or

> historical events, but novels that are novels. So, my historical novels don't respect history as a historian is supposed to do. I change things, I invent characters, I use real characters with total freedom, distorting the real characters, if the novel can be enriched in this way. I use all these liberties that a writer has when writing fiction. (Llosa, "In Conversation" 212)

Thus, Vargas Llosa makes use of what he calls "the raw materials of history" while adding to them his own creative perspective; and the "realist twist" he gives to his work is that the reader is led to believe that he/she is reading a story that is real, but it is not necessarily real, or at least not all of it. Ultimately, what readers obtain from reading Vargas Llosa is what I would call an "effect of the real", in other words, something like the image of a looking glass. This is seen in *Conversation in the Cathedral* (1975), a novel set in the 1950's about politics and power relations in Peru; *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter* (1977), a biographical account of Vargas Llosa's marriage to his aunt Julia Urquidi; *The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta* (1985), about the involvement of a revolutionary in a failed rebellion in Peru that had taken place 30 years before; *Who killed Palomino Mollero* (1986), a crime novel that tells the story of a murder committed in Piura, *Notebooks of Don Rigoberto* (1998), and *The Feast of the Goat* (2001), about the assassination of Rafael Trujillo, a Dominican dictator. While his novel *The Green House* (1966) is set in Piura and in the Amazon region, *The War of the End of the World* (1981) is about a rebellion that took place in the Brazilian backlands between the religious leader Antonio Conselheiro and his followers against the newly established republic.

The Dream of the Celt was a widely publicized novel whose release coincided with the appointment of Mario Vargas Llosa as winner of the Nobel Prize in 2010. The title of the novel, *The Dream of Celt*[84], was taken from Casement's poem about his dream of an Ireland independent from Britain: "In his sleep he recalled insistently that in September 1906, before leaving for Santos, he wrote a long epic poem, *The Dream of the Celt*, about the mythic past of Ireland" (*TDC* 152).

[84] From this moment onwards *The Dream of the Celt* will be referred to as *TDC*.

…….

Take thou thy burden: mighty souls grow larger
As duties harden and as pleasures melt;
When hate assails thee, lay not down thy charge,
Hast thou not Erin's bosom for thy target –
Who wounds the Saxon first must slay the Celt.

Closing together now we see by love
Transfigurating skies we never knew,
Were Nights' eternal margin, and above
Earth's discords hear the reconciling dove –
Death is not Dark, but only deeper blue! [85]

As it can be seen the above two last stanzas of Roger Casement's "The Dream of the Celt", which was written in 1914 and remains unpublished, the speaker praises the Celt as a mighty race of warriors who will fight and slay the Saxons in the name of a free land (Attachment). Although there is no direct correlation between the two texts, it can be said that Casement's nationalist inclinations are certainly explicit in the poem, which is also a facet of his personality that is explored by Vargas Llosa. Moreover, the title, "The Dream of the Celt", also alludes to the way Casement was known after becoming a nationalist.

In the novels dealt with in Chapter 1, *The Lost World* and *At Swim, Two Boys*, Casement features only as a peripheral character, whereas in *TDC*, Casement is the protagonist. Furthermore, although there are some dissertations[86] about *TDC*, none of them take into consideration the character based on Roger Casement as a "whole man" for they do not explore his alleged homosexuality, which is suggested in the novel. These studies also lack associations[87] between Vargas Llosa's novel and Casement's

[85] I have transcribed the poem "The Dream of the Celt" by Roger Casement, consulted at the National Library of Ireland: MS 13, 082/2 viii (see Attachment 6.2)

[86] *El análisis literario de la novela El sueño del celtade Mario Vargas Llosa* (2013), by Daňhelová Sandra; *O Despertar Político de Roger Casement em O Sonho do Celta de Mario Vargas Llosa* (2012), de Irineu Zanchi Medeiros De Witt; and *Searching for Faulkner in Mario Vargas Llosa's* The Feast of the Goat, The Way to Paradise *and* The Dream of the Celt (2015), by Burroughs, Dena M. Burroughs.

[87] Apart from book reviews, such as Laura Izarra's, and Leopoldo Bernucci's essay "History and Imagination in *The Dream of the Celt*", forthcoming in *Breac:* A Digital Journal on Irish Studies.

writings, such as his correspondences, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement* and the so-called *Black Diaries*, as well as most biographies written about him. In contrast with the existing texts that focus mostly on the biographical aspect of Casement presented by Vargas Llosa, this work will compare and contrast the, strictly speaking, fictional representation Casement under the light of trauma theory and the way in which Vargas Llosa deals with the issue of homosexuality.

Another reason to include the *TDC* in this dissertation is that it was published shortly after the translation of the book *Roger Casement in Brazil: Rubber, the Amazon and the Atlantic World 1870-1914*, prefaced by a letter written by Vargas Llosa to the historian Angus Mitchell, also editor of *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*. In his letter, Vargas Llosa comments on how the period that Casement spent in Brazil altered his worldview and had an impact on his turning into an Irish nationalist late in life.[88]

Since *TDC* is concerned with the re-creation of a historical figure, a few considerations about the historical protagonist must be addressed. The creation of the historical protagonist involves not only poetic license, but also achieving the exact proportion between fact and fiction. According to Hungarian critic Georg Lukács (*The Historical Novel*), the precursor of the historical novel is the Scottish Sir Walter Scott, writer of the long celebrated *Waverley* (1771-1832) novels and *Ivanhoe* (1820). Scott believed in the balance of the following elements: ideal capture of time, a convincing plot and, above all, a precise representation of history. In addition, according to Lukács, the average protagonist of a historical novel is often fictitious, whose actions are unexceptional in order not to obfuscate the deeds of the historical figures with whom he directly, or indirectly, interacts. Another trait of the historical novel is the omniscient narrator. The narrator is of utmost importance in the historical novel due to the fact that it is through his/her voice that one is able to grasp the perspective by which the novelist chooses to write. *TDC* fits into most of these categories determined by Lukács, except for the protagonist who, in Vargas Llosa's novel, is the historical figure Roger Casement, whose role is a major one both in the novel and the history of the transatlantic world.

[88] In a letter to Angus Mitchell dated 27 March 2010, Vargas Llosa writes: "In many instances, his appreciation of Brazil appears to be severe, but his concern for its problems, politics and cultural life, demonstrates the strong connection that was established between him and the country of Euclides da Cunha. Ultimately, his Brazilian experience served to enrich and inform Roger Casement's worldview" (*Roger Casement in Brazil* 7).

In addition, one of the main traits of the contemporary historical novel, according to Lukács is the fact that the history being told could be considered as a metaphor for present circumstances, which could be the case here if we consider that atrocities committed against human beings by human beings continue to take place around the world. Hence, the importance of the historical novel is, according to Lukács, its instructive purpose. It is often a functional narrative in that it is intended to educate a readership about a historical moment. This is also true for *TDC* since Casement's is a forgotten history mostly by Latin America where he played a significant role, and, although to a lesser degree, in Ireland and the United Kingdom[89]. Thus, Vargas Llosa's novel has been successful in putting the word across not only about the tragic story of Roger Casement, but also about a silenced chapter of history that has taken place in the 19th and early 20th century Latin America: the atrocities committed against the natives during the rubber economy in Brazil, Peru and Colombia.

Vargas Llosa conducted extensive research to write about Roger Casement and the novelist's knowledge comes through in his text. Yet, it may often seem that there is an excess of facts in detriment of fiction. This was criticized in some reviews[90] of the English version. Laura Izarra, reviewer of the Spanish edition, compares writing a historical novel to a chess game between history and fiction, and that Vargas Llosa intended to write a novel in which fiction and imagination stood out in relation to the raw unvarnished story. I agree with Laura Izarra when she says that "Vargas Llosa tried to stay true to his axiom" (149), as I find that reading through some of the chapters is every so often a task analogous to that of reading a biography. Nevertheless, historical facts are generally reliable and the reader who is familiar with the sources is able to recognize factual and informative passages that are similar to the style of renowned biographies as well as the diaries that Casement wrote in each period covered in the book. As a result, the equation between fiction and imagination, which Izarra mentions, is somewhat unbalanced.

[89] In *The Irish Art of Controversy*, Lucy McDiarmid dedicates a few lines to argue that "Casement is not just curiosity for writers: he is a persistent presence in popular culture. More biographies have been written about him than any other figure of 1916, and he has been the focus of seven radio and television documentaries." (171)

[90] In her review of *The Dream of the Celt*, Liesl Scillinger (2012) describes it as "unusually straightforward and information-packed". In the review "A Man of No Mind", the celebrated Irish writer Colm Tóibín (2012) pinpoints structural and even translation failures, and he considers the book to take a conservative approach in relation to homosexuality.

The novel is divided into three chapters, "The Congo", "Amazonia", "Ireland" and "Epilogue". Its framework results from the juxtaposition between two different time sequences: the present, the now in which the protagonist is imprisoned, and the past. The sections about the present portray the anguish felt by Roger Casement in his cell at Pentonville prison in London while awaiting his sentence. There, Casement learns that rumours were being circulated about the discovery of private journals of homosexual content, the Black Diaries, whose authorship was attributed to him.

Casement's trial is the thread that binds the novel providing a sequence intersected by recollections of events from the past that follow a chronological order. In the first part, "The Congo", *TDC* deals with the time Casement spent in Africa, initially as a dedicated employee of the Belgian monarch Leopold II, and as British consul in Portuguese Africa. This is a crucial moment in the novel and in Casement's life. It was his experience in the Congo that sowed the seeds that led to the Consul's disappointment with British imperial policy, which is explored in *TDC*:

> The journey of the British consul, Roger Casement, up the Congo River, which began on June 5, 1903, and would change his life forever, had been scheduled to begin the previous year. … He had to verify on the ground how much truth there was in the denunciations of atrocities committed against natives in the Congo of His Majesty Leopold II, King of the Belgians, made by the Aborigines' Protection Society in London, and some Baptist churches and Catholic missions in Europe and the United States. (*TDC* 27-28)

Along his account, the narrator of *TDC* describes all of Casement's footsteps in Africa: his meeting his childhood hero, the explorer Henry Morton Stanley; his working for and encountering the Belgian Monarch Leopold II, whom he came to dread after his Congo investigation; his making the acquaintance of the Polish writer Joseph Conrad, and many others. At the end of the section on the Congo the reader is able to grasp the transformations Casement undergoes, as he initially believed "That Europe came to Africa to civilize the savages. Now I know I was wrong" (*TDC* 103). After handing in his report, "Roger discovered that without desiring or knowing it, circumstances have

made him an important man" (*TDC* 119), who makes the acquaintance of the journalist Edmund Dene Morel and together they founded the Congo Reform Association. In the end, his deeds were rewarded as the Duke of Argyll informed him that "His Majesty's government had decided to honor him with the decoration Companion of St. Michael and St. George for his excellent service in the Congo." (*TDC* 128) Nonetheless, Casement asked to be excused, for due to problem in his knee, he would not be able "to kneel before the king." (*TDC* 128)

In the second part, "Amazonia", the narrative moves forward to the time Casement spent in Brazil and in the Peruvian Amazon as an employee of the British Crown. As a result of the success of his Congo report, Casement was approached by Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Office Secretary:

> "The scandal concerning the Putumayo crimes has reached intolerable limits Public opinion demands that the government do something. No one is as qualified as you to travel there. … " you have a great deal of prestige because of what you did in the Congo. You're a specialist in atrocities. You can't say no." (*TDC* 162)

Casement was initially to report on the condition of Barbadians, British subjects employed by the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company, run by the Arana Brothers, registered in London. His attention soon shifted to the ill-treatment suffered by the Amazonian Indians as it had been previously reported by Benjamin Saldaña Roca and W. E. Hardenburg[91]: "Yes, Saldaña Roca began all of it with his accusations. And then, Walter Hardenburg's denunciations" (*TDC* 161). This section of the novel succeeds in revealing the way in which the exposure to these atrocities committed against the Putumayo Indians, which Casement gauged as being worse than those committed in the Congo, made his turn against British imperialism definite. He also realized that the crimes committed in the Congo and in the Peruvian Amazon were not different from those committed in his native Ireland:

[91] As mentioned in the biographical section of the "Introduction", rumours about atrocities being committed against the natives by the Peruvian Amazon Company were circulated by North American traveller W.E. Hardenburg in the Periodical *Truth*, having being previously addressed by Peruvian newspaper editor Benjamin Saldaña Roca in the periodicals *La Sanción* and *La Felpa*.

> Another reason for his distress was Ireland. Ever since he had become convinced that only resolute action, an uprising, could save his country from "losing its soul" because of colonization, as had happened to the Huitotos, the Boras, and the other unfortunate peoples of the Putumayo, he burned with impatience to throw himself body and soul into preparing the insurrection that would put an end to so many centuries of servitude in his country. (*TDC* 278)

Furthermore, similarly to "The Congo", "Amazonia" comes to an end by revealing the achievements of the detailed report published on his Putumayo investigation, and how it helped to bring down the system of sheer slavery that was practice by the Peruvian Amazon Company: "When the committee made its report public, sealing the final discredit of Julio C. Arana and ruining the empire that had made a rich and powerful man of this humble resident of Rioja, Roger had already begun to forget the Amazon and the Putumayo" (*TDC* 364). Despite receiving a knighthood in 1911, Casement was decided not to "serve the British Crown again as a diplomat or in any other capacity." (*TDC* 364) And so it happened, as the last section on Ireland will show.

In the third part, "Ireland", the account turns to Germany in the year of the outbreak of the First World War when Casement helped form and train a Brigade, with Irish Prisoners of War to fight for the independence of Ireland in the 1916 Easter Rising, which is the main focus of this section. Vargas Llosa strives to include all aspects of Casement's life in *The Dream of the Celt*; nonetheless such textual amplitude can result in an excess of information, as the reviewer Giles Foden has pointed out:

> A tighter temporal focus might have made for a novel that more easily assimilates such a bulk of material. Parts struggle to contain a proliferation of expository detail and qualifying reference. There are a fair number of undramatised biographical passages, which make for bumpy reading, even if one takes a latitudinarian position about the role of information in novelistic prose. (n. pag.)

Vargas Llosa's account of Casement's life seems, at a first glance, meticulously accurate in relation to the historical account in the form of Casement's Congo and Putumayo travelogues and his numerous correspondences. Yet, by tracing the sources on which Vargas Llosa has drawn, one will realize that this is not so, for he employs "realism with a twist". In "History and Imagination in *The Dream of the Celt*", Brazilian scholar Leopoldo Bernucci has discussed the extent to which the Peruvian writer has made subtle use of poetic licence, by borrowing and transforming the borrowed text depending on the emphasis he wants to give to certain events (Bernucci 11). This method is applied by Vargas Llosa throughout the whole novel, as he changes names (Henry Gielgud to Henry Filgald), events (from falling ill to being shot to death), and others. Nevertheless it is not the aim of this dissertation to draw these parallels and elucidate, as Bernucci has done, which accounts derive from fact, and which from fiction. I will focus on the literary text, making reference to Casement's accounts when necessary.

In *TDC* fiction is predominantly employed in the odd chapters 1-15 that narrate the dialogue between Casement and either the young attorney, or the Sheriff, or Alice Stopford Green, or Gertrude Banister, or Fathers Carey and McCarrol – and in passages dealing with dreams and homosexual content. The reason why this study grapples with mostly, but not solely, the odd chapters is due to the fact that there has not been a profound study of them to this date, for scholars have delved mainly into the even chapters, 2-14, thoroughly biographical. As this dissertation aims to assess fictional representations of Roger Casement, its focus is on the odd chapters that deal with the Casement created by Vargas Llosa struggling to cope with his own traumas, namely, his coming to terms with his homosexuality, the failure of the Rising and his mission in Germany. Finally, this study will show that *TDC* is the account of a wider traumatic incident at the moment that it is taking place whose effects will only be felt belatedly, namely, Casement's death sentence by hanging, which, this dissertation states, is portrayed as a metaphor for the traumatic process itself.

The trial of Roger Casement: "A traitor and pervert at the same time"

The trial of Roger Casement, as it has been mentioned, is the backbone and the opening sequence of the novel, which is structured in *medias res*. Similarly to Greek epic poems, like Homer's *Odyssey*, *TDC* commences at its midpoint rather than at its beginning. Here, Vargas Llosa imaginatively recreates Casement's last days in Pentonville Prison and Casement's relationship with the sheriff, which was at first, one of friction: "His flabby face, with its blond moustache and reproachful little eyes, contemplated him with a dislike he had never tried to hide. This was someone who would suffer if the English government granted his request for clemency" (*TDC* 2).

While in prison, Casement receives some visitors, who are announced by the sheriff, namely, the young clerk, his cousin Gertrude Banister and the historian and friend Alice Stopford Green. The first visitor is the clerk, Lawyer Gavan Duffy's assistant, and Casement wonders why Gavan Duffy had not gone there himself. Casement found that the young man who looked sickly and "dressed like a fop" (*TDC* 4) stared at him coldly and with disgust in his eyes, and told him that now it was impossible to succeed. Casement asked the reason why, for Mr. Gavan Duffy was optimistic about the petition and asks what had made him change his mind:

> "Your diaries," the young man hissed, making another disgusted face. ... "Scotland Yard found them in your lodgings on Ebury Street ... My good man, how could you be so stupid?" He spoke slowly, making his rage more obvious. "How could you, my good man, put such things on paper? And if you did, how could you not take the basic precaution of destroying those diaries before embarking on a conspiracy against the British Empire?" ... "Portions of those diaries are circulating everywhere now," the clerk added, calmer, though his disgust was constant, not looking at him now. ... "The request for clemency may be compromised. This morning there are already protests in some newspapers, confidences betrayed, rumours regarding the content of your diaries. (*TDC* 4)

After hearing the news, Casement is at first surprised that the plea for clemency is compromised when his lawyer Gavan Duffy told him he was confident about his case.

Afterwards the clerk tells Casement that the Home Office had found homosexual diaries in his lodging in London. The sentence in italics indicates Casement's own voice stating that he feels humiliated due to the clerk's choice of words, for he was at least twice his own age: "*It's an insult for this fellow to call me 'my good man*,' Roger thought." (*TDC* 5)

Casement was shocked after the news. He felt as if this was not happening to him; the way back to his cell was "interminable" and that "at any moment he might trip and fall face down on those damp stones and not get up again" (*TDC* 6). As soon as the clerk turned his back to leave, Casement asked the sheriff could he take a bath. The act of bathing was significant to Casement, for he loved being in the water and swimming in the rivers in Africa and Putumayo. In this context, it can also mean that he wished to wash himself free of something deeper; of his sins, maybe? But the sheriff's response is that he could only bathe on the day of his execution: "And, on that day, only if it's your final wish. Others, instead of a bath, prefer a good meal. A bad business for Mr. Ellis, because then, when they feel the noose, they shit themselves. And leave the place like a pigsty." (*TDC* 6)

At the outset of Chapter 3, the sheriff, who would later be referred to as Mr. Stacey, still unfriendly, announced the arrival of Casement's first visitor, his beloved cousin Gertrude Bannister, known as Gee, who offered him comfort in the days that preceded the execution. It was not known then that the plea would be rejected, so they were still hopeful. Nevertheless, she brings news that upset Casement, such as her being dismissed from Queen Anne's Academy, the school where she taught. She was sacked for being related to a traitor, as it will also be approached in the following section on Patrick Mason's *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*. Gertrude also brought up the issue of the infamous Diaries, reassuring him that "No one believes the vile things they're publishing about you … Every decent person is indignant that the government is using this kind of slander to weaken the manifesto so many people signed in your favour, Roger." (*TDC* 23)

The sheriff, however, did his best in order to make Casement feel even worse than he was already feeling; he told the prisoner that he was in the papers, not for treason, but as a consequence of his perversions:

"A traitor and a pervert at the same time. What garbage! It will be a pleasure to see you dancing at the end of a rope, ex-Sir Roger."

"The Cabinet turned down the petition for clemency?'"

"Not yet," the sheriff hesitated before answering. "But it will. And so will His Majesty the king, of course."

"I won't petition him for clemency. He's your king, not mine."

"Ireland is British," muttered the Sheriff. "Now more than ever after crushing that cowardly Easter Rising in Dublin. A stab in the back of a country at war. I wouldn't have shot your leaders, I would have hanged them." (*TDC* 15)

This conversation between Casement and the sheriff reveals that since his trial, Casement would be tainted for two controversial "misdeeds": his "treachery" to the British Crown for taking part in the Easter Rising, and his "perversion" because of the sodomite Black Diaries revealed by the British Home Office. Yet, *TDC* suggests that both of these motivations are disputable, for one is left with questions concerning, firstly, Casement's participation in the Rising: what were his real motivations? Did he in fact wish the Rising to take place? Secondly, regarding the authenticity of the Black Diaries: if Casement did write them, did he enact what was written in them? In face of such contradictions hinted at by Vargas Llosa along the novel, one is left with the feeling that the Casement of *TDC* is humanized. He is, in Vargas Llosa's novel, "a flawed hero", applying biographer Roger Sawyer's term, one with doubts, fears, passions, desires and also the idealism that moved him, but that also led him to the gallows.

TDC is a novel of reminiscence, where the recovery of Casement's memories is narrated omnisciently. In "Lieux de Mémoire", French historian Pierre Nora writes that there is an interconnection between history, memory and the nation, which is "involved in a reciprocal circularity, a symbiosis at every level" (Lieux de Mémoire 8). This occurs in that, according to Nora, a national definition of the present demands justification through the illumination of the past. This is certainly applicable to the controversies that surround Casement's trajectory and the way in which Vargas Llosa

tries to solve these ambiguities by rewriting the memories of his historical protagonist.

In *TDC*, the quest for memory can also be seen as the search for Casement's history. Nora affirms that we have moved from one type of memory – a skill passed down by unspoken traditions – to memory transformed by its passage through history – experienced as a duty, no longer spontaneous, collective and all encompassing. The result, according to Nora, is, nevertheless, a present weakened by trauma that calls for a re-evaluation of the past (Lieux de Mémoire 9-10). This is precisely the role of the reader of *TDC*, to re-evaluate the past through the filter of the present. In short, what follows is an examination of the three following aspects: firstly, Casement's coming to terms with his homosexuality, and secondly, his acceptance of the failure of the role he played in the 1916 Rising and, finally, his death as a transatlantic trauma of imperialism.

Casement and the *Black Diaries*: Between "Angels and Demons"

Writing a historical novel, or a literary biography, implies making decisions regarding which aspects of the historical figure will be written in and which will be left out. In the case of Roger Casement this becomes challenging due to the so-called Black Diaries. Writers of fiction have taken various standpoints in relation to this topic. One example is Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, two Boys*, approached in Chapter 1, where Casement's alleged homosexuality is only obliquely present. In Patrick Mason's The *Dreaming of Roger Casement*, Casement assumes that he is a homosexual. In David Rudkin's radio play *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*, which will be dealt with in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, there is a link between Casement's conversion to nationalism and his awaking homosexuality.

Although this dissertation does not aspire to answer questions concerning the forgery issue[92], the *Black Diaries* are still controversial when taken as historical source

[92] The issue of the forgery of the *Black Diaries* is explained in the section "Afterlife" in Attachment 6.1.

that has inevitably shaped the creation of current fictional versions of the life of Roger Casement. This is clear in the disputes between biographers and historians. While Roger Swayer believes the Diaries to be "the products of [Casement's] own personality" (91), to Angus Mitchell they have been accepted wholeheartedly to produce, what he terms, the 'whole man' (104), which, in turn, has resulted in "the riddle of the two Casements",[93] the Janus faced humanitarian writer of the Congo and Putumayo reports, in contrast with the writer of the sodomite Black Diaries.

Given these antagonistic interpretations, one would wonder whether there could be a way to take Casement's homosexuality for granted and create fictional versions of him as if the Black Diaries had not existed. In this respect, the stand Vargas Llosa takes has been to create a multifaceted character. This is epitomized in the "Epilogue" of *TDC,* where Vargas Llosa writes that: "… a human being is made of contradictions and contrasts, weakness and greatness, since a man as José Enrique Rodó writes, 'is many men,' which means that angels and demons inextricably combine in his personality." (*TDC 354*)

In *TDC*, Vargas Llosa creates a context in which Casement lives a double life: one of homoerotic dreams secretly scribbled in journals, in opposition to his heroic duties as an immaculate Consular servant. As seen in the section on Conan Doyle's *The Lost World*, in the Victorian and Edwardian ages sexual liaison between men apart from being a crime[94], it was associated with abnormality, and therefore the opposite of decency. This idea is clearly stated in a note[95] absent from *TDC*, but present in Casement's *Black Diaries,* concerning the suicide of Hector Macdonald, a military official who committed suicide when charges of homosexuality were brought against

[93] See pages 39-40 of the "Introduction" for more details on the forgery controversy.

[94] Homosexuality was decriminalized in Britain with the Sexual Offenses act in 1967, and in Ireland, as it was shown in the previous section, only in 1993.

[95] Casement's journal entry is as follows: "April 17th. Cool morning after rain. ... H.M.S. 'Odin' arr. Brought news of Sir Hector Macdonald's suicide in Paris! The reasons given are pitiably sad. The most distressing case this surely of its kind and one that may awake the national mind to saner methods of curing a disease than by criminal legislation." (*Black Diaries* 123) The editors of the published version of *The Black Diaries*, Sinlgeton-Gates and Girordias explain that the life of Scotsman Hector Macdonald's was a tragic one. He was a private soldier enlisted in the Gordon Highlanders in 1870, and had brilliant career in the British army. He was even present at the battle of Majuba Hill in 1881 against the Boers. He received the thanks of Parliament after the war. He had been appointed an Honorary A.D.C. to Queen Victoria and King Edward VII. However, in 1903, in Ceylon, charges of homosexual practice were brought against him. On the night of March 23rd, he shot himself at a room at the Hotel Regina in Paris. (*Black Diaries* 123)

him. Casement's reaction to the news was chiefly of pity. Casement's belief in saner methods to "cure" such a "disease" instead of criminal legislation, reveals that he was sensitive toward what today is referred to as homosexuality, but which was then referred to a disease. Casement would not commit suicide, but neither would he escape death.

In *TDC*, the narrator recalls how before setting foot in Africa, Casement's Puritan upbringing led him to remain conscientious that he was part of a society where "the mere suspicion of sexual attraction between persons of the same sex was considered an abominable aberration, rightly condemned by law and religion as a crime and a sin without justification or extenuating circumstances" (*TDC* 220). However, once he escaped that repressive environment, Casement felt free to discover sexual pleasures with young men. Africa was a geographical – and at the same time a magical – space: "… where human beings could be mistreated in the most iniquitous way but, at the same time, show their passions, fantasies, desires, and dreams without the restraints and prejudices that still stifled pleasure in Great Britain." (*TDC* 220)

In Chapter 11, while Casement is in prison reminiscing about his life, the narrator describes Casement's first homosexual encounter with two young men fishing in the river. They were swimming naked, as was Casement. After fish was caught, one of the boys went out of the water to start a fire while the other who stayed in the water approached Casement:

> And then Roger felt someone else's hands searching out his belly, touching and caressing his sex, which had been erect for a while. In the darkness of his cell, he sighed with desire and anguish. Closing his eyes, he tried to revive that scene from so many years ago: the surprise, the indescribable excitement that nonetheless did not attenuate his misgivings and fear, and his body embracing the boy's whose stiff penis he could also feel rubbing against his legs and belly. It was the first time Roger made love, if he could call it making love when he became excited and ejaculated in the water against the body of the boy who masturbated him and undoubtedly also ejaculated, though Roger didn't notice

that. (*TDC* 220)

This excerpt reveals the description of the memory of Casement's first sexual experience. As the narrator recreates the scene in his mind and remembers the feeling of the boy's "stiff penis" rubbing against him he sighs not only with desire but also with anguish. Having lived this surprising and almost dreamlike experience of ejaculating in the water, which is the fluid of life, Vargas Llosa's Casement will try to constantly repeat and re-live this blissful experience. However, these mixed feelings of "desire and anguish" would remain until the last moments of his life. As the events described in this passage take place in Casement's mind while he is in his cell in Pentonville, it is as if he is not only being tried for treason. He is also being indirectly tried for his private sexual inclinations.

The double life that Casement led was viable in the 19th early 20th century when it was common to be a single explorer in a society in which, according to North American theorist Bram Dijkstra (1986), romantic attachments could and should be avoided by those who did not want to be diverted from imperialistic duties. This way of thinking

> [...] was the logical outcome of a cultural environment in which the evolving male was expected to combine an attitude of socioeconomic belligerence with an ideal of personal continence in the service of worldly success. Thus, distrust of all others in the area of personal achievement came to be conjoined with a glorification of the virtues of sacrifice and abstinence (Dijkstra 235).

In *The Dream of the Celt,* Vargas Llosa has made a convenient decision as he created a Casement that is a closeted homosexual[96] and the author of the *Black Diaries*. In Chapter 8, for instance, Casement writes about unfulfilled homosexual fantasies in the year 1913, right after the Putumayo investigation. Casement was in Santa Catalina Park, Las Palmas, when he approached two boys. Miguel, the youngest, agreed to go with him for a drink: "It seemed to him that with his excitement, youth and love of life

[96] Care must be taken to underscore that the term homosexual is employed in this dissertation as it is known today, for there is the risk of anachronism. The terms that would be used at the time, "invert" and "sodomite" are no longer in use.

returned to his veins" (*TDC* 298). However, this encounter turned out disastrous. After Roger invited the boy to follow him to his hotel, he felt a sharp pain on his hip that came all at once and made him "sit on the ground, doubled over" (*TDC* 298). Frightened, the boy hurried away, not asking what had happened or saying good-bye. Following this pathetic episode, Vargas Llosa creates an incident that resulted in a journal entry where Casement's fantasies related to this disastrous episode are made real:

> The next morning, as he had breakfast, he opened his diary and, writing slowly in a tiny hand, made love to Miguel several times, first in the darkness of Santa Catalina park hearing the murmur of the sea. And then in the foul room of a small hotel where they heard the howl of the ships' sirens. The boy rode him, mocking him, "You're an old man, that's what you are, a very old man," and slapping him on the buttocks, which made him moan, perhaps in pain, perhaps with pleasure" (*TDC* 299).

The narrator explains that after the frustrated experience with the Canarian sailor in Santa Catalina, Casement became inhibited by being sexually involved again because of the fear of ridicule. On that account, Casement took to writing as a means of channelling his intimate prohibited desires:

> From time to time, as he had done so often in Africa and Brazil, he made love alone, scribbling on the pages of his diary, in a nervous, hurried hand, synthetic phrases, sometimes as unrefined as those lovers of a few minutes or hours whom he then had to gratify. These simulacra plunged him into a depressing stupor, and so he tried to space them, for nothing made him so conscious of his solitude and clandestine situation, which he knew very well, would be with him until his death. (*TDC* 298-99)

This is a very moving description of the suffering that Casement experienced by feeling attracted to men. The pain that he felt in his hips was a consequence of arthritis, due to exposure to extreme conditions in the Congo and the Amazon, and a result of aging. Nevertheless, the sudden "pang" of pain can be interpreted as a kind of punishment for his seeking forbidden pleasure from a young man; and the journal entry is a way for him to let loose his repressed forbidden desires. This portrayal of Casement in *TDC* goes against the notion according to which for him to be considered a patriot and a martyr it was required that "his homosexuality be pushed back in the closet and denied" (Kathryn Conrad 27). According to critic Kathryn Conrad (2004), both British and Irish at the time of Casement's trial, and afterlife, made Casement's homosexuality foreign, either by denying it or by accepting both his Irish nationalism and sexuality as evidence of the same treasonous problem (Conrad 27).

Another device that Vargas Llosa employs to explore this controversial aspect of his historical protagonist is through the oneiric universe. Dreams[97] are written as a way to access what is being repressed in Casement's unconscious. It is a means through which the writer can give vent to Casement's most intimate desires, allowing the approach to issues such as homosexuality, which is occasionally intertwined with his memory of his mother:

> He dreamed about his mother in a lake in Wales. A faint, distant sun shone through the leaves of the tall oaks, and agitated, feeling palpitations, he saw the muscular young man he had photographed this morning in the embankment in Iquitos. … The slender silhouette of Anne Jephson disappeared. His uneasiness was due not to sadness and pity caused in him by an enslaved population in the Putumayo, but the sensation that although he didn't see her, Anne Jephson was nearby, spying on him from a circular grove of trees. Fear, however, did not weaken his growing excitement while he watched the boy from Iquitos approach.

[97] It is interesting to note how the dream is also the way Casement's homosexuality is explored in the radio play *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012), which will be approached in the next section of Chapter 2. Analogously to Llosa's novel, in Mason's play, the oneiric universe also gives vent to Casement's repressed desires.

> His torso dripped water as he emerged from the lake like a lacustrian god. At each step his muscles stood out, and on his face was an insolent smile that made Roger shudder and moan in his sleep. When he awoke, he confirmed with disgust that he had ejaculated. He washed and changed his trousers and underwear. He felt ashamed and uncertain. (*TDC* 125)

This dream is described in Chapter 8, when Casement was in Amazonia during the Putumayo investigation. The dream reveals the intersection between two subjects as the image of his mother, who was by a lake in Wales, fades and is replaced by that of a muscular young man who appears through the tall trees and dense vegetation in Iquitos, for whom Casement feels ardent desire. In a similar way to the aforementioned excerpt of the Canarian sailor that depicts Casement's feeling of "pleasure and anguish", this dream reveals a sense of guilt after he notices he had ejaculated while sleeping. Although his mother, Anne Jephson, symbolizes censorship, he does not feel inhibited by her presence. Here, two traumas are conjoined: the trauma of losing his mother at the age of six, to whom he was deeply attached, and his homosexuality[98], for which he could have been charged, like Oscar Wilde had before him in 1895.

There is no way of knowing what Casement actually felt about his sexual orientation because the *Black Diaries* are cryptic; they contain names, size of genitals and how much he paid to have this or that fleeting lover. There is another passage in the novel where Casement is still not completely recovered from malaria, and the narrator seems to fill in the gaps of a Black Diary entry with elements of fiction and imagination. Casement was sitting with a friend in the old Café Paris in the Congo when he saw "several half-naked natives unloading a large wagon filled with bales of some agricultural product, perhaps cotton. One of them, the youngest, was very beautiful." (*TDC* 69). This excerpt is descriptive and imagetic, typical of Casement's travel writing, however "with a twist":

[98] However, care must be taken, as it has been explored in Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*, it is only possible to employ the term homosexuality with the eyes of today, for otherwise, it would have been anachronistic.

> He had a long, athletic body, muscles that appeared on the back, legs and arms with the effort he was making. His dark skin, gleaming with sweat, had a blue tinge. With the movements he made as he carried the load on his shoulder from the wagon to the interior of the storehouse, the light piece of cloth he wore around his hips opened and offered a glimpse of his sex, reddish and hanging and larger than normal. Roger felt a warm surge and urgent desires to photograph the handsome porter. It hadn't happened to him for months (*TDC* 69).

In this passage, the narrator seems to replace the abbreviations and encryptions – a major trait of the *Black Diaries* – for a more expanded narrative by which one has access to Casement's fictionalized private life. The narrator continues the sequence claiming that, after taking a glimpse at this handsome porter, Casement is enveloped by a surge of inspiration. He opens a diary "he always carried with him" and writes: "'Very beautiful and enormous. I followed him and persuaded him. We kissed hidden by the giant ferns in a clearing. He was mine. I was his. I howled.' He breathed deeply, in a fever" (*TDC* 69). This brief entry illustrates two points. The first point is that as the narrator claims that Casement always carried this small diary on him, he is implying that the man who is being tried is the author of the *Black Diaries*. The second point is that the sequence between inverted commas emulates the style of the *Black Diaries*, as it is concise and written with short sentences. It could be an appropriation and adaptation of an excerpt from Casement's diary; nevertheless, there is no clear indication as to what is fact and what is fiction. Descriptive and detailed excerpts as the above do not appear in Casement's private diaries.

One of the conflicts that the fictional Casement experienced in Pentonville Prison while awaiting the result of the plea for clemency was the need to come to terms with the rumours of the *Black Diaries* and the consequences of his alleged homosexuality. This begins in Chapter 1 after his lawyer George Gavan Duffy's young assistant, with disgust, broke the news that excerpts from his homosexual journals were being circulated among his defence and that this would undermine the plea for clemency.

Although he does not seem to repent what he has done, to his cousin Gertrude's queries about the rumours that were circulating about the *Black Diaries*, Casement only says, "Of course I have made many mistakes. But I have nothing to be ashamed of" (*TDC* 20). Still, the narrator reveals the opposite, as he writes of a Casement who was capable of realizing that temptations became part of his life; they "... revolutionized it, filled it with secrets, anguish, fear, but also with startling moments of pleasure. And remorse and bitterness, of course." (*TDC* 295) Casement then underwent a process of recovery of memory in which the feeling of guilt leads to acceptance.

As Casement reached the end of his life and wished to be reunited with the Catholic faith, Vargas Llosa portrays a character thinking of pardon and redemption: "At the supreme moment, would God do the Arithmetic? Would he pardon him? Punish him? He felt curious, not terrified. As if it didn't concern him but was an intellectual exercise or conundrum" (*TDC* 294). Consequently, this reference to God doing the arithmetic between his honourable deeds and his prohibited desires unveils Casement as a human being like any other: he was conscious of, on the one hand, his altruism revealed in his actions and reports about the Congo and the Putumayo and, on the other hand, of his attraction to young men. What follows is a reflection about his other controversial political "sin": seeking Teutonic connections for the independence of Ireland.

Roger Casement and the Rising: Coming to Terms with Teutonic Connections

Analogously to Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys,* apart from issues surrounding the so-called *Black Diaries The Dream of the Celt* also deals with the trauma of Casement's making disputable overseas alliances with Germany. While Casement was in Pentonville prison reminiscing about his past, he frequently re-examined his reasons for having sought Teutonic support for the independence of Ireland from Britain, which he believed would improve the life of the Irish underdog. It is relevant to note that Casement had long been inclined to favour an alliance with Germany on behalf of Ireland, and this is clear in *The Amazon Journal* (1997). Whilst involved in the Putumayo investigation of the rubber atrocities, and witnessing the depletion of human and natural resources in the Amazon region, Casement writes that 400 years of Spanish and Portuguese colonization has turned Latin America "first into a hell, then into a

desert" (*Amazon Journal* 434). By contrast, he praises Germany and writes that a Teutonic colonization of Latin America would surpass a Latinized one:

> No sight could be pleasanter than the flag of Teutonic civilization advancing into the wilderness. ... Germany, with her 70,000,000 of virile men has much to do for mankind besides giving us music and military shows. Let loose pent up energies in this Continent, and God help the rats who have gnawed at it so long. ... I believe that the people for the task are 'neither Saxon, nor Italian', but our friends the Germans. Not the Americans or Canadians, or anything Latin or Latinized. The curse of this continent has been its Latinization. (*Amazon Journal* 434)

Hence, Casement's insight about Germany being capable to restore order in a place like Latin America, where the evils of colonization were taking place right before his eyes dates back to the period he spent in the Putumayo investigation. Having been exposed to the atrocities committed by the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company, Casement drew a parallel between the Indians in the Putumayo and the Irish in Connemara. After Casement's return to Ireland he went on a trip to Connemara in the West of Ireland where he found his neglected countrymen, living in poverty and stricken by typhoid fever. In *TDC*, this idea was certainly a trigger that motivated Casement to channel his efforts towards the independence of Ireland. This is revealed in an article he wrote to the *Irish Independent,* and in *TDC*, "'The Irish in the Putumayo', and [he] created an assistant fund to which he was both donor and subscriber" (*TDC* 303).

Casement's exaltation of Teutonic virtues was later transposed to the Irish context. He believed Germany could become an ally in the Irish struggle for independence and he shared his plans with the Irish Volunteers in 1914. Once among the Irish-Americans in Manhattan, Casement began his campaign not only to fund the Irish Volunteers but also to convince the *Clan na Gael* to financially support his plans in Germany[99]. In *TDC*, Casement's plans and German's duties were clearly stated:

[99] For detailed information about Casement's actions in Germany see section "Germany" in Attachment 6.1.

> … it was indispensable for the German government to issue a statement guaranteeing that, in the event of victory, it would support the Irish desire for liberation from the colonial yoke. By the same token, the German government had to commit to giving special treatment to Irish soldiers who might be taken prisoner, separating them from the English and giving them the opportunity to join an Irish Brigade that would fight "alongside, but not inside" the German army against the common enemy. Roger would organize the Brigade. (*TDC* 319)

In spite of Casement's intentions and the effort he put into this mission, his plans turned out a succession of failures. In Angus Mitchell's words: "In November 1914, Casement had believed Germany would win the war; this was a view he no longer entertained when he boarded the submarine in April 1916." (*Field Day* 9) However, we are still left with the following questions: what if the guns had landed in Tralee, in the coast of Ireland? How would Casement have been remembered today? Historian John Gibney ("If the Casement Guns") [100] has explored these queries and ratified that there was in fact a lack of men and arms among the Irish Revolutionaries. German aid could have extended the fight, but the formation of the Irish Republic might have been achieved in any case, although the events that paved the way for the independence of Ireland could have been different. Nevertheless, what is important to realize in the context of *TDC* is that in 1916, Casement's plans were feasible, and Germany did, at first, seem interested in investing in relations that would culminate in an independent Ireland. Vargas Llosa's Casement notes this while he was lying in his cot in Pentonville Prison, after history had taken its course:

[100] The paper "If The Casement Guns Had Landed in Kerry: Another Version of The Easter Rising" (forthcoming in *Breac:* A Digital Journal on Irish Studies) by historian John Gibney was first presented at the Casement Conference in Tralee. It is a study on alternate history, as it presents a series of conjectures about what would have happened if a better equipped Uprising had taken place 1916 – and he concludes it would have lasted longer, but the outcome would not have been much different. In addition, he draws on Conor Cruise O'Brien's "Embers of Easter" (1966) and his idea that, and if the Easter Rebellion had taken place in 1918, after the Russian Revolution, and during heavy British conscription, the Irish could have stood a better chance, especially in terms of the future: "In Connolly's metaphor, the 'pin in the hands of a child' could then have 'pierced the heart of a giant' . . . The premature character of the Rising may also have been the misfortune of those who were to die in the Second World War." (O'Brien 5).

> How different their attitude had been at first when, letting themselves to be persuaded by Roger's enthusiasm, they supported his initiative to bring together all Irish prisoners in the Limburg camp, supposing that once he spoke to them, hundreds would enrol in the Irish Brigade. What a failure and what a disappointment! The most painful of his life. A failure that made him look ridiculous and shattered his patriotic dreams. Where was his mistake? (*TDC* 210)

It is important to underscore that if seeking Teutonic support had been a mistake, it was not Casement's mistake alone; he had the approval of the Irish Volunteers and the *Clan na Gael*. As the narrator of *TDC* writes, Casement overestimated his role in the Rebellion and it was the most painful defeat he had had. In *TDC*, the narrator writes that even the prisoners at Limburg who did not take part in Casement's plans threatened to denounce him and the Brigade to the British:

> But what concerned the Brigade members now was something more urgent: the prisoners at Limburg had threatened to denounce them to the English authorities so their families in Ireland would stop receiving combatant pensions from the British Army. If this happened, their parents, wives, and children would starve to death. What was Roger going to do about that? (*TDC* 332)

By now, Mario Vargas Llosa's Casement was powerless, yet he had the spiritual support of Father Crotty, an Irish Dominican Priest who helped him deal with the prisoners. Nevertheless, this did not suffice, and one of Irish Volunteer leaders, Tom Clarke, asked the Irish Official Robert Monteith[101] if he would be interested in assisting Casement to recruit and train men for the Irish Brigade. Consequently, "During the six months he remained in Germany, Robert Monteith was, like father Crotty, a blessing for

[101] Apart from father Crotty, an Irish Dominican Priest who provided much needed spiritual comfort to Casement in Germany, Captain Robert Monteith who remained loyal to Casement until the end. See page 18 in the "Introduction".

Roger" (*TDC* 335), for Casement confided in him his doubts and fears in relation to the Rising that was secretly being planned in Ireland.

According to Richard Doerries, Casement learned from the Germans through a message sent by John Devoy[102] on 1st March 1916 that the Insurrection was scheduled to take place on Easter Sunday. ("Introduction") As he wrote in his diary in Germany on St. Patrick's Day, he had been initially against the Rising:

> I told Monteith all my fears—but now I saw clearly I had to go. He agreed that I could not stay behind. He also agreed with me that in any case, without a German army corps, any 'rising' in Ireland by ourselves alone is hopeless—worse than hopeless. But to attempt it with this meager 'help', under such conditions is madness and criminal. He agrees to it & sees the hopelessness, but feels with me it is our duty to try & get the rifles into Ireland. (Casement, qtd. in Doerries, "Documents")

Despite the obstacles Casement encountered along his two years in Germany, he remained true to his convictions and believed in an independent Ireland. He was, therefore, determined not to let the Volunteers down and did his best in convincing the Germans to ship the rifles that had been promised and to spare the 50 or so members of the Brigade to go to Ireland. Casement became aware that what Germany had to offer was far less than what had been promised: 20,000 rifles, 10 machine guns and 5,000,000 rounds of ammunition, which, according to Gibney ("If the Casement Guns"), meant that the battle could not have lasted so long. According to Angus Mitchell (2012), in Casement's view, the limited assistance offered by the Germans was purely to get rid of the Irish problem once and for all "on the cheapest possible terms to themselves." (Casement, qtd in *Field Day Review* 53)[103]

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[102] It was Monteith who broke the news to Casement. In *TDC*, this passage is as following: "'They're asking for rifles, riflemen, artillerymen, machine guns, ammunition ... They want the ship escorted by a submarine. The weapons are to reach Fenit on Tralee Bay, in County Kerry, on Easter Sunday at about midnight ... The message also has instructions for you, Sir Roger,' Monteith added. 'You should remain in Germany as an ambassador of the new Republic of Ireland.'" (*TDC* 339)

[103] Mitchell, Angus. *Field Day Review* 8, p 53

Ultimately, Casement was convinced that the Germans had already played their role in the independence of Ireland and that nothing else would be offered. It is important to note that Casement made a choice regarding his own life, for the Americans and the Germans initially wished to keep him in Berlin as an Irish Ambassador where the Americans believed he would be of more use. Casement saw this as a means of keeping him out of the way, for the Irish-Americans knew he was against the Rising and intended to stop it. At first Casement was, in fact, strictly against an armed insurrection, which he viewed as an "idiocy" and as manslaughter (*Field Day* 53). Yet, in a letter to Count von Wedel[104] concerning John Devoy's speech in the "Irish World" at the Irish Convention on 4-5 March, Casement writes:

> From Mr. Devoy's remarks it is probable that the impending action in Ireland rests on very justifiable grounds and that were I in Ireland I should personally approve it. Mr. Devoy is precise. … The Government are determined to destroy the Irish Volunteers, and once broken up and their leaders in jail Ireland will be forced by a new Act, into the Compulsory Service Camp. … If this be just a statement of the situation I am of Devoy's way of thinking, and, I, too, am most anxious to help, and towards such an effort as this I welcome the help offered by the German government. I will very gladly go to Ireland with the arms and do all I can to sustain and support a movement of resistance based on these grounds. For in this case it is far better for Irishmen to fight at home and resist conscription by force than be swept into the shambles of England's continental war and lose their lives in an unworthy cause. Mr. Devoy's speech removes some of the doubts that had so troubled me. I therefore, repeat with greater insistence than in my previous letter – nothing should stop the vessel going next Saturday, with me certainly on

[104] Count Georg von Wedel was a member of the German Foreign Office and acted as a mediator between Casement in Germany, Ireland, and the Irish-Americans from the *Clan na Gael*. The letter in question dates from 1 April 1916.

> board and probably Lt. Monteith. (Letter to Von Wedel qtd. in "Documents", Doerries)

Casement was influenced by Mr. Devoy's arguments about conscription and the end of the Volunteers, but once the U19 submarine landed in Tralee, he still tried to get a message to Dublin stating the need to stop the Rising for no help would arrive from Germany. In Vargas Llosa's novel, Casement imagined his "Dream of the Celt" partially fulfilled:

> He hadn't been wrong to think it was mistake to stage an armed rebellion without a concurrent German action, but that didn't make him happy. He would have preferred to be wrong. And to have been there with those lunatics, the hundred Volunteers who at dawn on April 24 captured the Post Office on Sackville Street, or those who attempted to capture Dublin Castle … A thousand times better to die like them, with a gun in his hand – a heroic, noble, romantic death – and not face the indignity of the gallows, like a murder rapist. No matter how impossible and unreal the plan of the Volunteers, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and the Irish Citizen Army might have been, it must have been beautiful and thrilling – no doubt everyone there cried and felt their hearts pounding – to hear Patrick Pearse read the manifesto that proclaimed the Republic. Though only for an exceedingly brief parenthesis of seven days, "the dream of the Celt" became a reality: Ireland, emancipated from British occupier, was an independent nation. (*TDC* 213)

In this excerpt, Vargas Llosa's Casement reflected upon the consequences of the Rising he could not prevent from happening. He wished he could have been in Dublin fighting alongside those "lunatics" that wished for a free Ireland, like the Celts in his epic poem. Despite the deaths of the men involved, Casement noted that his "Dream of the Celt" did become a symbolic reality, for through Patrick Pearse's voice, Ireland was a free

country those brief seven days.

Although the reasons for his taking part in the Rising the way he did became clearer, in *TDC* Casement was only able to come to terms with his actions in Germany after the visit of one of his closest friends, the historian Alice Stopford Green. In the novel, Alice was his last visitor. Alice's presence in Pentonville was in itself a form of healing for her words were of comfort and encouragement for Casement to carry on. Alice told him she had also been against the Rising, yet she felt differently after her nephew Austin, a Capuchin monk caring for the wounded, told her what had happened:

> "For a few hours, a few days, an entire week, Ireland was a free country, darling," she said, and it seemed to Roger that Alice trembled with emotion. "An independent, sovereign republic, with a president and a provisional government. Austin hadn't arrived yet when Patrick Pearse came out of the Post Office and read the proclamation of the Irish Republic, and the creation of the constitutional government of the Republic of Ireland, signed by the seven. […] I was opposed, as I've told you, but when I read that text I began to cry aloud, in a way I've never cried before" (*TDC* 381).

After listening to Alice's account of the Rising, Casement was able to form a larger picture of this incident in his mind. Thus, for the reasons cited Vargas Llosa's Casement came to realize that his efforts had not been in vain and that the Rising ultimately succeeded, even without German aid.

> "It must have been very moving, of course".
>
> "It's a symbol and history is made of symbols", Alice Stopford Green agreed. "It doesn't matter that they shot Pearse, Connolly, Clarke, Plunkett, and the rest of the signers of the Proclamation of the Republic. On the contrary. Those shootings have baptized this symbol with blood, giving it a halo of heroism and

martyrdom." (*TDC* 383)

Alice grasped how, in executing "Pearse, Connolly, Clarke, Plunkett, and the rest" (*TDC* 383) Britain had not only turned rebels into martyrs, but it had also changed the opinion of the Irish about the Rising thereafter. Alice was able to foresee the future as to the consequences of the Rising as she told Roger: "Do you know something? Not now, but sometime soon, something good will come out of everything that's happened. There are already signs" (*TDC* 387). Alice then discussed the changes in the perceptions of the people: "We who were in the minority, now have the majority of the Irish people on our side. You may think it's a lie, but I swear to you it isn't. The shootings, the courts martial, the deportations are doing us great service" (*TDC* 388). Alice believed that perhaps Patrick Pearse, Joseph Plunkett and the rest had not been mistaken:

> "Because every day in Ireland, in the streets, churches, neighbourhood associations, and guilds, spontaneous demonstrations of sympathy for the martyrs, those who had been shot or sentenced to long prison terms, were multiplying, along with shows of hostility toward the police and soldiers of the British army." (*TDC* 388).

Following this train of thought, what in fact caused a turn in Irish history was not the Rising in itself, but the execution of the 15 rebel leaders (the 16th would be Casement). In "Embers of Easter" (1966), the historian Conor Cruise O'Brien writes that:

> Because of Eoin MacNeill's Countermanding order the Irish Volunteers did not rise as a body; only a few hundred men came out at the orders of Pearse and Connolly and fought for a week in Dublin; the execution of the leaders changed the political climate of the country, and eventually led to a second phase of fighting, but only after the victory of the Allies in changed conditions which

deprived the rebellion in Ireland of much of its significance ("Embers of Easter" 4)

In a similar way to the traumatic process, the Irish were only able to assimilate the death of the revolutionaries belatedly. According to Cathy Caruth, "… the direct seeing of a violent event may occur as an absolute inability to know it; that immediacy, paradoxically, may take form of belatedness." (*Unclaimed Experience* 92) The executions did not cause a direct impact on the Irish people, for they, at first, did not identify with the goals of the revolutionaries due to backdrop of conscription for the First World War. According to Doerries, only after the shooting of their own fellow countrymen by the British were the Irish "shaken out of their lethargy by the Brutality of British retribution" ("Introduction").

Caruth's idea of "belatedness" can be, once more, illustrated by Doerries, who continues to stress the importance of the role Casement played in the Rising: "Only after the event did the Easter of 1916 take on grave historical meaning, and the victims of British revenge became the martyrs of Irish history. One of these men, without any doubt, was Sir Roger Casement." (Doerries, "Introduction"). In this regard, still focussing on the legacy of Roger Casement to the history of Ireland, what follows is a brief discussion about the events leading to the death of Casement and how this event is portrayed in *TDC*.

Death Sentence and Epilogue

As aforementioned, in *TDC* Alice Stopford Green did the best she could to convince Casement that his belief in the independence of Ireland and his seeking German support would eventually revert into a good cause. However, not all of his friends and supporters agreed with this view and had always been against his turning into an Irish

nationalist. This became evident once Casement's friends refused to sign the petition for clemency organized by the writer and friend Arthur Conan Doyle.[105]Among these was artist Herbert Ward, the first friend he made in Africa. In *TDC*, Casement was upset with their refusal to sign, and was having dreams of Ward joining him in the Rising in Dublin. He knew that this was a nonsensical dream, for Ward himself had many times cautioned Casement against the ills of his extreme nationalistic views:

> He woke, caught between alarm and surprise. Because in the confusion of his nights, on this one the thought of his friend – ex-friend now – Herbert Ward had kept him frightened and tense as he dreamed. But it was not in Africa, where they had met when both were working for the expedition of Sir Henry Morton Stanley, or afterward, in Paris, where Roger had gone to visit Herbert and Sarita several times, but on the streets of Dublin, precisely in the midst of the uproar, the barricades, the shots, the cannon fire, and the great collective sacrifice at Easter Week. Herbert Ward in the middle of the insurgent Irish, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, fighting for the independence of Ireland! How could the human mind, given over to sleep, construct such absurd fantasies? (*TDC* 373)

While lying in his cot, Casement remembered how Ward[106] had pleaded him to return to reality and leave behind "the dream of the Celt", of an independent Ireland. As a consequence, Casement was capable of perceiving how this dream of Herbert Ward taking part in the Rising had been absurd. Ward had been a member of Henry Morton

[105] For more information about the petition organized by Conan Doyle see Chapter1 of this dissertation, on *The Lost World*.

[106] At first Casement's nationalism was not taken too seriously by Herbert Ward. Yet, he began to worry about his friend's moves in Germany, and since he had a son fighting in the trenches, their paths drifted apart. According to Angus Mitchell "Ward's admiration for Casement extended to the naming of a son Roger Casement Ward, but in July 1916 he refused to sign Conan Doyle's petition to save Casement from the gallows and could never come to terms with Casement's conviction. Gertrude Banister claimed that despite knowing the *Black Diaries* were forged he refused to take the issue upon helping her in her efforts to vindicate Casement." (*Amazon Journal* 333) According to Lucy MacDiarmid (2005) after the controversy of treason and the *Black Diaries* Herbert Ward "unnamed his third son" (188) who became Rodney in order to keep his nickname Roddy.

Stanley's expedition in Africa, where he had met Casement. Both became trustworthy lifelong friends.

At the time of Casement's trial, Ward was already living in Paris with his wife Sarita, where he worked as an artist and a sculptor. Ward had always thought Casement's efforts to seek German support as treacherous: "Thinking of Herbert Ward saddened him. They would never be friends again. The death of one of the Wards' son Charles, so young, so handsome, so healthy, on the Neuve Chepelle front in January 1916 had opened a chasm between them that nothing could close" (*TDC* 269). The same "chasm" between Casement and Ward had happened between himself and many others, such as E. D. Morel and Joseph Conrad causing the petition to lose strength.

Accordingly, *TDC* evinces that the death of Roger Casement is the result of the combination of the circulation of excerpts of the *Black Diaries* by the British Home Office and of his alliance with the Germans to support the Rising participation in the Rising. The news of Casement's death sentence finally came. While the pronouncement was made, the governor of Pentonville Prison, the sheriff and the cell guard stood surrounding Casement. There was silence in the room that, according to Roger, seemed to be lasting "for centuries", as if that would precede the moment that was most feared:

> I am fulfilling my duty to communicate to you that this morning, August 2, 1916, the Council of Ministers of the government of His Majesty the King has met, studied the petition for clemency presented by your lawyers, and rejected it in a unanimous vote of the ministers present. Consequently, the sentence of the court that tried and condemned you for high treason will be carried out tomorrow, August 3, 1916, in the courtyard of Pentonville Prison, at nine o'clock in the morning. (*TDC* 295)

Casement had only one day left to live and wrote two letters, one to Gee: "Tomorrow, St. Stephen's Day, I'll have the death I've looked for. I hope God forgives my errors and accepts my prayers." Another to his friends: "My final message for everyone is a *sursum corda*. I wish the best to those who will take my life and those who have tried to save it. All of you are now my brothers." (*TDC* 480)

This excerpt is significant for it contains two biblical references. The first is a reference to St. Stephen's Day, which is usually celebrated on 26 December and not on 3rd August. As mentioned in the second section of Chapter 1 about At *Swim, Two Boys*, St. Stephen was the first martyr of Christianity to be stoned to death for his testimony about Jesus (New Testament, *Acts* 6:15). This is, once more, a strong reference to Casement's martyrdom, which was undermined due to the *Black Diaries*. Also, the message to his friends, "*sursum corda*", is a request in Latin urging them to keep their hearts uplifted. It is a phrase used within the Catholic Church to urge the believers to take part in the symbolic sacrifice enacted in Mass.

The narrator expounds that on that same day, after the hangman Mr. Ellis had taken Casement's measurements, the censors handed him correspondence. Among these was one by Peruvian rubber king, Julio Cesar Arana. He accused Roger of having "invented facts and influenced the Barbadians to confirm irresponsible acts that never happened" with the purpose of "obtaining titles and a fortune". It ended this way: "I forgive you, but it is necessary for you to be just and declare now in a total and truthful way the real facts that nobody knows better than you. Roger thought: *His lawyers didn't write the telegram: he did*". (*TDC* 481)

On August 3rd, on the day of his execution, Casement would soon be reunited with the Catholic faith and would receive his First Communion under the guidance of Fathers Carey and MacCarroll, the prison chaplains. The narrator of The *Dream of the Celt* describes what Casement felt in this moment:

> He felt calm. ... He was certain he would go to his death with the same serenity as Patrick Pearse, Tom Clarke, Joseph Plunkett, James Connolly, and all the valiant men who had sacrificed themselves in Dublin during that week in April so Ireland would be free. He felt detached from problems and distress and ready to make his peace with God (*TDC* 481).

What ensues is that in *TDC* the sheriff told Casement, who was dressed in the same clothes that he had worn during his trial, that many people, priests and ministers had spent all night at the entrance to the prison, praying and holding crucifixes and signs

against the death penalty. Casement, however, felt detached from all this. The prison director read the sentence and asked Casement if he had something to say: "Again he shook his head, but very quietly he whispered: "Ireland"." (*TDC* 351) Nevertheless, this last utterance in *TDC* does not conform to the historical account. Bernucci explains that Casement's last words were "Lord Jesus receive my soul" (Casement qtd. in Bernucci 19 and Hyde 158). Yet, According to Bernucci, Vargas Llosa "got it right" when making his Casement utter the word "Ireland", for it is this "simple and sweet seven-letter word that encapsulates Casement's true spiritual fervour, his patriotism, and his authentic love for the Motherland altogether" (Bernucci 19).

Casement turned, embraced the priests and was accompanied to the gallows by the executioner, Mr. Ellis[107], who asked Casement "to lower his head and bend down a little, please, sir." (*TDC* 351) In this sentence Mr. Ellis's voice is merged with that of the narrator. His gentle handling of Casement, asking him to "please" bend his head reveals he was a sensitive human being. After Mr. Ellis placed the noose around his neck, he whispered to Casement: "'If you hold your breath, it will be faster, sir.' He obeyed." (*TDC* 489)

In the "Epilogue", Vargas Llosa takes the place of the narrator and offers his personal view of Casement's legacy to the world and of how, as a writer, he approached Casement. The fact that Vargas Llosa begins the "Epilogue" with an excerpt of W.B. Yeats's poem "Roger Casement" is telling. The verse he quotes "I say that Roger Casement did what he had to do. He died upon the gallows but that is nothing new" (*TDC* 353) sums up Casement's reasons for having acted the way he did for the independence of Ireland.

In *TDC*, Vargas Llosa has shown that Casement "did what he had to do" at every level of his life, and that his death upon the gallows is "nothing new", for he was not the first good man to suffer injustice, nor will he be the last. Vargas Llosa underscores this idea in that Casement would continue to suffer injustice in his afterlife, and this can be seen in the following ways: firstly, Vargas Llosa mentions the rectal examination that occurred after Casement's death by a doctor, who inserted his finger in the dead man's anus as far as it could reach and came to the conclusion that "'to the naked eye' the anus showed a clear dilatation, as did 'the lower portion of the intestine ..." an indication of

[107] The hangman John Ellis wrote a memoir shortly before committing suicide; he said about Casement: "He appeared to me the bravest man that fell to my unhappy lot to execute" (Inglis 370)

"the practices to which the executed man apparently was devoted." (*TDC* 353) Secondly, Vargas Llosa calls attention to the fact that Casement was "buried without a stone, cross, or initials, next to the equally anonymous grave of Dr. Crippen[108], a notorious murderer who had been tried some time earlier" (*TDC* 353), instead of in Murlough Bay, as he had expressed to his cousin Gertrude Banister before his execution. Finally, Vargas Llosa devotes a few lines to the *Black Diaries* controversy and its effects in Casement's afterlife:

> It's not a bad thing that a climate of uncertainty hovers over Roger Casement as a proof that it is impossible to know definitely a human being, a totality that always slips through the theoretical and rational nets that try to capture it. My own impression – that of a novelist, obviously – is that Roger Casement wrote the famous diaries but did not live them, at least not integrally, that there is in them a good deal of exaggeration and fiction, that he wrote certain things because he would have liked to live them but couldn't. (*TDC* 355)

As it has been mentioned earlier in this section, this is a comfortable position for Vargas Llosa to take as he avoids taking a definite stand in relation to Casement's alleged homosexuality; notwithstanding, this issue is still important for him to prove his point about the stuff of which heroes are made of. To Vargas Llosa, Casement's image as a humanitarian hero in the Congo and the Putumayo became tainted by the "mere suspicion of being a 'sexual deviant'" (*TDC* 353) that led to his being expelled "from public consideration. For much of the 20th century, the name, accomplishments and travails of Roger Casement were confined to political essays, newspaper articles, and biographies by historians, many of them English." (*TDC* 353) This is also another contribution of the novel; *TDC* was first published only in Spanish, one year later in Portuguese, and only two years later in English, so that Casement's arc would be known beyond the Anglophone world.

[108] Dr. Hawley Crippen will be mentioned in the first section of Chapter 3, about David Rudkin's radio play *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*.

Vargas Llosa calls attention to how the story of Casement seemed to vanish after his execution, but like some sorts of fireworks, it has died away and is soon resuscitated in showers of light: "For a long time, except for the small number of people ... no one spoke of him. He disappeared from public attention, in Britain and in Ireland." (*TDC* 353) The same happened to him in Latin America and Brazil, where he worked so hard to fight injustice held against humanity, as Vargas Llosa also points out: "Neither in Congo, nor in Amazonia is there any trace left of the man who did so much to denounce the great crimes committed in those lands in the days of the rush for rubber." (*TDC* 355)

Casement's trial can be seen as a traumatic moment in Irish history, not only because he was unjustly sentenced to death, but alas a consequence of the way it was conducted. Since it took place at the beginning of World War I, and Casement was tried for treason, it served as warning to prevent any such sort of manifestations against the British Empire. This was so due to the propaganda that was involved; according to Angus Mitchell: "Casement's trial was more akin to the show trials staged in the Soviet Union during the 1930s. His 'treason' was unscrupulously used to publicly address issues of national identity, loyalty and sexuality." (*Roger Casement in Brazil* 49) The silence that has followed Casement's story corroborates that it is one of trauma. Casement ended up like a ghost that still haunts Irish and world history; sometimes his image is conveniently resurrected, on others, he is kept side lined. According to Anne Whitehead, in *Trauma Fiction*, the interruption of one time sequence, such as the past, and its embedding into another, such as the present:

> … is figured by Caruth as a form of possession or of haunting. The ghost represents an appropriate embodiment of the disjunction of temporality, the surfacing of the past in the present. In contemporary fiction there has been an abundance of novels, which explore haunted histories. The traces of unresolved past events or the ghosts of those who died too suddenly and violently to be properly mourned, posses those who are seeking to get on with the task of living. (Whitehead 6)

This idea of haunting can be applied to the historical figure of Casement in that he was not properly mourned by either of the peoples to whose histories he has contributed. He was unjustly hanged, then laid in quicklime in Pentonville cemetery, reserved chiefly for rapists and murderers. Hence, the *Black Diaries* campaign was put forward by the British Home Office during the trial, which Vargas Llosa believes was effective as it delayed Casement's being accepted: "...in the pantheon of the heroes of Irish independence. ... It hasn't dissipated completely even now: a gloomy areole of homosexuality and paedophilia surrounded his image throughout the 20th century." (*TDC* 353) In this regard, John Brannigan suggests that:

> ... haunting, in contemporary fiction often represents the figurative return of elements of the past which have been silenced or culturally excluded, and the attempts to exorcise these ghosts can represent 'merely an attempt to prolong the repression of voices of protest or difference" (qtd. in Whitehead 7).

The main issue that Anne Whitehead brings up concerning trauma in contemporary fiction is whether ghosts from the past continue haunting the present, and if so if they can be exorcized. This is certainly the core idea of *TDC*, although a definite answer is not given, for we are still trapped in history. There have been changes in the way one conceives of one's national heroes; the 1916 centenary is approaching and, certainly, in time more definite changes will arouse. What is at stake in *TDC* is what to be remembered and what to be forgotten, and this is intricately related to Casement's alleged treachery and homosexuality that are seen as part and parcel of his nationalist convictions. Instead of giving a final solution to the enigma that is the life of Roger Casement, Vargas Llosa maintains the ambivalences inherent to the man, whose personality, in his words, is made up of both "angels and demons" (*TDC* 354).

2.2 Casement and agency in *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012)

According to North American scholar Lucy McDiarmid, "the 'matter' of Casement

continues to accumulate in an astonishing rate" (170) and it appears in at least eight plays by celebrated playwrights, such as David Rudkin and Ulick O'Connor. This second section of Chapter 2 tackles a contemporary production, *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*, first broadcast in May 2012, on *RTÉ Radio1 – Drama on One*, written and directed by Patrick Mason, who was Artistic Director of the Abbey from 1993 to 1999, and who won a Tony award for *Dancing at Lughnasa* in 1992. It is an original text that is still unpublished, and the script was made available by the playwright himself for the text to be included in this study.

Since two radio plays form the corpus of this dissertation – *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012) by Patrick Mason in Chapter 2, and *Cries from Casement as his bones are Brought to Dublin* (1974) by David Rudkin in Chapter 3 – some brief considerations about audio drama, as an artistic medium, should be made. Patrick Mason has explained that the play started off as a stage play that had to be rewritten, and he explains the differences between the two genres:

> Funny enough [the radio play is] very cinematic. With the radio, with the atmosphere, you can tell very quick narratives very vividly. It is extraordinary. The theatre script is far more… there is a strong narrative, you bring a character on stage, you have to have a feeling of the person immediately, presence, complication, character. So, the stage play is far more character-based, still very narrative, but it fills out. In the radio play it's just voices that enable the narrative. So that was a lot of the adaptation. ("Attachment")

According to Tim Crook, "radio drama has been one of the most unappreciated and understated literary forms of the 20th century" (*Radio Drama* 3). Therefore, the theory on this genre is far from vast. One of the reasons that the radio play has not been deeply explored is that it is considered, according to Crook, a "blind medium" that "lacks the visual inputs of theatre or film" (7). Contrarily to this idea, Crook states that radio drama is not separated from the image, for "It cannot be said that the ear cannot see. Blind people see ... their brains construct an image world based on image and fully separated from the eye of the camera." (*Radio Drama* 7)

The feature that, I believe, allows a literary interpretation of this medium (which is also what Tim Crook proposes in *Radio Drama*)[109] is, according to Maria Helena Serôdio (2008), the idea of narration, which "has been one of the most compelling traits of radio plays making it possible to align broadcasting to an oral tradition of storytelling, stressing the oral condition and performativity of language." (Serôdio 73) In the radio play, ideas and meanings can be inferred, and not explicitly shown. It is up to the listener to actively imagine and recreate his/ her own version of the story that is being told through sound. It is precisely the features of "blindness" and its proximity to an oral, storytelling tradition, that confers the uniqueness to the radio play, and that allows the approach of polemical subject matters such as the life of Roger Casement[110], about whom, incidentally, a proper feature film has not yet been made.

Another advantage of the radio play is the "Great miracle of the wireless" (Crook, *Radio Drama* 9), that is, its ability to overcome barriers of space and time. According to Crook, audio drama was of great relevance in the Weimar Republic in Germany, "which brought the fine arts of music and theatre to the common people" (9). He mentions Berthold Brecht as a "pioneer practitioner and significant theoretical philosopher of the artistic and special potential of the radio" (qtd. in Crook 10) that the playwright saw as educational. Yet, he was critical of its "passive" and "unidirectional" function, which is, in my view, also characteristic of stage performances except in more experimental cases that require a break of the fourth wall.

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[109] This is referred to in the "introduction" to this dissertation; Tim Crook makes an analogy between the experience of listening to a radio play to that of reading a novel (Crook 35).

[110] Curiously, apart from documentaries, such as "The Ghost of Roger Casement" (2002) by Irish filmmaker Alan Gilsenan, no feature film about Roger Casement has been made. According to Lucy McDiarmid (2005), "A curse on films has so far prevented five attempts from reaching completion." (*The Irish Art of Controversy* 171) In a footnote, McDiarmid makes a list: "The never completed films about Casement include one mentioned in an Irish Press (August 6, 1956) article about Shaw's comments on a planned 1934 film about Casement that had been 'killed' by the 'British Censorship authorities.' The 'Welsh filmmaker' Kenneth was said to have made a film on Casement shown at the West Belfast Festival in August 1993 (*Irish Times*, August 11, 1993). In 'On the Town' (*Irish Times*, May 29, 1993, Weekend 2), Robert O'Byrne wrote of Sarah Lawson that 'her interests now lie in other Irish-based projects … not relating to Roger Casement. Seemingly this is one affair which has exerted an irresistible, but none too beneficial, fascination on script writers.' In May 1996 Donald Taylor mentioned to me a Thaddeus O'Sullivan film about Casement … 'It's going to be a controversial project, I have no doubt … It will involve intimacy, romance and humour mixed with adventure and politics, violence and horror in the hope of constructing a modern film, which will reclaim Roger Casement as a man out of his time, as an entirely modern hero.' Kevin Barry has also written a film script based on episodes from Casement's life." (*The Irish Art of Controversy* 251) In addition, John Banville wrote a film script on Roger Casement that was supposed to be produced by Irish filmmaker Neil Jordan.

In conformity with John Drakakis, there was in Britain the notion of developing a "national theatre of the air", with the aim of broadcasting not only radio plays by foreign dramatists, but also adaptations of works of literature, which has remained part of an important philosophy of the BBC. In terms of the Irish context, no specific book or publication specifically on radio drama has been found[111].

There are, I find, two different ways of approaching radio drama. One is to focus on its sound effects, and the chief problem here is the fact that, in many cases, the recording is not available to the researcher. Patrick Mason's *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* is accessible online by RTÉ Radio 1, whereas the recording of David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* exists, however it was not made available by the BBC. This leads to the second kind of approach, which is the textual, word-based close reading endorsed by the script, which I see as the blueprint for the recording. In the case of Mason's play, the script is not published, as aforementioned, but was made available by the playwright himself, which adds to the originality of this dissertation. In the case of *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*, the 1974 version of the published script suggests ideas for it to be used either for recording or for staging, and Rudkin includes directions and changes that could be made for the stage play.

Also, it is necessary to consider that the approach of Roger Casement as a historical character in Mason's radio play differs from that of Rudkin's. In the former case, there is no indication of a narrator of the script; whereas in the latter case, the text refers to an *Announceress* that plays the role of a narrator. Even though a literary, word-based, approach will be carried out in both texts, I will also take into consideration the rubrics, where the stage directions point to sound effects, when relevant for the analysis. As the aim of this dissertation is to focus on the different representations of Roger Casement, this work will not go deeply into discussions of form, rather, it will focus on content, for Mason's aim is to tell Casement's story, which he believes remains obscure:

> My interest was to try and theatricalize Casement's story, to bring the man and the story to the stage. My model based on a manipulation of facts to create a

[111] Although Samuel Beckett with *All that Fall* (1956) and *Embers* (1959), Louis Mac Neice's *Christopher Columbus* (1944) and Stuart Parker[111] with *I'm a Dreamer Montreal* (1977) and *The Iceberg* (1975) are Irish playwrights, their names are included in *British Radio Drama* (1981), which is an extensive, and one of the few academic publications on this medium.

metaphor to create an image, which hopefully doesn't betray the historical facts but actually opens out the psychology, the emotion, the personality behind the decisions. It is entirely speculative. (Attachment 6.3)

It is important to recall the mosaic nature of this dissertation and how each work that is analysed fills in gaps that might have been left in what has been done before. The previous section of this Chapter, on *The Dream of the Celt*, has shown that Mario Vargas Llosa portrays Casement as "angel and demon" whose legacy is still haunted by his alleged treachery and homosexuality, undermining his place in the pantheon occupied by other 15 Irish rebels. This section also will focus on Casement's trial, similarly to the section on Vargas Llosa's *The Dream of the Celt*, but on the negotiations that took place in Whitehall, at the British Home Office quarters, and the importance of the role played by Casement's cousin Gertrude Banister, known as Gee, whilst he was held in Brixton and then Pentonville prisons.

Like in *The Dream of the Celt*, in *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*[112] Casement's trial for treason is the backbone of the play that ends following his execution. The text is constituted by the juxtaposition of 30 scenes along which three main subplots are organized spatially: there is what occurs inside Casement's mind and his coming to terms with his past; the negotiations that take place in the Home Office between Sir Ernley Blackwell[113], Sir Mandsfelt de Cardonnel Findlay[114] and the Attorney-General F. E. Smith[115]; and finally what comes to pass in Brixton then Pentonville Prison, chiefly the exchanges between Casement and his cousin Gertrude Banister.

The aim of this second section of Chapter 2 is twofold. Firstly, it will discuss the fictional representation of the relationship between Gertrude Bannister and Roger Casement who were cousins and friends. Differently from the previous works dealt with in this dissertation, in *TDRC* Gertrude's importance in Casement's life is highlighted and she becomes more than a secondary character, as she plays a leading role as a

[112] From this moment onwards *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* will be referred to as *TDRC*.

[113] See "Attachment 6.3".

[114] See section "Germany" in Attachment 6.1 for more information on Findlay.

[115] For more information on F. E. Smith, refer to the section "Germany" in Attachment 6.1.

mediator between the Home Office and Casement in prison. At the same time, this section pinpoints the way in which Gertrude is ambiguously represented in the play: on the one hand she is given voice and agency once she seeks the support of intellectuals of the time in her struggle against her cousin's fate in facing the gallows in 1916. On the other hand, there are the implications of the playwright's choice of having her recognizing the *Black Diaries* as Casement's own writing. Secondly, this section will explore how, similarly to Vargas Llosa's *The Dream of the Celt*, Casement's alleged homosexuality, as revealed by the *Black Diaries,* will be used by the Home Office to undermine his achieving martyrdom. Consequently, this is what I call a "trauma in the making", whose effects will be felt in Casement's afterlife, which will be dealt with in Chapter 3. The conclusion is that, comparable to Vargas Llosa's novel, in Mason's play *The Black Diaries* have also made Casement into a figure that still haunts Anglo-Irish relations.

From a German Submarine to the Irish Shore

In a similar manner to the other five works dealt with in this study, *TDRC* is the product of the interplay between fact and fiction. According to Mason:

> […] the setting of researched circumstances and statements will produce radically different stories. So, being a historian is not a guarantee of purity. But it is hopefully a guarantee of some accuracy and I know that. Historians look to fill the gaps, when you are writing a play, you are looking for the gaps. (Attachment 6.3 276)

Therefore, as follows, the plot is concerned with the last moments of Casement's life after having spent two years in Germany trying to persuade the High Command in forming a Brigade with Prisoners of War and running guns to Ireland. In late March, 1916, news arrived in Germany from John Devoy, leader of the *Clan na Gael* in the United States of America, about the plans to put forward a Rising that was scheduled

for Easter Week[116] in Dublin, that same year. On 9 April 1916, the steamer *AUD*[117] headed for sea under what seemed to be a Norwegian flag. It was, in fact, a German ship carrying guns and ammunition to the West of Ireland, coordinating its arrival with the German submarine *U19* under Lt. Raimund Weissbach. The *U19* carried Roger Casement, the officer in charge of the Brigade Captain Robert Monteith[118]and Brigade member Daniel Bailey back to Ireland to meet the Irish Volunteers who were preparing for the Ester Insurrection. The play begins "inside Casement's head" while he is also inside the submarine:

> *Casement:* To the English I'm a villain – biting the hand that fed. But they must understand that I don't want to hurt their country as England – only to help Ireland. I am a rebel, yes – in their eyes a traitor, I know – but I am doing nothing dishonourable. So they can call me any name they like, but to help Ireland must bring me in conflict with England – and help Ireland I must. (*TDRC* 1)

Inside the submarine, Casement looks back to the moment when he was in Germany and had to decide whether to support the Rising or not. This was somewhat strenuous for him, for he initially did not support the idea of an armed insurrection without German help. Yet, he felt he could not let down neither the Irish Volunteers in Dublin, nor the Irish Americans from the *Clan na Gael* who had encouraged his German mission. He considered the idea of an armed insurrection as sheer bloodshed, and this excerpt shows that, while on his way to Ireland, he is trying to vindicate his efforts in running guns to Ireland to arm the Volunteers to fight in the 1916 Easter Rebellion.

The time Casement spent in the *U19* submarine was one of seasickness and anxiety, nevertheless the aforementioned excerpt reveals Casement's will to accept whatever fate would meet him. This moment is crucial in the play as Casement was aware that once he chose to return to his native land, he would be considered a traitor to

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[116] See section "Ireland and North America" in Attachment 6.1.

[117] The chief source on the Easter Rising was taken mostly from Michael McNally (*Easter 1916: Birth of the Irish Republic*), and from Shane Hegarty and Fintan O'Toole (*The Irish Time Book of the 1916Rising*).

[118] For more information on Captain Robert Monteith, refer to "Germany" in Attachment 6.1.

the British Crown and executed, as he thinks: "in their eyes a traitor, I know." (*TDRC* 1) Thus, Casement's suicidal act of heading back to Ireland to try to forestall the uprising instead of choosing to stay in Germany, or fleeing to the USA where he could hide, reveals his brave nationalist stance, for in his mind, he is not doing anything "dishonourable" in helping Ireland; instead, he sees his mission as a duty: "and help Ireland I must." (*TDRC* 1)

Casement's reveries were interrupted by Official Monteith who warned him that they were off the coast of Kerry, and that the Captain would prepare the "dinghy", the lifeboat that they would have to row in order to get themselves ashore. Once they reached Tralee bay, Commandant Stack from the Volunteers should have been expecting them on the strand. Casement did not hesitate and gathered his things. Nevertheless, the "time window" between the vessel *AUD* that carried the guns, and the *U19* submarine, which transported the men became vague, and the British had broken the ciphers used in correspondence between Berlin and the German Embassy in Washington (McNally). The *U19* had surfaced and, failing to contact the *AUD*, which was intercepted by British naval forces and scuttled, Weissbach left the men on Banna Strand.

What follows in *TDRC*, is that the three men reached the sea rowing the lifeboat in the dark, trying to signal the Volunteers with their lanterns: "They have to be there" (*TDRC* 1), said an optimistic Monteith. After the boat capsized and they nearly drowned in the sea, Bailey and Monteith sought help and left Casement behind, who was older and whose health condition was more vulnerable than that of the other two. Moreover, in the script of *TDRC* indications of sound effects are fundamental in setting the context of the play. For instance, from scenes 5-8 there is the overlapping of two sequences of the play that are concomitantly taking place. This impression is achieved through the use of these sound effects:

> **Scene 5. Under the water. FX – change of acoustic as Casement goes under. Pressure, heart-beat. Voice acoustic – 'out of time' a flash forward.**
>
> *Smith:* A revolutionary, and a rake - a play-actor to the last. But that's the Irish for you – all cause and no effect.

[...]

Scene 7. Under water – change acoustic, as Casement goes under for the second time.

Smith: A popular humanitarian – Africa and the Amazon. But a man of no character. By emotional force he made his way – sheer emotionalism undid him in the end.

Scene 8. Above water – change acoustic as Casement surfaces.

Casement: Ireland! ..... (*TDRC* 2)

In this excerpt, the listener is dislocated in space and time through sound. The clicking sound of the waves, and that of Casement going under and above the water until he reaches Ireland, is interspersed with the voice of a man speaking. Although the script indicates that this voice is coming from Whitehall – the quarters of the Home Office in London – and that it belongs to the Attorney General Frederick Edwin Smith, the listener will only be able to apprehend that this is Smith later on, within the context set by the dialogues. For the time being, all the listener is able to grasp is that there is a man discussing the case of Roger Casement, who is simultaneously reaching the Irish shore. Smith, the man who is speaking, considers Casement a "rake – a play-actor in the least" and "a man with no character" (*TDRC* 2). There is in this line by Smith a faint echo of Conrad's later impressions of Casement as "a man of no mind at all ... all emotion". [119] This sequence is relevant for it is a prefiguration of the personal efforts that Smith would make to persecute Casement and send him to the gallows once he returned from Germany.

At the end of the abovementioned passage, Casement finally reached the shore of Tralee Bay, where he was greeted with the cries of skylarks. Skylarks are birds that

[119] For more information on Joseph Conrad and Roger Casement, see footnote 43, "Introduction", p. 37.

convey the notion of "unattainable perfection of the ideal"[120], which can be read here as a symbol of Ireland as a country free from the constraints imposed by British domination. What follows is that Monteith met Casement, who told him that in reaching Ireland he felt "Baptised - washed clean. Free from the filth of that submarine" (*TDRC* 2). Soon after, Monteith told him:

> *Monteith:* You rest up here. We'll find Stack and fetch a motor to collect you. There's cover back there – an old ring fort beyond the strand. (*TDRC* 2)

Casement stays for hours in the interior of this fairy ring, also known as an ancient fort, which is an elevation of land covered in grass in a circular shape. It is considered a sacred place in Celtic mythology and, therefore, one that should not be disrupted. It is as if Casement is in a threshold space, between the idealized world of a free Ireland represented by the west coast of Tralee and the true risk that he was facing of being caught. Casement's clothes were wet from the sea, and he was physically and emotionally shattered.

In **Scene 10**, Casement fell asleep, and "drifts into unconsciousness" (*TDRC* 3), as indicated in the rubrics. Once again the action develops "inside Casement's head" (*TDRC* 3), and in this moment of reverie his thoughts shifted to the past. Casement was a young man talking to his Aunt Charlotte, who, along with Uncle Charles Casement, had adopted the four children – Casement, Nina, Charles and Tom – after both their parents' death. Roger was 11 when his father died a destitute, two years after his mother. He had a strict Protestant upbringing in Magherintemple, his father's family property in Antrim, Northern Ireland. In his sleep, Casement imagined his Aunt pressuring him so that he would make a decision concerning what he would do so as to gain financial independence after he left Ballymena High School in order to no longer depend on them:

> *Casement:* I want to be a hero - and ride with General Grant.
>
> *Charlotte:* It's high time your mother's people pulled their weight - the Bannisters

[120] According to Stewart C. Wilcox, who analyses Percy Shelley's poem *Skylark*, as the poet's state of mind and philosophical ideas, embodied in the bird as a "Platonic symbol of the ideal spirit of poetry" (560).

of Liverpool. Perhaps they could find you something in shipping?

Casement: Papa's sword at my side, Aunt Charlotte. My long cloak flying ...

Charlotte: You'd best buck up your ideas and learn to make your own way in the world. Or you'll be hanged for a rascal yet, young man - hanged for a rascal - (*TDRC* 3)

Here, Mason portrays Casement in his youth wishing to follow in the footsteps of his father. Casement wanted to be a hero in the army, but his family do not have money to pay for a Commission. Even though this dialogue in the form of an oneiric flashback seems out of place, it can be seen as a way to draw his cousin Gertrude Bannister into the play as Aunt Charlotte cautions him to stop dreaming of holding a sword with his flying cloak while riding a horse, for this heroism could lead him to the gallows. His aunt suggested that, instead, Casement should take action and seek the help of the "Banisters of Liverpool", his mother's family relations in England. Casement's uncle John Casement, director of the Elder Dempster shipping line and Alfred Jones, head of the firm, were friends with the Bannisters, and there Roger would find his first job as a purser. Casement loved his maternal family, and they remained closely related throughout his life. This is true especially in relation to his cousin Gertrude Banister, whose role in Casement's later life is highlighted in *TDRC*.

Between Scotland Yard and Whitehall

Casement's dreamlike state was brought to a close after Constable Riley who discovered him in the fairy fort approached him. Casement was immediately taken under arrest held at gunpoint to Dublin, and from there to the tower of London. What ensues is Casement's trial, which is the backbone of the play. As of here, the action takes place within the space of Whitehall and Scotland Yard. This is shown in **Scene 13**, set in Whitehall, inside the Attorney General's Office, in the dialogue between Sir Frederick Smith and Findlay:

Sir Frederick: Alive, you say? They've captured him alive?

Findlay: Yes, Sir Frederick. No resistance offered. They're presently hunting down his two companions.

Sir Frederick: And what are we to do with him now, I wonder? My compliments to Sir Ernley Blackwell, and would he arrange for us to meet with Sir Basil Thomson at the earliest opportunity?

Findlay: Very well, Sir Federick. (*TDRC* 4)

Casement's arrest in Tralee promptly triggered action on behalf of the British Home Office, who had been watching his moves since he retired from the Consular service and joined the Irish Volunteers in 1914. Both Scotland Yard and the Home Office not only wanted him to be arrested and hanged, but also aimed to prevent Casement from achieving martyrdom, especially after the 1916 Easter Rising. In this regard, Mason's play recreates the events that were invisible to the public eye and that took place at the backstage of Casement's trial: the decisions made by Scotland Yard and the Home Office concerning Casement's fate after a powerful weapon serendipitously ended up in their hands. This action is described in **Scene 15**, inside "Scotland Yard", where voices are heard over the distant sound typewriters. The voices coming from the Scotland Yard office belong to Sir Basil Thomson[121] and to Germain[122], the owner of the property whose room Casement let in Ebury Street in London. Mr. Germain is there to hand in the notorious trunk that had supposedly belonged to Casement:

Thomson: Mr Germain? Sir Basil Thomson. Do sit down. I'm told that you have some luggage belonging to Sir Roger Casement?

Germain: I didn't have any personal connection, if you understand me – business

[121] For more about Sir Basil Thomson, see "Introduction", page 20.

[122] Mr. Germain was the name of Casement's landlord at 50 Ebury Street, where he rented a room: "During the month of May 1914 Casement deposited with Mr. Germain of 50, Ebury Street, Pimlico, S.W. some boxes containing books, etc. These books which included three diaries for the years 1903, 1910 and 1911, a ledger, an address book and a memorandum book were brought to New Scotland Yard by Mr. Germain on the 25th April, 1916." (Parker and Quinn, Special Report, 22/06/1916, MEPO 2/10672, qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 465)

arrangement pure and simple. He was abroad so often - quite the nomad. He needed somewhere to store books, clothes - anything surplus to requirements. I have no idea what else is there, you understand? Simply that I felt, in the circumstances, it would be for the best.

Thomson: And so it will! Did you or Mrs Germain notice anything untoward?

Germain: No, sir - that is - I am a bachelor, Sir Basil. I haven't opened or touched a thing.

Thomson: I'll send some constables round to collect the stuff. A tin trunk, you say?

Germain: And a large portmanteau.

Thomson: Thank you, Mr Germain. You have done the right thing at a difficult moment. It will stand to you - when the time comes. Sergeant Turner! (*TDRC* 5-6)

In this dialogue, Basil Thomson insightfully asked Mr. Germain whether "Mrs. Germain" was aware of the *Diaries*. Mr. Germain responed he was a bachelor, and thus he claimed not to know what the portmanteau contained as a way to assert he had nothing to do with Casement, for he apparently feared Scotland Yard could have some suspiscious piece of information that could be used against him. If what Mr. Germain said was true – that he was not aware of what was in the *Diaries* – then, without knowing, he sealed Casement's destiny.

In **Scene 20**, still in Scotland Yard, this time among the sounds of teacups, saucers, and teapots. Legal advisor Sir Ernley Blackwell[123], F. E. Smith and Basil Thomson were playing God, in that they were discussing the use that they should make of the *Diaries* as to undermine the plea for clemency that was being organized by Casement's supporters. Blackwell, Smith and Thomson intended to use the *Diaries* to obfuscate all the humatarian work Casement had done in the Congo and the Putumayo

[123] Sir Ernley Blackwell was adamantly against Casement's reprieve: "It has come to my knowledge from various sources that if Casement is reprieved there is an intention both in Ireland and amongst the Indian revolutionarists to turn the matter into great account." (Blackwell qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 460)

with the aim of turning him, not only into a traitor, but into a sexual deviant:

> *Smith:* Our man is a traitor, but he presents himself as a patriot.
>
> *Thomson:* How can you make a patriot of a pervert?
>
> *Smith:* Precisely, Sir Basil.
>
> *Blackwell:* Show them the diaries, and offer them Insanity.
>
> *Smith:* Even if they don't go along with it, they'll have seen the diaries.
>
> *Blackwell:* And they'll know their man. (*TDRC* 11)

This excerpt reveals that Smith, Blackwell and Thomson were against Roger Casement's achieving martyrdom and wanted him hanged. *TDRC* is accurate in its representation of the way in which these men, with the *Black Diaries* in their hands, intended to expose to Casement's supporters the "sort of man they are inclined to make a martyr of" (Blackwell qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 468-469). This attitude is controversial, as it, in fact, compromised Casement's legacy. The effects of the *Black Diaries* continue to reverberate, as the forgery debate is still ongoing.[124]

Regardless of how the *Diaries* ended up in the hands of the prosecution, what is of interest in Mason's play as well as in other works dealt with in this dissertation, is the use to which the *Black Diaries* were put. Here, the aim of the Home Office is clear: to present Casement as a "patriot", albeit a troubled one, and, therefore, as an English traitor. I believe the playwright's intention is to attribute to Casement two traits that are

[124] For more information on the forgery debate see "Introduction", pages 24 and 25, and most recent publication arguing that the *Black Diaries* obfuscated Casement's humanitarian politics was published in *Field Day Review* 8 (2012), "Dishonourable Phantasy". According to Angus Mitchell, "On an Immediate level the idea that Casement had for years been 'addicted to sodomitical practices' disoriented his defence and the various campaigns for clemency. It also distorted his message and clouded political understanding of his revolutionary trajectory. The suggestion that his political activism was underpinned by a predatory sexuality, his figuration as an imperial adventurer exploiting unequal power relationships, threw his life's work into disrepute." (89) In addition to this, there is the discussion of rather Casement was a paedophile: In Part II *Casement Wars* (2013) published in *The Dublin Review of Books*, Jeffrey Dudgeon reviews Angus Mitchell's essay "Dishonourable Phantasy", published in the *Field Day Review* (2012) arguing against forgery theorists and explaining how terms dangerously applied nowadays, such as paedophilia, did not apply then: "If one must categorize a person's sexual mode at a hundred year's distance, Casement was not a paedophile but might best be described as a pederast, the casual French expression that, in its particularity means both homosexual. Paedophile is generally taken to mean someone interested in pre-pubescent children." He claims that what bothers the forgery theorist most is the acceptance that Casement is the humanitarian and the diarist.

seen as being in antagonistic relation to one another: in the early 20th century, Casement could never have been *both* a "patriot" *and* a "pervert". He could only have been *either* one *or* the other.

From Pentonville Prison to the Gallows

Concomitantly to Blackwell, Smith and Thomson trying to find a way to prevent Casement from joining the pantheon of the other 15 rebel leaders that participated in the Easter Rising, Gertrude Banister, enters the scene and takes the leading role as she begins her own struggle to save her cousin's life. The fact that in his youth Casement's paternal relatives from Antrim sent him to the "Banisters of Liverpool" to find a job at the Elder Dempster Shipping Line once he left school was a fundamental step for Roger to begin his Consular career. Once he was first sent to Africa in 1884 he never again stopped travelling.

Of all Casement's cousins, Gertrude[125], or Gee, became closest to him. They kept in correspondence during Casement's Consular postings and travels to Africa, Brazil, Peru, Ireland, and the like. Their letters are, even today, an important and overlooked source for scholars to penetrate into the mind of this controversial figure and unveil his values, ideas, political inclinations, ambitions, hopes and dreams.

Unlike the historian Alice Stopford Green, who politically engaged with the independence of Ireland, at the time Casement was arrested, Gertrude was unmarried and a teacher at Queen Anne's School, in London, who had never taken up political action. Even though Gertrude was English, her Irish ancestry influenced her upbringing. In this regard, according to Irish theorist Maria Luddy (2000), up to the early 20th century, Irish women had mostly been excluded from formal political activity. However, Luddy states that there were other means by which women could act, for instance as individuals or groups within the local community for the benefit of a particular group; this could involve influence of wives, daughters, sisters and mothers upon the activities of the male members of the family. Different from most women of

[125] For more information about Casement and Gertrude see Attachment 6.1.

her time, later in her life Gee gains even more importance in the history of Casement's life for she decided to take action against the unfortunate conditions that her cousin was experiencing during his imprisonment and trial. As a result, she incidentally became involved in matters of British politics and Law, unveiling its bureaucracy and flaws.

The Irish anthropologist Séamas O'Síocháin explains that what in fact took place was that Gertrude and her sister Elizabeth were on holiday when they heard of Casement's arrest, so they packed their things and headed straight to London. Likewise, in the fictional text as soon as Gertrude returned, she journeyed from one office to the next until she is finally allowed to speak to Sir Ernley Blackwell from the Home Office about visiting Roger Casement in the Tower of London where he was being held. Still and all, Blackwell was disinclined to grant her wish:

> *Blackwell:* You must understand that the precise location in which your cousin is presently held is a matter of extreme delicacy. I am not at liberty to divulge what is, in fact, classified information. Perhaps if you were to try the War Office?
>
> *Gertrude:* I have. They referred me back here to the Home Office. The Home Office, they referred me to Scotland Yard, and Scotland Yard referred me to the Home Office, and after three days, Sir Ernley – I finally managed to have myself referred to you. (*TDRC* 7)

Blackwell blames the war for having "placed an intolerable strain" (*TDRC* 7) in their whole system of governance, but Gertrude remains firm, and demands the right to see her cousin. What makes matters more unsettling is that both in the play, and in Casement's history, Gertrude did not know where Casement was, or even if he was alive. Blackwell suggests her to leave a message to be passed on to Casement, but she knows this will not be carried out. On that account, the play captures this period that, according to O'Síocháin, Gertrude described as "the ten days of cruelty, during which they [she and her sister Elizabeth] visited the Home Office, the Secretary for War, Scotland Yard and the Treasury" (*Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 443). For a long time, Gertrude was denied any access to her cousin and no one told her of his

whereabouts, but rumours spread that he was kept in the Tower, under horrid conditions[126].

Gertrude felt powerless in face of the bureaucracy of the Home Office, so along with her sister Elizabeth she sought the aid of an influential woman, Alice Stopford Green[127]. Mrs. Alice Green, widow of the historian John Richard Green, had access to the privileged world of Oxford and her home was the meeting point of the high circle of British liberal intelligentsia. In Mason's play, there is reference to Gertrude giving Sir Ernley Blackwell her address in London as that of Alice Green, who was her illustrious host at this difficult moment:

> *Blackwell:* Might I have an address where - ?
>
> *Gertrude:* Care of Mrs. Alice Stopford Green: 36 Grosvenor Road-
>
> *Blackwell:* S.W.1. Your hostess is an historian of distinction – an assiduous chronicler of Ireland's woes. (*TDRC* 8)

Thanks to being associated with influential Alice Green, Gertrude is finally granted access to visit Casement in the Tower:

> *Casement:* Gertrude!
>
> *Gertrude:* Roddy? O, my darling Roddy.
>
> *Casement:* My dearest Gee.
>
> *Gertrude:* But you've lost so much weight!

---

[126] Mason seems to have captured the "ten days of cruelty" with precision. Once Gertrude was actually granted permission to see Casement, her impressions were the following: "The interview was terrible. Roger thought he was to be shot and that was why we had been brought to say goodbye. We told him we had been trying to see him from April 25 till that day, May 5, everyday to see him. He had not been told this; in fact, he had deliberately told that none of us made any effort to see him as we were all disgusted at his "treachery" Damn all those people who told him all those lies and tried to break his heart" (Qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 443).

[127] We stopped at the Wilton Hotel near Victoria Station. The same evening I went to see Mrs. A. S. Green at her house in Grosvenor Road, S.W., to ask her advice. We had few friends in London, none of them influential. Our wish was to get into communication with Roger, and I thought Mrs. Green (who knew so many people in London) could advise. "The Last days of Roger Casement" (Qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 443).

Casement: I'm grand, grand – I'm so much better since they moved me here. Let me look at you. My favourite school-ma'am.

Gertrude: They wouldn't tell me where you were. It was impossible. I left messages, letters - they promised me they'd pass them on.

Casement: Well, they haven't yet.

Gertrude: Blast them! Well, blast them anyway - what ever did you think of me?

*Casement***:** I thought of you often, and I knew well you'd be thinking of me. But our time is short. (*TDRC* 14-15)

At the Tower Gertrude met Casement and told him of the hassle she had gone through to see him, and her following step was to find a lawyer for Casement's defence. Apart from her good name, Mrs. Alice Green introduced Gertrude to George Bernard Shaw, illustrious Irish playwright and critic. Alice and Gertrude met Shaw and asked him for financial aid to hire a first-rate lawyer. Nevertheless, Shaw[128] believed that Casement should defend himself, and instead he offered to write him a speech that would "bring the house down" (*TDRC* 16) in order to split the jury and have his life spared. However, as mentioned in O'Síocháin (*Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 447), Alice and Gertrude were absolutely against Roger defending himself, for they thought he was physically and mentally unfit to do. Mason's piece, however, subverts this while he portrays Gertrude herself as urging Casement to defend himself as Shaw had suggested, but here it was Casement who refused to face the prosecutor Frederick E. Smith:

Gertrude: [...] Your best hope – Mr. Shaw's convinced your only hope – is to defend yourself, win over some of the jury, and rob the prosecution of a

[128] On the issue of Casement's defence, Beatrice Webb, an active socialist reformer and acquaintance of Alice Stopford Green, mentioned that: "[...] GBS [George Bernard Shaw] as usual had his own plan. Casement was to defend his own case and make a great oration of defiance that would 'bring down the house'. To this, Mrs. Green retorted tearfully that the man was desperately ill, that he was quite incapable of handling a court full of lawyers, that the most he could do was the final speech after the verdict. 'Then we had better get out our suit of mourning.' Shaw remarked with an almost gay laugh. 'I will write him a speech that will thunder down the ages.'" (Qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 447).

unanimous verdict. They cannot harm you without it. He is prepared to write the defence for you – no fee. He guarantees a speech that will bring the house down.

Casement: I shall write my own speech, thank you very much – and I shall deliver it myself. And it will be a speech, I promise you – to bring down the house and Empire, King and all.

Gertrude: This is not a game, Roddy, they mean to kill you. You must save yourself by splitting the jury. [...]

Casement: Maybe you're right, alanna[129], but I simply don't have the strength to best Sir Frederick Smith. O'Sullivan must do the business and if he fails, he fails, and I will have my speech from the Dock and when I speak I will speak for Ireland[130]. (*TDRC* 16)

In this passage, Gertrude is represented as a woman of agency who breaks with the established gender norms in order to fight for Casement's life and the freedom he deserved, as she believed, in the context of the play, that he would have a chance if he defended himself. Agency, according to Laura Ahearn (2001), "[…] refers to the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act." (112) In this respect, Ahearn differentiates "agency" from "action", in that an "actor" refers to a person whose action is rule-governed or rule-oriented, and an "agent" is someone engaged in the exercise of power in terms of its ability to bring about effects and "(re)constitute the world" (Ahearn 113) Yet, inasmuch as Gertrude reveals herself as an agent, acting upon the reality she is facing trying to "(re)constitute" Casement's fate, her agency is not only limited by the external forces in the form of the Home Office by Sir Ernley Blackwell, but she is also

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129 The name alanna, which Casement uses to call Gertrude, is of Celtic origin and means harmony, stone, noble, or fair.

130 Although the sentence "O'Sullivan must do the business and if he fails, he fails, and I will have my speech from the Dock and when I speak I will speak for Ireland" is not included in the script, it is uttered by Ciaran Hinds, the actor who plays Casement in the recording available at the RTE website and I decided to included it here, as it emphasises Casement wish for his Speech from the Dock which was genuine.

punished by society. This is revealed as Casement asks her about her teaching, as it can be seen in the following passage:

> *Gertrude:* I needed to take a short break from teaching. [...] I thought it best if I took a short Sabbatical. And then when Alice offered to take me in... I...
>
> *Casement:* Take you in? [...] What has happened, please - you must tell me!
>
> *Gertrude:* The headmistress and I have agreed it would be prudent if I were to step down.
>
> *Casement:* You were turfed onto the streets of London because of me! (*TDRC* 15)

Casement is devastated in the play after he learned that Gertrude was sacked from her teaching position. The same happened in Casement's history, and Brian Inglis explains that two days after Casement's death the headmaster of Queen Anne's School, Caversham, who had already expressed disapproval for Gertrude helping her cousin, "sent her a check for £40, in lieu of notice." (369) To Gertrude, it was a great loss as she relied upon her income as a means of living. She was in her early forties and still unmarried at that time, although she later married Sidney Parry who was also a friend of Casement's. This incident reveals, again, how one's trauma is, according to Cathy Caruth (1996), "tied up with the trauma of another, the way in which trauma may lead, therefore, to the encounter with another" (8). In the case of *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*, the trauma of the trial and execution of Roger Casement inevitably affects Gertrude, who is punished for having sided with a traitor.

Recovering the issue of Casement's trial, it was finally decided, both in history and in Mason's play that Casement would have a civil trial and George Gavan Duffy would be in charge of arranging his defence, namely, his brother-in-law Alexander Martin O'Sullivan. Nevertheless, Gertrude's struggle does not end here, for another one begins after the spreading of rumours about her cousin keeping a trunk in the room of his Ebury Street lodgings a set of scandalous homosexual diaries, a practice that was considered a crime in Britain until the passing of the Sexual Offenses Act in 1967.

Casement's legacy and the *Black Diaries*

In *TDRC*, Roger Casement's alleged homosexuality is represented, in the first instance, similarly to Mario Vargas Llosa's *TDC,* obliquely, through dreams. One example is the sequence in **Scene 28: Casement's Dream**, which takes place amidst "**the sounds of the tropical night and the storm**":

> *Casement:* Night - the lingering heat of day. I step from the glow of the street lamps into the park. Shadows beneath the trees. Men, stalking the dark.
>
> We move as one through the tunnel of leaves, until we come to a clearing– as broad as it is long. [...] A rip of lightning, and I see him – tall, black, naked.
>
> His back is to me, cut and bloodied by his scourging. I cry out, but the sound catches in my throat. He turns towards me: and there I see it - huge, erect.
>
> It starts to rain – a tropical downpour. The ground is awash, the basin brimming.
>
> A voice says: 'Unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood.' I drop to my knees.
>
> He stands over me, and I see the wound in his side. He raises his right hand, and spits on the palm. He smears my throat with his spittle, and my voice is loosed. I shout, I roar. 'I will eat! I will eat, and I will drink –' (*TDRC* 27)

Analogously to *TDC*, Roger Casement's homosexuality is depicted in the form of dreams. As I have pinpointed in the previous section, it is a convenient way to portray Casement's alleged liaisons with men, for I consider the dream as a liminal space, one in between life and death; a state somewhat like that of his trial for treason. Although this dissertation makes use of psychoanalysis when dealing with trauma, my focus is to use psychoanalytic theory chiefly as a tool to engage in literary analysis. In order to better comprehend the excerpt quoted above, I make use Sigmund Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams*, not to effectively interpret Casement's dream, but to understand the reason behind Mason's decision to include this kind of aesthetic device in the play. According to Freud,

> [...] all the material composing the content of a dream is somehow derived from experience, that it is reproduced or remembered in the dream[...] Yet it would be wrong to assume that such a connection between the dream-content and reality will be easily obvious from a comparison between the two. [...] The dreamer is therefore in the dark as to the source which the dream has tapped, and is even tempted to believe in an independent productive activity on the part of the dream, until, often long afterwards, a fresh episode restores the memory of that former experience, which had been given up for lost, and so reveals the source of the dream. One is therefore forced to admit that in the dream something was known and remembered that cannot be remembered in the waking state. (*The Interpretation of Dreams* 6)

In this passage, Freud explains that memory and dreams are intricately related, even if the true source of the dream is incapable of being retrieved from memory. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the last sentence, where Freud's explains the reason why a certain dream occurs when its content reveals something that is known by the dreamer, but that "cannot be remembered in the waking state" (*The Interpretation of Dreams* 6). This occurs either because the dreamer does not remember its content, which is repressed in his/her unconscious, or because he/she does not want to remember that what is being dreamed. This correlation between memory and dreams can be applied to Mason's play, due to its being a kind of preparation to the listener as well as to Casement himself, as he will eventually open up to Gertrude about this facet of his identity which is, similarly Casement's lover in the dream, kept hidden in the dark recesses of his mind.

In the *TDRC*, after the news of the finding of the *Black Diaries* were disclosed, Gertrude was appalled and was convinced it was Sir Ernley Blackwell[131], together with

[131] On the second ground for Casement's reprieve, Blackwell has said: "The Foreign Office from the start appears to have taken the view that in order not to alienate more Irish-American sentiment, we could not safely hang Casement unless we first published the fact of his private character published in the diaries

Frederick E. Smith, who were spreading such rumours to undermine Casement's plea for clemency. Consequently, Gertrude did not hesitate to pay Sir Ernley a visit and demand explanations:

> *Gertrude:* I insist you stop preaching this filth about Sir Roger Casement [...] You and your confederates set out to destroy my cousin's good name in order to destroy his cause to prevent a reprieve. Forgeries, lies - you will stop at nothing until you have murdered him (*TDRC* 20-21).

After Gertrude asked Blackwell to no longer disseminate this "filth", that were the rumours about Casement's "sodomitical practices"[132], she then threatened to go to Fleet Street and denounce to the newspapers Blackwell's actions against Casement in order to save her cousin's good name and reputation. Yet, Blackwell advised her against it:

> *Blackwell:* Not only because you would not be very welcome in Fleet Street, your cousin's treachery has seen to that, but because it has obviously not occurred to you that these rumours may be true.
>
> *Gertrude:* [...] I demand that you show me the diaries.
>
> *Blackwell:* Out of the question!
>
> *Gertrude:* Because they do not exist!
>
> *Blackwell:* Oh, they exist, all right. But they are not the sort of books that could possibly be shown to a lady. (*TDRC* 21)

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so that at any rate the public in America and elsewhere may know what sort of man they are inclined to make a martyr of. His private character is by this time pretty generally known in London. *The Daily Express* on three occasions has openly stated that he is a moral degenerate, addicted to unmentionable offences, and has cited his 'diaries' in proof." (Blackwell qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 468-469)

132 In Blackwell's terms: "Casement's diary and his ledger entries covering many pages of closely typed matter show that he has for years been addicted to the grossest sodomitical practices. […]" (Qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 468). See "Introduction" pages 23 and 24.

Gertrude kept on insisting to see the documents that Blackwell claimed to have stained Casement's reputations already, so he asked Mr. Findlay to fetch the diaries for her to see. At the same time, Blackwell warns her about its contents, for the simple fact of her looking at its pages could damage her womanhood and reputation as well. Accordingly, the climax of the play is reached after Gertrude goes through the documents and recognizes Casement's handwriting, which she eventually admits to Sir Ernley:

> *Blackwell:* You recognize your cousin's handwriting?
>
> *Gertrude:* I do. (*TDRC* 22)

There is no historical evidence that this ever happened, insofar as Casement's biographers affirm that Gertrude spent the rest of her life struggling to prove that the diaries were forged. According to Patrick Mason:

> The biggest thing in the play is that I invent the thing of her challenging Sir Ernley Blackwell about the Diary. Now, I know that never happened, except, in a symbolic way it had to happen in her, because she had to know what was being written and said about Casement, her cousin. … And what led me to that was that I needed to find a way of telling that story. (Attachment 6.3 275)

O'Síocháin (*Rebel, Imperialist, Revolutionary* 477-479) affirms that Casement's acquaintances and even those friends who had known him best – Edmund Morel, Alice Green, Conan Doyle – were unaware that Casement was a homosexual. In fact, most of them remained convinced to the end of their lives that his alleged "sodomitical practices" were inconceivable. One assumes that the main reason for the playwright's use of poetic licence to portray Gertrude in such an ambivalent manner in terms of her efforts in saving her cousin and, at the same time, in recognizing the homosexual diaries as Casement's own writing, is structural, for this will eventually lead Casement to confess the secrets he has long kept concerning his alleged sexuality. This is revealed in Gee's last visit to her cousin in Pentonville Prison before his execution, after she told Casement that she had seen the diaries:

Gertrude: Is there anyone else you'd wish me to contact? [...] is there some young man in particular? [...] Something that cannot be written down? I insist on the truth.

Casement: About who I am?

Gertrude: No, I don't define you. [...] Of course I was shocked, frightened when I read. But then I thought of you and I found I was no longer frightened. However strong, however hurtful, I saw that it was human. (54:00)

Casement: What can I say?

Gertrude: His name. Say his name.

Casement: Millar. Millar Gordon. A clerk in the Belfast Bank. Tell him I ask his forgiveness. Tell him I remember Point. The Hotel 8.1 Point.

Gertrude: I'll tell him. (*TDRC*)

This passage is somewhat anachronistic; for it is unlikely that Casement would have had this sort of conversation with Gertrude concerning his sexual orientation. According to Michel Foucault, in the early 20th century sexual acts "contrary to nature"[133], such as sodomy, were annexed to mental illness, and were "of a juridical nature" (*The History of Sexuality: 1* 38), i.e, against the law. Moreover, there are still many questions left concerning who Millar is and why he was asked for forgiveness.

Northern Irish writer Jeffrey Dudgeon (2002) has published a meticulous commented edition of the *Black Diaries*, which also covers Casement's life in the North of Ireland. Dudgeon claims that Millar Gordon was Casement's "boyfriend" (xx), and Patrick Mason may have delved into this idea and grafted Millar into the narrative as one of Casement's lovers from Belfast. In the *Black Diaries*[134], there is actually a

[133] The natural, according to Foucault, is the heterosexual "conjugal family", which is the legitimate procreative couple that imposed itself as a model, enforced the norm, safeguarded the truth, and reserved the right to speak while retaining the principle of secrecy" (*The History of Sexuality:1* 3)

[134] May 28th. Left for Warrenpoint with Millar. Heated and huge enjoyment both enjoyed. He came to lunch at G. Central Hotel. Turned in together at 10:30 to 11 – after watching Billiards. Not a word said till

reference to Millar and Casement having spent time together, and this was undoubtedly the stuff out of which *TDRC* is made of. As a result, at the end of Mason's play Casement managed to step out of the closet in the last moments of his life and come to terms with his homosexuality, but it was only after he felt accepted by Gee that he was finally able to rest in peace.

After Casement's hanging at the gallows of Pentonville, at the Home Office, Dr. Mander, the physician who carried out the postmortem evaluation of Casement's anus, gave his final statement to Blackwell:

> *Mander:* Death was instantaneous - severed vertebrae, spinal cord. As to the matter you specified? I made a digital investigation, rubber gloves. The bowel was dilated as far as I could reach. A sure sign of an invert. There was visual evidence, too: the anus clearly distended. It's all in the report.
>
> *Blackwell:* Proof positive. Thank you.
>
> *Mander:* I can't understand why these people don't just shoot themselves. Save the rest of us a lot of time and trouble.
>
> *Blackwell:* But they don't - they won't.
>
> *Mander:* I'll send my bill. Good day, Sir Ernley.
>
> *Blackwell:* There will be no martyrdom - there is no martyr. The quick lime and the diaries will see to that. (*TDRC* 30)

Here, like in Vargas Llosa's *The Dream of the Celt,* the medical practitioner gives his final statement in terms of Casement's sexuality, by affirming that the distension of his anus is a "sure sign of an invert", which would put a final stop to the story of Roger Casement. History has proven Blackwell wrong, for, as Irish poet W.B. Yeats has predicated, the "Ghost of Roger Casement" continues "Beating on the door". The upcoming year of the centenary of the death of Roger Casement, and the ongoing

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– "Wait I'll untie it" and then "Grand". Told many tales and pulled it off on top grandly. First time after so many years and so deep mutual longing. Rode gloriously, splendid steed. Huge, told of may. "Grand". (*The Black Diaries* 211)

research and publications have shown that, in fact, there is still much to accomplish in terms of his legacy, especially in the realm of human rights discourse; and this is the tone that sets the ending of Mason's play:

> *Gertrude:* Of course they are forgeries – government forgeries. My cousin, Sir Roger Casement, laid down his life for his country. He died at the hands of ruthless enemies, who denied him Justice and Mercy. Whatever the ground in which he now lies, that ground is made holy by his presence. (*TDRC* 30)

TDRC ends with Gertrude keeping the promise she had made to Casement before his execution of spreading his good name after his death at the gallows by publicly admitting the *Diaries* as government forgeries whose aim was to prevent him from achieving martyrdom. Mason explains that this is the "terrible twist" of the story:

> And the terrible twist is that she then has for the rest of her life to support the other version. You know, I have her in play, and she sees that diary and she talks to him and he's appalled with what she's done, and his last words to her are "To protect my name. Protect my name, my only name". And she's in this terrible situation that she has to deny the truth. So in her last speech she says, you know, "he's a hero, he's a martyr" (Attachment 6.3 275)

This reading of *TDRC* has shown that the play gives vent to the role Gertrude Banister played in Casement's life. She is portrayed as an agent who sacrificed her career as a teacher to prevent Casement from being hanged by facing Blackwell, Findlay and F.E. Smith from the Home Office. In addition, she is essential to shed light on the obscure issue of Casement's alleged homosexuality.

Casement's sexual encounters are portrayed in play in the form of dreams, and he is able to, anachronistically, speak to Gertrude about his relationship with Northern Irish Millar Gordon. Gertrude, who had already found out about Casement's homosexuality by recognizing in the *Black Diaries* Casement's own handwriting, is

not surprised by Casement's revelation and is portrayed as someone open and accepting. Gertrude is also depicted as an important piece that will form the larger picture of Casement's afterlife in her struggle to clear his name. In this was, she is also turned into a fighter for the same ideals in which her cousin believed: an independent and equal Ireland.

To conclude, the radio play format allows the action of Patrick Mason's *TDRC* to transcend time and space barriers and it is, for this reason, an appropriate medium to present the story of Roger Casement in a more condensed format than a novel. The play offers an insightful contemporary interpretation of Roger Casement's life with the purpose of discussing the way in which the Home Office used the *Black Diaries* as means to prevent Casement from becoming an Irish martyr after his execution which would lead to the temporary effacement of his humanitarian work of exposing atrocities in the Congo and in the Amazon.

2.3 Afterword

While in Chapter 1 Roger Casement is portrayed as a secondary character in Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* and in Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*, the two works tackled in Chapter 2 are more strictly speaking biographical. In Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Dream of the Celt* and in Patrick Mason's *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* the historical figure of Roger Casement is the main protagonist and the focus of the accounts.

The importance of Chapter 2 for this dissertation is to show that both *TDC* and *TDRC* are representations of Casement in a liminal moment of his life: his trial, which will lead to his execution at the gallows of Pentonville Prison in London. Moreover, since both works were written at more or less the same time, both deal more freely with the issue of Casement's alleged homosexuality and the *Black Diaries*, although under a different light.

Both *The Dream of the Celt* and *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* depict what I call a "trauma in the making", that is, a traumatic incident at the moment it is taking place. It is this traumatic event that will belatedly affect the way in which Casement will feature in the following chapter about his afterlife.

Chapter 3 – "Afterlife" and Contemporary Resonances of Old Traumas

> *I saw the noose. The lever. The trap. For me. I stepped on the trap. I saw that I was taller than them all. Ellis strapped my ankles together. He threaded the noose below my jaw. I said, Lord Jesus receive my soul. I heard the lever pull (Silence)* (*Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* 68)

> *On a cold day of March this year, Roger Casement was buried in Glasnevin Cemetery. His remains – he'd been buried in lime almost fifty years ago. What could they consist of?* (*The Fox's Walk* 1)

It is not incidental that, in *Inventing Ireland*, Declan Kiberd compares the 1916 Insurrection to a stage performance, whose aim was "to gather an Irish audience and challenge an English one." (204) This analogy drawn by Kiberd is legitimate if one considers that "the early plays of the Abbey Theatre taught that the conditions of life

are open: the theatre can be a place frequented by the 'low' as they study alternative possibilities for themselves . . ." (204). Kiberd's notion of the 1916 Rising as a performance – where "a mob becomes a people" (204) – is problematic if we consider that this event culminated in the death of about five hundred Irishmen and, consequently, has traumatic resonance in Irish history.

Still and all, Kiberd elaborates his idea of trauma drawing on Karl Marx, who claims that men are agents only up to a certain extent, for they make their own histories under particular conditions that are imposed upon them. According to Marx, under circumstances of crisis men are compelled to face the unknown, as "they are confronted with the tradition of dead generations which weighs like a nightmare upon the brain of the living . . . in circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past." (Marx qtd. in *Inventing Ireland* 206). As Kiberd explains, the new event becomes part of a ghostly event – a past occurrence that has not been completely overcome – and, as a result, the outcome of the encounter between past and present is the transformation of an event into a "new stage", that is, a present "filled with spirits of buried men and dead heroes" (*Inventing Ireland* 206). Marx's idea of trauma as haunting ghosts is similar to that of Cathy Caruth (2006), which relies on the unconscious repetition of the traumatic event. And what is haunting if not repetition, a figment of the trauma of the dead that returns, again and again, as a reminder that trauma has not yet been "worked through"?

As we have seen in the second section of Chapter 1, on Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*, according to Caruth, trauma is a wound of the mind; one that never heals, but whose voice repeatedly interpellates an "other". It is, therefore, through the possibility of listening to the wound of another that one's own healing could be achieved. Marx's and Caruth's proposition of historical trauma as haunting, or repetition, is certainly referred to, and oftentimes challenged, in works of Irish fiction, where the present trauma of an individual is, in fact, situated in the past. One of the most notable examples is the second Episode of James Joyce's *Ulysse*s (1922), when the anti-hero Stephen Dedalus tells Mr. Deasy: "History is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake" (34). Ever since *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) – known as the precursor of *Ulysses* – Dedalus, who is Joyce's alter ego, seems to be aware of the Marxist deterministic view of history, for in order to become a full writer, he effusively endeavors to break the shackles that are intrinsically and traditionally tied to Irish identity: land, religion and nationalism. Yet, the only way Dedalus finds to

effectively write about Ireland is to emigrate, to literally escape from the haunting shadow of Ireland and its history.

The confrontation that takes place between past and present is addressed in both works that are explored in this Chapter: David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as His Bones are Brought to Dublin* (1974), in which ghosts from the past come to meet and talk to the recently buried remains of Roger Casement, as well as Annabel Davis-Goff's *The Fox's Walk* (2004), where Casement's reburial in Glasnevin triggers the recovery of traumatic memories by the protagonist Alice Moore. This Chapter, therefore, aims to prove that the reburial of Roger Casement in Ireland is a traumatic incident with echoes that still reverberate across Irish history.

The two aforementioned works of fiction reveal that the way in which Casement's remains were brought to Dublin from London is a "new event", but one that is enacted on a stage filled with ghosts from the past. Considering the partitioned state of contemporary Ireland, this encounter between past and present is shown to have different layers of significance for the Irish people from the North rather than in the South. As a consequence, these works illustrate that Casement is a spectre that still haunts Anglo-Irish relations, and the impact of the exhumation of his remains reveal the way in which the trauma of an individual becomes an allegory of the trauma of the sectarian Irish nation in the 1960s.

It is important to highlight that the exhumation and reburial of Roger Casement took place in the year of 1965. The 1960's were a watershed in Irish history due to TK Whitaker's Programme for Economic Development, under Taoiseach Sean Lemass. Its aim was to modernize and regenerate Irish economy to put an end to the years of social, economic and political stagnation when the country, ravished by decades of civil unrest, was governed by Eamon de Valera. Lemass's more progressive views brought undeniable change in several levels of society. Nevertheless, according to Declan Kiberd, even in face of such a promising scenario one third of the unionist community was still against re-establishing links with the southern Republic, as the modernizing elites in the republic met with opposition from Northern Ireland.[135]

As a response to this attempt of social and economic revival in the South, in 1967 a more confident generation of nationalists in the North emerged that was violently suppressed by unionists. In 1969, British Army soldiers were sent to Northern

[135] The Republic of Ireland was declared in 1949 by Taoiseach (Prime Minister in Gaelic) John A. Costello. As a consequence, partition was a pressing socio-political issue that had to be dealt with.

Ireland to protect Catholic homes from Protestant assaults. In January 1972, while the IRA were actively training recruits, British paratroopers killed thirteen unarmed civilians during a civil rights march in Derry; this event became known as the Bogside Massacre, or Bloody Sunday. The IRA retaliated and on "Bloody Friday" eleven civilians were killed after bombs were planted in public places. As a result, the death toll began to rise, as did the rivalry between the two Irelands, which is explained in Kiberd's words:

> To many southerners, the North seemed a Neanderthal place caught in a historical time-warp, inhabited by paranoiacs who could trust neither themselves, nor the outside world. The south liked to think of itself as superior, urbane, affluent and forward-looking while the north was trapped in a woeful, repetitive past. (*Inventing Ireland* 574).

To make matters worse, as stated by Kiberd northern Catholics were not seen as belonging to the Republic, or as "our people" (Kiberd 574). It seems like the Irish from the South did not wish to be involved with any disruption that would take place in the North. Thus, Northern Irish Catholics were met with little solidarity across the border. Conversely, as is the case with *The Fox's Walk*, the descendants from the Anglo-Irish Protestant class living in the South had to cope with a feeling of social displacement that began after the 1916 Rising with the formation of the Free State and the Civil War. Their big houses, which were regarded as a symbol of strength and social prestige, were burned down by nationalists as of 1919, and they no longer held the dominant status they once had.

Hence, even after Irish independence, Kiberd shows how "it was less easy to decolonize the mind than the territory" (*Inventing Ireland* 6); British imperialism in Ireland remained ambivalent even after the formation of the Republic in the sense the Irish remained culturally linked to Britain. The effort to decolonize the Irish mind was further complicated because of Ulster, where the unionists were still devoted to what Kiberd calls "an England of the mind" (*Inventing Ireland* 6) that he claims to have no longer "any meaning for most inhabitants of a multicultural Britain" (*Inventing Ireland*

6). In *The Fox's Walk*, Annabel Davis-Goff's grapples with this moment of transition that illustrates how British habits were ingrained in Irish culture and how this began to alter once the revolution began. The novel revolves around the impressions of an Anglo Irish Protestant household in Ballydavid, the family estate, as well as some near relations and neighbours, in the years that preceded the Rising. The protagonist's reminiscences of this time will later turn into a feeling of nostalgia for the lost time when the Anglo Irish, in their big houses, were the ones who set the rules.

Kiberd acknowledges that at the outset of the Troubles in 1968, less than 50% wished for a united Ireland. In the following years, after many deaths as consequence of IRA bombing and hunger strikes, the British government expressed it was no longer interested in Northern Ireland and would remain there as long as it was agreed upon by the Irish people. By 1993, most Irish were still reticent about the northern state, for the Troubles had cost them more than 3000 lives. Nevertheless, Kiberd adds that it was possible that by 2040 their religious inclinations would be so diluted that there would be no need to reconcile Catholics and Protestants. The open ending of David Rudkin's *Cries for Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* allows the reader to envision such a future where these internal conflicts will be negotiated.

Kiberd has also addressed the equivocal role of revisionist historians in contrast to that of literature. To Kiberd, most historians acted like the British while denigrating the role of nationalism, nevertheless, he believes they did not reach much beyond that: "Telling the old story from the other's point of view was scarcely a breakthrough" (*Inventing Ireland* 644). In addition, some of the myths debunked by revisionist historians were, according to Kiberd, terribly false, yet they must also be considered decisive agents of history for a large number of people still believed in them. Moreover, the trauma of those who suffered and the exaltation of those who struggled deserve our accounting. This is where literary studies come to the fore as they serve to re-write, re-create and re-present those histories that have been side-lined by revisionist historians: "To creative artists may have fallen the task of explaining what no historian has fully illuminated – the reason why the English came to regard the Irish as inferior and barbarous (in order to subject a people, the sovereign must make them see themselves as inferior) on the one hand, and, on the other, poetic and magical." (*Inventing Ireland* 646)

Still in relation to trauma, what Kiberd calls the "twin frustrations" of twentieth-century Irish life is twofold: it is reflected in the failure to reintegrate the national territory and in the revival of Irish as the community language. Although this study does not address the issue of the loss of the Gaelic language and its efforts to be reintroduced in Ireland, it does deal with the issue of partition. Kiberd's view of Ireland as a divided island is the following:

> If the notion of "Ireland" seemed to some to have become problematic, that was only because the seamless garment, once wrapped like a green flag around Cathleen ni Houlihan had given way to a quilt of many patches and colours, all beautiful, all distinct, yet all connected too. No one element should subordinate or assimilate the others: Irish or English, rural or urban, Gaelic or Anglo, each has its part in the pattern. (Kiberd 653).

The analogy drawn by Kiberd between Ireland as a whole island and the monochromatic green flag that clothes Cathleen ni Houlihan – the mythical female representation of Ireland – being replaced by a multi-coloured quilt after partition is certainly pertinent to this last Chapter of the dissertation, especially if one considers the image of the flag as a universal symbol of national identity. The predicament around the partition of Ireland and the confrontation that takes place between past and present are the main subjects of David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as His Bones are Brought to Dublin* (1974) as well as of *The Fox's Walk* (2004), where Casement's exhumation is a metaphor for the recovery and working through past traumatic experiences.

3. 1 Casement as a Ghost in *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* (1974)

In discussing the scarcity of Irish plays about the First World War, German scholar Heinz Kosok states that the political note present in Jonathan Swift's *A Modest Proposal* (1729) is recurrent in all Anglo-Irish literature, and that he knows of "no other literature so closely linked to the immediacy of politics" (Frank O'Connor qtd. in Kosok 89). Therefore, if we consider that Irish theatre has frequently been seen, according to Christopher Murray (1997) as a "mirror up to the nation", albeit oftentimes a distorted one, plays that approach polemical issues, such as the Easter Rising and the Troubles might be somewhat challenging to be written and staged. In this respect, theatre critic Marilyn Richtarik (2001) has asseverated that Northern Irish playwrights have long faced the challenge of working in the context of an often violent and still unresolved political conflict. In order to illustrate this point, Richtarik draws on Belfast born dramatist and poet Stewart Parker's perspective on the events, according to which:

> The raw material of drama is over-abundant here, easy pickings. Domestic bickering, street wit, tension in the shadows, patrolling soldiers, a fight, an explosion, a shot, a tragic death: another Ulster Play written. What statement has it made? That the situation is grim, that Catholics and Protestants hate each other, that it's all shocking and terribly sad, but that the human spirit is remarkably resilient for all that. Such a play certainly reflects aspects of life here. But it fails to reflect adequately upon them. (Parker qtd. in Richtarik 121)

Despite Parker's awareness about the critical situation involving Catholics and Protestants, he asserts that, writers who are continuously exposed to the effects of this sectarian conflict from within the city of Belfast, may easily fall into the trap of meaningless sensationalism. Such an art form would, in his words, be restricted to "reflecting" the conflict without promoting adequate "reflection" upon it. In this regard, in order to avoid what Ritchtarik terms "cliché-mongering", playwrights have opted to approach the trauma incited by the Troubles in Northern Ireland obliquely, through symbolism, allegory and metaphor.

To a large extent, this is the case of David Rudkin[136], who was born in London in 1936, of Irish parentage, and spent long periods of his childhood and youth in County Armagh (Richtarik). Much of Rudkin's work, like *Ashes* (1974) and *Saxon Shore* (1986), delves into the sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland in an allegorical form. This also comes into view in the radio play[137] *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin,*[138] (1974), written in the 1960s when Rudkin was commissioned by the BBC to contribute to a series on historical rebels.

[136] It is worth mentioning that, although the play is not biographical, there are certain similarities between the playwright's life and that of Casement, already pointed out by critic Ian Rabey, and confirmed by the interview in Attachment 6.4 (281): "…and of course, in discovering my character C[asement], I discovered that I too had similar questions to answer and choices to make for myself. Existentialism again. The piece emerged as it did, because it was energised by that" (Rudkin).

[137] Considerations about the radio play have been made in Chapter 2, section 2.

[138] From this moment onwards, the play will be referred to as *Cries from Casement*.

I view *Cries from Casement* as a history play. In *The English Historical Plays in the Age of* Shakespeare (1965), Irving Ibner affirms that the history play is a genre that flourished in the age of Shakespeare and was an expression of the English Renaissance. Although it is deeply rooted in medieval drama, it reached its peak in the Elizabethan era (Ibner 1), yet the 20th century also saw the increase of history plays. This is best conceptualized in *The 20th Century English History Plays: From Shaw to Bond* (1988), where Niloufer Harben writes that the historical playwright needs to come to terms not only with his own subject, but also to show a genuine interest in the past (2). For this reason, as this Chapter will show, this is the case with David Rudkin and *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* in that it is obliquely focused on the history of British domination in Ireland. In spite of being grounded on the biography of Roger David Casement, it is actually concerned with the issue of partition and was first broadcast one year after the bogside massacre on BBC Radio 3 in February 1973, and in that same year it was staged by the Royal Shakespeare Company. Rudkin, thus, felt an urge

> "to write a large piece that gave utterance to my Northern Irish Protestant identity as opposed to my English one ... This grew more pressing as Ulster lurched toward the brink of a sectarian war. Suddenly, I realized that my Casement play and my Ulster play were the same thing" (Rudkin) [139]

Against such a dramatic backdrop, Rudkin[140] was aware that the piece's polemical content could be of "contention and discomfort for an audience in the British Isles." (Rudkin 81) He, therefore, would affirm that the radio, as a medium for this play conveyed the physical distance between the stage and the audience, who he believed could become "strident and aggressive", and who "would have good reason to withdraw whatever good will they came with" (Rudkin 81). Besides, radio was aesthetically appropriate since the action was supposed to be set in a box, Casement's coffin, and,

[139] Quotes by David Rudkin present in book jacket notes with no acknowledged author.

[140] Following the script, there is a section written by Rudkin called "Thoughts on Staging the Play" (81-84), which offers insightful reflections on his choice over the radio as an appropriate medium for the play and how to transpose it to the stage.

therefore, it was meant to be heard from a box, the radio. It is relevant to underscore that, perhaps due to the controversial topics it approaches *Cries from Casement* has not gained the attention it deserves[141]. According to critic Ian Rabey, who includes in his book *David Rudkin: Sacred Disobedience* (1997) a section dedicated to the play in question:

> [*Cries from*]*Casement* is, at the time of writing, a regrettably overlooked play in terms of contemporary drama, particularly that dealing with Anglo-Irish relations and sexual politics, both of which it explores and enfolds masterfully ... In these respects, and in its uniquely direct address to Protestant Irish identity and triumphantly explicit homoeroticism, it is unparalleled in drama of the 1970's, and beyond (Rabey 53).

With the aim of filling in this gap, this section provides a close reading of excerpts from the 1974 published version of the script of *Cries from Casement* and takes its guiding idea from Rabey's (1987) statement that Rudkin fragments his subject, Roger Casement, "in order to see him whole, in an imaginative proposition where style is self-consciously part of the narrative itself" (50). On the one hand, according to Richard Kearney (*The Wake of Imagination*) "narrative disordering", as is the case with Rudkin's piece, is one of the main traits of the "fragmentary character of postmodern writing" (314) that risks compromising "narrative attempts to link the present with a remembered past and future" (314). On the other hand, French philosopher Paul Ricoeur argues that this fragmentary quality of postmodern texts can be interpreted as "an invitation to the reader actively engage with the text in order to recreate some new kind of narrative sense, to recompose the text which the author has decomposed" (qtd. in Kearney, *The Wake of Imagination* 315).

Along these lines, fragmentation is present in *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* both in form and in content, as most of the 11 sections that

[141] There is one dissertation available online by Daniel Patrick Shea, "Stage Irishman, Stereotype, Performance: A Perspective on Irish Drama of the Second Half of the Twentieth Century"' from the Neuphilologischen Fakultät der Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg (March 2009), that deals with the play in a chapter called "Turncoats". No other full or published work has been found dealing in such depth with *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*.

constitute the piece refer to different times, places and facts about Casement's life; it is the function of an active reader to join these fragments and create a whole image of the man. In a postmodern fashion, key events of Casement's afterlife and life in Britain, the Congo, the Amazon, Germany and Ireland are gradually revealed and revolve around the main narrative axis, which is the exhumation of Casement's personified bones from the lime pit in Pentonville Prison in England and subsequent reburial in Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin.

Thus, this study is focused on two main aspects of Casement's life arc that are tackled in the play. It aims firstly to pinpoint the way in which the character of the metafictional *Author* joins different fragments of Casement's history in an attempt to make sense of the whole man, given that the role of his alleged homosexuality in his transformation into a nationalist has been overlooked. Secondly, it grapples with the controversy over the repatriation of Casement's remains, which is seen here as an allegory of a fragmented Ireland dealing with the consequence of partition as well as attempting to promote the reconciliation of Ireland with both the past of the 1916 Easter Rising, and with the present time of the Troubles.

I thereby argue that, in *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*[142], Rudkin creates a hypothetical situation where the conflict in Northern Ireland can be interpreted in terms of what Italian critic Antonio Gramsci calls "interregnum" a period of transition between two different reigns or regimes (qtd. in Cleary 9). In such context, the end of the Troubles would allow the emergence of "new arrangements" between the two parts involved – the North and the South – whereby Casement's remains would be granted a third burial in the grounds of a united Ireland.

From Imperialist to Nationalist: Who is Roger Casement?

It is important to note that although Roger Casement is the protagonist of *CFC*, there are several other characters – either fictional or based on historical figures – whose speeches are uttered with different accents demarcated both in the playwright's

[142] From this moment onwards *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* will be referred to as *CFC*.

directions and in the script, where words are written in a vernacular style. At the outset, for instance, the playwright assumes that the audience might not be aware of who Roger Casement is; accordingly, the following line is spoken by an actor with a neutral accent:

> *An actor with a neutral voice*: Who's Who. Sir Roger Casement: QM, CMG, Knight. Born County Dublin eighteen-sixty-four, father a soldier, Ulster Protestant, mother a secret Catholic. School, Ballymena. University, none (*CFC* 7).

This opening excerpt in Section I, which I believe alludes to an entry in *Who's Who*,[143] the famous biography of notable Britons, provides a brief summary that encapsulates Casement's split life. He was born out of a mixed marriage in Dublin, raised in County Antrim, Northern Ireland, and, finally, after earning the titles of Quartermaster and Companion of St. Michael and St. George and was knighted by King George V for being a diligent and humble servant of the Crown.

In the introduction to his biography, B.L. Reid (1976) suggests that "no one who goes into the story at all can fail to be haunted by the way in which Casement's history incarnates not only the motives of 1916 but the same passions deadly and alive today" (xvi). This idea that there is a correlation between the figure of Casement and the history of Ireland is also corroborated by Roger Sawyer (1984), who affirms that at the time of Casement's death, in 1916, "he had passed through many shades of ambivalence: familial, physical, religious and political, and in all of these areas, even in the physical, he seemed to reflect in an unusual way the problems of identity suffered by Ireland as a whole" (1). Curiously, just to mention, there is no entry for Casement in *Who was Who*[144] after his death at the gallows of Pentonville Prison, on 3rd August, 1916.

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[143] *Who's Who* and *Who Was Who* are the first biographical books of this kind and have been published annually by A & C Black, since 1849: http://www.ukwhoswho.com/public/home.html?url=%2Fapp%3Fservice%3Dexternalpagemethod%26page%3DIndex%26method%3Dview%26&failReason=

[144] According to D. George Boyce, Casement's "*Who's Who* entry was not transferred into the *Who Was Who* volume after his death. He became in this sense a non-person, which was a measure of the hatred that he inspired in the British establishment" (n. pag.). "Casement, Roger David (1864–1916)", *Oxford*

Thereafter, still in Section I, the character of the *Crier* announces an event that will be the main thread that holds the narrative together:

> *Crier*: [...] at an appropriate time there shall be dug up for dispatch to Dublin [...] a box of sulphura'ed and potassified remains, to which we shall affix the label ROGER CASEMENT!
>
> *British Public*: Who?
>
> *Crier*: Thanks be to Gawd and HMG that we of England know the meaning of mercy – even if we dispense it partially and too late; and in our dealings wiv neighbours display great prudence and sagaci'ee – even if only long after circumstance has left us wiv no other choice. But at least let it now be hoped, that wiv this gesture, I say, please Gawd, Gawd please! we shall at last have washed our 'ands of the problem of Ireland forever?
>
> *Man in the Street*: If you want to do that, mate, put all the Irish in a box, shove it aht to sea and sink it! (*CFC* 9)

The abovementioned excerpt sets the time when the main action takes place: 1965, the year Casement's bones were exhumed from the lime pit of Pentonville Prison, in England, and reburied in Glasnevin cemetery, in Dublin. In this passage, however, the playwright reveals the delicate relations between England and Ireland at that particular moment in history, namely the outbreak of the sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland, and the dispatching of a box containing Casement's bones would metaphorically solve the "Irish problem".

What follows is that in order to understand why Casement represents this stumbling block in Anglo-Irish relations, the metafictional character of the *Author* goes on a quest to uncover and then reassemble the most important fragments of Casement's identity. Accordingly, Section III starts with the character of the *Author* drafting a play

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Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32320, accessed 28 Sept 2014].

on Casement and doing research at the Public Records Office in London, "wrestling with the riddle of the man" (*CFC* 11):

> *Author*: A turnabout. Inside that consular Victorian imperialistic shell, what hidden rebel seed? And what touch quickens it? What brooding makes an egg of it? What hatches it? (*CFC* 11)

The metafictional *Author* certainly sees Casement as a rebel and tries, via research in London, to trace the seeds that have grown into his becoming an Irish nationalist. French writer and philosopher Albert Camus asks, "What is a rebel?" A rebel is, according to Camus

> A man who says no, but whose refusal does not imply renunciation. He is also a man who says yes, from the moment he makes his first gesture of rebellion. […] What was first the main resistance now becomes the whole man, who is identified with and summed up in this resistance. (Camus n. pag.)

The opposing facets of Casement's identity – a rebel hidden beneath an imperialistic shell – gradually comes to light while the *Author* reads Casement's five personal travel journals. Moreover, keeping in mind Niloufer Harben's consideration on the "history play", it seems that Rudkin draws attention to the "power of intuition" under the aegis of the *Author* that "enables [the writer] to penetrate beneath the surface of documented fact to explore the possibilities of human character and situation within the context of actual experience" (Harben 2). In an interview, Rudkin describes how this takes place:

> I don't think of the piece as "fiction" – I was finding out about C[asement] the man, and poetically "becoming" him. To mediate such a quantity and complexity of material, I found myself logically evolving a variety of techniques, all of them thematic – and very much to do with radio broadcasting. (Attachment 1)

As the *Author* imagines Casement as a character enacting some of the excerpts of his personal *Diaries*, the creative process of the play is disclosed to the audience/reader in a metafictional form. In order to answer the question posed by the "*British Public:* Who?" (9) and to discover more about his subject, the fragments of Casement's life, in the form of his writings, are juxtaposed and reassembled by the *Author* to create the "whole man"[145]. Casement is first a diligent employee of the Crown in Africa discussing an article he had read in a European newspaper criticizing Members of Parliament at Westminster on hiring incompetent employees:

> *Casement*: What was the headline? 'England: the land of Sport and Cant'. Funny notions about us some nations have. Secretly, of course, they envy us, our integrity. Our honour. (*CFC* 13)

This quote points to how, at the beginning of his career, Casement was a staunch defender of European territorial occupation and expansion accompanying the ostensible social and economic development of the colonies, as agreed by the Berlin Conference in 1885. Notwithstanding, in 1903 rumours began to reach Europe of atrocities committed against natives in the Belgian Congo ruled by the absolutist monarch Leopold II, where Casement had been employed from 1884-1886. In the face of such appalling circumstances, Casement, then British Consul in Boma, was assigned the task of reporting the truth about the Congo Free State:

> *Casement*: […] King Leopold of Belgium, pink throned pig. In your own person vested all this Congo State. You fatten on its gold. Its rubber is this black flesh. I see your Belgic Majesty gorge in a gulp the total harvest of this one fellow's only, butchered life, to spend him in one royal fart. (*CFC* 14-15)

[145] See pages 39-40 of the "Introduction" for more details on the forgery controversy, and Angus's Mitchell's idea of the fabrication of Casement as a "whole man."

By this time, Casement had become deeply involved with reporting the ill treatment suffered not only by West-African British subjects, but also by other natives in the region. This excerpt signals Casement's unveiling the mode of operation of the Congo Free State, which he describes as "preposterous and form of 'legalized piracy'" (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 147). Here, Casement explains that the rubber, known as black gold, was the reason why the personal wealth of Leopold II, the pig who kept getting fatter and fatter, continued to increase at the expense of the natives' black flesh, a clear allusion to their deaths and mutilations.

According to Séamas O'Síocháin, the impact that the time Casement spent in Africa had on his consular career and on his initial turn against the empire, is made clear in a letter addressed to his friend, the Historian Alice Stopford Green, in which he states that "[...] finally when up in those Congo forests where I found Leopold I also found myself – the incorrigible Irishman [...] I realized I was looking at this tragedy with the eyes of another race [...]" (O'Síocháin, *The Eyes of Another Race* vi). In the end, this experience proved fruitful as Casement "gained understanding of how the State system of operation worked" (O'Síocháin, *The Eyes of Another Race* 10).

On the strength of Casement's work in the Congo, he was assigned another investigation in 1909, this time on the Putumayo. There, Casement reported atrocities committed against the Indians who were, as it has been shown, also rubber gatherers for the Peruvian Amazon Company, run by the Arana Brothers. First, one should remember that he had served as British Consul in Brazil for seven years in Santos, Rio de Janeiro and Pará. Casement's break with the empire, still only theoretical because in practice he was in the pay of the British crown, would come to motivate his future engagement with the Irish nationalist cause:

> *Author*: From Pará, the notepaper on which Casement writes has a new letterhead, designed by himself: Consulate of Great Britain *and* Ireland. A crack in the Kingdom. (*CFC* 21, italics by Rudkin)

In *Roger Casement in Brazil*[146] there is a passage that resembles the excerpt above, where Casement underscores Ireland as being separate from Great Britain in a letter addressed to Alice Green, in 1908. This indication points to the fact that during this period, despite being away from Ireland most of the time, Casement was already involved with the cause of the independence of Ireland. He took part in the Irish Revival, as he secretly supported the Gaelic Athletic Association and the Gaelic League, which would culminate in his indirect collaboration in the 1916 Rising through the formation of the Irish Brigade in Germany. This "crack" between Ireland and Britain, to which the *Author* refers, reveals that the strength of Casement's initial belief in British imperialism began to tone down from the moment he started to become aware that the empire's civilizing mission was nothing but an excuse to explore the natural and human resources of the so-called dark continents.

Furthermore, it can be said that Casement's travels and duties as an imperial surveyor and Consul exposed him to different sides of the dilemmas that Ireland was facing at that time. He went so far as to relate the plight of the Amazonian Indians to the Irish suffering from typhoid fever in Connemara, whose cause he felt was even more urgent than that of the Africans (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 242). Consequently, to recover Roger Sawyer's argument, in political terms, Casement was as divided as Ireland, since for many years he had been disillusioned with the British Empire, but it was only much later that he managed to sever the umbilical cord which connected him to the Crown and began to follow his own convictions.

In relation to sexuality, Sawyer argues that on the outside "Casement echoed Ireland's adulation of celibacy" (1), where a patriot could only be either a celibate or a heterosexual. Nevertheless, the contrary is revealed in the intimate so-called *Black Diaries* whose authorship has been accredited to him. In these homosexual themed journals the diarist writes about satisfying his sexual yearnings with male partners from lower orders of society or from the colonies. In Rudkin's play, Casement's homosexuality is re-signified inasmuch as his becoming an anti-imperialist coincides with the outcome of the process in which he recognizes himself as a homosexual:

[146] In Angus Mitchell's *Roger Casement in Brazil: Rubber, the Amazon and the Atlantic World 1884-1916* (60) there is the original excerpt from the letter from Roger Casement to Alice Stopford Green: "All one's thoughts are really with Ireland – if only one could see daylight … Remember my address is: Consulate of Great Britain and Ireland, Santos – not British Consulate!!" (ASG, *R.M.S. Nile*, 21 September 1906).

> *Casement*: I see another man. No conqueror, no burner nor torturer with axe nor flail; no master. But a man, [...] a Casement who would touch these ebony curves of Adam-flesh, ay, wants them whole, to touch, feel; kiss... [...] Casement wants these Congolese slit knackers and whole; for milk, for me. (*CFC* 14-15)

Here, Casement feels he is no longer a malevolent colonizer; rather, he is in love with the natives and their bodies. He wants them whole and healthy, not mutilated and flogged. This excerpt alludes to the assumption that Casement's homosexuality was essential to the way Casement undertook a nationalist stance, as Rudkin explains:

> I remember a personal conversation with an IRA chief-of-staff who said the homosexuality 'didn't matter'. But the problem was, and still is, that nobody has really understood, or taken on board, the underlying biographical thesis: that C[asement]'s sexual alienation was essential to his politics, and in fact catalysed them." (Attachment 6.4 280)

Moreover, as Rudkin asserts in "The Chameleon and the Kilt", a review of Brian Inglis' *The Biography of a Patriot who Lived for England, Died Ireland*, it was Casement's homosexuality that enabled him to idealize the natives as superior beings, and project into them a "certain political romanticism" ("The Chameleon" 76), clearly described in the *Amazon Journal* (1997) when Casement secretly wishes to arm the Indians against the Peruvians. Nevertheless, while the metafictional *Author* believes that Ireland mythologizes Casement, rejecting the aspects that do not seem fit for a hero, he tries to prove that the whole man is more of a hero even than his Irish part. The *Author* writes that the controversy surrounding the *Diaries* only serves to shatter his imperialistic shell, and what lies beneath this shell is the true Casement:

> *Author:* [...] If these are forgeries, then they add up to a fictional masterpiece of

> Joycean virtuosity. Through all this schizoid, kaleidoscopic multiplicity, many-personed, many voiced, there is emerging one awareness: the shell of Sir Roger, QM, CMG, KT, being violently sloughed; the full-winged pathic and patriot Casement struggling obscenely to be born ...
>
> Through horror, sickness, danger, sodomy, farce, he hacks out a new definition of himself. For that, he is a hero: and not for Ireland only. For Ireland today, of course, he has a more immediate, pressing relevance: with which of us, Ireland or England, must the Ulsterman Protestant in the end throw in his Red Hand? [...] That act, courageous, at times humiliating and absurd, transcending poetry and lust and death, makes Roger Casement a hero for the world. (*CFC* 24)

It is important to mention that although *CFC* does not aim to reach an essential Casement, by creating this rich textual mosaic, Rudkin underscores:

> ... the relevance of my, the author's personal identification with the Irish journey Casement travels; most of all, the political need to present this Casement as *my own personal creation*, formed from my own intuition and apprehension of him, with the various pieces of evidence forensically presented. (*CFC*, Book Flap, n. pag.)

Rudkin, as a historical playwright, in the sense that Harben describes, brings to his understanding of the facts – in this case, the existing documentation on the life of Roger Casement – "an artist's perception and sensitivity which allows him to place himself in the character's position" (4), seen in the passages where Casement re-enacts excerpts from his diaries ranging from imperialist, to homosexual, to nationalist, and, consequently, to consider the events from a unique point of view.

This comprehensive view of the protagonist put forth by the *Author* in *CFC* evidences that the form crafted by Rudkin echoes Richard Kearney's (1988) notion of

a postmodern poetic imagination, according to which the "logic of the imaginary is one of both/and rather than either/or. It is inclusive and, by extension tolerant: it allows opposites to stand, irreconcilables to coexist [...]" (368). By opting for a "both/and" representation instead of an "either/or", Rudkin creates a character that eludes the essentialist categories commonly associated with Casement, either as a nationalist, or a homosexual or a traitor.

Nonetheless, one is left to consider to what extent Casement's ambivalences influenced his afterlife as reflected in the aforementioned excerpt, "[…] with which of us, Ireland or England, must the Ulsterman Protestant in the end throw in his Red Hand?"[147] (Rudkin 24) Hence, it is relevant to highlight the way in which this same quote also raises the issue of the partition of Ireland, for depending on which direction the Ulsterman throws his hand: the island would be united, if thrown in the direction of Ireland, or divided if thrown in the direction of England. The subsequent section will demonstrate the way in which the Troubles – the sectarian conflict in Northern Ireland whose outset is contemporaneous to the writing and broadcasting of the play – influenced the way the repatriation of Casement's bones was carried out and, thus, how this fragmented Casement depicted by Rudkin is an allegory of a still divided Ireland.

A Panorama of Irish History

After joining pieces of this historical character's fragmented self, in Section VII the playwright draws a panorama of invasions that took place in Ireland, where he includes the early origins and the name of Roger Casement in the course of Irish history. The aim of this section is to tell the British listener the history of the domination of Ireland by Great Britain, and include Casement's name in this panorama. In the year *CFC* was written, 1974, and the year the play covers, 1965, it was more problematic to mention Casement's involvement in these historical events due to social restrictions concerning

[147] The Red Hand of Ulster is a symbol of the Northern Irish province of Ulster. It is associated to the Fenian Cycle of Irish Mythology. According to one myth, the kingdom of Ulster lacked an heir, so it was agreed that a boat race would settle the matter: the first man whose hand touched the shore would be king. During the race, one of the chieftains who belonged to the O'Neill clan realized he was behind, so he cut his hand off with a sword and threw it across so that it reached the shore and he was the winner of the kingship. Therefore, the Red Hand of Ulster is actually a reference to the O'Neill hand covered in blood.

political loyalties and partisanship. According to Roger Sawyer (1997), regarding the reception of Casement's legacy, the former president of Ireland, Eamon de Valera, has affirmed that "a further period of time must elapse before the full extent of Casement's sacrifice can be understood" (12). This view is endorsed by David Rudkin, who has expressed that:

> Some attitudes are more liberal now, but 'progressive' critics and historians can be driven by ideologies that narrow them in new ways. 'Experts' are still short-sighted – I saw in the early 2000s a TV documentary analysing C[asement]'s handwriting(s). It thought it had all the answers; but even at 30 years old, my piece was streets ahead of the experts, in its *insight*. That insight comes from being the work of a dramatist experiencing C[asement]'s world from inside *him as a character*. (Attachment 6.4 281)

Rudkin states that despite Ireland being more progressive 30 years after the play was written, some critics and historians are still held back by issues surrounding Casement's controversial life, such as the homosexual *Black Diaries*. In the above quoted interview, Rudkin makes reference to the forensic examination of Casement's writings that was carried out in 2002, led by Dr Audrey Giles, commissioned by Professor Bill McCormack, of Goldsmiths College, London, funded by the BBC as well as by RTE. The findings, that have confirmed Casement's authorship of the *Diaries*, are still contested by historians who believe in the forgery theory. In this respect, Rudkin's play seems to claim Casement as the *Diarist*, thus, the writer of the *Black Diaries*.

As Rudkin has stated above, *Cries from Casement* was "insightful" in its treatment of Casement's homosexuality. In this respect, the piece is ahead of its time, for it was written in the 1970s and the forensic examinations took place much later, in 2002. Rudkin explains that he was able to experience what it was like being Casement "from inside *him as a character"*, via the historical journey he undertook to write, and the main argument that underlies Section VII is that there is still a need to write Casement and his transatlantic achievements into the history of Ireland.

The relevance of Section VII in the play is highlighted in its being announced by a (*Colossal gongstroke*) (31), as indicated in the rubrics. This Section, according to the *Crier* – who like the *Announceress* has the function of narrating and contextualizing chief events – aims to answer the question of how "The English civilize Ireland: a panorama of 'istoree" (31). The Section is structured basically as an extensive dialogue between two commentators, *He* and *She*, and the rubrics set the atmosphere of the scene: "Primordial wind-moan, bleak, low. Slow pendulum-swing, a pulse of time. Two commentators, man, woman, 'World at One' style, objectively alternate" (31). The lines of *He* and *She* – whose tones of voice should be "neutral," akin to that of BBC radio programme "World at One" presenters – refer to important landmarks in the history of Ireland. Their speeches are, oftentimes intersected by other voices, such as that of *England*, *Ireland* and of historical figures that have been agents in Irish history, and that bear some kind of relation to Roger Casement.

Before *He* and *She* begin their account of Irish History, England asks them to "Be fair now, be fair now, be objective, be fair" (31), for her not to be portrayed as a villain and Ireland as a victim. As follows, *She* begins to trace the early onset of the invasions:

> *She*: "Ireland. The dawn of time. Waves of western migration across Asia and Europe must all end here, known as the world's edge. ... Four thousand BC, putative date of the first fortification of Armagh" From these early fortifications in four thousand BC, to the Christianization of Ireland: "Four-thirty-two AD, Patrick – or another of the same name – lands, converts Druid High King, establishes archbishop of Armagh four-forty-five" (*CFC* 32)

This passage is consistent in its argument for an Ireland that has been, since its early origins, an amalgam of different peoples that have for centuries invaded Ireland and become part of it. Following *She*'s chain of thought, *He* mentions how "Vikings found Dublin eight-four-one" (*CFC* 32) and that this is followed by the prince Brian Boroimhe, "Self-styled Imperator Scotorum" who "re-establishes city and sanctuary of Armagh, royal glory of Tara. His divorced wife calls non-assimilated Danes to ally

with Danes from England to depose him." (*CFC* 32) *He* subsequently announces the invasion of Anglo-Normans in the year 1170, brought by Dermot MacMurrough, King of Leinster, that would – as also referred to in Chapter 1 on Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys* – seal the history of Ireland's longest invasions:

> *She*: Battle of Clontarf, Good Friday, ten-fourteen.
>
> *He*: The Romanization of Ireland. Eleven-Forty, Malachi of Armagh begins reform of dogma and ritual of Irish Church, into line with Rome. Eleven-fifty-one, King Dermot of Leinster abducts wife of a neighbouring King, then flees to Henry the Second of England for help. Eleven fifty-five, Englishman Pope Hadrian the Fourth authorizes Henry of England to complete Romanization of Irish Church. Eleven-seventy, Anglo-Normans invade.
>
> *Crier*: The English in Eyeland, a'istoree – !
>
> *England* (*as before*): Be fair now. Both sides of the story, be fair. Be objective, be fair... (*CFC* 38)

He then continues listing historical events as well as influential Kings and Queens of England that also ruled Ireland, some of which are: Mary Tudor, Queen Elizabeth, or Bess, James I, Oliver Cromwell, James II. Suddenly, after the years that Ireland had been affected by the famine due to the potato blight, a name calls the listener's attention:

> *He*: Eighteen-forty-eight, revolutions in Europe. A soldier called Casement helps Kóssuth against the Austrians in Hungary. Young Ireland rebellion suppressed. ... Eighteen-fifty-eight, formation of Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood. Eighteen sixty-four, birth of a son to the soldier Casement: Roger David. (*CFC* 38)

He mentions the name of a soldier called Roger Casement, who was part of the

Regiment of Dragoons in 1841. In 1948, however, this soldier sold his commission and returned to Europe to aid Louis Kossuth and the Hungarian army fighting against Austria (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 6). The birth of the soldier's son, also named Roger Casement, is highlighted among so many events in the history of Ireland. Hence, in the play, at least, Roger Casement officially becomes part of a long sequence that is the panorama of Irish history. What follows is that *He* discusses events contemporary to Roger Casement, the son of the soldier, such as the impasse of John Redmond the Home Rule Bill, and how Ulster was against it:

> *He*: [...] Home Rule Bill goes into committee. Craig, Carson and Frederick Edwin Smith prepare Ulster Covenant, envisaging UDI for a protestant Ulster. Half a million sign this, many in their own blood. Illegal army formed, Ulster Volunteers, to resist implementation of Home Rule. With an escort armed with wooden rifles, Carson parades Belfast behind a dummy cannon.
>
> *She*: He is now Privy Councillor. Roger Casement knighted for services in Putumayo. (*CFC* 40)

Here, Member of Parliament James Craig, Ulster Unionist Council leader Edward Carson, and Attorney General F. E. Smith, are the men who would ultimately decide the partition of Ireland with the formation of an armed Ulster Volunteer Force, and who would, some time later, seal the fate of Roger Casement. The last two, F. E. Smith and Carson, were part of the prosecuting team that found Casement guilty of treason for his actions in Germany, and who undermined, along with Blackwell and Findlay, the possibility of Casement's becoming an Irish hero and martyr.

The injustice done to Casement becomes even more evident in the last line by *She*, for simultaneously to Carson's career building, as he is named Privy Councillor, Casement was recognized for his humanitarian services in the Putumayo. This juxtaposition of Casement and the unionists that Rudkin makes, echoes Casement's "Speech from the Dock", where he states: "The difference between us was that the unionist champions chose a path they knew would lead to the woolsack; while I went a road I knew must lead to the dock." (*Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 459). The

woolsack is the Lord Chancellor's seat in the House of Lords, which is stuffed with wool and a symbol of power, sought by Edward Carson and F. E. Smith, which is in clear opposition to the gallows, where Casement ended up.

As follows, *He* and *She* continue listing the events that led to the 1916 Easter Rising and the controversial role Casement played in it:

> *She*: June, Casement resigns from Foreign Office.
>
> He: Carson visits Germany, negotiating for German arms.
>
> [...]
>
> *She*: September, Casement publicly declares –
>
> *Casement*: If Ireland fights for England now, it will be a gratuitous gift of her blood in a rotten cause! (*CFC* 40-41)

Here, Casement is trying to convince the Germans to support the cause of the independence of Ireland as a gradual process. Therefore, he is not totally convinced that an insurrection in Ireland against the British, amidst the First World War, is the right solution for Ireland's problems. He knows that without German help in the form of weapons and trained men to fight, the Rising would result in sheer manslaughter. Nevertheless, as news of the possibility of the conscription of Irish Volunteers were cabled to Germany by Irish-American John Devoy, Casement decided to go ahead to fight, even if this meant losing his life for Ireland:

> *He:* April twenty-fourth nineteen-sixteen, Good Friday, Casement lands on Kerry coast with fruit of German Mission, see scene below. Arrested, taken to London.
>
> *She:* Monday April twenty-fourth nineteen-sixteen: Dublin insurrection. [...] An extremist core of seven rebel leaders seize Dublin GPO. Proclaim independence. After three days, General Maxwell arrives, to 'teach Ireland a lesson'. (*CFC* 41)

In this passage, *He* and *She* describe two sequences of events that occurred almost

concomitantly: the first is Casement's arrest in Kerry on 21 April 1916, and his subsequent imprisonment in the Tower of London. The second is the Easter Rising, which took place three days after Casement's arrest. The Rising lasted for six days, and resulted in bloodshed, as Casement had predicted. In the play, this is described by the sequence of the death toll as seen in the excerpt below:

> *He*: Statistics of Dublin Rising. Killed. Insurgents, sixty-four. English and Irish soldiery, one hundred and thirty-four. Civilians, two hundred. Wounded, two thousand six hundred and fifteen [...] Tomas J. Clarke, death. James Connolly, for signing Declaration of Independence, death. Eamonn Ceannt, as above, death. Thomas MacDonagh, as above, death. Padraig Pearse, as above, death. Joseph Plunkett, as above, death. For parts played in the Rising: Cornellius Colbert, death; Edward Daly, death; J.J. Heuston, death; John MacBride, death; Michael Mallin, death; Michael O Hanrahan, death; William Pearse, death...
>
> *England*: Very one-sided account and selective. He didn't say anything of the good we did them. I demand the right to reply.
>
> *Ireland*: Like to say what?
>
> (*Silence*) (*CFC* 42)

This last excerpt is insightful in that *He* and *She* provide an outline of the aftermath of the 1916 Easter Rising: hundreds of civilians were dead, and thousands were injured and arrested. Yet, what brought change in the course of Irish history, as it has been shown so far, is the killing of the rebels by the Royal Irish Constabulary in Kilmainham Gaol, in Dublin. This incident ultimately altered the sympathies of the Irish people, as it will also be shown in the following section, on Annabel Davis-Goff's *The Fox's Walk*.

Even after all the deaths mentioned in the abovementioned sequence, England ironically claims that the account given by *He* and *She* is "very one-sided", and asks what of the good side brought about by the 300 years of British domination. Ireland's reply, "Like what?" is almost humorous as it is obviously stated that after this lengthy

section of Irish history, in which conquering of land, political domination, imposition of English over the Gaelic language, subjugation and starvation of the people, revolutions that ended in the shedding of blood, seemed to have been the norm, little good is left to be said by *He* and *She* about British rule.

Hence, in Section VII, Rudkin has provided an insightful overview of Irish history, where he includes the early origins of the Casement family and the birth of Roger Casement. Still and all, neither Casement's death is alluded to, nor is his name among those of the 1916 rebel leaders that were shot the by British firing squad, as remarked by *He*. Therefore, as follows, the play incites a brief discussion of Casement's execution, of the role of the homosexual *Black Diaries* in undermining the plea for clemency organized by his supporters, and of the ensuing controversy surrounding his afterlife. Focus will be on elements of the piece that refer to the events that led to Casement's exhumation from the lime pit in Pentonville Prison, London, and subsequent reburial in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, taking into consideration the context of the early inceptions of the Troubles, the sectarian conflict that would begin in 1969 and would last for the next thirty years.

Casement's Repatriation and Ireland's Partition

It is well known that, due to the controversy over the sodomite *Black Diaries,* Irish officials viewed with uncertainty the figure of Roger Casement as a national symbol. The reclaiming of his remains became known as the "penultimate Irish problem" (Reeves 152), where the ultimate "problem", of course, would be partition. By the 1930s, Eamon de Valera, who as a young teacher at Tawin Islands had met Casement (Reid 450), was the first political leader who had made several appeals for the re-internment of his remains. Nonetheless, Casement's repatriation would only be achieved in the 1960s under Taoiseach Sean Lemass, who sought to improve Anglo-Irish relations and attempted a neighbourly policy with Ulster.

After several meetings and discussions over how to proceed with Casement's exhumation it was accorded that Irish officials would have to agree that anything handed over "would have to be accepted as a token" (Reid 167), for the government of

Harold Wilson could not guarantee that after so many years the remains would be Casement's. Moreover, as part of the agreement, the burial site would have to be Glasnevin, Dublin, and not Murlough Bay, near Margherintemple – Casement's family house in Co Antrim. Eventually, the exhumation was accorded to take place on 23 February, 1965, when Casement's bones were removed from the lime pit of Pentonville Prison, in England, and flown to Dublin on an Aer Lingus chartered plane.

It did not take long, however, for rumours to circulate that the bodies of Casement and that of Hawley Crippen, a doctor who was hanged for poisoning his wife, shared the same lime pit and that at the time of the exhumation the bones of both men were dug out and labelled as Casement's. In *CFC*, these bones are personified and become characters, adding a humorous, and at the same time ironic, tinge to the dialogues. In the play, it is Crippen's bones that tell Casement that he is going to be taken to Ireland:

> *Crippen*: No marriages in Paradise, mate [...] we're to be pa'ed.[148] You're going back. They're sending you back.
>
> *Casement* (heart leaps): To Brazil –?
>
> *Crippen*: Hey, ey, enough of that. None of your nice young tropical fun-pals where you're going. Ireland, friend. They're coming this morning. To dig you up. (*CFC* 10)

Again, it is Crippen's bones that warn Casement that they had arrived in Ireland. Nevertheless, they were not exactly where they were supposed to be:

> *Crippen:* We ought to be on a plane for Belfast, not Dublin. Hey, Fruity, Casement, wake up again, we're on the wrong bleeding plane –
>
> *Announceress*: Quiet! Please! We can't bury Casement in Antrim, that's Northern Eyeland, part of the UK: it would be most impolitic. He's going to Dublin,

[148] Rudkin uses a vernacular style of language in order to emphasise the accents of the characters. In this particular case, "pa'ed" means "parted".

> Glahsneevin, a plot marked out for him by his sister forty years ago. We'll have to hope he doesn't notice. (*CFC* 45)

This excerpt brings to view the main issues regarding Casement's reburial in Glasnevin. As *Crippen* realizes that the plane was taking the wrong direction, he meant that it was landing in Dublin, and not in Northern Ireland; thus he tries to awaken *Casement* to warn him about this fact. The *Announceress* then intervenes and explains that it would be "impolitic" for *Casement* to be buried in Ulster, for the reason that he was considered a traitor in Northern Ireland for seeking German support against England during World War I for Irish independence. In addition, the *Announceress* mentions that his sister Nina was already aware that Casement's burial in Murlough Bay as he had requested before his execution was not feasible. Instead, Nina has a plot marked out for him in the Republican plot in Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin, among other Irish patriots and martyrs.

As the coffin reached the military cemetery of Arbor Hill, Dublin, *Casement* awakened and realized that his funeral, which lasted four days, was still, being held. The fact that Casement was buried with military honours and had a funeral oration delivered by the then president of the Republic of Ireland, Eamon de Valera, was certainly a way to pay tribute to Casement's services to the national movement and to the Irish language. Nonetheless, the fact that his remains do not lie in the Republican Plot amongst other rebel martyrs, but rather at the entrance of Glasnevin cemetery under tons of concrete and constant surveillance, is a way to reassure that he will be kept in that place, so that old rifts between North and South will not be reopened.

This matter is addressed in Section X where several ghosts approach the newly buried *Casement*. Among these ghostly figures is that of Patrick Pearse, one of the leaders of the 1916 Rising who, after naming the fourteen Irish martyrs buried in Arbor Hill, poses the following question to *Casement*:

> *Pearse*: Pearse, Plunkett, MacDonagh, MacDiarmada, Ceannt, Connolly, Clarke, Colbert, Daly, O'Hanrahan, Mallin, Heuston, Pearse, MacBride. Shot at Easter, laid in lime. And even I, Patrick Pearse, part English. Casement, where are you in

these? What symbol are *you*, in this dance of death? What is *your* relevance? (*CFC* 74)

It is not incidental that, in the play, it is Patrick *Pearse*'s ghost who questions Casement about his own relevance in the "dance of death" that was the Rising. Casement and Pearse were contemporaneous to one another and each was aware of the other's moves: both had taken part in the formation of the Irish Volunteers (Augusteijn 245) and were selected representatives for a public meeting held in Limerick in January 1914. Furthermore, Casement had given financial support to St. Enda's, the Irish-speaking boy's school funded and run by Pearse.

Yet, the fact that *Pearse*'s ghost asked *Casement* at his Arbor Hill funeral where he stood among the Irish martyrs has three implications. Firstly, one must consider their disputed sexual orientations, for Pearse, similar to Casement, is known to be a closeted homosexual (McCabe 8) who was interested in young boys (Augusteijn 62). Secondly, this ceremony can be seen as a form of recognition for Casement's at times controversial efforts in gunrunning and in forming the Irish Brigade to fight in the Easter Rising. Finally, it serves to distance the image of Casement from Partition and rather to associate it with the rebels. According to Kevin Grant (2002), it is believed that Casement embodied the humiliation of partition for Irish nationalists, in the sense that at the same time they lacked the power to repatriate Casement's body to Antrim; they were also unable to seize the six northern colonies of Ulster that remained loyal to the British Crown.

Additionally, Grant suggests that the fact that Casement's remains were repatriated in the year of the 40th anniversary of the final determination of the boundary of Ireland's partition was overlooked. This is due to the reason that the dispute over the location of Casement's body had its origins in Anglo-Irish colonial conflict and Ireland's politico-sectarian divide. In this regard, the decision of Lemass's government to bury Casement in the Republic of Ireland could be considered a symbolic submission to the partition and British postcolonial domination (Grant 353).

The submission of Ireland to partition, as mentioned by Grant, is challenged in the play after Casement was buried right at the main entrance of Glasnevin cemetery where he encountered the ghost of the *Youth*, a young patriot not yet born, bleeding,

maimed from an explosion, and speaking with a Northern Irish accent. The *Youth* explained to Casement that he was unwanted there due to the fact that the Barrister and Irish unionist politician Edward Carson had managed to defeat Home Rule in Ulster and his body was still a reminder of a divided country:

> *Casement*: Why am I here? Buried forever, far from home...
>
> *Youth*: We'll have to dig you up again [...] Carson and them ones won. there is a border. Where you'ld lie is on that other side. Our side.
>
> *Casement*: Now I understand. The job is not done. Relevance on relevance, me in my life a symbol of Ireland's seceding, a token of her fracture in my death: an exile even in my grave. Am I to have no rest from this paradoxical significance? Have I to be exhumed and buried yet again? (*CFC* 77)

This spectral *Youth* that speaks to the ghost of Roger *Casement* foreshadows the Troubles that were soon to commence with the founding of the Ulster Volunteer Force in 1966 – one year after Casement's exhumation in 1965 – that would last for thirty years, until the 1998 Good Friday Agreement. The Troubles (1966-1968) were a time of social and political impasse which Joe Cleary (2002), quoting Antonio Gramsci, terms *interregnum*, a concept applied to partitioned societies that have undergone periods of uninterrupted turmoil, as is the case with Ulster. For Gramsci, "the concept of the "interregnum*"* refers to those long periods in which the ruling class losing its consensus, "no longer 'leading' but only 'dominant', exercising coercive force alone" (qtd. in Cleary 8). What follows the "interregnum", Gramsci argues, is that societies undergo a moment of drastic change, one in which "the great masses have become detached from their traditional ideologies, and no longer believe in what they used to believe previously"' (8).

In *CFC* the unborn *Youth* is a symbol of the "interregnum", this period of stagnation, for one of its chief effects is that, "the old is dying and the new cannot be born [...]" (8). Therefore, the "interregnum" in Northern Ireland, I believe, calls for the need for a middle path to be built – that would be necessary for both, Catholics and Protestants, to trail in order to reach a consensus.

In addition, according to Declan Kiberd, who, as I have shown, draws an analogy between the Rising and a stage performance, "the new act" that would follow the *interregnum*, is still inseparable from the past. If one supposes that the effects of the Rising are repeated in the Troubles, the drive towards change and innovation becomes shrouded in the instability and anxiety of past events. As a result, according to Kiberd, the ghosts "offer themselves as known vessels into which the unknown quantities of the future may be poured", so that the future is still moulded by the past, and this prevents a complete break with the traumatic event: "every definite break with the past at once invites others and increases the strain upon everybody." (*Inventing Ireland* 206)

Nevertheless, this idea of the repetition of this traumatic event is deconstructed at the end of *CFC*, for the image of the unborn *Youth*'s hope for Casement's burial in the North, is a symbol for the hope of bringing the old order of sectarianism to an end. Yet, in the play the *Youth* was still lost and afraid, for he did not know which road to take. His name is James Anderson, namesake of an Ulster paramilitary loyalist who, being aware of the sectarian divide, felt unwanted in Dublin and asked Casement what to do. To this, *Casement* replied:

> *Casement*: [...] One colour fears another, fears its extremeness. But colours mix. First they must meet. Ireland, Ireland, transcend this trauma. Sons of Ireland, cease looking for your sunrise in the west. Tear this old bitch Erin off your backs She'll squeal and claw off skin and flesh from your bones, but rip her off, be free of her: temple her down where she belongs, beneath your feet, to be the land you live from, not your incubus and curse. James Anderson, in that red dawn, come you then down through the Gap of the North. You do not come unendowed. I'll plead you with these, to find it in their hearts to say to you: Come in, and look out. Come in.
>
> (*Wind soft afar. Fading off as:)*
>
> Let me lie quiet now. Work for that dawn. Then come with spades, and bring me Home. (*CFC* 78)

I argue that there is a twofold interpretation of this last speech. On the one hand, it echoes Casement's debut speech[149] at the Ballymoney Meeting, 24 October 1913, a protest meeting for Ulster Protestants that opposed Carsonism in which Casement claims for unity as he blamed "Sectarian animosity as the Master Curse of Ireland" that has "blinded the eyes of Ulstermen in one direction" (O'Siocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 363). On the other hand, it alludes to the aftermath of Gramsci's "interregnum", which in the case of *CFC* is represented by the Troubles. According to Joe Cleary, the moment of change subsequent to the "interregnum" may carry with it negative as well as positive potentials. In the abovementioned excerpt, Casement points to the future and his cries, "Tear this old bitch Erin off your backs" (78), can be read as Caruth[150]'s definition of the wound that speaks (1996) of a trauma that has not yet been "worked through". In *CFC*, Rudkin's Casement is a symbol of a wound that claims for Ireland to look forward, to the future, rather than backwards, to the idealistic concept of the revivalist aim to reclaim a traditional Ireland in the West.

Accordingly, it is implied in the abovementioned quote that, in encouraging the *Youth* to come down from the North and fight for a united Ireland, the ghost of Roger *Casement* acknowledges that he is against the "restoration of the old" (9) order. He. instead hopes for "new arrangements", i.e. "new and more emancipatory political relationships" (Cleary 9) between the two parts involved in the Troubles. These new arrangements, to which I believe Rudkin's Casement implicitly refers in this passage, are in fact concerned with "working through" the trauma of partition in favour of unity. This political transformation that would lead to effective change has been conceptualized in *The Rebel* by French writer Albert Camus, as revolution:

[149] According to O'Siocháin, Casement argued that "The old order . . . was doomed to fall in Ireland; some form of self-government was inevitable. Ulstermen, then, rather than resisting it, should turn their talents to building the rest of Ireland, should take a position of leadership. Concluding, he begged: 'Bend your pride, your strength to worthy uses, not to ignoble ends. Go out to conquer Ireland with greatness in your hearts, with gentleness in your minds, and with no poverty in your souls. If this be your task you will find not only Protestant Ulster, but Catholic Ulster too, aye, and all Ireland behind you as well'" (Casement qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 363)

[150] As it has already been shown in Chapter 1, Section 2, on Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys* In *Unclaimed Experience* (1996), Caruth sees trauma as a wound that has a voice, repeatedly addressing an "other" as a way of working through traumatic events.

> The word revolution retains the meaning that it has in astronomy. It is a movement that describes a complete circle that leads to one form of government to another after a complete transition. A change of regulations concerning property without a corresponding change of government is not revolution, but a reform. (n. pag)

Accordingly, what is needed for the new arrangements proposed as an idealized solution for the Irish problem in Rudkin's piece is a complete transition, and Casement (both the character of *CFC* and the historical figure) was well aware of this. Ever since the time of the dispute surrounding the passing of the Home Rule Bill and the threat of the formation of a provisional government in Ulster in the North, Casement was positioned against sectarianism. According to Séamas O'Siocháin, "Ulster people, he believed, could not deny their Irishness. 'Despite feigned forgetfulness, Belfast cannot escape its parentage. Ulster cannot escape from Ireland'" (*Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 360). The "new" order, therefore, would be symbolized by a country where the colours orange and green in the Irish flag would mix, one in which there would no longer be the need for the peaceful white stripe to separate them.

According to B. L. Reid, Rudkin views Casement as a "Body of Fate" that was "indeed a kilt upon which his colouring altered bewilderingly, chameleon-wise" (xv), like the Ireland he wished for, dynamic, ever changing, surpassing its traumas and accommodating the new orders that would come. Rudkin's affirmation that the Ulster play he was commissioned to write and his Casement play were, in fact, one and the same, and its writing was triggered by "the need to draw a parallel between the Irish crisis of Casement's time and that of our own" (Book Flap Rudkin). Although the Peace Process was signed in 1998 and is, according to Cleary, an attempt to bring the "interregnum" to an end, there is still a rift that lies open between the two sides and *CFC* has shown that, while Casement still lies in Glasnevin, he will be a token of this rift. In a nutshell, even though idealistically, the open ending left by the playwright in *CFC* indicates that there is still hope that Casement's bones will be, at some point in history, welcomed in Ulster.

I conclude this first section recovering Ritchtarik's argument that in order to

produce meaningful plays about the conflict in Northern Ireland, playwrights have resorted to devices that have enabled them to tackle this issue indirectly; David Rudkin's *CFC* is no exception as Casement's ambivalent life and fragmented body can be read as an allegory of a fragmented Ireland and as an attempt at reconciliation with the legacy of 1916 as well as with the present time of the Troubles. This is shown by the metafictional *Author* trying to create the whole image of the man by revealing how Casement's awakening homosexuality coincides with his becoming an Irish nationalist, as well as by the *Youth*, the patriot not yet born, whose struggle could have resulted in the end of Gramsci's "interregnum" and, consequently, in "new arrangements" or transitions, whereby Casement's remains would be granted a third burial in Murlough Bay, and, hence, in an Ireland where the partition could have been an emblem of the past.

3. 2 Casement as Traumatic Memory in *The Fox's Walk* (2004)

In *Reading the Contemporary Irish Novel 1987-2007* (2014), Liam Harte writes that "Ireland's difficult history, including the revolutionary ferment of the 1916-1923 period has been the focus of much recent Irish literary fiction" (18). In this respect, Harte explains that some contemporary Irish novels are fictional representations of "the damaging psychic and cultural legacies of violent histories both of the hidden and of the overt kinds" (18), where "haunting repercussions of sublimated memories, unspeakable secrets, and unprocessed histories run like a dark thread through the fabric of recent Irish fiction, making the wounded, traumatized subject one of its most representative figures" (18). *The Fox's Walk* (2004), by Irish born writer Annabel Davis-Goff, is an illustration of this kind of novel, which strikes a new note in terms of the complexity surrounding the aftermath of the 1916 Easter Rising and of the life of the Irish Revolutionary Roger Casement.

In *Trauma and History in the Irish Novel*, Robert Garratt delves into works of fiction by Irish writers, such as William Trevor, Julia O'Faolain, Jennifer Johnston and Seamus Deane, that appeared between 1970 and the early 1990's, when the sectarian conflict known as the Troubles in Northern Ireland were at its height, "when all of Ireland was consumed by the effects of political violence" (Garratt 113). Due to this fact, Garratt approaches works published between 1996 and 2009, and infers that:

> The cessation of Violence with the IRA's fragile ceasefire in 1994 and the Belfast Agreement of 1998 does not appear to have diminished interest in traumatic aspects of modern Irish history among contemporary Irish novelists. Political violence, the founding of the modern nation, and trauma continue to surface in novels written over the past ten years by Patrick McCabe, Roddy Doyle, Edna O'Brien, Jamie O'Neill, Monica Tracey, Sebastian Barry and Annabel Davis-Goff. (Garratt 113-4)

In comparing these two generations of writers, Garratt suggests that not only the subject matter between them is similar, but also their narrative method, which is marked by disruption in temporality by flashbacks and older characters looking upon youthful experiences usually addressing either the War of Independence or the Civil War.

According to Garratt, these contemporary novels, "like their predecessors, depict the effect of trauma on matters of historiography and raise problems of discernment and judgement with any account of history that includes a memory of suffering" (114). Garratt also writes about *The Fox's Walk* through the lens of traumatic memory, as does this section, which draws on his idea of Davis-Goff's novel as being a trauma novel in that " ... its treatment of traumatic history not simply as background to the story, but as subject matter, rais[es] our awareness of cultural trauma ..." (Garratt 136).

However, my approach differs from Garratt's, for my analysis grapples not only with trauma, but also with the process of memory recovery and the idea how Casement's reburial is linked with Alice's understanding of partisanship. In this respect, *The Fox's Walk* is a novel that deals with what I would call "historiography of the self", that is, with the protagonist's need to retell, and thus, reconstruct her own history of suffering, which is intrinsically related to the history of Ireland in the face of social and cultural traumatic experiences evoked by partition.

Different from what has been discussed up to now, *The Fox's Walk*[151] is a story told through the viewpoint of a female protagonist who lived throughout the Irish 1916 Rebellion, the Irish Civil War and two World Wars, and it is a clear example of the way in which the trauma of a nation affects the individual. In a similar fashion to the radio play *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*, *TFW* is crafted by the interweaving of both memory and history resulting in the dialogue between past, present and future. Davis-Goff also is the writer of a series of works concerning the life of the Anglo-Irish Ascendency, mostly in periods of socio-political transition. She has written two memoirs: *The Walled Garden* (1998) and *Dower House* (1997), as well as two novels, *This Cold Country* (2002), about the Anglo-Irish in World War II and *TFW* (2004).

In the "Acknowledgments" of *TFW*, Davis-Goff explains that the foundations of the novel lie in the entries of a diary owned by her mother, Cynthia O'Connor, as well as on "details of Irish life of the period" (vii).[152] In this regard, *The TFW* can be treated as a constructed memoire; it is, in this way, the combination of the register of real

[151] From this moment onwards, *The Fox's Walk* will be addressed as *TFW*.

[152] In Davis-Goff's words, "My mother spent part of her childhood at Ballydavid with her grandmother and grand-aunt. When she died, she left an unfinished memoir that included an account of life at Ballydavid. I have on two occasions, with great pleasure, borrowed a phrase from my mother's book." (vii). The writer also thanks other relatives and acquaintances "for help, advice, and details of Irish life of the period" (vii)

events combined with the fictitious. In the novel, recovering memory is essential for the protagonist's coping with trauma, as, according to Ron Eyerman, "it provides either an individual or a group with a cognitive map, helping orient who they are, why they are here and where they are going. Memory in other words is central to individual and collective identity" (161), and in the novel, the recovery of memory is essential for Alice's learning to cope with her individual traumas. This kind of structure also brings to mind Paul Ricoeur's concept of the preservation of memory. The novel, like memory, is not constructed in isolation, "but only with the help of memories of others" ("Memory – History – Forgetting" 476), for narratives heard from people Davis-Goff knew are seamlessly interweaved with those of the character-narrator, and there is no indication of what is fictional and what is not.

The aim of this section is to show that in *TFW*, after the execution of Roger Casement, the protagonist Alice Moore comes to realise that her partisanship is not as clear as it once was, for she felt the British forces on which the Anglo-Irish had for centuries relied on had failed them. Consequently, this study addresses three main sequences of the novel: firstly, the reburial of Roger Casement in Glasnevin in the present time of 1965 and Alice's need to revisit her own past; secondly, her fear of the death sentence placed upon the Irish rebels that participated in the Rising, particularly of Roger Casement and Constance Markiewicz, and, finally, the ambush that she survived as a child.

Early Childhood Memories

T*FW* is told in the first person by Alice Moore, a middle aged fictitious character – loosely based, as aforementioned, on Davis-Goff's mother – who reminisces about the years that paved the way for the 1916 Rising. Davis-Goff's novel differs from Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*, approached in Chapter 1, firstly because *TFW* is the story of the aftereffects of Casement's death on the protagonist and not about Casement's actions and movements at the time that the Rising was taking place as in O'Neill's novel. Secondly, in *At Swim, Two Boys*, the Rebellion is depicted as a violent reaction against British Imperialism from the standpoint of the Catholics in the South, whereas *TFW* is the story told from the point of view of the Protestants.

It is important to underscore that Alice's childhood memories are triggered by the re-internment of the Irish Revolutionary Roger Casement in the grounds of Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, in the year of 1965, which is a point in common to David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* (*CFC*), discussed in the previous section. *TFW*, similarly to *CFC*, tells the story of the 1916 Rebellion and that of the trauma surrounding the trial and execution of Roger Casement told from an Anglo-Irish perspective, which brings to this work an insightful counterpoint to what has been shown so far.

In a manner comparable to Rudkin's play, in Davis-Goff's novel the complexity concerning Anglo-Irish relations is epitomized by the figure of Roger Casement himself, for the narrator reveals how Casement's nationalist "turn" was disconcerting for Catholics as well as Protestants involved in the events that proceeded, as well as those that succeeded the 1916 Revolution. In Davis-Goff's novel, Roger Casement's death in 1916 coincides with the demise of Anglo-Irish rule in the South of Ireland, and marked the beginning of the Irish Civil War between nationalists and loyalists. Analogously to Rudkin's *CFC*, the novel begins in the year of Casement's reburial, 1965, which coincides with the outset the Troubles. Another point of similarity with *CFC*, is that Casement is depicted as a haunting figure that recurrently appears in Alice Moore's dreams.

TFW is written in twelve chapters, divided into six sections introduced by dates that refer to important landmarks either in Alice's life, or in Roger Casement's, or in Irish history: "September 1965", "May 1912-June 1915", "July 1915-November 1915", "December 1915-March 1916", "April 1916", "June 1916-August 1916". The first temporal marker dealt with in this work is the present time of the narration, "September 1965", which functions as a prologue. The novel begins as follows: "ON A COLD DAY in March of this year, Sir Roger Casement was reburied at Glasnevin Cemetery" (1).

Despite the fact that Alice was living in Sandycove, in a house near to where Casement was born, she waited until the end of the summer to visit Casement's grave in Glasnevin. The reason for this is that she was self-conscious and concerned about the reaction of Irish nationalists: "since I am a Protestant, I am English and therefore the enemy although my family has lived in Ireland for three hundred years. I am Protestant, Anglo-Irish, and I am not the enemy." (*TFW* 1) At the same time, Alice highlights

that the Irish were aware of the importance of the Anglo-Irish in the making of the Revolution and that in 1965, "only forty-three years since Ireland became a Free State, the approved history books have always been studded with leaders and revolutionaries of the Anglo-Irish, Protestant landowning classes who gave their lives in the nationalist cause. Roger Casement was one of these." (*TFW* 2) What is at stake here is the way in which different historiographies about the same event cause different impacts on the opposing sides that are involved in a certain conflict.

As it has been discussed in the previous section on Rudkin's play, Casement's exhumation was controversial, especially due to the fact that it coincided with the onset of the Troubles in Ireland. Hence, Alice provides details on how the funeral oration was delivered by Eamon de Valera on the first day of March as Casement's remains had been disinterred from Pentonville and laid in the Pro-Cathedral in Dublin before his reburial in the nationalist plot among Constance Markiewicz, Michael Collins and Erskine Childers. Alice also clarifies that the Republican graves in Glasnevin are the final destination of "nationalist pilgrims who consider that as long as the six counties in the north of Ireland remain part of the United Kingdom the struggle for Irish freedom is not over" (1). This idea certainly links Casement's ideals to those of the "nationalist pilgrims" buried in Glasnevin, for this was the position Casement had taken up before his death: he could not conceive of a separate Ireland[153], and in this respect, he was buried in the right place. Alice implies that Casement should be satisfied with Glasnevin as it is actually more than he could have expected:

> I think he would have been pleased. Despite a death cell letter in which he asked to be buried in the old churchyard in Murlough Bay, he might have preferred Glasnevin; he could hardly have requested a hero's grave, and I doubt at that lonely time that he could have imagined one. (*TFW* 2)

[153] At "A Protestant Protest", a meeting and public speech against Carsonism that took place in the parish of Ballymoney, in Ulster, Casement said: "A hundred years ago there was only one Ireland. The Wexford Catholic and the Antrim Presbyterian were then equal rebels in the cause of that one Ireland . . . Where do they stand to-day? Disunited and severed, they stand far apart, and while the Ireland they died to make has lost millions of her people to build up greatness abroad, she has been growing poorer in men, poorer in heart, more abject in spirit, until to-day it is actually hailed as a triumph of Unionism that here at the very seat of rule, there are not one Irish people, but two, not one Irish nation, but two Irish nations, and that wherever else men may be united here they must always be disunited" (Casement apud Mitchell, *16 Lives* 179)

What ensues is that Alice tells a part of Casement's long story, not because she had ever had any contact with him, for she was nine years of age when he was hanged. As a result, the impact of Casement's death was immediately felt in Alice's household, due to the fact that he was "the personification of the Anglo-Irish nationalist patriot and martyr" (*TFW* 2), that had at the same time "outraged the values of the Protestant privileged class and also confused it. The Ascendency – the aristocracy, landowners, and politically powerful stratum of society – already knew their days to be numbered." (*TFW* 2) Nevertheless, it was only in her middle age that Alice decided to speak about what happened and the effects Casement's death sentence had later in her life.

One of the reasons for this is that, via Casement's life story, Alice is able to speak for other members of the Anglo-Irish ruling class who started to see Britain through a different lens:

> They saw Casement as a traitor, pure and simple, but they also saw the government in London, the government they thought represented them, behave in a manner not only stupid, but dishonourable. That behaviour – the stupidity and lack of honour, not the treachery – was one of the causes of an unpremeditated choice that changed my future and would have affected the lives of those around me had not the course of history swept away the very foundations of the way we lived. In the end, the only life I changed was my own; my choice largely invisible in that utterly altered world. (*TFW* 2)

In this excerpt, Alice leaves many gaps to be filled by the reader, who is aware that something has happened, but not what nor how. The narrative of *TFW* is constructed as a dialectics of concealing and revealing, for at the same time something is revealed, like the choice made by Alice that would change her life, what that choice is remains obscure. Moreover, she speaks of a changing world, yet the reader does not know what has changed, or how Casement is related to these transformations. In a similar style to the analysis performed in the previous chapters, the aim of this section is to explore the

fact that the oblique presence of Roger Casement in *TFW* is a metaphor for the traumatic process itself: of the persistence of the haunting presence of Casement's death into the present moment in which Alice tells her story.

The protagonist Alice Moore was born of a mixed marriage; her mother is Anglo-Irish and her father emigrated from New Zealand to Ireland. After her parents' marriage at the Registry Office subsequent to their elopement, the couple moved to London, where Alice was born. As a child, she spent long holidays at Ballydavid, the family estate in County Waterford. Alice would often accompany her mother alone on her trips to the southwest of Ireland. Her father felt somewhat uncomfortable in Ballydavid as Alice's mother's family considered him to be beneath their station; he was taken as a "brash young New Zealander" who had "come to seek his fortune in England" (*TFW* 21).

Alice was five years of age in the first past time sequence she narrates, "May 1912-June 1915". It was the first holiday she remembered having spent in Ballydavid, and, as she notes, what she recollects are fragments of memory. According to French Sociologist Maurice Halbwachs: " … memory takes its root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images and objects; history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions and to relations between things. Memory is absolute, while history can only conceive the relative." (qtd. in Nora 8-9) Accordingly, at such a young age, Alice remembers mostly in fragments and congealed images. Although young and unable to comprehend thoroughly what was taking place in her surroundings, Alice was already capable of sensing that the last years of her childhood were filled with important incidents, of which she would only be able to make sense much later in life: "[…] I remember moments of that summer—small scenes full of meaning that I couldn't then, with my limited vocabulary, convey to the grown-ups" (*TFW* 8).

Alice spent most of the time playing outside on her own, and avoided joining the adults unless when requested: "children should be seen and not heard" (*TFW* 4). Halbwach's (qtd. in Nora) idea that memory is relational and takes its roots in images and objects is present in the passage where, during one of her outings, Alice meets Oonagh, her grandmother's cat, on an avenue, outside the house. This is an important moment in the novel for it reveals the way in which childhood experience is filtered through the adult's mind:

> Oonagh, my grandmother's brindled cat … sauntered on. Normally indoors she ignored me … Now, however, she arched her back, stretched and inclined her head toward me. I was suddenly aware of her feline grace and the shades of gray in the striped markings of her coat. It was, I suppose, the moment when I became aware of beauty. (*TFW* 11)

Alice discovered that, different from her mother's kiss, or the sight of Ballydavid, which were pleasures connected to her, Oonagh existed without Alice "as a witness" (*TFW* 11). This experience was so overwhelming that when she returned home, she told her family that what she had seen on the avenue was a tiger instead of a cat, "for the experience could not be conveyed with the words 'I saw Oonagh on the avenue'" (*TFW* 11). Forty-nine years later, Alice gave words to this experience, as she remembered the cover of a nursery book on which "a tiger standing beside a tree heavy with brightly coloured oranges was smaller and less threatening than was another illustration of a large black cat with long claws and hissing with a savagely red tongue." (*TFW* 12)

Alice deduced that "substituting a tiger for a brindled cat was a less extreme exaggeration than it, in fact, is" (*TFW* 12). Therefore, the re-signification of memory from child to adult can be compared to her recovery and re-signification of the traumatic process that young Alice will experience that will make her realize that the British Empire was not as benevolent as it seemed to the Anglo Irish, and that it was, different from Oonagh, more of a wild tiger than a tamed cat. Yet, time distance will allow her to find the proper words to describe what she went through and the outcome is a narrative where her own trauma is, as Cathy Caruth has pointed out, "tied up with the trauma of another" (*Unclaimed Experience* 8), and this "other" is Roger Casement.

On Alice's following visit, after two years, she would have a different experience from that when she met Oonagh on the avenue. She was now eight years old and was able to better comprehend critical events that were taking place and that would eventually change her life forever. As the narrator of her own story, Alice is able to reflect upon this:

> Between the afternoon of my first memory […] and my next memory, this one not isolated but part of the jumbled montage I recall of early childhood, one chapter in the history of the world ended and another began. The summer months of 1914 before the outbreak of war were the last moments before everything changed forever. (*TFW* 16)

At the time the events were taking place, Alice claimed that no one knew "the world was about to embark on one of the most terrible wars ever fought. Instead, in London, there was an atmosphere of uncomfortable adjustment and, in Ireland, a time of uneasy anticipation" (*TFW* 17) In other words, the older Alice was able to sense that along with World War I, Home Rule was eminent in Ireland, and most knew that change would be inevitable: "Most of the Anglo-Irish tried not to think about it, and continued their lives as though their comfortable world would last forever" (*TFW* 18)

While some Anglo-Irish chose to deny the eminent transformations, others decided to fight for them. Two of these, in Alice's view, were Roger Casement and Erskine Childers.[154] Despite their Protestant background, Casement and Childers "felt a greater sympathy to the nationalist movement than they did loyalty to their own class and upbringing" (*TFW* 17). Casement and Childers' paths crossed in several moments; the most well known was the plotting of the Howth gunrunning, which was carried through in the *Asgard*, a vessel owned by Childers, as Alice writes: "As Childers and his tired crew strained their eyes for the signal to dock, Sir Roger Casement, in New York, waited anxiously for news of the success or failure of the Asgard's mission" (*TFW* 18). Yet, the British considered both men as turncoats: Casement was hanged in London, while Childers was shot in Dublin.

What follows is that Alice pins down the main events in Casement's life, his work in the Belgian Congo and in the Amazon region in exposing "virtual slavery and other atrocities in the rubber trade" and how he resigned from the British consular service and "espoused the Irish nationalist cause." (*TFW* 16) Amidst delineating this

[154] Robert Erskin was born in London and sent to Ireland along with his siblings after his father's death and subsequent confinement of his mother. He was brought up in an Anglo-Irish household, nevertheless became a nationalist late in life, similarly to Roger Casement. He is the author of *Riddle of the Sands* (1903) and was notable for running guns into Ireland in 1914. He was considered a traitor and was executed during the Irish Civil War by the Free State forces. (Piper 2003)

background to Irish history in which Casement participates as an agent, both in planning the running of guns for the Rebellion and seeking German support to arm the Irish Volunteers and to form a Brigade, the narrator goes back in time, to describe the context that would mark the beginning of her family's personal drama.

Alice's household consisted of Aunt Katie and Grandmother, who had three children: Hubert, her mother, Mary and Sainthill. The two brothers joined the British army. Hubert, who was posted in China was on leave, while Sainthill, who was serving in France sent news through letters that would be passed on from one lady to another, and "every fact and nuance would be discussed for the rest of the day" (*TFW* 49). Alice, then, abruptly changed the subject and mentioned Casement's *Black Diaries* and the way in which, although she had never heard the word homosexual, she also owned a diary. She says that since her first diary, she had developed the habit of writing journals as "*aide de memoire"* in order to reconstruct the events of the years she is trying to describe: "… but more often I turn to one of the books written about the early years of the war or about Casement himself. There are more moments of these than you might imagine" (*TFW* 31). She concludes: "My nursery diaries and these books show me something that is always true but almost impossible to keep in mind, that our everyday lives – in the main part dull and lacking in important event – are lived in an historical context" (31).

Throughout the novel, as Alice shifts from past to present and vice-versa, she makes an effort to historicize her own individual experiences. She remarked at how as a widow, she was glad to be a teacher of literature and not of History: "I am grateful that teaching my pupils the history of their country is not among my duties, since my own life, suddenly and forever, was changed in a moment in history in which I do not choose to expose to a partisan or politically expedient interpretation." (*TFW* 32) She explained the reasons for her not to expose partisanship as she talked about herself at the time of Casement's death:

> Since I was not ten years old when Casement was executed, my description of the last ten years of his life and my thoughts about his behaviour are those formed during the fifty years I have had to think about his actions. Fifty years to read about, as history, some of the events immediate to my childhood; to study the

> causes of those events … to consider my own choices; to form options and regrets. (*TFW* 32)

Casement, she continues, was a homosexual, "And he was unwise enough to keep a diary. Homosexuality was probably no less common than it is today, but it was considered by the greater part of the heterosexual population to be an odious sin." (*TFW* 35) In face of the accusations by the British diplomat Mansfeldt Findlay of his homosexuality, involving his alleged lover Adler Christensen, Alice fears that this fact might make "one question Casement's previous achievements" (*TFW* 35). Alice trusted that if these rumours were true, they were a consequence of "the hardships of the Congo and Putumayo [which had] broken his physical health [and] the horrors he encountered there had affected his sanity" (*TFW* 36)

The way in which Alice's reflections are organized can be conceptualized in Pierre Nora's definition of memory as being in:

> … permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. […] a bond tying us to the eternal present […] Memory, insofar as it is affective and magical, only accommodates facts that suit it; it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic [...]?" (Nora 8-9)

This idea is present in the words of Alice herself who claims to remember much more clearly her next visit to Ballydavid, than when she had met Oonagh when she was five, yet she perceives that

> … as when we recount a dream we adjust the images, events and emotions of which it is comprised into a neater narrative form, so do we, when our memory fails, without knowing that that we do so, use the probable to bridge the gaps

between those events we remember clearly (though not necessarily accurately) and what is lost forever. (*TFW* 37)

Accordingly, Alice was aware that the account she registered was a product of her memory, filtered through the sieve of time and dislocated in space. By means of her account, one is able to grasp the way in which a changing social order involving a collective trauma is interlinked with the life of ordinary individuals.

The "Congealed Tableau": Alice's impressions of a moment of crisis

The cracks signalling the first moments of crisis begin to appear in the so far unassailable world of Ballydavid. One evening, after Alice had gone to bed, she overheard a conversation between Grandmother, Aunt Katie and her mother. She felt "tightness" in her mother's tone that suggested there were reasons for concern. The subject of the conversation was John Redmond[155], leader of the Home Rule Party and the Home Rule Bill:

"What will happen then?" my mother asked.

"We don't know." The other voice belonged to Aunt Katie: "But Redmond is sound?" My mother seemed to want to be reassured. […]

"Yes. He's behaving well and bravely. But both sides have guns. How long can it be before they use them?" (*TFW* 49)

At the onset of summer, these tensions hinted at in the excerpt above begin to be more clearly outlined in Alice's mind as she is able to determine four main causes: "the war,

[155] John Redmond had been leader of the Home Rule Party since 1900, and he believed in self-government in Ireland. He was opposed to any form of violence and did not wish independence from Britain. Despite the creation of the Ulster Volunteers as a response to Home Rule, the House of Commons passed the third Bill in 1914. Nevertheless, Home Rule was delayed in favour of conscription by virtue of the First World War supported by Redmond.

the unresolved future of Ireland, a quarrel between my mother and my father, and the day-to-day pitfalls of living in my grandmother's house." (*TFW* 49) Alice says that, of the four, the ongoing War, which had begun on 28 June 1914, was what least affected her. Up to this point, Alice was more involved with affairs related to her own world as a child: her mother and father were undergoing a marital crisis, the reason of which remains obscure, but their social class difference seems to have been the trigger. Only as an adult narrator, Alice is able to ponder on the effects of her mother's marriage whose circumstances were, in time, taken for granted.[156]

News from the outside world were delivered by the *Morning Post* and came a day late, when not held up by bad weather. The conservative newspaper would contain updates on the war and on the "trumped-up grievances of the ungrateful Irish." (*TFW* 66) However, there was a more local sort of communication, "a Gaelic form of bush telegraph. Sometimes this news was local; sometimes it was secret… sometimes it was what we would read in the newspaper on the following day" (*TFW* 66) News of disaster were brought by a stable boy, and this was the first of a series of tragic events that would lead up to World War I, as the sinking of the ship *Lusitania*[157], on 7 May 1915 torpedoed by the Germans, just outside the Irish coast.

The novel also successfully reveals the liaisons between the Anglo-Irish and the Irish nationalists. For instance, Grandmother was acquainted with Nicholas Rowe, "a neighbouring strong farmer with nationalist sympathies", although Alice states that their opinions were "diametrically opposed" (*TFW* 69). Rowe was visiting one afternoon, and while Alice was eavesdropping, she spotted an adolescent boy approaching the house from the front door, not the kitchen door, as it was the rule. Once the boy left, the women began to moan and slowly, the following image was imprinted in Alice's mind:

> Aunt Katie lay crumpled over the lower steps of the stairs … Grandmother eventually reached the foot of the stairs and crouched behind her sister, Nicholas Rowe standing to one side. It seemed to me that they were frozen in a dark and

[156] " … but my mother lived every day with a consequence for which she was entirely unsuited: a cultural – in this instance not euphemism for class – difference between her and my father . . ." (*TFW* 22) This matter of social and class difference is present throughout the novel in the shape of religion – Catholics/Protestants – and of political stance – nationalist/loyalist.

[157] A British luxury liner that was sunk by a German submarine in the North Atlantic, near the coast of Ireland. This was one of the events leading to U.S. entry into WWI.

> strangely beautiful tableau … The crumpled piece of paper in my great-aunt's fist, the light of the spring day from the open hall door, the ticking of the grandfather clock (*TFW* 74)

It is only in the subsequent section of the book, "July 1915-November 1915" that we learn what has occurred. Still moving back and forth in time, Alice explains that the three women of the house – Grandmother, Mother and Aunt Katie – had learned of her uncle Sainthill's death by the letter delivered by the messenger boy. Alice was able to sense the grief that everyone shared, but she felt guilty for not remembering her uncle, "who was only a name and a face in a silver-framed photograph." (*TFW* 79)

The section begins with Alice and her absent-minded mother on the beach collecting cockle-shells, and her father arriving on O'Neill's (a nationalist handyman that lived on the grounds of Ballydavid) motorcar, the Sunbeam, to collect them. Nevertheless, Alice's presence is overlooked, and she is left behind. It was only much later that Alice was remembered by the maids and retrieved. However, Alice was left at her Grandmother's house after her parents who went back to England, for her mother, stricken by the grief of the loss of her youngest brother, was no longer in a healthy state of mind to care for her. Alice's world is turned upside down: "I look back now and see, without much surprise, that my parents, whose boat was in low emotional and financial waters decided to throw me overboard." (*TFW* 85) As an older narrator, she is able to locate this moment of personal suffering in the broader context of Irish history: "My parents left me at Ballydavid in the summer of 1915. Seven years later the world of the Ascendency ended, a Civil ensued after 1922 and several Anglo-Irish left the country." (*TFW* 85)

Life in Ballydavid followed its usual pace, Alice writes, as did the war: "Uncle Saint was dead, but the war went on ... Allied and German soldiers faced each other" (89) In this context, Alice slides Casement into the picture as a way to discuss the repetitive tendency of making conspicuous alliances. Alice mentions how during the Boer War major John MacBride[158] betrayed the British while forming an Irish Brigade

[158] John MacBride became known for the role he played in forming the in Boer War in forming the Irish Transvaal Brigade to fight against the British. He was also one of the 19 Irish Revolutionaries executed by the British for his participation in the 1916 Easter Rising. He was married briefly to Maud Gonne, W. B. Yeats's muse.

to fight against them. Even tough in his early years as British Consul Casement would have been adamantly against this kind of behaviour[159], Alice underscores that he ended up repeating McBride's actions: "Sir Roger Casement now attempted to raise another Irish Brigade from the prisoners-of-war camps in Germany." (*TFW* 89) As a result of his actions, in the eyes of the British, Casement became a traitor.

After describing the impact her uncle Sainthill's death had in literally tearing her family apart, Alice elucidates why Irish prisoners refused to join Casement's Irish Brigade in Germany while affirming that "in addition to being Irish Catholics, we have to honour British soldiers." (*TFW* 90) Alice's loss – both of her uncle and of her parents who left her in Ireland – illustrated what thousands of Irish who had lost their sons and relatives went through in the First World War. This was one of the major drawbacks both in Casement's plan to form the Brigade and in his supporters' plea for clemency once he was arrested, as his friends and acquaintances who had their loved ones fighting in the trenches turned their backs against him. From this point onward, Alice's life takes a similar turn to that of Casement, but through marriage:

> Although the elopement and marriage outraged and scandalized both families and both religions, it was only a consequence of an earlier, more serious, secret and invisible decision. One I would not have had to make had I been taken to London with my family." (*TFW* 95)

Alice Moore did not become a fierce Catholic nationalist herself, but she married one against the will of her Protestant family. As it will be shown, it was the tennis party her grandmother would organize that

would ultimately change her life. In the meantime, the tensions involving the Irish nationalists and the Ascendency were just about to begin.

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[159] At the outset of his consular career, Casement strongly believed in the British Empire: "British Rule was to be extended at all costs because it was best for everyone under the sun and those who opposed that extension ought rightly to be 'smashed'." (Casement qtd. in Solnit 43).

Roger Casement and Haunting

Alice Moore conceived of the incidents in the section "April 1916" in the following way: "Irish History is full of heroic gestures and blind incompetence. But luck also plays this role" (*TFW* 174) In a way, Casement's trajectory reveals that lack of luck serves to determine the fate of a man, as well. As Alice explicated, the breakdown in communication between Ireland, the USA and Germany that occurred was one of the reasons that led to Casement's execution. On Friday, the 14th of April, a message from the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood headquarters in Dublin was received in New York: "Arms must not be landed before midnight of Sunday 23rd. This is vital." (*TFW* 175) The 23rd was Easter Sunday, only nine days away, and by the time this message was decoded it was too late for it to be delivered to the German Embassy, and Casement, who was on the verge of a mental breakdown for feeling his mission in Germany had failed, was kept in ignorance about it. Moreover, since the *AUD*, the same submarine that had brought down the *Lusitania* had no wireless, there was no way to communicate the change of plans to the captain.

The way Ballydavid received the news of Casement's arrival in Ireland is also revealing of the way in which historical events are interlinked in the novel. Casement's imprisonment – which preceded first the 1916 Rising, then the executions that followed it, including his hanging for treachery – brought dire consequences to the Anglo-Irish who became victims of ambushes and had their houses burned down, although the first Big House was not to be burned until 1919. The first suggestion in the novel of houses being burned, was of that belonging to Mrs. Hitchcock, a rich American adventuress who, was looked down upon by her Anglo-Irish neighbours. Although her house was not actually put fire, the revolutionaries, led by Nicholas Rowe, Grandmother's neighbour, threatened to burn it with petrol that was spilt on the carpet of the hall. Since Mrs. Hitchcock was part of their society, what happened to her served as warning to the others. Concomitantly to the rumours of the burning of Mrs. Hitchcock's house, news of Casement's whereabouts also reached Ballydavid. Alice recounts what happened:

> While I was trying to puzzle out what had happened at Mrs. Hitchcock's house, a new set of rumours, these about Roger Casement's arrival in Ireland and his subsequent arrest, began to circulate. Wild, often inaccurate, and telling of ignoble acts: Casement had been accompanied to the Irish coast by a German ship flying a neutral flag; under arrest, he had offered to inform on his companions in return for his life. About the time that the Casement stories joined the colourful speculations about what had taken place at Mrs. Hitchcock's house, I heard Nicholas Rowe mentioned twice; on neither account could I fit him into the account of the Countess's quarrel with Mrs. Hitchcock or connect him to Casement's arrival and arrest. The second connection seemed more likely since I had heard that Nicholas Rowe was the local head of the Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood. (*TFW* 184)

This excerpt reveals that Alice's memory is an amalgam of different events that had taken place simultaneously: the threatening by the revolutionaries to burn Mrs. Hitchcock's house and the quarrel between its two female inhabitants Mrs. Hitchcock herself and the Russian expatriate Countess Sonia; Casement's arrest in Ireland and the inaccurate rumours of his informing on his companions, as well as the mentioning of Ballydavid's Catholic neighbour, Nicholas Rowe. It is only later in the narrative that Alice elucidates what occurred in each case, and how these events were in fact connected.

The truth regarding this web of incidents was that the 1916 Rebellion was, at the time, unexpected in Ireland. Although the Revolutionaries had been for years planning to overthrow British Rule – the formation of the Irish Volunteers dates back to 1913, as well as Casement's actions in Germany, and their actions were being closely followed by the Home Office in London – most soldiers of the Royal Irish Constabulary in Dublin were on leave for Easter holidays, and for this reason, were not prepared to take action. When the Rising did, in fact, take place, it was considered a minor event, whose relevance would only gain attention and importance belatedly. According to Pierre Nora:

> As for "great events," only two types are especially pertinent, and not in any way as a function of their "greatness." On the one hand, there are those minuscule events, barely remarked at the time, on which posterity retrospectively confers the greatness of origins, the solemnity of inaugural ruptures. On the other hand, there are those non-events that are immediately charged with heavy symbolic meaning and that, at the moment of their occurrence, seem like anticipated commemorations of themselves; contemporary history, by means of the media, has seen a proliferation of stillborn attempts to create such events. (*Between Memory and History* 22)

In *TFW*, the disturbance began on Tuesday, following Easter Monday, when neither the telephone was not working nor the post came, and the reasons for this, according to Alice, gradually became known. The Rebellion that had happened in Dublin was at first taken by the Irish as a "minor event", that had been disfavoured by virtue of it being obfuscated by the War and the 150.000 Irishmen who had enlisted in the British Army. Nevertheless, the Rising eventually became a greater event in Irish history as opinions began to change, chiefly after the execution of the rebel leaders, to a position of sympathy towards the revolutionaries. According to Alice: "Now they are patriots and heroes." (*TFW* 220)

However, Alice speculated that "the reception Casement was given on his arrival in Ireland could be seen as a metaphor for the gap between the idealistic desires of the revolutionary leaders and the wishes of the greater part of the citizenry." (220) This is due to the fact that Casement was arrested as a traitor by the Royal Irish Constabulary in Tralee after having been left by the *U19* German submarine. As informed by Alice, some of the villagers of Tralee, who later became known as the Kerry Witnesses, did not know what to make of this tall gentleman, found dirty and wet in a fairy fort in a time of war and espionage, and reported him to the Constable in charge. To make matters worse, there was not one member of the Irish Volunteers to meet him because the Rising had been postponed. As an adult, Alice is able to reflect

upon the impacts of the Rising and the mixed feeling the Ascendency nurtured in terms of Anglo-Irish relations:

> In my family there was no sympathy for the revolutionaries, either those executed or imprisoned, but there was also a feeling of disdain for the high-handedness of the government and stupidity of its actions. … there would now be a changed relationship between the Anglo-Irish landowners and the government in Westminster. … Every member of my family was distressed and uneasy, aware that the political situation was tenuous and inflammable. It did not occur to them that they were in physical danger, and I think they were right in that assumption. Even later, when houses were burned, almost always the family was given a short period of time to remove itself and as many valuables as could be saved before the house set alight" (*TFW* 222-4)

In this passage, Alice brings to light the relation between the revolutionaries' deaths commanded by Westminster and the conditions faced by the Anglo-Irish in Ireland, who felt disappointed as they could not agree with the executions, and at the same time unprotected due to the increasing dissatisfaction on behalf of the nationalist rebels who would eventually turn against them.

Alice also mentioned that several factual and fictional accounts were circulated in Ballydavid, and among them the "ugliest stories", that owed "more to imaginative fear and danger than to fact" (223), were about Sir Roger Casement. According to Alice it is hard to gauge what her family knew of Casement prior to his arrest. She says that "… since Casement came from the North of Ireland and from a respectable Protestant family they would have known and been pleased that he had been given a knighthood for his humanitarian services in the Belgian Congo and the Putumayo." (*TFW* 224)

The rumours were a consequence of the circulation of the *Black Diaries*. In accordance with Alice, among her family members the *Diaries* caused more embarrassment than anger. While her grandmother and her Aunt Katie saw Casement as a traitor, her Uncle William followed the same train of thought as Arthur Conan

Doyle, as he believed his physical as well as mental health were destroyed from exposure to the climate of the Congo, and this is also Alice's positioning: "Even now, with Casement's sparse remains in their hero's grave at Glasnevin cemetery, I am sure Conan Doyle was right." (225)

Young Alice met the news of the death sentence of the rebel leaders with fear and horror, but the executions that impressed her most were that of Roger Casement – who she later learned would not be shot by a firing squad like the other fifteen revolutionaries, but hanged, a lower and more humiliating form of death – and of Constance Markiewicz – whose death sentence would be commuted for being a woman – both Anglo-Irish like herself. Although she did not say anything to her relatives, Alice had been having vivid dreams of herself being sentenced to death:

> In my dreams I had been condemned to death. … I had not been imprisoned but I had only four days before I was to be executed … Implicit in everyone of these nightmares was the never-quite-present Countess Markiewicz who, in her beautiful pale dress, waited in a condemned cell. Roger Casement, with his ascendency tweed suit and his saintly smile, farther away, made a less substantial member of our trio. (*TFW* 257)

This excerpt is in accordance with Cathy Caruth's notion of trauma, not as the wound of the body that eventually heals, but as a wound of the mind inflicted by one's exposure to a traumatic incident. And this is what happens to Alice, for, as a child, she is unable to cope with the fact that her own people, the Anglo-Irish, are being sentenced to death. In her limited puerile reasoning, if this was happening to Casement and Constance Markiewicz, it could also happen to herself. Since Alice was not able to translate this feeling of fear into words, it is materialised in the form of dreams, for, according to Caruth, "In its general definition, trauma is described as the response to an unexpected or overwhelming violent event or events that are not fully grasped as they occur, but return later in repeated flashbacks, nightmares, and other repetitive phenomena." (*Unclaimed Experience* 91)

Apart from fear of herself and of Casement being executed, on 3rd August 1916, the day of Casement's hanging, Alice felt guilty of Casement's death for siding with a man who was considered a traitor by the English. She compared the impact of Casement's death to that of the British Army officer Herbert Kitchener, who had won the 1898 Battle of Omdurman: " ... it was nothing compared to the guilt I felt for my unpatriotic sympathy for the man being tried and for my honor at his trial – Casement, pale, handsome, sad, dignified, and sick, his persecutors smug and brutish bullies. I hated them, and I feared them" (*TFW* 282)

In the outset of the last chapter of the novel, Alice remembers how at the time they were all having breakfast in Ballydavid, Casement finally was hanged:

> CROWDS GATHERED outside Pentonville on the morning of the third of August. There was no last minute reprieve, and, at about the time we sat down to breakfast at Ballydavid, Roger Casement was hanged … Despite the lack of written confirmation, and, although we did not speak of it, the horror of what had happened in London that morning hung over the household. The kitchen no longer a haven for me, I spent much of the day alone, some of it praying that Casement would be granted a last minute stay of execution. (*TFW* 293)

Even though Alice remembered what she was doing at the time of Casement's death, it was only later that she would be able to know precisely when and how it happened, due to the fact that news came always late. In addition, she mentioned how, despite the fact that no one spoke of it, the rest of the household were also horrified with the prospect of Casement's hanging.

As it can be inferred from these excerpts, the execution of the 1916 Revolutionaries, especially that of Roger Casement, was a turning point in Irish history as it transformed, using Pierre Nora's terms, a "minor" event, which is the Easter Rising into a "major" event that would ultimately lead to the formation of the Irish Republic. Alice is, therefore trapped in this time warp, for the trauma of being exposed to several losses – first of her uncle Sainthill, second of her mother who left Ballydavid after

moving to England struck by grief, and finally of the execution of celebrated members of the Anglo Irish Ascendency, especially of Roger Casement – resulted in her being haunted in her sleep and feeling guilty for their deaths. Alice is, therefore a victim of history; however, as she said in the beginning of the novel, her life would have changed at any rate, due to the decision that she eventually would make in choosing who to marry, were it not for the beginning of the Irish War of Independence that would put a final stop to the Anglo-Irish.

One of the ways the Anglo Irish would deal with this moment of crisis was to carry on with their lives as if no Revolution had taken place. This was precisely what the occupants of Ballydavid were doing. In a manner similar to that of *The Last September* (1929)[160], a novel by Anglo-Irish writer Elizabeth Bowen, even against the backdrop of the 1916 Rebellion, Aunt Katie and Grandmother were planning a tennis party. Analogously to Bowen's novel, in spite of the fact that, at a first glance, this tennis party seemed out of place, it will be fundamental in sealing Alice's destiny.

Although the war in France was still ongoing, and many other Anglo-Irish were dying in the war in France, that afternoon everyone in Ballydavid "was caught up in the excitement of preparation for the tennis-party …" (*TFW* 300). Alice was taken over by the party and excited because her mother would be there. She described the preparations, which had begun weeks in advance: "O'Neill tended the tennis court and painted the wrought iron chairs and tables that were arranged on either side of it. Aunt Katie told him how much butter and cream she would need and gave similar instructions to Pat, the Gardner, about tomatoes and cucumbers." (*TFW* 296). These activities kept their minds off the socio-political agitations that were taking place in their surroundings, and Alice comments on this cheerful feeling: "I remember that afternoon as an interlude of pure innocence, my fear, guilt and horror suspended" (*TFW* 300).

Among the neighbouring families invited, were British Officers who were often entertained by the Anglo-Irish when on leave. As stated by Alice, "Officers were socially useful, and they had not previously been entertained at Ballydavid only because Grandmother had no unmarried woman to launch into society, and because she chose to

[160] Elizabeth Bowen's *The Last September* is an illustrious coming of age novel that tells the story of Lois Farquar, a marginalized orphaned niece, as well as of the other occupants of Danielstown. It is a portrait of how the Anglo-Irish aimed to maintain the ways of life they had previous to the 1916 Revolution, receiving visitors and throwing tennis-parties to entertain themselves and the British Officers that were not on duty.

limit her social circle to the county families she had known all her life" (*TFW* 298). Nevertheless, some nationalists regarded these soldiers as an occupying force, chiefly after the Irish Rebellion and the execution of the rebel leaders; and their khaki uniforms made them an easy target.

Alice was still a child, but she was mature enough to sense that change was eminent: "Not only was the Great War going to change the world forever, but it would, in all probability be followed by some form of Home Rule for Ireland." (*TFW* 302) After expounding on possible transformations in a broader level, she begins to consider changes that could take place in her own private life. Although she was an eligible Ballydavid heiress, her uncle Hubert was about to be engaged to be married to an Anglo-Irish woman called Rosamund Gwynne: "I was too young to have much of a sense of the future and, apart from moments of fear and self-pity when I woke during the night, the inevitability of my expulsion from paradise did not much occupy my thoughts." (*TFW* 300) Alice knew that if her uncle married, Miss. Gwynn would take her place in Ballydavid, where she was disliked by Grandmother for her voice being too loud, and manners too coarse. Alice ponders that only marriage could save her from being penniless and homeless.

The last chapter of *TFW* ends the cycle of recollection that Alice goes through in order to come to terms with her past. Finally, the reader has the answer to what had happened to Alice, how it had happened. To start with, it is important to mention that the tennis party congregated both the Anglo-Irish as well as exponents from traditional Catholic families – although in a much smaller number – as Jarvis and his sister Inez de Courcy. When Alice had met Jarvis at her birthday party almost one year before, she had been deeply impressed by his straight-forwardness and self-assurance. She was pleased to know she would have to entertain him. Even so, she was also uneasy about this, as she knew him to be full of energy, as she explains: "I had this sense that anything short of robbing a bank would seem a tame afternoon sport for Jarvis," (*TFW* 304).

All were having great fun at the party, which is narrated in a dreamlike way, as it is the result of an event filtered through the sieve of time:

I remember the next hour and a half, sitting on the rug in the sun with Mother and

> Jarvis, watching the match, as one of my life's moments of pure uncomplicated happiness. …. I was proud of Ballydavid at a moment when the house and household was shown at its old-fashioned hospitable finest. This memory marks for me the beginning of loss: an hour or two on a sunny afternoon of pure happiness of a kind we would never again find. (*TFW* 308)

Throughout the novel, Alice is a very serious and grown-up girl, brought up within the Anglo-Irish Protestant faith and beliefs. As an adult, Alice writes of few moments of real excitement experienced by her as a child, and the party is certainly one of them. Alice feels contentment in being among her mother, friends and other relations. She feels proud of Ballydavid, the house that could still afford to offer such entertainment, and which she saw as her haven. Nevertheless, the excerpt ends with a comment by an older Alice, which seems to be in opposition to that moment of cheerfulness. She talks about the feeling of loss she was about to experience within only a couple of hours. It would be a personal loss of loved ones, but it was a kind of loss that symbolically pre-empted the hard times that would come for the Anglo-Irish.

What follows is that Alice met one of her Grandmother's neighbours, Mrs. Coughlan and the British Officer Captain Blaine, who approach them and offer to give them a ride in the Lancia, the automobile in which the soldiers had arrived. Hence, Miss Gwynne, Alice's uncle's fiancée soon joined them. She allows Captain Blaine to drape his khaki overcoat around her, and she also puts on his uniform cap. Once the car left, Jarvis held the fold of the convertible and attached himself to the rear, putting himself in a vulnerable position. As the vehicle reached the avenue, Alice heard the first shot, which she confused with the sound of the engine, and then came the other three: "I felt the car swerve and saw that we were not going to clear the gateposts that marked the end of the avenue, behind which lay the Waterford-Woodstown road. I huddled down instinctively for protection ..." (*TFW* 314) Everything took place as if in slow motion; finally, Alice was unconscious:

> And after the crash there was silence; only a hiss of what might have been steam escaping from the damaged engine filled the silent afternoon, taking the place

> of the usual, hardly noticed sounds of birds and the countryside. I felt an intense awareness of every detail of my surroundings; of every passing moment, which seemed to take place at half the speed of normal time, before I floated away into the feeling of a slow, calm dream. (*TFW* 315)

Therefore, the point I would make is that as a consequence of this accident, *TFW* is not only a tale trauma; it is also a tale of loss. The accident that put an end to the party is a metaphor for the end of the period in which peace reigned among the Anglo-Irish Ascendency, resulting the demise of an old order and the rise of a new one. In this respect, Judith Butler in "After Loss, What Then?" links the idea of loss to a series of events that succeed each other, and this can be exemplified in the following quotation of *TFW,* in the words of Alice Moore:

> The presumption that the future follows the past, that mourning might follow melancholia, that mourning might be completed … are all … a series of paradoxes: the past is irrecoverable and the past is not past; the past is the resource for the future and the future is the redemption of the past. Loss must be marked and it cannot be represented; loss fractures representation itself and loss precipitates its own modes of expression (*TFW* 467).

As Butler has noted in her article, and from tthe interconnections made within the context of the novel, loss indeed "fractures representation itself", and this notion of a fragmented representation is the way Alice's understanding of this traumatic incident is constructed in her mind. It is thus, only by means of her telling the story, that Alice's memory is reassembled years later when she is able to join the pieces and fragments of congealed images that form her past as she tries to make sense of them. This lack of understanding the traumatic event at the moment it occurs is explained by Cathy Caruth in *Unclaimed Experience* (1996):

> … the direct seeing of a violent event may occur as an absolute inability to know it; that immediacy, paradoxically, may take form of belatedness. The repetitions of the traumatic event – which remains unavailable to consciousness but intrude repeatedly on sight, suggest a larger relation to the event that extends beyond what can simply be seen or known and is inextricably tied up with the belatedness and incomprehensibility that remain at the heart of this repetitive seeing (*Unclaimed Experience* 92).

As Caruth remarks, the immediacy of a traumatic incident renders it incomprehensible at the moment it takes place. This occurs in the sense that trauma is not located in the original event, or in the past of an individual, but it is due to its non-assimilative nature that it returns to haunt the survivor only some time afterwards. Caruth cites the example of a soldier fighting in a war being confronted with sudden and massive death, who is tormented by nightmares as the utmost image of trauma in the 20th century. Trauma, Caruth explains, is the story of a wound that screams as it challenges us in trying to communicate a truth that is available to us. This truth is not only related to what is known, but what remains unknown in our actions and language. This idea can be applied to Alice in *TFW*. In addition, the fact that she is a child who experienced a series of traumatic events, namely, World War I, the 1916 Irish Rebellion, the ambush that led to the car accident and the forthcoming Irish War of Independence, she cannot translate her feelings into words, because she lacks them. It is only at the age of fifty-nine, after years of trying to comprehend what happened that she undertakes this journey into her past and recount her memories.

Alice's memories of the accident were somewhat intertwined with those of her friend Jarvis, and only time distance allows her to differentiate which memories are his and which are hers. As she woke up, lying on the ground surrounded by her mother and the other guests at the party, she overheard Jarvis' side of the story. Jarvis said there were three men wearing masks on the road who were carrying guns and shot against the car. Yet, Alice realized that Jarvis was not telling the truth:

> That Jarvis had chosen to lie about what had happened did not in my dreamlike state seem surprising. Nor was I surprised that he knew I would not betray him. … I would, a habit already invisibly in place, follow Jarvis's lead. … I would not contradict his lie … Instead, I would say I had seen nothing. It would prevent a good deal of questioning. … There had been two boys, not three men …Through the bushes, onto the Fox's Walk and into the woods. … They had surely not expected to leave a witness—or witnesses—alive. One of them was the red-haired Clancy boy. I wondered if he had seen Jarvis and me. I had seen him, but maybe he hadn't seen us. But if he had, he must in that moment—having already shot at two khaki uniforms—have decided not to kill us *(TFW* 316)

Alice's account of the ambush that caused the accident is revealing, nonetheless it leaves the reader with questions that are probably those that remain unanswered to Alice herself. Among them is her lack of understanding of why the red-haired Clancy boy who she would often meet on the grounds of Ballydavid and on the "Fox's Walk", and who Alice recognized as being one of the perpetrators, did not kill Jarvis and herself. It could have been for the reason that they had already reached their targets, which were the two people wearing khaki, Captain Blaine and Miss Gwynne, and Mrs. Coughlan. It could also have been because, as nationalists, the assassins may have recognized Jarvis de Courcy who was a Catholic, and they knew he would not act as an informer. At the moment Alice decided not to contradict Jarvis a bond is formed between them for life; they would be only briefly married, for he would eventually die in World War II.

Alice's lack of comprehensibility of the accident can be understood by Cathy Caruth's definition of trauma (*Unclaimed Experience*), as she expounds on how a person escapes a train accident apparently unharmed and suffers symptoms of the collision only weeks later. According to Caruth, the recurring image of the accident illustrates the unexpected or accidental factor of trauma, par excellence, that tells us what cannot be grasped in traumatic events. The accident is not the trauma of the crash itself, but conveys it the impact of its incomprehensibility. What returns to haunt the victim is not only the reality of the event, but also the reality according to which its

violence cannot be fully grasped. Nevertheless, Alice is still aware of the limits of her understanding the events that took place in the past:

> But I was a child and, although I understood what had happened, there were limits to my understanding. And my instincts and reactions were those of a child. And my loyalties and values were not as clear as they once had been. While I wouldn't side with the assassins, I no longer trusted the forces that would hunt them down if I spoke up … the red-haired boy had spared my life; did I not now owe him his? … I knew that as long as I did not open my eyes I would have a little time. (*TFW* 317)

This excerpt brings the novel to a close and suggests that Alice has made a fundamental decision concerning partisanship, which is revealed by her lack of trust in the British forces that would hunt down the boys had she informed on them. Here, she refers to the British Empire as the forces on which the Anglo-Irish had, for centuries relied on, but, which after the execution of the 1916 rebel leaders, chiefly, of the Anglo-Irish revolutionary Roger Casement, had failed to protect them. This is the point of the novel that connects Alice to Casement, and the reason why his funeral in Glasnevin is a trigger that revives her memories of the accident, which she would recall as the day she would no longer take sides.

In a nutshell, Casement was the first Irish revolutionary associated with the Easter Rising in Ireland whose death by hanging was a trauma that the protagonist Alice Moore could not overcome, except by writing about his story. The method she crafts is to draw indirect parallels between Casement's trajectory and her own, as both came from an Anglo-Irish Protestant background, and came to be disappointed, not to say embittered, by the British Imperial Forces.

On the one hand, Casement had to move away from Ireland, into the Amazonian and Congolese forests to find himself, "the incorrigible Irishman", as he unveiled and reported on atrocities against the natives under imperial regimes – King Leopold II in the case of the Congo, and the English registered Peruvian Amazon Company in the Putumayo – which caused him to retire from the British Consular Service and

embrace the nationalist cause, which resulted in his death sentence. On the other hand, Alice did not need to travel faraway in order to experience the effects of imperialism, for in Ireland she experienced the clash and social divisions existing among her own people: the Irish Catholics and Protestants.

3. 3 Afterword

It is important to mention that there are more similarities than meets the eye between the two works dealt with in Chapter 3, as they are concerned with the way in which Casement is remembered in his afterlife. Firstly, both works are written from a different perspective than the others dealt with in this dissertation, Northern Irish in the case of David Rudkin's *CFC* and Anglo-Irish from the newly found republic in that of Annabel Davis-Goff's *TFW*. Secondly, both *CFC* and *TFW* have as a starting point, Casement's exhumation from Pentonville Prison in London and his subsequent reburial in Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin.

It is important to point out that *CFC* is a play about Casement's life arc that portrays him as its main protagonist and the injustice committed to him by his hanging and by his burial in Glasnevin, Dublin, not in Murlough Bay, Northern Ireland. Whereas, in the novel *TFW* Casement is a secondary character, albeit fundamental for the development of the plot, where the first person narrator Alice Moore finds that Casement's burial in the republican plot in Glasnevin is more than he could have imagined.

Another point of intersection between the two texts is that in *TFW* the ambush that Alice Moore survived as a child was a watershed in her life and a metaphor for

the end of supremacy of the Anglo-Irish Ascendency. Likewise, in David Rudkin's *CFC*, Casement's reburial in Glasnevin signalled the beginning of sectarian unrest that would only be settled by the signing of the Good Friday Agreement, in 1998.

This chapter in Irish history is not completely over, however the idea of reconciliation between the two sides of the conflict, Catholics and Protestants is encapsulated by Alice's brief marriage to Catholic Jarvis, which points to a future in which the colours orange, of the Anglo-Irish, and green, of Ireland, shall meet and the white stripe that represents the peace between the two will no longer be necessary. Therefore, recovering David Rudkin's idealist ending of *CFC,* Casement might still be buried yet again, in Northern Ireland.

4. Final Thoughts

> *The sunset of the fading Empire would turn those waters into blood. The British Empire was not founded in peace; how then can it be kept by peace or ensured by peace treaties? It was born out of pillage and blood-shed, and has been maintained by both; and it cannot be secured by a common language any more than a common bible. The lands called the British Empire belong to many races, and it is only by the sword and not by the Book of Peace or any pact of peace that those races can be kept from the ownership of their own countries* (Casement, *The Crime Against Europe* 61)

At the outset, this PhD dissertation posed the following question: who is Roger David Casement? My intention was to answer this query by tackling the representation of the Irish revolutionary Roger Casement as a character in four novels and two radio plays

written over the time span of 100 years under the light of trauma theory. What makes these writers special is the fact that they have faced the challenge to write about a polemical sidelined historical figure with an acute observation of society, history and fiction. As it has been discussed, these forms of fictional representation are relational, in that they relate to the object that is being represented by each author discussed offering a unique critical interpretation of the historical figure of Roger Casement.

I find it important to retrieve what Noel Salazar defines as interpretation, not as the depiction of an object as it is, but by its re-presentation or reconstitution under a new light. In each of the novels and radio plays, the critical stance taken by the six writers have been considered in that their re-presentations are not neutral, for they cannot be divorced from the society and culture that produced them. Nonetheless, a gap between intention and realization, original and copy will always remain. Hence, an active reader/listener is required in order to bridge the gaps between the historical Casement – the man is being represented – and the fictional Casement – representation itself. As a result, the long journey taken into the life of this Irishman has shown that this dissertation, is in a broader sense, also a re-presentation of my own particular perspective of the way in which Casement features in these works and in world history.

In order to demonstrate my hypothesis that the figure of Roger Casement is associated to specific traumatic incidents that have constituted Anglo-Irish history, I have traced Casement's development from imperialist, to rebel to revolutionary as a character in works of fiction. During most Casement's lifetime, he found himself within a liminal position: a British Consul with revolutionary inclinations. It is only in the last five years of his life, after the Putumayo investigation in 1911 that he is able to take a final stance in terms of partisanship, which leads him to eventually losing his life in the name of the independence of Ireland. Nonetheless, in a way that is only possible in literature, the fictional representations of Roger Casement approached in this study allow the reader to step inside Casement's shoes and to follow the path that gradually led him to become immortal, as W.B. Yeats's poem "The Ghost of Roger Casement" has epitomized. Although it would seem artificial to fit Casement in the three categories labelled by Séamas O'Síocháin as "Imperialist", "Rebel" and "Revolutionary", one can trace, via fictional representations, the movements that allowed this kind of transformation.

Casement is associated to imperialism mostly, but not solely, in Chapter 1, where he is portrayed in his "Life" in Conan Doyle's *The Lost World* where Lord John Roxton reminds the reader of the typical Victorian-Edwardian hero and explorer. Such characterization unveils the traumatic imperial practice in the Putumayo as conceptualized by Michel Foucault's notion of "Biopower" where the sovereign had the power to decide who/what would live and who/what would die. In Jamie O'Neill's *At Swim, Two Boys*, Casement is present at the backstage of the 1916 Easter Rising, which took place as a response to British imperialism on behalf of the Irish Revolutionaries. In both works, Casement is a peripheral character, albeit fundamental for the creation of the characters, setting and structure.

Casement's Congolese and Amazonian experience sowed the seeds that would allow him grow into a rebel. As mentioned briefly in the Introduction and in Chapter 3, French writer and philosopher Albert Camus defines a rebel as a man who says no, "but whose refusal does not imply renunciation", for he also says yes, "from the moment he makes his first gesture of rebellion." This is what happens to Roger Casement as he decides to rebel against the British Empire, which was paradoxically part of himself. Consequently, as Casement reaffirms his position as a rebel, he becomes "the whole man, who is identified with and summed up in this resistance". (Camus n. pag.)

Casement's rebellion is seen in many ways: in the Congo Reform Association that he founded with journalist E. D. Morel, and in his secret interest in and later involvement with the cause of Irish independence still during his Consular service, which resulted in his later being seen as a "traitor" to the British Crown. Yet, in Chapter 2, which focuses on Casement' "Trial", a different rebellious facet of Roger Casement is shown. This was his alleged homosexuality, disclosed by finding of the so-called *Black Diaries*. Regardless of their being forged or not, Casement is portrayed in Vargas Llosa's novel *The Dream of the Celt* and in Patrick Mason's radio play *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* as rebelling against the social orders that established rules as to sexual relationships. In both works, mostly via reveries and dreams Casement is portrayed as the controversial writer of the *Black Diaries*.

Casement as a revolutionary is mostly observed after he joined the Irish Volunteers, military organization that sought the independence of Ireland and that led to his further moves and involvement with the 1916 Rising. In spite of this, the works dealt with in the last Chapter "Afterlife", David Rudkin's radio play *Cries from*

Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin and Annabel Davis-Goff's *The Fox's Walk* have shown that this revolutionary stage in not concretized. Casement's revolutionary cycle, as that of Ireland, is not a movement a "movement that describes a complete circle that leads from one form of government to another after a complete transition." (Camus n.pag.) On the contrary, Casement's life is put to a premature end as he died at the gallows of Pentonville Prison in London on 3 August 1916. In the case of the history of Ireland, this complete transition, or "new arrangements" that Rudkin suggests in his play, does not take place. As a consequence, Casement's transformation into an Irish revolutionary will only, if ever, be resolved *post-mortem.*

Although this idea is disputable, Chapter 3 also implies that despite the injustice that was committed to Casement, he has already been given some credit for his humanitarian services in Africa and South America, as well as for the independence of Ireland with his exhumation from a "murderer's grave" in the lime pit in Pentonville Prison, London, followed by his reburial with honours in the revolutionary plot of Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin, in 1965. At the same time, the open ending of the works dealt with in Chapter 3 point to a future possibility of the reconciliation between the memory of this controversial revolutionary figure not only in Ireland and Northern Ireland, but in other places where his presence was as significant, but where he has been equally forgotten. These are Africa, especially the Congo, South America, chiefly in Brazil where he was Consul for seven years, as well as Peru and Colombia, and even in the United States of America, where he was influential among the Irish-American leaders of the *Clan na Gael*.

However, what the six fictional works dealt with along the three Chapters reveal is that Casement's legacy is still compromised especially due to the *Black Diaries*. This is true despite the social advancements that have been experienced in the world in 2015 with the legalization of gay marriage, including Ireland, the only country where this has been settled by a referendum. The *Black Diaries*, which are not held in Ireland, but in Kew, in the United Kingdom, are still an open wound in Casement's posthumous reputation, and therefore, in Irish history.

I would like to recover and highlight the fact that the works that were analysed in this study do not fit exactly within the trauma theory framework, which can be summarized as a traumatic recollection of an actual act of violence in the present. Otherwise, this dissertation proposes an attempt to re-write certain "unclaimed

experiences" back into Ireland's national imaginary. Bearing these limitations in mind, I underscore that I have selected and made use of certain aspects of trauma theory that were helpful for the understanding of these fictional representations of Roger Casement.

The discussions were centered on the way in which a narrative written in a present "x" is haunted by events that have taken place in a past "y", according to the Caruthian concepts of "belatedness" and "repetition". Also, the works tackled in this study have shown that the passage of time is essential for dealing with traumatic events which happen to be unconsciously "re-enacted", or "re-written" repetitively. This traumatic process applied to fictional representations can be reaffirmed by Declan Kiberd's notion of trauma as a new event that becomes part of a ghostly event – a past occurrence that has not been completely overcome. As a result, this encounter originates a present where the living and the dead, "spirits of buried men and dead heroes", share this "new stage".

The traumas that are associated with Casement's afterlife remain unresolved. The trauma of imperialism shows Casement at both ends of the scale, as he was both an agent, as a British Consul, and a victim, as an Irishman. Casement's transformation from imperialist to revolutionary is certainly related to the ambivalent position he occupied within this system, for he is simultaneously able to see and live both sides. The trauma of the 1916 Easter Rising is also associated to Roger Casement, both as a fictional character and as a historical figure. Casement was initially against an armed insurrection, even so he ultimately gave his life to this cause as a response to British imperialism. This is where Casement's arc is broken, for he becomes, like Charles Stuart Parnell, another "uncrowned king" in Irish history. The death of Casement and of the other 15 revolutionaries that participated in the Rising ordered by British forces sealed the fate of Irish history, as it paved the way for Irish independence. The trauma surrounding Casement's trial, with its propaganda effect, and his execution, is the last issue approached in this work. As Angus Mitchell has noted, "In death Casement proved even more of an irritant to the authorities than he had proved in life" (Mitchell, *Roger Casement in Brazil* 48), and this uneasiness is well captured in the refrain of W.B. Yeats illustrious poem: "The ghost of Roger Casement is beating on the door." (qtd. in *Roger Casement in Brazil* 51).

This study suggests that the fictional representations approached herewith reveal that even after 100 years there is a struggle to recognize and to acknowledge the

exploration and the devaluation of the weakest, and Casement was the fragile link within the chain that was the imperial mode of operation of the British Empire. In the first instance, he was Irish, in the second instance was a traitor, and in the third instance he was the homosexual writer of the *Black Diaries*. Hence, although, according to Gayatri Spivak, the subaltern cannot speak, Casement's ghost still speaks to us in his afterlife through his writing. He was a prolific writer of letters, diaries, essays and official reports on the Empire, on World War I and on the rubber atrocities he successfully brought to light. Hence, from this time onwards; it will be up to artists, writers, and scholars to decide what is to be remembered, and what is to be forgotten.

The use made by the Home Office of the *Black Diaries* to blacken Casement's name was a successful manoeuvre to deviate the focus of the accusations made against Casement to his private life. Perhaps the existence of these *Diaries* – forged or not – could be seen as a means to reflect upon the uncertainty offered by national narratives and historiographies. Thus, it is always noteworthy to consider who tells what story, and from which perspective. This can lead to injustice, such as the effacement of Roger Casement from the history of many countries (I can speak from South America from whose history Casement has indeed been obliterated).

Following this train of thought, the *Diaries* are useful to reflect upon pseudo-morality and the ways in which this affects individual lives and even how it can change the course of history. One example is the divorce scandal in which the much-admired liberal Irish politician Charles Stuart Parnell was involved. Another is Roger Casement and Oscar Wilde's trial and their notorious prosecutor, the unionist Edward Carson, being caught, later in life, in illegal acts with a prostitute. In a larger level, one may find that the Catholic Church in Ireland is also to blame for crimes related to paedophilia and the Magdalene laundries, responsible for the killing a significant number of women and children. These victims were considered morally unfit for the newly formed Irish Republic governed by Eamon de Valera, who, paradoxically, ill and in old age delivered the funeral oration when Casement's bones were reinterred in Glasnevin in 1965.

Roger Casement should be seen as Pierre Nora's notion of *lieux de mémoire*, a site of memory that cannot fall into oblivion. His trajectory should be, analogously to that of the holocaust, a reminder that the violence that can be committed to human beings by human beings has no limits when power and money are involved. He must also be seen as a site of memory for being side-lined in the 1916 Rebellion, for both

history and fiction have shown that Casement is an Irish martyr for he literally gave his life for the cause of the independence of Ireland from Britain. In this sense, Casement is a token of these traumas and his representations in the fictional works dealt with in this dissertation is if not a way to effectively "work-thorough" these traumas, it is certainly a way to pay homage and retrieve Casement from obscurity, especially as these are popular works of fiction that aim to reach a wide readership.

Having lived in Ireland for one year, I informally asked people– lecturers at universities, postgrad students, as well as shopkeepers and taxi drivers – what they knew about Roger Casement. Even though all of them recognized the name, I got several kinds of answers that range from repulsion to curiosity: a university lecturer asked: "That paedophile?" A taxi driver wanted to know: "Do you know if he really wrote those things?" Postgraduates generally asked if: "Was he the man who run guns for the Rising in a submarine?" "He was a traitor." Very few people were actually aware of the complexities surrounding Roger Casement, which I hope this dissertation will have brought to light. This shows that it is easy to trace a pattern about what people have chosen to remember, and what to forget. The playwright Patrick Mason is accurate when he mentions in his interview (Attachment 6.3 274) that people don't know the story, and he adds: "Why start? How far do I go back?"

To conclude, the representation of Roger Casement in these works, albeit in different ways, is a metaphor for the traumatic process itself: "an embodiment of the disjunction of temporality, [and] the surfacing of the past in the present." (Whitehead) Although Roger Casement was no saint, he was also figuratively stoned like St. Stephen for the part he played in denouncing atrocities against humanity in favour of the underdog, and it is up to future scholars and critics to uncover and communicate the truth. Casement lived like any other human being, between "angels and demons", yet it is unfortunately the image of his "demons" that have been more deeply associated to his afterlife: his treachery and the complexities surrounding the homosexual content of the *Black Diaries*. There is certainly no need to hide these demons, but I believe that it is necessary to shed more light onto his "angels": his collaborations to human rights in the Congo, in South America, and in Ireland, before long. Hopefully, the upcoming centenary will be a first step for Casement to be, once and for all, left in his rightful place in the transatlantic world history.

Ali things considered, I recover Rebecca Solnit's analogy between Casement, the man, and the casement window. I agree with this idea and I have shown that by looking through this "Casement-window" the reader of this dissertation will have had glimpse at the way in which major collective historical events are connected to the life, and afterlife, of an individual, namely, of Roger Casement both as a character and as a historical figure. This image is followed by that of the butterfly, and Casement was an avid butterfly collector during the Putumayo investigation.

I would add to Solnit that, as a butterfly, Casement himself undergoes a process of metamorphosis in his transformation from a jingo imperialist to a fierce nationalist, where both the Congo and the Amazon were the cocoon from which he emerged as a man with wings, able to fly high above those who had not experienced what he had. The heritage of this transformed Casement is to help make others to see the evils of subjugating one people in favour of another, not only through his eyes in the pictures that he took, but also through his words registered in his journals and reports. Thus, I also claim that Casement is a window, not one that is open into a closet like Solnit suggests, but one through which one is granted access into the aftermath of the traumas inflicted on foreign peoples, colonized by the imperial world, chiefly to its flaws or cracks. A window that would expose the wrongs that are embedded and hidden not only behind the three Cs of imperial practice in the colonies, namely, Christianity, Civilization and Commerce, but also behind the riches that were reverted into modernization and social development in the metropolis.

I bring this discussion to an end by drawing an analogy between what has been explored and the last words read by Casement from his Speech from the Dock. This was Casement's last public appearance before his execution that I take as the epitome of his personal redemption and transformation into a Rebel, for "With rebellion, awareness is born" (Camus n. pag.):

> Self government is our right, a thing born in us at birth; a thing no more to be doled out to us or withheld from us by another people than the right of life itself – than the right to feel the sun, or smell the flowers, or to love our kind. It is only from the convict that these things are withheld … Ireland is treated today among

the nations of the world as if she was a convicted criminal. Of it be treason to fight against such an unnatural fate as this, then I am proud to be a rebel, and shall cling to my 'rebellion' with the last drop of my blood. (qtd. in Inglis 410)

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Radio Play: *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*, Written and directed by Patrick Mason Rte Radio 1
http://www.rte.ie/drama/radio/plays/history/2012/0511/647069-genres-history-thedreamingofrogercasement/ Web 30 May 2015

FULL CAST CREDITS
Sir Roger Casement ...Ciarán Hinds
Sir Frederick Smith – Attorney General ....Nick Dunning
Sir Ernley Blackwell – Home Office …Robert O'Mahoney
Sir Basil Thomson – Scotland Yard … Mark Lambert
Gertrude Bannister – Casement's cousin ....Jane Brennan
Aunt Charlotte – Casement's Antrim aunt ...Eleanor Methven
Sgt Turner – Scotland Yard … Chris McCallum
Mr Findlay – Home Office … Des Cave
Constable Riley - RIC /Warder Benson – HM Prison Service ...Joe Taylor
Mr Germain – Casement's landlord … Philip Judge
Sergeant at Law *O'Sullivan* – Casement's attorney …. Bryan Murray
Dr Mander – Home Office Doctor … Bryan Murray
Captain Monteith - IRB ..... Daragh Kelly
Bailey – Casement's Irish Brigade ..... Andrew Bennett

Music - composed and performed by Denis Clohessy
Dramaturg - Jesper Bergmann.
Sound Supervision - Damien Chennells.
Producer - Kevin Reynolds.

6. Attachments

Attachment 1

The Life of Roger Casement

The idea for this project stemmed from the translation into Portuguese of the book *Roger Casement in Brazil: Rubber, the Amazon and the Atlantic World 1884-1916* (Mitchell, 2011). This text tackles a very specific moment in Roger Casement's life: the eight years that he spent in Brazil, following the 20 years that he lived in Africa. Both experiences are complementary in the sense that the positions he took up in Africa, especially in the Belgian Congo, provided him with significant experience in terms of the colonial administration. It was while he was away that he realized that he was but a mere pawn in a complex game of power and domination which ultimately resulted in his anti-imperial convictions outweighing his years of dedication to the British Crown. Despite the importance of the role he played in the emergence of human rights, both as a British Consul in the Congo and the Amazon, and as an Irish nationalist in the 1916 Easter Rising, Casement's place in history remains controversial. Through this dissertation I hope to bring Roger Casement's name to the fore, especially in terms of Brazilian history, from which his legacy has all but been erased and forgotten. It should be clarified that I have made the option to write this dissertation in English due to the research year that I have spent in Ireland, and because of the report submitted to FAPESP, which had to be written in English. In spite of this, I look forward to translating this work into Portuguese for a wider reach in Brazil.

Since this work aims to reach a wide readership, beyond that of Western Europe and North America, it is necessary to grapple with Casement the man before moving into Casement the character:

> My 45th Birthday…Just think of it! I was born in 1864 in that wee cottage we passed, Nina, you and I, last December – Christmas Day – on the way to Sandycove in dear old Dublin. I think of Ireland in 1864 – full of people, brave and strong – Fenians on every county, preparing the great fight they all hoped to have within two years – a land poor and oppressed indeed, but still with its own brave native heart […] and today! What a change! (qtd. in O' Síocháin, *Roger Casement: Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 5)

This letter from Casement to his cousin Gertrude Banister is significant as it sheds light on some of the ambivalences that would persist until his death, in 1916, on the gallows of Pentonville Prison, in London. Already in 1909, when Roger Casement was British Consul in Pará, northern Brazil, he wrote to his cousin Gertrude Bannister reminiscing about the political atmosphere in Ireland at the time he was born, in Sandycove, Dublin, on September 1st, 1864. He was the youngest of four, with one sister, Agnes, or Nina, to whom he was closest, and two brothers, Charles and Thomas. His mother, Anne Jephson, was an Irish Catholic, and his father, also named Roger, was a Protestant born in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Anne Jephson's covert Catholicism – and her secret baptizing of her four children[161] – as well as Roger senior's stories about his military career[162] were to greatly influence young Casement's choices in later life.

His mother's death on 27 October 1873[163] followed by his father's from grief in 1877, was a watershed. The four children moved from Dublin to live with his father's relatives in Margherintemple, the Casement family home in Co. Antrim, Northern Ireland, where Casement attended the Ballymena Diocesan School. Although he loved Northern Ireland, Casement never developed close ties with his father's relatives. Instead, he spent as much time as he could in Liverpool with his mother's sister, Aunt Grace and his uncle Edward Bannister, who worked for a Liverpool firm, Hatton and Cookson as a trading agent in Portuguese West Africa (Dudgeon 77). His uncle had, then, three children, Elizabeth, Gertrude and Edward. Gertrude, known as Gee, eight years his youngster, was to be one of his closest friends, with whom he corresponded throughout his life.

According to Brian Inglis (1973), Gertrude recalled that during Casement's holidays "[…] he would play games with us and entertain us for hours […] He was always fond of painting and inventing stories and I believe if he had seriously cultivated

[161] Anne Jephson secretly baptized her children on 5 August, 1868, in North Wales when Roger was almost four. (*Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 8)

[162] According to Séamas O'Síocháin Roger Casement senior had been bought a commission in the Third Light Dragoons in India by his father, Hugh Casement; it was when he joined the 1842 Afghan Campaign, he then sold his commission and volunteered to assist Louis Kossuth in the 1848 Hungarian revolution, and was Captain in the North Antrim Militia from 1855 to 1858. (*Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 6)

[163] The cause of her death is still debated. It was thought that she died in childbirth, but to Jeffrey Dudgeon (2002): "The secret shame is revealed on Anne's death certificate where the primary cause of death was certified to be cirrhosis. A secondary illness was given as asthma" (46).

these gifts he would have made a name for himself" (23). Gertrude and Casement were to become even closer. Since Casement had few prospects in Northern Ireland after finishing secondary school, he was encouraged by his paternal uncle, John Casement, to find work elsewhere. Though he lived with the Bannisters in Liverpool for some years, his destiny was far from there.

Africa

It was his uncle Edward Bannister who opened the doors to imperial life for Casement at the age of 16. His uncle arranged a position for him as clerk at the Elder Dempster Shipping Line, and in 1833 Casement went on his first journey to West Africa, to Boma and the Congo, on the *S.S. Bonny* as a purser (O'Síocháin*, The Eyes of Another Race* 8) before taking up his first position in the Congo. He was employed at King Leopold II's International African Association in 1884, where he made lifelong friends, such as Major W. G. Parminter and the sculptor Herbert Ward. Coincidentally, this time marked the height of the dispute between fourteen European powers over the African continent which finally culminated in the Berlin Conference headed by Otto von Bismarck. On 26 February 1885, the Berlin Act was signed, authorizing the scramble for Africa and recognizing the International Association of the Congo. In 1886, Casement left the Congo Free State, former International African Association, and was subsequently hired at other postings, including the Baptist Mission Station of Wathem, before going back to London in 1891.

He returned to Africa one year later, now on the pay of the British government, at the Oil Rivers Protectorate in what today is known as Nigeria. According to Séamas O'Síocháin, at this time "Casement was different from the usual colonial officials: he respected the indigenous peoples he encountered, did not carry a gun, and generally avoided violence except as a last resort" (*The Eyes of Another Race* 8). He was later appointed Consul in Lourenço Marques, at Delagoa Bay, and afterwards in St. Paul de Loanda, as Consul in Angola. At the outbreak of the Boer War he returned to Lourenço Marques, "a listening post and a possible site for the landing of arms for the Boers" (9), for which he was awarded the Queen's South African Medal and appointed Consul for the Congo Free State." (*The Eyes of Another Race*) O'Síocháin affirms that by 1902

Casement had acquired two important skills. The first was his awareness of the mode of operation of the Congo Free State, which was conducted through the oppression of the natives. The second was the experience he gained during his investigations involving British subjects, one of the central tasks assigned to Consuls.

By May 1903, pressure from the Anti-Slavery Protection Society led to a debate about the Congo in the House of Commons. There were rumours reaching Europe owing to the journalist Edmund Dene Morel's periodical *West African Mail,* concerning the ill treatment and mutilations committed against the Congolese rubber collectors. Meanwhile, Roger Casement was appointed British Consul in the capital of Boma and was sent to report his findings on the atrocities allegedly committed by the Belgian Force Publique. Casement was already accustomed to dealing with the ill treatment of West African British subjects; however, the conditions of the natives were beyond their jurisdiction. What he did in his Congo report was to transfer his "understanding of the ins and outs of the systems of justice" (O'Síocháin, *The Eyes of Another Race* 10), already applied to British subjects, to the natives of the Congo Free State.

Upon returning to England, rushing to finish writing the Congo Report, Casement was introduced to E. D. Morel and they held a meeting on 24 January 1904, at the Slieve Donard Hotel, in Newcastle, Co. Down to found the Congo Reform Association (CRA). The aim of the CRA was to carry out campaigns in favour of an administrative reform in the region. Casement's Congo Report, along with the founding of the CRA, were key moments in the history of the Congo. The writer Arthur Conan Doyle, whose novel *The Lost World* (1912) is the object of analysis of the first chapter of this study, also became active supporter of the CRA. After the Congo Report published as a Blue Book in 1904[164], Casement was weakened by ill health, and distanced himself temporarily from the Foreign Office.

During Casement's retreat from imperial duties, and on the strength of his work in the Congo, he devoted his energies to the CRA, which, added to his forthcoming experience in the Putumayo that would lead him to dedicate the last five years of his life to the cause of Irish independence. From an early age Roger had a soft spot for Irish

[164] The original report presented to the Foreign Office in 1904 was entitled *Correspondence and Report from His Majesty's Consul at Boma respecting the administration of the Independent State of the Congo*, PPn1904 (Cd 1933) LXII (O'Síocháin, *The Eyes of Another Race* 47).

nationalism and nationalists, according to his cousin Gertrude[165]. It was, however, in the Congo that he began to realize the ills of imperialism, which would make him sensitive to the plight of the Indians in the Peruvian Amazon. Indeed one can only say he had a moment of epiphany when he realized he was "watching this tragedy with the eyes of another race", for it was in that "dark continent" that he claims to have found himself, "the incorrigible Irishman"[166]. To Casement, the injustice that imperialism had done to the Congolese was not unlike that which was being done to his own people: "The Congo question is very near my heart – but the Irish question is nearer…It was only because I was an Irishman that I could understand fully, I think, the whole scheme of wrongdoing at work in the Congo" (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 195).

Alongside the CRA issues, Casement became involved with the Irish cultural revival and took part in the Gaelic Athletic Association and the Gaelic League, which sought, respectively, to recover typical Irish sports and games that had been forbidden by the British, as well as to teach and spread the Irish language. He was later to support Patrick Pearse's Gaelic school, St. Enda's, in Dublin, and to raise funds for famine stricken schools in Connemara in 1913 under the condition that the children would say their prayers in Irish. The *Feis na Glenn*, an Irish culture festival, that took place in Glenariffe in 1904, was a turning point and would come to define his future actions. In Antrim he became acquainted with a group of activists and intellectuals, mostly Anglo-Irish Protestants, such as the historian Alice Stopford Green, Bulmer Hobson, Douglas Hyde, W.E.H. Lecky, Louisa Farquarson, Ada McNeill, Eoin McNeill, Francis Joseph Bigger, John Clark, Alice Milligan, among others, who had a common goal: to build a progressive and independent Ireland.

South America

[165] Gertrude writes that: "In his school days he begged from the aunt, with whom he spent his holidays, for possession of an attic room which he turned into a little study, and the writer remembers the wall papers with cartoons cut out of the weekly freemen, showing the various Irish nationalists who had suffered imprisonment at English hands for the sake of their belief in Ireland a nation". Roger Casement, "Introduction". In *Some Poems of Roger Casement* (Dublin: Talbot Pres, 1918).

[166] Already in Santos, in Brazil, Casement famously wrote to Alice Stopford Green (Santos, 20 April 1907): "I was on the high to being a regular imperialist jingo – altho' at heart underneath all & unsuspected almost to myself I remained an Irishman. Well, the war gave me qualms at the end – the concentration camps bigger ones – and finally when up in those lonely Congo forests where I found Leopold I found also myself – the incorrigible Irishman. […] I knew that the foreign office would not understand a thing – or that if they did they would take no action, for I realized then that I was looking at this tragedy with the eyes of another race – of a people once hunted themselves, whose hearts were based on affection as the root principle of contact with their fellow mean and whose estimate life was not of something eternally upraised at its market price." (qtd. in *Roger Casement in Brazil* 62)

After a brief posting in Lisbon, from which Casement resigned in 1904, he went to Ireland in 1906, where he remained idle and in debt, hence, eager to get back to work. In late 1906 Casement was offered a new posting either in Bilbao, Spain, or in Santos, Brazil[167]. He chose Santos (September 1906-January 1908), even though he did not have great expectations about the place, as he had told E.D. Morel: "I don't suppose I shall be forever in Santos – in spite of its name I fancy it is neither holy, saintly, nor healthy." (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 233) According to Angus Mitchell, Casement's new posting coincided with his determination in fighting against injustice, which would be reflected in his later writings, where he compared the evil effects of imperialism in Brazil and Ireland. He also went as far as to argue that the name "Brazil" had an Irish origin (*Roger Casement in Brazil* 75)[168].

Casement arrived in Santos in October, 1906, when tons of coffee left its port, the second largest in South America. His consular jurisdiction encompassed the southern Brazilian states of São Paulo and Paraná as well. Communication between these places was rudimentary and he was initially unhappy there, for all he did was deal with drunken sailors. Yet, in time he began to see the natural potentials and riches[169] of Brazil, about which he would soon begin to write once he realized the extent of exploitation and plundering that was already taking place in the northern part of the country. He missed home, so he asked Gertrude[170] to keep him posted about Ireland and the Congo.

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[167] The time Casement spent in Brazil and a few other South American countries has been approached in the book *Roger Casement in Brazil: Rubber, the Amazon and the Atlantic World (1884-1916)*, written by Angus Mitchell, edited by Laura Zuntini Patricia de Izarra, and translated into Portuguese by Mariana Bolfarine. The publication is also comprised of excerpts of letters and journals written while he was British Consul and during his time in the Peruvian Putumayo.

[168] Casement writes: "Strange as it may seem, Brazil owes her name not to her abundance of a certain dye-wood, but to Ireland. The distinction of naming the great South American country, I believe, belongs to Ireland and to an ancient belief as the Celtic mind itself" (NLI MS 13087, qtd. in Mitchell, *Roger Casement in Brazil* 75). According to Mitchell, in the Irish poetic imagination, Hy-Brazil expressed the idea of utopia, as it was a paradise island in the West coast of Ireland. The Brazilian Geraldo Cantarino has written about this in *Uma ilha chamada Brasil: o paraíso irlandês no passado brasileiro* (2004).

[169] In a letter to Mary Hutton in Belfast, he writes: "It is naturally a wonderfully rich country – with a very inert and vicious native population and worthless administration – yet in spite of evil government the prosperity of the country increases – so great are its natural resources and the fertility of its soil" (qtd. in O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 238)

[170] "[…] I ought never to have come to South America – after Africa and the life there I fear I shall not be able to stand this life ... send me news of Congo and Ireland –nothing else counts" RDC to Gertrude Banister, (qtd. in O' Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 237).

In February 1908 he took up a posting in Belém do Pará at the mouth of the Amazon River. The rubber economy had brought richness and development to Belém, which was a relatively modernized city. It had electric lighting on the streets, an efficient tram system, an opera house, as well as squares and botanical gardens; in effect, Casement liked it better than Santos. He published a focal report[171] about that region for the British Foreign Office where, according to Mitchell, his attentions were directed at the way in which such a rich government invested so little to improve public life, especially in terms of health and education. Moreover, Mitchell notes that this report also contains hints that the rubber industry, already booming at that time, could eventually come to an end, which would be problematic for an economy that relied solely on its extraction. He compared the rubber extractive economy to the trees from Irish forests that were completely depleted for timber[172]. These registers corroborate Casement's insights on ecology and the protection of the natural environment, which were ahead his time.

Casement's subsequent posting in Brazil was as British Consul-General in Rio de Janeiro (March 1909-August 1913) where he witnessed the last years of Baron of Rio Branco's administration as Minister of Foreign Affairs. He even reported on the death of the illustrious Brazilian writer, Euclides da Cunha[173], whose work[174] captures the social and economic processes taking place in the Amazon at that time. In these last years in Rio, his letters to Britain show that he continued to follow the activities of the

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[171] Diplomatic and Consular reports – Brazil – Report of the year 1907 and previous years on the trade the Consular District of Pará, No 4111 annual series [Cd. 3727-194] (*Roger Casement in Brazil* 28).

[172] According to Casement, "The great forest of Glancokyne, which covered a large portion of the modern counties of Tyrone and Derry and remained down to the last days Elizabeth a stronghold of Irish woodcrafts was almost destroyed within the next two reigns [...] it is a far cry from Lough Erne to the Amazon" (qtd. in *Roger Casement in Brazil* 74-75).

[173] Casement is critical of the way Brazilian media communicated Euclides da Cunha's death as "assassination", when he believed it was an act of self-defence on the part of the shooters. On 18/08/1909 he wrote: "A case that has convulsed all Brazil from President down is the shooting of Dr. Euclydes da Cunha, a distinguished literary man and civil engineer, who is universally acclaimed as one of the greatest Brazilians of the day … The newspapers speak of his 'assassination' which, to anyone who can read, it is plain that Dr. Cunha, far from bringing assassinated was shot in self-defence by two young men, cousins of his wife whom he had furiously attacked with a revolver and seriously wounded the elder of them, after firing the two shots into the wall as a warning to save his own life and that of his brother finally shot this bloodthirsty man." (qtd. in *Roger Casement in Brazil* 69).

[174] *À Margem da História* (1909), On the Margins of History, published posthumously, is a collection of essays, some of which about da Cunha's impressions on the rubber cycles in the Amazon.

CRA and was secretly planning the movement for the independence of Ireland from Britain. However, Casement's greatest achievement in terms of South American history would soon follow. In 1910, the Foreign Office assigned him a second trip to Brazil and the Peruvian capital of Iquitos, located in the upper Amazon, and from there to the Putumayo, a disputed territory between Brazil, Peru and Colombia, in the heart of the Amazon forest, to investigate allegations of atrocities committed against the natives. Accusations of the Putumayo atrocities were first reported in the periodical *Truth*[175] by the American explorer W.E. Hardenburg[176] who had witnessed the ill treatment of the Indians as rubber collectors who suffered severe flogging and even death by the employees of the Peruvian Amazon Company (PAC), run by the Arana brothers, Julio and Lizardo, and their brothers-in-law, Pablo Zumaeta and Abel Alarco. The rest of the world was unaware of the Putumayo atrocities whose roots lay in the extraction of rubber for, among reasons, the pneumatic tyre that was a fundamental piece to the glamorous Ford Model T, the first mass-produced automobile. Once the news about the atrocities emerged, the Anti-Slavery Society began to pressure the Foreign Office to take action.

Accordingly, the PAC directors based in London agreed to send a commission of inquiry to the Amazon and the Consul Roger Casement was supposed to report on the veracity of the accusations. The complication was due to the fact that the Indians were not under the empire's jurisdiction. However, there were hundreds of Barbadians, British subjects, employed as overseers and workmen for the station since 1903. Although the Commission was sent to inquire primarily on the condition of the Barbadians, Casement's attention was soon drawn to that of the Indians, natives of the Amazon, whose state was comparable, if not worse than that of the Congolese.

Casement began his own investigation by taking statements from the Barbadians, most of who were initially wary of him. Their testimonies substantiated his

[175] The periodical *Truth* was founded by the English politician Henry Labouchère in 1877.

[176] Walter Ernest Hardenburg published, also in 1912, *The Putumayo, the devil's paradise; travels in the Peruvian Amazon region and an account of the atrocities committed upon the Indians therein,* about his horrific experience in the Putumayo: "Under the Peruvian republic and the regimen of absentee capitalism to-day, tribes of useful people of this same land have been defrauded, driven into slavery, ravished, tortured, destroyed [...] In order to obtain rubber so that luxurious-tyred motor cars of civilization might multiply in the cities of Christendom, the dismal forests of the Amazon have echoed with the cries of despairing and tortured Indian aborigines. These are not things of the imagination, but a statement of factual occurrence, as set forth by the various witnesses in this volume" (*The Putumayo, the devil's paradise* 12).

suspicions. As for the natives, in essence they did not need to speak as their bodies communicated everything that could not be expressed in words. They were emaciated, and deeply cut by the floggings done to them with tapir hide whips. They were victims of the most inhuman tortures when imprisoned in the *cepo*[177], or when they were suspended by chains. Though Indians were not slaves in theory, they were in practice, as Casement noticed they were attached to their "employers" through a system of debt. They had to work hours on end, bringing in more and more rubber, and their wages would never be enough to pay the exorbitant prices that the supply stores asked. The items that were bought provided the Indians with the bare necessities such as food, clothing and even cigarettes.

In the ten weeks that Casement spent in the Putumayo, he recorded his actions, thoughts, observations, and interviews with the Barbadians, Indians and employees of the PAC, which, along with photographs taken with his camera, formed a substantive piece of evidence that was published as the *Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*[178]. According to Angus Mitchell the work represents an "extensive body of text produced from the profits of rubber and about the rubber industry [which] survives as the most emotive and instructive window into the last years of the Amazon rubber industry as the market boom for extractive rubber went bust" (*16 Lives*, p. 145). The *Amazon Journal of Roger Casement* is certainly an essential document for Brazilian and world history as it reveals Casement denouncing the consequences of the abuse of imperial power as well as a precursor of human rights.

After his return to London in 1911, Casement prepared two official reports handed to the British Foreign Office on March 17th, St. Patrick's Day, to which were attached the testimonies of the Barbadians. These reports reveal the mode of operation of the rubber extractive industry in the Putumayo and contain the names of the worst Putumayo criminals[179]. In this sense it differs from the one about the Congo, from

[177] The *cepo* was the equivalent to the stock, to where the Indians confined either when they did not bring in the rubber quota that was imposed on them, or when they broke any of the rules made by the Peruvian Amazon Company.

[178] The *Amazon Journal of Roger Casement,* published in 1997 by historian Angus Mitchell by Lilliput Press, Dublin, was translated into Spanish as *El Diario de la Amazonía* by Sonia Fernández Ordáz and its translation into Portuguese, organized by Laura Patricia Zuntini de Izarra and Mariana Bolfarine is forthcoming.

[179] The criminals mentioned were the Arana Brothers and in-laws, as well as the following chiefs of station: Abelardo Aguero, Alfredo Montt, Armando Normand, Augusto Jiménez, Aurélio Rodriguez, Elias Martinegui, Fidel Velarde and Inocente Fonseca.

which he was obliged to omit the names of the wrongdoers. As part of his brief, in August 1911 Casement returned to the Putumayo to follow up on the investigation. By this time, he was *persona non grata* to those who were still involved with the PAC. However, he made alliances with anti-Arana groups, including Rómulo Paredes, who had just finished an investigation on the Putumayo for the Peruvian government and whose report Casement translated into English, which added to his own investigation. Casement then returned to Europe via Washington, where, with the help of the British Ambassador James Bryce, he sought the support of President William Taft for the United States of America to act in favour of the Putumayo Indians. As recognition for Casement's actions in the Putumayo, King George V conferred him with a knighthood as recommended by Sir Edward Grey, which Casement hesitantly[180] accepted (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 309).

Casement's report, published as Blue Book[181] in July 1912, caused great indignation in Great Britain, contributing to the bankruptcy of the Peruvian Amazon Company. According to Robert Burroughs[182], the Putumayo report reveals a shift in late 19th and early 20th century travel writing about colonial atrocities since it is based on "open admission of the witness' angry response to violence" (*Travel Writing and Atrocities* 120). Burroughs affirms that Casement's travel account is unique as it not only draws together "centre" and "periphery", but it also expresses personal outrage in his discovering the "English" complicity with the Putumayo atrocities. Its style differs from Casement's factual and distanced Congo report, since there he played the role of a representative of the British Empire. In contrast, the Putumayo report is intimate while revealing his private feelings and perceptions about what he was actively witnessing. Casement's mission in the Putumayo was certainly a watershed in his consular career and was to determine all his future actions.

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[180] Casement's hesitance in accepting the knighthood is recorded in a letter thanking Alice Stopford Green on her Congratulations, in which he writes of accepting the title: "But there are many in Ireland who will think of me as a traitor – and when I think of that country, and of them, I feel I am" RDC to ASG, 21/06/1911, quoted in Inglis 194, and in Mitchell, *1911 Documents* 397-8).

[181] The Blue Book was published in London, 1912, as "Treatment of British Colonial Subjects and Native Indians Employed in the Collection of Rubber in the Putumayo district" (MITCHELL, 2010).

[182] This discussion is the subject of Mariana Bolfarine's review of "Roger Casement. Diario de la Amazonía (2011)", Angus Mitchell (ed.), *Ediciones del Viento*. In: *Estudios Irlandeses*, n. 7, 153-155, 2012.

In 1912, Prime Minister Asquith set up a Parliamentary Select Committee inquiry to which Casement continued to contribute with the help of informants in the Amazon. Nevertheless, Casement was now in ill health due to the Putumayo mission and he went to the Canary Islands. There he stayed at Quiney's Hotel in Las Palmas, from where he wrote to Charles Roberts, chairman of the select committee, and sent his Amazon Journal to be typed up and used as evidence at the Foreign Office (Mitchell, *16 Lives*). The time that Casement spent in South America will be approached in Chapter 1 in my analysis of the novel *The Lost World* by Arthur Conan Doyle, which tackles travel writing and the deleterious aftermath of imperialism.

Ireland and North America

An outbreak of typhoid epidemic in Connemara in the west of Ireland, only added to Casement's disillusionment with imperialism, revealed in an article by him which was published in *Irish Independent* under the heading "This Irish Putumayo"[183]. It compared the state of neglect suffered by the Irish in Connemara this time to the plight of the Amazonian Indians. Soon after, in May 1913, he went to Connemara and witnessed the suffering of his own people. Upon his return to Dublin, Casement wrote on the margins of a letter he received from Charles Roberts: "[…] Recd. in Dublin, on return from Connemara, 9 June 1913 at 11 pm very cold and tired with today's glimpse of the Irish Putumayo. Mavrone! The White Indians of Ireland are heavier on my heart than all the Indians of the rest of Earth" (Roberts to Casement qtd. in Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 356). This seems to have been a turning point for Casement who could no longer face another consular posting and saw no further meaning in pursuing a Consular career. He was left with no choice but to resign from his official duties, and matters in Ireland were to fill now the available time.

Casement's retirement from the Foreign Office coincided with a time of political agitation in the province of Ulster in the North of Ireland. In 1913, the Ulster Unionist Council, headed by Edward Carson, decided that a provisional government for Ulster would be set up if Home Rule were to be granted. Casement himself would advocate

[183] *Irish Independent,* 20/05/1913, p. 5 (qtd. in O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary*).

Home Rule and convince influential people, such as the writer Arthur Conan Doyle, to support self-government as well, as will be shown in Chapter 1. Casement delivered his first public speech at "A Protestant Protest" (qtd. in Mitchell, *16 Lives*), organized by Captain JR White in Ballymoney, along with historian Alice Stopford Green and several other influential speakers. Casement continued arguing for the separation of Ireland from Britain and, as he wrote in the *Fortnightly Review*, he was against the partition of Ireland for he believed religious differences should be overcome: "A separation of one people into two bodies, artificially achieved in the face of nature, is to be regarded as a natural law, and enforced in defiance of reason, judgement, and religion" [184].

Casement's piece was published on the same day as the famous article "The North Began" (Mitchell, *16 Lives* 182), by Eoin MacNeill[185], in *An Claidheamh Soluis*; that article prompted the formation of the Irish Volunteers[186] on 25 of November 1913, at the Rotunda. Casement helped draft the Manifesto that was read aloud on that same day (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 365) and MacNeill underscored the importance of his participation in the recruitment process. By now, the activities of the Volunteers were closely monitored by the Royal Irish Constabulary, who was also watching Casement, as he tried to set up the German Hamburg-Amerika line to keep Ireland connected to both the USA and Europe.

In the meantime, the North of Ireland was still facing tensions regarding the Home Rule Bill, which Ulster continued to reject, and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UFV), now an armed force, was mobilized to take action. After receiving a negative response from John Redmond, head of the Irish Party in Westminster, Casement and MacNeill decided to go ahead with the plans and a meeting was held on the following day in Alice Stopford Green's home on Grosvenor Road, London. There, influent nationalist intellectuals as Erskine Childers, Mary Spring Rice, Darrel Figgis, among others, joined Casement and MacNeill, and they succeeded in raising money and

[184] Casement, Roger, "Ulster and Ireland", *Fortnightly Review*, 1 November 1913, 799-806 (qtd. in O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 360)

[185] Irish nationalist Eoin MacNeill was a scholar, politician and one of the founders of the Irish Volunteers, of which he was Chairman.

[186] The Irish Volunteers was a nationalist military organization founded in 1913 in opposition to the formation of the Ulster Volunteers in the North of Ireland in 1912. The Volunteers fought in the 1916 Easter Rising forming the Irish Republican Army together with the Irish Citizen Army, the Irish Republican Brotherhood and other organizations.

planning the operation (Mitchell, 2013). This effort to arm the Volunteers became known as the "Howth gunrunning" when the group managed to transport on board the *Asgard* and the *Kelpie*, 1500 Mauser rifles, and 45.000 rounds of ammunition from Germany (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 376) and land them in Ireland on 26 July, 1914, while Casement was seeking support from the Irish in the USA.

By the end of June 1914, Casement had also resigned the Provisional Committee due to a rift incited by John Redmond[187] between Tom Clarke and Bulmer Hobson – both members of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers – over negotiations between the Irish Parliamentary Party and the Irish Volunteers, after a meeting held on 16 June. Soon after, on 28 June, news spread about the assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. This event was a turning point in terms of world history and in the course of Irish politics, concerning the Home Rule Bill. The time coincided with Casement's last public appearance in Ireland, after which he left for the United States in a fund raising campaign for the Volunteers.

Subsequently to Casement's arrival at the Belmont Hotel in New York on 18 July, he met the Norwegian Sailor Eivind Adler Christensen, who asked Casement for help to find work. As it will be shown in Chapter 2, this meeting would play a deleterious role in Casement's future life. Two days later Casement met John Devoy, headman of the *Clan na Gael*, the Irish American nationalist organization that agreed to help Casement raise funds for the Volunteers. From New York, Casement headed to Philadelphia to meet Joe McGarrity, who was to become quite close to him. It was in MacGarrity's home that Casement learned of the news of the Howth gunrunning that had been planned months before. Subsequently, Casement received a telegram informing him that the mission had been successful, but that it was followed by a shooting and killing of three men on Bachelor's Walk in Dublin.

On 4 August, after the invasion of Belgium by Germany, Britain declared War and Casement was deeply affected by the news. Apart from continuing to write and publish polemical essays[188], Casement's next step was to seek the support of Germany,

[187] John Redmond was an Irish nationalist leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party and member of House of Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. After several attempts, in 1914 his Party finally achieved Home Rule, which meant self-government of Ireland. However, Home Rule was again delayed due to the outbreak of World War I.

[188] According to O'Síocháin (*Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary)*, Casement wrote a series of polemical essays first published as *Ireland, Germany and the Freedom of the Seas: a Possible Outcome of the W*

which he saw as a rising power, unlike France and Britain. He believed the Irish people should not enlist to fight for Britain in the war, but instead fight for the independence of Ireland. On October 13, with the financial help of the *Clan na Gael* and of the Austrian Embassy, a journey to Berlin was planned and Casement, along with Adler Christensen, who was by now his manservant, travelled to Christiania (Oslo) on board the *Oskar II*. Casement and Christensen's arrival in Norway was followed by Casement's discovery of a plot made by the British legation to assassinate Casement. He later named this the "Findlay Affair",[189] which remains an object of controversy. Regardless of the version one chooses to credit, its outcome was to determine Casement's fate, for the British were closely following his steps. Casement then made his way to the German Foreign Office where he handed in a recommendation letter written for him in Washington by von Bernstorff. On the next day, Casement was told that Richard Meyer, an employee of the German Foreign Office was to accompany him to Berlin.

Germany

of 1914 (NY and Philadelphia, Irish Press Bureau, September 1914) that came out as a second edition entitled *The Crime Against Europe* (Berlin: *The Continental Times*, 1915).

[189] The official version alleges that Christensen went to the British Legation claiming that he could provide information on Casement, who was by now involved in a conspiracy between Ireland, Britain and Germany. According to British officials, Francis Lindley and Mandsfelt de Cardonnel Findlay, Christensen also implied that "their relations were of an unnatural nature and that consequently he had great power over this man who trusted him absolutely" (qtd. in O'Síocháin, Findlay to Grey, 31/10/1914, PRO FO 95/776, Inglis 289 and Reid 214). Also, during their trip to Norway, Chirstensen is said to have revealed their identities and to have handed over Casement's documents to British officials during the interception of the vessel *Oskar II* by the HMS *Hibernia*. Casement's version is that Christensen was approached by a member of the British legation at the lobby of the Grand Hotel in Christiania and was driven to the British legation; as a result Casement and Christensen decided that they would play their game. Christensen returned there the next day and Findlay not only told him "if someone knocked Casement on the head he would get well-paid" (O' Síocháin, Imperialist*, Rebel, Revolutionary* 393), but also promised Christensen a reward of £5,000 for handing Casement over.

Casement, under the name of Mr Hammond, and Christensen arrived in Berlin on 31 October 1914. Casement reported to Washington and asked for a priest to be dispatched in Germany via Christiania and to tell his friend Joseph Bigger in Belfast, to conceal everything belonging to him (O'Síocháin*, Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 397). On 16 November Casement left Berlin for the military headquarters at Charleville, on the French Front. He left with Kuno Meyer to Cologne and, on the way, the car passed through Belgium, where Casement witnessed the widespread destruction caused by German domination[190]; he could not help but draw a parallel with the Congo Free State under the reign of Leopold II. In Charleville, Casement met with Baron Kurt von Lersner and they discussed the complications of forming the Irish Brigade, one of which was the task of differentiating Irish Catholics from the other prisoners of war.

Casement's initial plans in seeking German support for the Irish fight for independence was for help in forming the Irish Brigade, ceding arms and ammunition and engagement in a propaganda campaign to raise German awareness in relation to the Irish matter and improve Irish-American opinion in relation to Germany. However Casement's efforts were fading out as the "Findlay Affair" drained much of his energy (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 393-401). German officials were by now suspicious of Christensen and they retained the note that was actually written by Findlay promising Christensen £5,000 if he handed Casement to British Official. The note was handed to Meyer and kept from Casement, who only learned of its existence much later. Although Casement made efforts to use it in a letter and get it published, it never was.

German officials, such as Captain Rudolf Naldony, were losing faith in Casement and in his mission. By the end of November, 1914, about 400 prisoners had been moved to a concentration camp in Limburg to where Casement headed in early December along with two Irish priests. There, Casement met with the Irish prisoners and explained to them his mission. The response of the prisoners was mixed; most of them nurtured anti-German feelings and feared they would become traitors to Britain.

[190] Casement later wrote: "I nearly wept as I looked at these pitiable evidences of a sorrow that is now, perhaps, the chief national assist of the Belgian people… I feel that there may be this awful lesson to the Belgian people a repayment. All that they now suffer and far more, they, and their King, his Government and his officers, wreaked on the well-nigh defenceless people of the Congo basin." (qtd. in O' Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 399)

Casement's mission only regained momentary strength after the visit of one of the Irish rebel leaders, Joseph Mary Plunkett, on 20 April, who also spoke to the German military authorities and members of the Brigade in Limburg. He brought news of plans concerning the rebellion in Ireland and requested arms for the uprising, which were emphatically denied by Captain Naldony. Casement was already losing hope when Irish Official Robert Monteith[191] was sent to Germany by the United States. After several unfruitful attempts to recruit prisoners for the Brigade, Monteith records how ill Casement had become: "No arms have yet arrived, usual parades. SRC [Sir Roger Casement] very ill. I am afraid his mind is going, disappointment after disappointment has broken him." (Monteith Diary, 7/1/1916, qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 430) For that reason, Casement was sent to a sanatorium in Münich, but Monteith would keep him informed.

Easter Rising 1916

[191] Captain Robert Monteith, born in Wicklow, 1879, was enlisted in the Irish Volunteers in 1913 and was selected by rebel leader Tom Clark to join Casement to help train the Irish Prisoners of War in Limburg camp in Germany, in 1916. After Casement's death, Monteith wrote a memoir, *Casement's Last Adventure* (1932), which is Monteith's account of the time he spent in the Irish Volunteers, his trip to Germany to join and help Roger Casement, their subsequent journey in the *U19* German submarine to Tralee, Ireland, and his actions until 1917.

Eventually, a message arrived in Germany from John Devoy requesting artillery, rifles and ammunition, as a rebellion was scheduled to take place in Ireland on Easter Sunday, 1916. Monteith headed to Münich to tell Casement and they returned to Berlin. Although Casement did not agree with the planned rebellion[192] he decided to go ahead and do his best to meet with Devoy's request. He was aware that without the Brigade the arms would be of little use and the whole enterprise would turn out worthless. Nevertheless after several meetings with Captain Naldony, it was arranged that arms would be shipped to Ireland in the *AUD*, a German steamer under a Norwegian flag. Casement, Monteith and Daniel Julian Bailey, known as Sargent Beverley, were to go on board a German U-Boat, a submarine, without the members of the Brigade.

According to O'Síocháin (2004), John Devoy wrote in *The Irish World* about how the British government aimed at destroying the Irish Volunteers and introduces compulsory service. This gave Casement the strength he needed to go on with his plans for, he believed it was "[…] better for Irishmen to fight at home and resist conscription by force than to be swept into the shambles of England's continental war and lose their lives in an unworthy cause" (*Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 434). This feeling was intensified after Casement received a letter from Joseph Plunkett confirming that the Rising would take place on Easter Sunday. By Easter Monday arms should be sent to Tralee Bay and that a submarine would be required for the Dublin harbour.

However, Captain Karl Spindler of the *AUD* miscalculated the arrival time to Tralee: it should have been on the 20th April, and not the 21st. The vessel ended up being intercepted by the British and scuttled by her crew on the next day. Finally, on 12 April, Casement, Monteith and Bailey left for Ireland on board of the submarine, under the command of Captain Raimund Weissbach, who aimed to meet the *AUD*. Upon their arrival five days later in the early hours of the 20th of April, there was no sign either of the *AUD* or of the Volunteers. Weissbach decided to send the passengers ashore on a small lifeboat, which capsized before reaching Banna Strand. Monteith and Bailey set

[192] In Casement's words: "The whole Project took my breath away. I had come prepared to discuss the best means of landing arms in Ireland and found myself confronted with a proposal for a 'rebellion' in Ireland I believe to be wholly futile at best, and the worst something I dreaded to think of" (RDC to von Wedel, 30/3/1916, qtd. in O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 432).

off for Tralee while Casement remained in McKenna's fort, a fairy ring[193]. Casement was glad to be home, as later wrote to his sister Nina[194].

Nevertheless, after some local witnesses reported to the Royal Irish Constabulary in Ardfert of having seen strange men on the beach, Casement was found and taken by constable Bernard Riley. Once arrested, Casement tried to convince the local doctor Michael Shanahan and the priest Father F.M. Ryan to deliver a message to Eoin MacNeill, in Dublin, to stop the Rising, as there would be no support from Germany. Monteith tried to get help to rescue Casement, but did not succeed. Casement was, thus, taken to Dublin where he was searched and interrogated by Sargent Frederick Whittaker at Arbour Hill Prison. He arrived in London on 23 April, Easter Sunday, was first taken to Brixton Prison and from there to Scotland Yard to be questioned by Chief Commissioner Basil Thompson[195], chief of naval intelligence Captain Reginald Hall, and Superintendent Patrick Quinn.

Thomson told Casement that the Rising, which sought to liberate Ireland from Great Britain, began two days after his interrogation: "Since I saw you yesterday what we thought would happen has happened. There has been more or less a Rising in Dublin, and a good many have been killed, and that is all the good that proceeded from your expedition" (qtd. in Mitchell, *16 Lives* 273). The Irish Citizen Army and the Volunteers had decided to go ahead with their initial plans. Less than 1600 men actually took part in the Rising and several important buildings were seized, such as the General Post Office, where the Proclamation of Independence was signed and read by the following leaders of the Rebellion: Patrick Pearse, Thomas, Clarke, Sean McDermott, Joseph Plunkett, James Connolly, Éamonn Céannt, and Thomas MacDonagh.

193 A fairy fort, or fairy ring, is an elevated piece of land that should remain untouched according to Celtic mythology and folklore, but where today stands a monument in the memory of the three men, Casement, Monteith and Bailey.

194 "Although I knew that this fate waited on me I was for one brief spell happy and smiling once more. I cannot tell you what I felt. The sand hills were full of skylarks, rising in the damp, the first I had heard for years – the first sound I hear through the surf was their song as I waded in through the breakers, and they kept rising all the time up the old wrath at Currahne where I stayed and sent the others on, and all round were primroses and wild violets and the singing of the skylarks in the air, and I was back in Ireland again (RDC to Nina, 25/7/1916), NLI MS 13600, qtd. in O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 440).

195 Sir Basil Thomson was a British High Intelligence Officer at Scotland Yard involved in spreading the rumours about the *Black Diaries* to undermine Casement's pleas for clemency. Curiously, in 1952, Thomson was "found in flagrante delicto" supposedly with a prostitute called Thelma de Lava. (McDiarmid 197)

Meanwhile, British authorities at the Home Office were trying to decide whether Casement would have a military or a civil trial, while he was kept in isolation in the Tower of London. Although Casement did not participate directly in the Rising, as he was not in Dublin fighting beside the members of the Irish Volunteers, Irish Republican Brotherhood[196] and the Irish Citizen Army[197], he did all that was within his reach to collaborate with it, even at a distance. The second section of Chapter 1 approaches Casement as a hero in the novel *At Swim, Two Boys* by Jamie O'Neill. Although Casement is physically absent, his shadow was definitely looming before, during and after the Rising.

[196] The Irish Republican Brotherhood, whose members are known as the Fenians, was a secret organization founded in 1858 that aimed to found a democratic Irish republic. It was extended to the Irish Americans in the United States, where it is known as the *Clan na Gael*, which in Casement's time was chaired by John Devoy and Joseph McGarrity.

[197] The Irish Citizen Army stemmed from the Irish Transport General Workers' Union, and was founded in 1913 by James Connolly, Jack White and James Larkin.

Trial

News that the 1916 Rising had taken place in Dublin reached Roger Casement in Scotland Yard while he was being interrogated by Sir Basil Thomson on yet another issue which would lead to the major controversy that still surrounds the legacy of this polemical Irishman: "Have you got some trunks at 50 Ebury Street? I propose having them down and examined" (qtd. in O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 443). Casement's response is recorded as affirming that there was nothing in them. The content of the trunks were later labelled by the Home Office as the *Black Diaries*, intimate journals of homosexual and erotic content that were strategically "discovered" at the after Casement was taken under arrest.

The time of Casement's imprisonment was of great anxiety to his cousins Gertrude and Elizabeth Bannister. The two sisters went through what Gee termed as "ten days of cruelty" (*Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary*, 443) trying to get news of Casement from the Home Office, the Secretary of War, Scotland Yard and the Treasury. This hurdle is approached in the works of both playwrights, Patrick Mason's *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012) and David Rudkin's *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* (1974), respectively in Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation. Gertrude's treatment by the British authorities, coupled with her dismissal from the school where she had been head for so many years due to her associations with "a traitor", is proof that those related to Casement would suffer the consequences of his treachery as well.

Casement's trial – which will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 2 about the novel *The Dream of the Celt* (2010) by Mario Vargas Llosa, and the radio play *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* (2012) by Patrick Mason – was soon to be arranged by some members of Casement's family, friends and supporters. He was to undergo a civil trial and the solicitor George Gavan Duffy, son of the nationalist Sir Charles Gavan Duffy offered to act in favour of Casement, who wanted to defend himself, with the help of George Bernard Shaw who offered to write him a speech that would "thunder down the ages" (qtd. in O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 447). Conversely,

his cousin Gertrude and his loyal friend Alice Stopford Green, who were seeking financial support to pay a first-rate lawyer, convinced Casement (and Shaw) that he was unfit to defend himself and face the court. Gavan Duffy was having trouble finding someone willing to confront the Irish Unionist Barrister Edward Carson, and the Attorney-General Lord Frederick Edwin Smith[198], but he managed to convince his brother-in-law, Alexander Martin O'Sullivan, to accept the case.

During the trial, which lasted four days, F.E. Smith highlighted the fact that Casement had been an impeccable civil servant and his turning into an Irish nationalist was incoherent and displayed a mixture of fanaticism and impulsivity, with no political or intellectual motivations (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary*). O'Sullivan, his attorney, claimed that Casement, as an Irishman, did not commit a treasonous act, for his country was Ireland and not England, and he cites also the example of the arming of the Ulster Volunteers in opposition to the Home Rule Bill. O'Sullivan was finally interrupted by the Lord Chief Justice who claimed he did not have evidence to sustain such argument. O'Sullivan apologized and admitted to the court he had completely broken down.

Artemus Jones, member of the defence Council, replaced O'Sullivan's on the next day still following his argument according to which, since Casement's actions were taken in favour of Ireland and not Germany his gunrunning efforts "would be a charge framed under the Defence of the Realm Act". He continued, "The point I make is that it is not high treason or adhering to the enemies of the King within the Empire of Germany" (qtd. in O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 456). The jury found him guilty: "The duty now devolves upon me of passing sentence upon you, and it is that you be taken to a lawful prison, and thence to a place of execution, and that you be there hanged by the neck until you be dead" (qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary,* 459).

Casement was given the chance to address the court, and he delivered his famous Speech from the Dock, which focussed firstly on his right, as an Irishman, to be judged by an Irish court, and secondly on his wish for a united and independent

[198] Sir Frederick Edwin Smith, or Lord Birkenhead, was the Attorney General who led the case against Roger Casement in 1916.

Ireland[199]. He was then transferred from Brixton to Pentonville Prison in London when his friends and supporters, led by Gertrude Bannister and Alice Green, began to organize petitions for a reprieve of the death sentence placed upon him. The campaign involved many influential writers and intellectuals bewildered by the news especially due to their knowledge of the humanitarian work Casement had been physically and mentally engaged with. Among them are writers Eva Gore-Booth, Alice Milligan, Mary Childers, William Cadbury, A.R. Dryhurst, G.P. Gooch, Francis W. Hirst, J.A. Hobhouse, Stephen Gwynn, and the Bloomsbury group (Mitchell *16 Lives*). In addition, The Negro Fellowship Association organized a petition in favour of Casement from the United States along with John Quinn (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 465). Clement Shorter and Arthur Conan Doyle, as it will be mentioned in Chapter 1 also stood as one of his main supporters until his execution and after.

In contrast, there were those who did not sign the petition for, among other reasons, the War. The Battle of the Somme had taken place on 1 July 1916 and its occurrence certainly influenced many would be supporters who had lost relatives and friends, such as E. D. Morel, Herbert Ward, the writers Joseph Conrad, H. G. Wells and Rudyard Kipling (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 464). British ambassador James Bryce kept his support private, as did William Butler Yeats. The latter Irish poet and playwright, tried not to meddle with politics during his life and hence did not sign the petition, though he did write to the Home Secretary be convinced that he was convinced that "the execution of Sir Roger Casement will have so evil effect that I break this habit of years."[200] (W. B. Yeats qtd. in O´Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 464)

Hopes for clemency of Casement and his supporters would soon vanish after Scotland Yard became aware of the box in containing three diaries for the years 1903, 1910, 1911 and a ledger. The Home Office Secretary, Sir Ernley Blackwell[201], who drew attention to its indecency, closely examined the documents:

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[199] "We aimed at winning the Ulster Volunteers to the cause of a united Ireland. We aimed at uniting all Irishmen in a natural and national bond of cohesion based on mutual self-respect. […] Self-Government is a right, a thing born with us at birth, a thing no more to be doled out to us, or withheld from us, by another people than the right to life itself – than the right to feel the sun, or smell the flowers, or to love our kind" (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 458).

[200] WB Yeats to Home Secretary also quoted in Bolfarine, 2014.

[201] Sir Ernley Blackwell was legal advisor to the Home Office who argued against Casement's reprieve. (O'Síocháin, *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary)*

> Casement's diary and his ledger entries covering many pages of closely typed matter show that he has for years been addicted to the grossest sodomitical practices. Of late years he seems to have completed the full cycle of sexual degeneracy and from a pervert he has become an invert – a 'woman' or phatic who derives his satisfaction from attracting men and inducing them to use him. […] (Blackwell, memos, 15/07/1916 and 17/07/1916, Cabinet papers, PRO HO 144/1363…53, qtd. in *Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary* 468).

Copies of the pages of the so-called *Black Diaries* were made and shown to the defence counsel to prevent the appeal from going further. The appeal was scheduled for 17 July, and, according to Mitchell, O'Sullivan directed his argument on the 1351 Treason stature, that he was "adherent to the King's enemies in his realm giving them aid and comfort in the realm and elsewhere" (qtd. in Mitchell, *16 Lives* 321), claiming that if a comma were placed between "realm" and "giving", there would be a change in the meaning of the sentence and that Casement would therefore not be guilty of treason. Nevertheless, the appeal was dismissed and Casement was executed on 3 August 1916. Casement's transfer to Pentonville Prison until his execution will be explored in detail in the Chapter 2, in *The Dream of the Celt* and *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*, which offer different perspectives of the same historical event, particularly with regards to the *Black Diaries* and Casement's alleged homosexuality.

Casement wrote farewell letters to his family and closest friends and received spiritual comfort from Father Thomas Carrey, a Limerick priest and a Catholic chaplain at Pentonville prison. When Casement then expressed his wish to become a Catholic it was discovered that he had been secretly baptized as a child and that he could reconcile with the Church under the condition that he sign a recantation, or "apology" as proof of being repentant of his sins[202], which he refused. Casement was finally taken into the

[202] Cardinal Bourne, archbishop of Westminster, asked him to sign a recantation "expressing sorrow for any scandal he might have caused by his acts, public or private" (qtd. in Reid 1976, p. 439).

Catholic faith under the *articulo mortis*, hours before the execution. According to B. L. Reid (1976), Ellis, the executioner, said Casement was "the bravest man it fell upon my unhappy lot to execute" (448). Soon after mass, he was taken to the gallows of Pentonville Prison and was hanged.

Afterlife

As W. B. Yeats famously expressed in the poem "The Ghost of Roger Casement" (1936), the story of this polemical Irishman was far from over after his death. There are two main reasons for this. The first and more immediate was Casement's burial in quicklime within the grounds of Pentonville Prison, despite Gavan Duffy's pleas for his body to be handed over to his cousins Elizabeth and Gertrude Bannister. Sir Ernley Blackwell, as legal advisor to the Home Office, refused affirming that the Punishment Amendment Act of 1868, section 6, stipulated that "the body of every offender executed shall be buried within the walls of the prison within which judgement of death is executed on him" (Reid 449). However, it was later discovered that Sir Ernley omitted the section of the amendment that stated that this law was only to be applied for murderers. Hence, "the man who 'never hurt a human being'" (Reid 449) was ironically left to be buried among those who had indeed taken other people's lives. The efforts to grant Casement's wish, expressed to his cousin Gee, to be buried in Murlough Bay[203], in Northern Ireland, not in Pentonville, and nor in Glasnevin Cemetery, in Dublin, to where his remains were taken in 1965, after several attempts. This will be the subject of my analysis of Rudkin's *Cries for Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin* (1974), and Annabel Davis-Goff's *The Fox's Walk*, in Chapter 3, concerned with his "Afterlife".

The second issue that has deeply affected Casement's legacy is his alleged homosexuality, which has led to heated dispute between biographers and historians. On the one hand there are those who believe that the *Black Diaries* have overshadowed not only Casement's undeniable contribution to the birth of human rights through his

[203] In Pentonville Prison, while awaiting his execution, he asked his cousin Gertrude, "Go back to Ireland, and don't let me lie here in this dreadful place – take my body back with you and let it lie in the old churchyard in Murlough Bay" (qtd. in Reid 434).

actions in the Congo, the Amazon and in Ireland, but have also obfuscated his collaboration with the Easter Rising. Robert Mansergh and Angus Mitchell[204] (Daly, 2005), for instance, claim the British intelligentsia forged the *Diaries* in order to prevent a reprieve and to keep Casement from achieving martyrdom once he was hanged. In the *Amazon Journal of Roger Casement* (1997) Mitchell dedicated an extensive section arguing for forgery, pinpointing inconsistencies between the white diaries, that Casement aimed for publication after his death, and the 1911 *Black Diaries*, which were supposedly written simultaneously. Mitchell argues that the *Black Diaries* have been accepted wholeheartedly and the sexual subtext has been tailored discreetly into the biographical suit of Casement's life to produce, what he calls, the 'whole man' (Daly 104). Mitchell affirms that since their partial release in 1959, the *Black Diaries* have been billed as an exceptional historical source, having created a certain "imbalance" in the interpretation of Casement by both Britain and Ireland as he remained, in his own words, "a peculiar riddle embedded in both the history of Anglo-Irish politics and the politics of Anglo-Irish history." (qtd. in Daly 99)

Conversely, biographers Brian Inglis (1973) and B. L. Reid (1976), who conducted research at the Public Record Office in London at the same time as playwright David Rudkin and biographer Jeffrey Dudgeon (2002), believe in the authenticity of the *Black Diaries*. Reid suggested that they must be taken very seriously as evidence of Casement's personality and his active homosexuality. However, Reid notes that what matters is what weight we give to this point. Reid also believes that Inglis could have been right "in his reticent decision to leave Casement 'as fragmented and elusive as ever'. For he was fragmented and he was elusive: he was defined not by coherency but by complex tensions barely contained" (Reid xv).

More recently, biographer Roger Sawyer (1984) claims to have changed his mind about the *Diaries* being forged alleging that he eventually "just [knew] they [were] the products of his own personality" (91). Sawyer writes that "It should not be too difficult [for 1990s Ireland] to accept that one of its national icons was a homosexual", and from here "move on to more positive aspects of his life and work". Anthropologist Séamas O'Síocháin has also written an extensive biography (2008), after having published Casement's Congo report and Journal (2002), in which he does

[204] Both Mansergh and Mitchell have underscored the forgery of the *Black Diaries* in *Roger Casement in Irish & World History*. Mary E. Daly (Ed.). Dublin: *Royal Irish Academy*, 2005.

not deny Casement's alleged homosexuality, and in fact, refutes Mitchell's arguments that sustain the forgery theory.

I would like to underscore that this study does not seek to answer questions concerning the forgery issue, but to present the different ways the disputed *Black Diaries* controversy has continuously shaped the creation of current dramatic and fictional versions of this polemical Irishman and to answer the following question: has the image of Casement become inseparable from his homosexual identity? The answer will probably depend on several issues concerning the time and place the work was written and published, and by whom. The implications of the *Black Diaries*, that still surround Casement's afterlife, are inevitably approached in five of the six works selected for this dissertation that were written after Casement's death. Yet, it should be added that the aim of this dissertation is to show the different facets of Casement depicted in literary works; it will by no means be restricted to the theme of homosexuality, or to the proving of Casement as a homosexual.

ATTACHMENT 2

Transcription of Roger Casement's "The Dream of the Celt"

Large limbed were they and of a mightiest race
Than Greek or Phrysian of the tale Divine
Which Homer told, when in search of a hero's face
On looking Gods their lineaments might trace.
And of each wondrous deed say – "That is mine"!

These had no guilty Gods to give them birth;
Strong were they with the strength of human kind,
Born of the Northward Sea and humid Earth,
Strength of the hills was theirs and Valley's worth,
Sons of the mist they were and Sun combined.

On many a cliff and headland high they stood
At dawn to free the gilding East inspire:
There lay the God who smote their sons to blood –
The sea birds screamed, and in a low oakwood
Their frosty breath compelled an Altar's fire.

And in the shadow of the rigid trees
The victim saw the Dawn, and knew it Death:
Faces shouting crowd and priest and flaming seas
And fiery Altar with undaunted knees,
And gasped his Crannoge cry with latest breath.

Sins had they, but their sins were of the prime,
Not mean and grasping, shoddy of the mart;
Large as their limbs accordant with their time,
Wrought with a strength, held weakness for a crime,
And writ with blood fresh from human heart.

Their fight was to the strong and they slew
Wife, slave and plunder were their simple aim.

These from the fight with the mighty deed they drew,
Nor recked in death if after ages knew
But trod unknown the wanton ways of fame.

The very beasts they chased of giant mould,
Their hunting dog of a fantastic height.
Theirs was the Earth at flood and none might hold
His footing save by deeds so vastly bold
We can but hope our thews [?] are braced aright.

Such were the Celtic fathers of our land,
And whence they came from, what forgotten clan,
Fame hath nor word – beyond her bourn they stand.
Creation uncreate and from this hand
Erin took shape and gave herself to man.

Before the Teuton and the Gaul were worth
With stately Rome and long eve Roman
And fling the tarquin form her with an oath
From vow'd, our island plighted troth.
To Celtic wooer still to be his bride.

Age-long he holds her with his deathless lyers
Wherein the fist a binding shadow throws:
She knows their meaning, and not otherwise
Would have her fate, but bears all constancies
Of ill with faith more constant than her wools.

And those who say you have no strength to be
For ever long to one strong purpose wed,
Have they not seen the deep, unwearied sea
Shift to light winds, yet evermore keep fresh
The solemn stillness of the primal bed?

So, in thy soul deeps, Erin, there is room
For sunny tides to greet the land they bore,
And die in laughter who their birth be gloom –
Yet through them all we still may hear the boom
Of unsung seas upon an unsung shore!

There shall he stand the "dark untutor'd" Celt,
Unlearned of any, yet God – breath'd upon –
Then shall be seen in feat, what now is felt
Only by few, whose minds in magic melt,
Like mists invaded by an unseen sun.

[?] let the past in sunrise go,
With all its misty horrors on it's head
Stout Henry's purpose wrought with bastard blow,
The Celt too quick to trust, the Saxon slow –
Yet sure to work his will however red.

And she, that impious Queen to England great,
But only great to Ireland in the wrong
She heaped upon it from a heart where hate,
Usurping Nature, held imperious state,
In human to a height that baffles long –

Elizabeth! When England dare not names
Thy deeds – how can an Irish heart forget!
The reddest jewel in your crown of fame,
Was Erin – work with blood, and rent with flame,
By your white hands thus deftly wrought and set.

Ah! Maiden Queen whose jewelled hand of State
Wrote then a page no Mother's hand writ,
Far better hads't thou chosen for thy mate
The least of all those screaming lords, slate
That unwed Queens far from their people sit.

For hasn't thou been a Mother, and thy womb
Leapt with some unborn son to bear thy name
Through mightiest Henrys - what transcendent doom
Had fame decreed thee – but the childless tomb,
Willed for the Celt, God save thy narrower fame.

Enough – let sleep the memory of those days
When fire and murder worked their sovran will:
Erin no more that toll of slaughter pays,
The end wrings Celt the longest wrong outstays.
And strong in love can sigh and pardon still.

The Race lives on: – gone is the Tudor wraith,
Gone with her thin lipped, vexed virginity;
And Ireland's Mother heart and Mother faiths.
Resurgent with a love no hate can scathe,
Gives back the warming tide from sea to sea.

Hunted with axe and sword: from law expelled:
Banned on the hillside led the Soggarth still;
The Altar's spell held where no Treaty held –
Hands hung obedient through the heart rebelled,
Else murder oft had donned the judge's will!

When England's headless Charles or homeless James
Kings of a race who never kept their word –
Found their last hope in Erin, history blame
The faithful Celt – but oh! What mightier shames –
And theirs who slew their king nor never stirred!

Loyal, forsooth: but loyal to their purse,
Touch that and every oath is minted quick
From gold to copper, and a pauper's hearse
Takes such allegiance – while the "rebel" Ersa
Died for a king who robbed each dead Kearne's rick.

If loyalty be something less than lover
And more than Law – then was the headsmen leal
And from wall loyal; while the heads above
Grim Dublin's keep – ah! Never left less grove! –
Were heads of "traitors" – hap'ly called O'Neill.

Old Torley Boy, the Celt hath many heads,
Yet but one heart that beats for Ever truer;
Those awful resigns writ in such vital reds
Have left it beating still, and still it shreds
Across our plains its rain of marvellous dew.

If loyalty be something more than song,
And less than noisy crowd where pageants pass,
Than surely hath our race the right to throng
The field of history, with a roll as long
As death raised ever in the patriot grass.

Steadfast and true we hold our right to keep
Those graves still green; and still to Dream the wind
Tinges mighty some poor rebel's soul to sleep,
Yet hold our loyalty as not less deep –
Taking no sentence from a transient mind.

We have been true, we have not changed our mood;
Our love for Ireland grows within that green,
And lo, there steps within the holy rood,
First of her race to trust the rebel brood
A woman, and a Mother – and our Queen.

Behold how trusting is a gracious heart –
Filled with more wisdom than her century's law.
The woman and the Mother plays the part
No King could capture trusting to the art
Fills graves with dead, but never souls with awe.

O! We have bled – and lived through Tudor hate:
And wept our headless clans – and kept our heads;
And pondered on the ways we still must wait
The storm that showed release in sudden spate
Our pent up wrath to wash away that dread.

And beaming on the hilltops see the sun
Of Freedom's spears descending on the isle –
And lo – the long lost field by love is won:
Our wrongs where are they? – and our tears they run
Not loosed by strife but at our monarch's smile.

This was no midday Queen to come at noon.
And pass ere evening brings its shadow'd dial
She came when sorrow checked the mother's croon;
She came to share the mourner's caoine – alboon [?]
Death harps for of ten to a King's denial.

When to our old time dead we honour show,
Think not because we cannot let them die,
We fair would keep despite of long ago
Stiff round our hearts, like haggard thorns, to throw
Grass-robbing shadows where the Sun should lie.

Not so – our hearts are made of other mould;
Stiff though they be, and badged by stiffer mouth;
Theirs is the rose that from the winters hold
Shakes free, and all the fairer for his cold
Breaks into blossom when the wind is South.

Blow Southern wind that brings the gust of war,
Spring's in our hearts, a breath had made it bloom
There, where the red Iugald [?] like a scar,
Lashes the front of England, who shall bar
Erin from sharing in that bloody tomb?

And see, our Shamrock's tiny clasp unfolds
This trinity of union found in death.
If from the Earth of graves such hope it moulds,
What Hope must shine across those glorious worlds
Where God accepts the dying soldier's breath!

Here, where a cross for Irish Valour stands,
O! England in thy heart there forms a dread
Shaping itself from God's enlarging hands,
That thou, so frankly free to alien lands,
Forged only fathers for these kindred dead: –

A dread which slowly merges into grief,
And grief divinely touching things amiss,
Shall make this Cross of Empire thy relief –
The crucifix of Christ's repentant thief! –
And Erin guide thee upward – with a kiss.

Take thou thy burden: mighty souls grow larger
As duties harden and as pleasures melt;
When hate assails thee, lay not down thy charge,
Hast thou not Erin's bosom for thy target –
Who wounds the Saxon first must slay the Celt.

Closing together now we see by love
Transfigurating skies we never knew,
Were Nights' eternal margin, and above
Earth's discords hear the reconciling dove –
Death is not Dark, but only deeper blue!

Roger Casement Papers NLI MS,082/2viii

ATTACHMENT 3

Interview with Patrick Mason

Medium: Interview and transcription

Place: Westbury Hotel, Dublin

Date: 04/03/2014

The publication of the complete version of this interview is forthcoming by the WB Yeats Chair of Irish Studies.

MB: Why do you think Casement's legacy in the Congo, especially in the Putumayo, remains unknown today?

PM: At the time it made a big difference. A lot of this has to do with the blackening of people's names. That once Casement was arrested and tried for treason all those business interests that were involved in the exploitation of the Putumayo Indians, all of them across the island said this man cannot be believed, he is a traitor, he has obviously blackened our names, so his report was untrue. The fact of Casement's trial is very difficult to speak about in Ireland

of the gay scandal, because of the blackening of his name, then it became very difficult to speak of Casement in any context because he was a traitor, his name was blackened, he was the depraved and all the rest. And I think the damage of that has been long lasting. Even in Ireland you would not read as much about Casement as about Pearse and Connolly. You would not read or hear that much about Casement because there is still this shadow over Casement.

[…]

MB: What triggered you to write *The Dreaming of Roger Casement*?

PM: It is interesting looking at Casement's writing from 1911 up to the outbreak of the Great War, writing against the War, against the policies of Britain, against the British aggression towards Germany, now, he's got a bit of a blind spot about Germany. And Britain is exploiting German aggression to further its own ends. In the end it's about the British Empire and they think they can take out Germany. And they're wrong. Everyone miscalculates the War. The Czar miscalculates, the French miscalculate, the British miscalculate. The major miscalculation was the British miscalculation. Now it's all coloured by Casement, by this stage of his life. And it's a hard thing to cope with, but he denies it. He can't help feeling his hatred for the system, not England, but for the system. And that's when you begin to think… My Irish family where my grandfather was sort of contemporary of Casement, but I don't think they've met, which is unusual because they were both criss-crossing the empire, but he owed his education to the empire, his medical training to the empire, his living to the empire, and he remained a loyal servant of the British empire to the end. After 1916 my Irish great grandfather wouldn't return to Ireland, although his only surviving sister was a nun in Galway, in the Presentation Convent in Galway. And it took her from 1916 to 1936 to get him to come back to visit her. So in my family there are these contradictions. There is this history. I'm the only one of my family to come back to Ireland. It operates on all levels. So, Casement is a fascination to me. And when I wanted to write something, when I wanted to start writing, it seemed a natural thing to turn to.

MB: Did *The Dreaming of Roger Casement* start as a radio play?

PM: No, It started as a stage play. There was some interest in, funny enough, in England. I was talking to the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) about a season of theatre around the theme of England's Ireland. We have the Irish theatre, we have the English theatre, but it was to look at a season of plays on the English take on Ireland and vice-versa, the Irish take on England. So that it would involve existing plays, for

instance *John Bull's Other Island*, *Making History*, a Friel play. We were talking about new plays in that context. I said that a figure was Casement and that we should commission a play. A couple of writers were approached but they had no interest. Finally, the idea for the season didn't go anywhere. But I was left thinking there should be a play about Casement, so I'll write it anyway. So I did. I gave it to the RSC. At the time they were interested in the play, but they didn't have the season to put it on.

MB: So the stage play was written first.

PM: The stage play was written first. I could get very little interest here from the Abbey. It was too big a play, resources too big, but also there was a resistance somewhere, maybe it just wasn't good enough. So then I put it away in a bottom drawer, for about five, six years and I wrote other things. And then I was asked to do a radio production. I had done a stage production of Seamus Heaney's adaptation of *Antigone*. And they wanted it for radio, so I did it for radio, I directed it for radio. And it went very well. So, RTÉ said to me do you have any other ideas for radio drama. I said I have a stage play about Roger Casement, but its two hours long and they said, could we read it, so they read it and liked it enormously, but we've only got an hour. So I said all right. I mean, that's a great challenge. You know, it's another medium, different rules apply, and I said, let me try. So I worked with a dramaturge, a very nice guy, Swedish, who knew nothing about Casement, and at the end he said I am so pleased you've introduced me to the story of Roger Casement. And I felt that was good. Because in many ways I found myself in a position of realizing that people don't know this story. Therefore, the approach I took in the play was very narrative in the sense that I was very keenly aware that people don't know the story. That you can't rely on that. So I ended up with a piece that is probably more narrative than I would have wanted it to be, but at the same time, it's such a fascinating story.

MB: Do you think the radio allows for that? Does its sightlessness, its proximity to the novels, according to some critics, allow for story telling?

PM: Funny enough it's very cinematic. With the radio, with the atmosphere, you can tell very quick narratives very vividly. It is extraordinary. The theatre script is far

more… there is a strong narrative, you bring a character on stage, you have to have a feeling of the person immediately, presence, complication, character. So, the stage play is far more character-based, still very narrative, but it fills out. In the radio play it's just voices that enable the narrative. So that was a lot of the adaptation. So that's where the radio play came from. But it's interesting because since the radio play, I have gone back to the stage play and I have done a major revision on that. It's being read at the moment in London, not here. We shall see. Maybe with the 1916 centenary coming by. But it's a bit of a saga, really.

MB: I am also working with David Rudkin's radio play, *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*, and it's a terrific play as well. Rudkin chose the radio as its medium because the action was to be set in a box, and because he was afraid of the reaction of the audience at the time it was being broadcast, which was the early 70s. It is very interesting how there are two radio plays on Casement.

PM: It is very interesting that whole section on Irish history, again, because Rudkin is writing for British listeners, and he knows they don't know Irish history. It is a history lesson.

MB: Rudkin goes far back in time.

PM: But you understand that because he knows that he is writing for an audience that knows nothing, but that at that point they were angry and frightened about Ireland, and had no political context whatsoever. I mean, this has been a huge problem that has made the Troubles so prolonged. Ireland is just this crazy place where people keep killing each other.

MB: And do you think that is still the image that they have?

PM: Oh, God yes. It's very, very difficult because, we are back to history. History is not taught at school. So you can't blame people, but they have this extraordinary thing. There's this awful thing in England, a British Government in Westminster actually saw themselves as this sort of honest referee in the North, these Irish, we'll be the honest

broker. […] I've been in situations, because now when I go back to England, I am regarded as Irish. Suddenly someone will say at a dinner party, perfectly educated people that should know better. They say terrible things about the Irish and the way they keep killing each other. And, you know, maybe if you hadn't invaded the country in the first place, if you hadn't partitioned the country, things might have been different. And then you are like David Rudkin. Why start? How far do I go back?

MB: How did you do research for the play? Did you do archival work? Did you look at the *Black Diaries*?

PM: The source was Jeffrey Dugeon's edition of the *Black Diaries*. I knew Angus [Mitchell]'s book on Casement in the Congo, *The Heart of Darkness,* the letters. The Montgomery Hyde, the trial, the Brian Inglis book, I mean, I didn't do any archival research, primary research, it was all secondary research. […] I am not a historian. My interest was to try and theatricalize Casement's story, to bring the man and the story to the stage. My model based on a manipulation of facts to create a metaphor to create an image, which hopefully doesn't betray the historical facts but actually opens out the psychology, the emotion, the personality behind the decisions. It is entirely speculative.

[…]

MB: And why did you focus on Casement's cousin Gertrude Banister? And not on the historian Alice Stopford Green?

PM: Gertrude fascinates me. And Alice Stopford Green is a very formidable figure. And in a strange way, because of her status, she's not less interesting, but she does not have a kind of a vulnerability. Gertrude loses her job. Gertrude in many ways has to come to terms. The biggest thing in the play is that I invent the thing of her challenging Sir Ernley Blackwell about the *Diary*. Now, I know that never happened, except, in a symbolic way it had to happen in her, because she had to know what was being written and said about Casement, her cousin. And also, because she clearly was in love with him, clearly adored him, from childhood. Unconditional love. And what led me to that was that I needed to find a way of telling that story. And the terrible twist is that she then has for the rest of her life to support the other version. You know, I have her in

play, and she sees that diary and she talks to him and he's appalled with what she's done, and his last words to her are "To protect my name. Protect my name, my only name". And she's in this terrible situation that she has to deny the truth. So in her last speech she says, you know, "he's a hero, he's a martyr", and that's it.

[…]
MB: I guess this answers the question of his anachronistic coming out to Gee and why he chose to do that.

PM: It's what you try to do in a play or in a film, you are trying to describe, you have a hunch of how someone feels or what someone might had to go through like Gertrude, suspecting the truth and yet not having all these pressures on her. And then you say, how do I make that manifest. So you invent. She was in the prison. There had many conversations. She was there at the end, so you invent a conversation. Because that's what you look for. Historians look to fill the gaps, when you are writing a play, you are looking for the gaps. There's a strange report that Duffy, the solicitor talks about. At one point, Casement is talking about coming out. Challenging the thing, he says, I'm an invert, whatever. There's that very strange phrase in the Speech from the Dock, where he talks about loving your own kind. Now, that can mean your own people, or… And you wonder, was there that moment when Casement saw himself, the love that dare not speak its name. He had been well aware of Oscar Wilde, he was in the same dock, he was in Bow Street, he was in the same court Oscar Wilde was taken to. The appeal is heard in the same courtroom. Not the trial, but the appeal. So he's aware, he knows the narrative. There is that moment when he says: I will take my stand. But of the course the *Diaries* are not evidence, the *Diaries* are not in the trial, so in the Speech from the Dock he can't bring them in. Although, of course, Smith had made these slippery references to the *Diaries*. But you just wonder… that phrase, "love your own kind".

MB: It can be ambiguous.

PM: It is ambiguous, but you know you are dealing with a man who is aware.

[…]

MB: He could have been immersed in the narrative he has created for his own life.

PM: I think that's true, I mean that's why I think it's unbearable. You know, that last meeting with Gertrude. Gertrude was devastated by the whole thing. But, you know, for all the absurdity, for all the nonsense, what was his focus at the end? His focus at the end, for me, is this thing about the name, "my name". It's very like *The Crucible*, the one thing that is not absurd; the one thing that cannot be destroyed is his name. And for all his follies and for all his sins, he was who he was and he did what he did.

MB: And he wrote what he wrote?

PM: Exactly. So there's this terrifically strong thing of the name. And of course he's conscious to his death of what that death will mean and in a mess, in a situation that has entirely gone wrong, full of jealousy and missed orders and betrayals and hopelessness. But one thing he knows is that his name, as an Irish patriot would survive. Now, you can pull back from that and say that's the narrative he chose to perform at the end. And when you look at it I cannot understand why. He's going to turn around publically and say this is a disaster, which it was. How can he say that publically? Things can't be said publically. They can be said privately. And I think there were lots of calculations. He was not in good health. All those guys who were in Africa, their health was broken by the age of 45, they all had malaria, they all had long-term health problems, and very few of them survived, because they all got early retirement because of that. Because very few survived until their sixties. And that was part of the empire. He knew his life wouldn't be that long. So maybe, in that calculation, is it better to embrace death? Meaningful death in his life at that moment? To say no, I will define myself by doing this.

[…]

MB: My last question would be why broadcast or stage a play about Roger Casement in the 21st century? Why write about this polemical Irishman in contemporary Ireland?

PM: Brian Friel says the only one reason for looking back is to understand where we are. And I think that looking back to that time, to that person, and trying to evoke that

culture, psychology, to try and tell that story, and the key to it is to look at this extraordinary man, modern in so many ways, yet so foreign to us in other ways. But you're looking at a man with enormous ability, enormous intelligence who crucially does not understand himself. The question that trips him up is St. Augustine's question, "who is this who I say I am?" And who is this? The man who by day is investigating atrocities and is by night cruising with the policemen, the natives. Who is this I say is the passionate Irish nationalist going into Prisoner of War camps and the men throwing stones at you. And you say how could you be so stupid, how could you not understand? And in the end all he has in a name that must be protected. […] And, you know, when Casement is told about the *Diaries* he can't believe it. How could they be so low, how could they play so dirty? And then you go, hey I'm joking, you lived with these people, you worked with these people. It's extraordinary how we all have these blind spots. We all have these great instinctive impulses. We think we are being rational, but we are not rational. What is really driving it? Who is this we say we are? And we look at a life like Casement's and we can be judgemental, of course. That's the point. We are all judgemental. Audiences are judgmental. It's the fun of theatre. But what Casement is doing is showing us we are all impulsive, and for me the tragic thing is that he only comes to this realization at the end of his life, when his life is over. He is watching his world implode, the period from 1914 to 1945. Who could even have imagined the scale of destruction, the scale of disaster of the collapse of the enlightenment, the collapse of romanticism, the virtual suicide of Europe. Who could have imagined? Certainly not Roger Casement, or any of them. All they saw was the situation they were in, and they responded who would have thought. And crucially that's what divides us from that generation. […] We still haven't' really absorbed of what happened in these 100 years. We still have people in the Ukraine going on about the fatherland, and the motherland, Cathleen ni Houlihan. So why tell these stories? They are partly cautionary tales, but they're also about an extraordinary man, an extraordinary individual.

MB: And you are speaking from a European perspective, but where I come from there is still the depletion of the Amazon forest going on, and slavery disguised as horrible labour conditions, so its history still knocking on the door.

PM: And that is again the significance of Casement. He is one of these figures who start to articulate human rights. He sees the underbelly of empire and he starts to articulate. […] He is a 19th century romantic. None of them have any idea of the reality. What is odd is the empire fights very dirty, the ethnic cleansing, genocide, exploitation, slavery. The empire fights dirty. The revolutionaries, they want battles, then they can't believe it when the Empire strikes back, and the empire ruins their reputation, and this is Casement: Why did you do that? What did you think you were fighting? Smith, a loathsome figure, says that's the business of power. Nothing personal. Casement never understood that, if he did, he wouldn't accept it. But that makes him sort of irresistible. But we have to be wiser. We cannot be naïve. Empire doesn't go away. Russia hasn't gone away. China hasn't gone away. America hasn't gone a way, however weakened. And then there's this invisible kind of empire that is Global capitalism. As ruthless as any empire of history. Ruthlessly controlling culture, controlling politics, controlling nature… Probably the greatest empire ever, and we really cannot be naïve about these things. We are all romantic, and going peace, and revolution. Power is power, and power fights very dirty, and for that Casement's story is worth telling.

ATTACHMENT 4

Interview with David Rudkin

Interview with David Rudkin on the radio play *Cries from Casement as his Bones are Brought to Dublin*
Medium: e-mail
Date: 17/04/2012

MB: Do you see the period Casement spent in Brazil as fundamental to his transformation from imperialist to nationalist?

DR: And Africa. Yes. They exacerbate C[asement]'s sense of sexual alienation – also, the Foreign Office compromise his two Reports (for reasons of Higher Policy), and that provokes his political alienation.

MB: From the works that I have read so far, I feel that yours is the one that best depicts the complexities inherent to Casement, because, as one critic has said, "you fragment him in order to see him whole". Would you agree to that?

DR: I don't 'fragment' C[asement] – I discover the fragments into which his self is currently broken. My C too is on a journey of that discovery – and that determines the technique of the piece (it never felt to me like a 'play').

MB: In relation to this fragmentation, present in both form and content: literary theory has produced (of course in different perspectives: Frederic Jameson as a Marxist theorist on one side, and Stuart Hall and Linda Hutcheon on the other) numberless works about fragmentation being a predominant characteristic of "Postmodernity". Do you see Cries from Casement as a postmodern piece of work?

DR: I'm not sure I know what 'postmodern' means! I never think about critical terms. Each work emerges from inside its own material; I just try to be as honest and clear as I can.

MB: How do you see the relevance of scholars (like myself) today, in a way, trying to "unbury" Roger Casement in the 21st century and being completely carried away by his life story?

DR: It's an existentialist issue: a multi-compromised individual, in quest of his authentic identity. That will always be political.

MB: I have found very few pieces of contemporary criticism (if at all) about *Cries from Casement*. In your opinion, why does this occur?

DR: Radio is given very little serious attention – though at that time there was at least (not any more) a very good weekly *The Listener* in which, around Feb/Mar 1974, Anthony Thwaite wrote a serious response to the piece.

MB: I have not found any documentation about the reception of the play (both the radio play and the stage production by John Tydeman). How was it received in the 70's, when the Troubles were at its summit?

DR: It was seen (as I intended it) as a direct contribution to the ongoing 'debate' about Ireland, a 'debate' then in a critical phase. Academics dismissed my piece as unscholarly, and simplistically polemical. One historian said my interpretation of C was 'crazy'. (He later publicly apologised.) Progressive Nationalists welcomed it; even traditional Nationalists welcomed it – up to a point; I remember a personal conversation with an IRA chief-of-staff who said the homosexuality 'didn't matter'. But the problem was, and still is, that nobody has really understood, or taken on board, the underlying biographical thesis: that C[asement]'s sexual alienation was essential to his politics, and in fact catalysed them. (The original radio production, by John Tydeman, was definitive, and is one of the BBC radio classics. The much later stage production was by somebody else, and misconceived, and does not merit discussion.)

MB: Do you think that if *Cries from Casement* were produced today, it would be better received than in the 70's? Do you think that society has changed in the sense that it would better accommodate a character as complex and as kaleidoscopic as Casement?

DR: Some attitudes are more liberal now, but 'progressive' critics and historians can be driven by ideologies that narrow them in new ways. 'Experts' are still shortsighted – I saw in the early 2000s a TV documentary analysing C[asement]'s handwriting(s). It thought it had all the answers; but even at 30 years old, my piece was streets ahead of the experts, in its *insight*. That insight comes from being the work of a dramatist experiencing C[asement]'s world from inside *him as a character.*

MB: In relation to your background, I have read that you, in some ways, identify yourself with Casement due to the difficulty in dealing with the fact of being aware that you have a split and incompatible (or irreconcilable) identity: British and Irish. Do you still feel the same today?

DR: …and of course, in discovering my *character* C[asement], I discovered that I too had similar questions to answer and choices to make for myself. Existentialism again. The piece emerged as it did, because it was energised by that.

MB: I believe that *Cries from Casement* is an allegory for a fragmented Ireland (both in 1916 and in the 1970's) and that your construction of Casement is an attempt to enact a "poetics of reconciliation" represented by the third burial in Antrim that the character longs for. Do you still believe the "colours will mix", eventually, and that a united Ireland is still be possible?

DR: My ending was idealistic but not really very hopeful – and I am still not hopeful. At the moment there is still a Catholic-Fascist (*e.g.* pro-Franco *et al*) tradition active in Ireland that would wish the Protestants ethnically cleansed (and this is quietly happening in some lonely Border areas). As part of the so-called 'peace process' the Ulster Protestant tradition has been largely subverted, and the mood out in rural Ulster I find quite tense and hateful just now. The place just doesn't feel *true*. A political 'unity' could always be mechanically imposed on Ireland, but she would still be broken in her soul. It's a tragedy, because the 5-plus centuries of **pre**-Catholic Christian tradition in Ireland, and the Huguenot Protestant tradition, are essential elements in Ireland's identity (it was Protestants who led the first rebellions) – but Modern Catholicism prefers to overlook those paradoxes. Ireland's 'history,' as Joyce says somewhere, is a 'nightmare from which she is still struggling to awake.'

MB: Even today, some historians are trying to prove that the *Black Diaries* are forged. How do you stand in relation to this controversy?

DR: I think the play answers that.

MB: You did extensive archival research on Casement (like the *Author* in the play). I was wondering about your creative process in transforming so much historical material into fiction.

DR: I don't think of the piece as 'fiction' – I was finding out about C[asement] the man, and poetically 'becoming' him. To mediate such a quantity and complexity of material, I found myself logically evolving a variety of techniques, all of them thematic – and very much to do with radio broadcasting. (Looking at it now, I think it's rather like a radio *Citizen Kane*.)

MB: What's your view of the historical revisionism that had dominated the writing of Irish history from the 1960's to the 1990's? How does this affect the writing of fiction?

DR: I don't have any useful thoughts on this – and, as I've said above, I don't think of the piece as 'fiction', but as bringing a historical figure to poetic life.