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REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISTS

The Markievicz Commission

In 2014, Irish political party Fianna Fáil (translating from the Gaelic as Soldiers of Destiny) established the Markievicz Commission, which referenced the early twentieth-century Irish nationalist revolutionary, Constance Markievicz (*née* Gore-Booth, 1868–1927). It did so in response to Irish government regulations stipulating that all political parties risked losing a significant amount of taxpayers' funding if they failed to field at least thirty per cent women candidates in the next general election. Over the previous three decades, the highest point in women's candidacies across the country was only twenty per cent. In each of the general elections taking place during that time, women had made up less than 15 per cent of Fianna Fáil's candidates.[1]

Markievicz was chosen as the Inquiry's namesake because, as a pioneering female politician, she had been extraordinarily successful. She was the first woman ever elected to both the Irish and British Parliaments, Europe's first-ever female government minister, and the first Minister for Labour in the Irish parliament, the Dáil Éireann. She was also a founding member of Fianna Fáil, successfully standing for parliament in their inaugural campaign. Markievicz's individual triumphs failed to open any floodgates for women to enter into the political arena in the new Irish Republic, though. Instead, as Michael Higgins, President of the Republic of Ireland, pointed out in 2014, 'it took six more decades [from Markievicz's election] for Ireland to see a woman – Maire Geoghegan Quinn – appointed as Cabinet Minister, in 1979'.[2]

Given the extent of her political achievements, the selection of Markievicz's memory to spearhead a gender equality campaign might seem uncontentious. Yet, remembering Markievicz's political past necessitates remembering her other actions, accomplishments, and ideals. She was a member of the élite Anglo-Irish

class. She was also a socialist and a soldier who trained boys and young men for armed combat. She fought in the failed nationalist uprising in 1916 and was sentenced to be executed but had that sentence commuted to life imprisonment because of her sex. When Ireland was partitioned into two legislatures in 1922 – Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State – she opposed the legitimacy of those states and continued to agitate for an Irish Republic on the whole island of Ireland. Her radical and violent activism has earned her a fractured contemporary reputation. On the one hand, she is a model to women promoting gender equality in the realms of politics and militancy; on the other, she is recalled as a woman of beauty but no substance, 'a snob, fraud, show-off, and murderer' who 'brainwashed' children into believing that they should kill and die for their country.[3]

Remembering nationalist feminism

The history of women's participation in nationalist projects is complicated and contested. Within a decade of emerging theorizations of nationalisms and nation-building processes by scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, and Anthony D. Smith, feminist historians noted that gender, more generally, and women, specifically, were largely absent from these accounts.[4] It was assumed, Cynthia Enloe argued in her ground-breaking 1989 study, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, that men and women experienced nationalism in the same way and that nationalist projects took femininity and masculinity into account when 'defining and critiquing nationalist goals'.[5] Enloe, alongside other feminist theorists, pointed out that, for women, relationships with nationalism were distinctly uneasy.[6] On the one hand, nationalist movements offered women opportunities for public representation and participation. On the other, the nationalist project overwhelmingly cast women in a reductive symbolic role; the nation as allegorical woman who relied on her masculine protector. Nationalist histories, then, tended to obscure or omit acknowledgment of the participation of women in nationalist movements and in nation-building projects. Nationalism has been seen as a process that 'typically has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation, and masculinized hope'.[7] Enloe has asserted that '[l]iving as a nationalist feminist is one of the most difficult political projects in today's world'.[8]

In her 1986 book *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, Kumari Jayawardena argued that women in nationalist movements were doubly marginalized, viewed by colonizing forces as second-class citizens by virtue of their gender and their colonized status.[9] Women performed active roles in movements against imperial rule, often forming auxiliary wings of male-centred militant organizations. Women's emancipation struggles in places such as India, Turkey, Iran, China, Korea, the Philippines, and Vietnam were played out amid simultaneous moves for political autonomy, the assertion of a distinctive national identity, and a modernizing agenda.[10] Women's emancipatory goals, then, were shaped by, and in turn helped to shape, the social and political movements in which they participated.[11]

Conceptualizations of womanhood in anti-colonial nationalist sites were often defined in terms of an opposition between the 'modern' and the 'traditional'. This opposition between the 'modern' and the 'traditional', though, is an artefact of the transformations of modernity, in processes congruent with Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's exploration of the 'invention of tradition'.[12] In some sites women were enjoined to be 'modern', as dramatized in Rabindranath Tagore's early twentieth century novel, *The Home and the World*.[13] In some sites the subordination of women was seen as a metaphor for the subordination of the nation, with the liberation of the nation and the liberation of women being aligned. In other countries the so-called traditional/modern dichotomy was played out in gendered terms, with men wearing 'Western' dress and having access to modern occupations and technologies, while women were enjoined to wear their local ethnic dress and embody the values of spirituality.[14]

As Jayawardena and others have demonstrated, historical amnesia regarding women's crucial roles in anti-colonial nationalist movements has often accompanied the emerging postcolonial nation. Jayawardena reports that in the early 1980s she could only find fragmentary evidence of women's contributions to anti-colonial nationalist struggles:

> I was teaching at the [Institute of Social Studies] in the newly started Women and Development courses and found that there was very little on the history of women in the Third World. I knew about women who had been active and so I began to search for material. I found a mention here, a reference there – usually in a footnote saying that women had protested in Egypt, Persia, China, etc. for equal political rights. Luckily for me I found the International Archives of Women's History in Amsterdam which turned out to be a treasure house . . . [*Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*] was sold and used first by students at the ISS and then subsequently was expanded and published by Zed Books.[15]

In the three decades since the publication of Jayawardena's book, we have a more complex understanding of the dynamics of gender, nationalism, anti-colonial nationalism, and memory.

Connecting the memory of nationalist women

Irish feminist historians have posited that the history of women actively involved in social and political movements in early twentieth-century Ireland has more in common with that of women in other sites engaging in anti-colonial nationalist activities, such as the Philippines or India, than with those in other parts of Europe. Margaret Ward and Louise Ryan have each confirmed the claim that being both feminist and nationalist within the context of anti-colonialism is a supremely difficult position. Similarly to women advocating feminist and nationalist aspirations in other colonized countries, early twentieth-century Irish feminist

nationalists were often at pains to align conflicting ideologies.[16] Those involved in Asian and African anti-colonial campaigns at the time frequently referred to Ireland as an inspiration and model for their own movements.[17] Indeed, Irish women such as Margaret Cousins (1878–1954) were actively involved in the Indian nationalist movement.[18]

Yet, there were also differences, particularly once national independence had been achieved. Imperial Britain, as the supposedly superior, virile 'race' (in the language of the time), was seen to have emasculated the Indians and the Irish, imposing on them a racialized discourse of inferiority. Indeed, the very term 'emasculate' suggests that it was men rather than women who were seen to represent the nation. As Begoña Aretxaga has argued, however, this 'emasculation' was premised on different factors in each national site.[19] In India, colonized men's treatment of their womenfolk was held up by the imperialists as evidence of their inferior, 'barbaric' status, referring here to practices such as *sati* (the immolation of widows on their husbands' funeral pyres). *Sati*, in turn, became a site of contestation between Hindu nationalists and European colonizers. Or, as Lata Mani argues, women 'became the site on which tradition was debated and reformulated'.[20] Postcolonial Indian nationalists reacted to the gendered discourses of colonialism by constructing the educated, professional Indian woman who represented the modernity of the Indian nation while also enshrining what were seen as the 'traditional' elements of Indian culture.

Irish men and women were constructed as siblings in a childlike Celtic 'race' that was seen as erratic, irrational, and emotional.[21] In Ireland, postcolonial nationalists shifted the taint of feminization from colonized manhood to a particular form of modern lifestyle; to the superficial follies and weakness-inducing luxuries of urban living. The idealized independent Ireland that these nationalists created rejected the perceived foreignness of the modern and lauded a rural tradition which was guarded by a proud 'race' of ancient Gaelic warriors. This had profound consequences for Irish women. Glorified concepts of motherhood located within the rural home – the new 'symbolic terrain of nationalist culture' – saw women removed from the public life of the Irish Free State which was established in 1922.[22] The long-awaited Republic did not guarantee civil rights to women. Instead, its 1937 Constitution appealed to 'a national character rooted in a rural Irish tradition', embedded in Catholic social doctrine, confining women to the roles of wives and mothers as it enabled legislation that curtailed the rights of working women.[23] Assigned to the sphere of the past – denied representation as a blend of the modern and the traditional – Irish women were rendered second-class citizens.[24]

In the postcolonial nation, women who had played a politically active role in anti-colonial movements had to be forgotten. Such women were an embarrassing reminder of colonized man's need for female assistance to fight the imperial oppressor. If remembering the female political comrade evoked the humiliation of colonized manhood's dependency on his weaker sister, then recalling the actions of his sister-in-arms was even more devastating. Irish nationalists attempted to

re-masculinize the new postcolonial nation by invoking a mythological past characterized by an ancient brotherhood of proud and noble warriors. Armed women had little place in this new national imaginary. Moreover, those women who had picked up a gun for Ireland had already sacrificed respectability by performing an active rather than symbolic role, refusing to conform to the metaphorical notion of womanhood as a stable repository of the nation's values.[25] To remember the actions of these 'unmanageable revolutionaries',[26] to use the words of fellow revolutionary and future president of the Irish Republic, Éamon de Valéra (1882–1975), threatened the new nation's claims to a level of civilization and respectability that underscored its right to political autonomy.

Further complicating the memory of these female revolutionaries is the specific nature of Irish postcolonial politics. Many female revolutionaries opted to oppose the compromise that followed the War of Independence with Britain (1919–1921), namely the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which resulted in the creation of the twenty-six county Commonwealth Free State and the loyal six-county Northern Irish State. They fought on the pro-Republic, anti-Free State side of the Irish Civil War (1922–23).[27] Indeed, the first national organization to officially reject the Treaty was Cumann na mBan (Women's Council) – a militant women's group supporting the nationalist aims of the Irish Volunteers (later the Irish Republican Army). All six female members of the Irish parliament also publicly opposed the Treaty. Republican women, then, were immediately branded a threat to national stability and public order.[28] In opposing the legitimacy of the Free State, they were excommunicated by the Catholic Church which increasingly buttressed the authority of the conservative Free State government.[29] Not only did the existence of these rebellious women remind nationalist leaders of the compromises made for the sake of the achievement of partial freedom, but their excommunication by the Church provided further evidence of the women's lack of respectability. Occupying such a contentious position in the new truncated 26-county nation, revolutionary women found themselves consigned to the invisible private sphere.[30]

In this chapter, we examine how revolutionary nationalist women have been remembered through two case studies of individual female activists: Constance Markievicz in Ireland and Qiu Jin (1875–1907) in China. Female revolutionaries were written out of the national historical narrative in postcolonial Ireland, forming a repressed memory for almost seventy years, until feminist scholars resurrected their stories.[31] Markievicz, however, was a notable exception. She was remembered; but she was also misremembered through the biographical writings of her male peers.[32] In the first section of the chapter, we will look at how revolutionary men in the Irish Free State and later the Irish Republic represented their revolutionary sister in their speeches, memoirs, and biographies. In the relative absence of state and academic forms of remembering revolutionary women, these recollections have been pivotal in directing twentieth-century attitudes towards female activists. In the second section, we broaden the scope of the study by focusing not only on public memorials to Markievicz, including statues, museum displays, and murals, but we also analyse these monuments in two very different postcolonial sites,

namely the states north and south of the Irish border. The devastating effects of The Troubles in the North (1969–1998) – three decades of bloody conflict over the constitutional status of Northern Ireland involving nationalists, Unionists, the Northern Irish police force, and the British Army – have made remembering nationalist militancy problematic. In this chapter we consider whether acts of remembering female militant nationalism have manifested themselves differently in Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.

In the third and final section of this chapter, we look at another female militant nationalist who was likewise remembered in complex ways. Qiu Jin was born in the late days of the imperial Qing dynasty in China, travelled to study in Japan, and fought to overthrow the Qing dynasty. She died in 1907, without seeing the overthrow of the Qing in 1912. She is associated with the anti-Imperial movement, and also remembered by both the current Communist regime in the mainland People's Republic of China and in the Republic of China in Taiwan.

Markievicz: Remembering and misremembering through gendered reminiscences

Constance Markievicz was politically and militarily active in the last years of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century. Yet there were aspects of her private and public life that future biographers and commentators chose to pick up on that overshadowed – and sometimes undermined – evidence of her commitment to political and militant activism. Born into a life of privilege as a member of an established Anglo-Irish[33] family in Sligo, on the west coast of Ireland, Markievicz learned to ride horses, hunt, and shoot. Together with her sisters, Eva Gore-Booth (1870–1926) and Mabel Gore-Booth (1874–1955), she set up the Sligo branch of the Women's Suffrage Society in 1896. While studying art in Paris, she met her future husband, the Polish artist and writer, Count Casimir Dunin-Markievicz (1874–1932).[34] They had a daughter who lived almost exclusively with her grandparents, allowing Markievicz to concentrate on her activism. She and her husband separated amicably a few years later. She joined the nationalist party, Sinn Féin, and the revolutionary nationalist women's organization, Inghinidhe na hÉireann (Daughters of Erin/Ireland). In 1909, she co-founded the militant Fianna na hÉireann (Soldiers or Warriors of Ireland), a nationalist version of the Boy Scouts. She was a committed socialist and trade unionist, supporting the Irish Women Workers' Union (IWWU) and working to support the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) as it withstood a mass lockout of Dublin workers in 1913. She joined James Connolly's (1868–1916) militant-socialist Irish Citizen Army (ICA).

Often flamboyant in dress and style – exemplified by formal portrait photographs she had taken of herself in male military uniform just before the 1916 Easter Rising[35] – Markievicz was also renowned for her passionate, theatrical approach to public speaking. As noted above, in 1916 she was Second-in-Command in the

ICA's St Stephen's Green Garrison during the nationalist uprising. She was arrested and sentenced to be executed but had that sentence commuted to hard labour for life. While incarcerated in 1918, she was elected to British parliament but refused to take her seat. Instead, Markievicz joined fellow elected nationalists in the first Dáil Éireann (Irish Parliament) in 1919, on her release from Holloway Prison, London. She was appointed the Minister for Labour, thereby taking her place as the first female minister of any European parliament.

Markievicz endured further imprisonment during the Anglo-Irish War or Irish War of Independence (1919–1921). During this time she was appointed president of the Cumann na mBan, the militant women's organization supporting the armed separatist group, the Irish Volunteers (later Irish Republican Army). Like many women in the Cumann na mBan, she opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty signed at the end of 1921 which partitioned Ireland and failed to achieve a Republican state. She was then marked as an enemy of the Free State and was arrested and imprisoned in 1923 while campaigning on behalf of Republican prisoners of the new Free State. In 1926, she was a founding member of future President of the Republic of Ireland Éamon de Valéra's Fianna Fáil political party, winning a seat for the party in the 1927 elections but dying before Fianna Fáil started its term. On her death that year, she was refused the honour of a state funeral but was publicly mourned by many across the political and social spectrum.[36]

The high profile that Markievicz maintained – through a combination of her extraordinary achievements, the positions of leadership she assumed, and her flamboyant style and passionate manner – has ensured that she has been remembered. In a number of publications appearing during her lifetime and afterwards she was lauded. In 1919, for example, Charles Newton Wheeler praised Countess Markievicz as 'one of the most remarkable women in Irish history'.[37] Here, he wrote, was a revolutionary who was courageous, impulsive, and reckless; a soldier who, if 'all tales be true', kissed her gun before surrendering to the British. This was a woman who was 'unguarded of tongue', but who, nevertheless, was 'slavishly idolized by the poor of Ireland and the revolutionary patriots'.[38] Likewise, Richard Michael Fox, who claimed Markievicz as a personal acquaintance, extolled the Countess's courage and passion. Her inspiration was actual as well as spiritual, he wrote. Writing in the 1930s, Fox remembered her as 'an intelligent, refined woman' who was sensitive to the plight of the poor, male and female. It was fitting, he added, 'that, as she was in the front rank of fighters for liberty in her own country, she should also occupy the proud position of being the first to break down the sex barrier so far as Parliament is concerned'. Constance Markievicz always was 'a pioneer'.[39] She was a 'living flame' that 'lights up everything that was fine and glorious about the 1916 Rising – one of the noblest episodes in our human story'. A veritable 'sword of light', Markievicz was adored by all, as was in evidence at her funeral where boys of Fianna na hÉireann stood guard over her all night long; the working class marched in her procession with flowers; and Republican soldiers mingled.[40]

Tainting the memory of Markievicz and fellow female revolutionaries

Not all accounts of Markievicz's life were so celebratory and it was these less enamoured reminiscences that dominated the memory of this revolutionary icon throughout much of the twentieth century. The collective reputation of revolutionary women suffered greatly in the post-revolutionary years.[41] Consequently, women's participation in the nationalist movement was rarely commemorated publicly. The written recollections of nationalist men in the postcolonial era, then, served an important function with regards to remembering the participation of women during the revolutionary years. The problem with being remembered via the words of former male comrades, however, is that these women were subjected to men's gendered criticisms and recollections.

During the Irish Civil War, president of the new Free State, W. T. Cosgrave (1880–1965), belittled those women fighting on the Republican, anti-Treaty side by declaring that they 'should have rosaries in their hands or be at home with knitting needles'.[42] Cardinal Logue (1840–1924) followed the Catholic Church's excommunication of all those fighting against the Treaty and the Free State by singling females out for particular condemnation. He deplored that women and girls were involving themselves in what he asserted was a 'wild orgy of violence'.[43] The Free State's mainstream press, too, censured women who were participating in what they viewed as an illegitimate campaign. It also used the presence of females to undermine the masculinity of the anti-Treaty movement and the manly virtues of Republican men.[44]

Such condemnation was to persist throughout the 1920s and beyond. From the mid-1920s, male nationalists permitted themselves a 'series of angry outbursts' about revolutionary women that were highly influential in shaping how these activists were to be remembered in the coming decades.[45] In *The Victory of Sinn Féin*, P. S. O'Hegarty (1879–1955) allowed himself 'a misogynistic rant' about revolutionary women, calling them 'practically unsexed' and incapable of understanding politics. They were motivated only by 'swashbuckling and bombast and swagger', he accused.[46] Another nationalist, journalist and politician, Ernest Blythe (1889–1975), saw Republican women as something akin to 'hysterical camp-followers'.[47] A particular tactic employed against Republican women in this decade was to label them 'furies' or 'snake headed avenging demons'.[48] Another high-profile Church figure, Bishop Doorley (1868–1950), warned his congregation that no one would respect or marry such furies. His advice to all females interested in politics was to never join organizations such as Cumann na mBan and to instead 'work as your grandmothers did before you'.[49] Revolutionary and Republican women were gender abominations, whose transgressions endangered the moral stability of the state. Their continued Republican activism threatened the legitimacy and existence of that state.

Constance Markievicz was not simply one of the many faceless furies who, through her gendered transgressions, had threatened the moral and physical stability of the Irish Free State. She had been a celebrity and so she was remembered in nationalist men's speeches, memoirs, and biographies. She was a public personality

who very visibly embodied many traits of both hyper-femininity and ultra-masculinity. As a militant who committed herself to her chosen cause under pain of death, she bore the mark of that paragon of manliness, the warrior. As a woman dedicated to the extravagances of vanity and dress, as well as to the emotion and drama of the theatrical realm, she exhibited what many deemed to be a slavish adherence to the superficialities of the feminine. These seemingly paradoxical characteristics were difficult to align. As such – and given the already precarious position occupied by revolutionary women in a postcolonial nation – many of her male comrades narrated uneasy reminiscences of Markievicz in which her personal idiosyncrasies overshadowed her actual achievements.

In remembering Markievicz, the Irish poet, W. B. Yeats (1865–1939) – mixing in the same Sligo social circle as the Gore-Booth family – chose to concentrate on the wasted asset that was her waning beauty. Yeats immortalized the two Gore-Booth sisters in his poem, 'In Memory of Eva Gore-Booth and Con Markievicz', written in the year Markievicz died, as beauties whose attractiveness was ravaged both by time and wasteful dedication to politics. He conjured a picture of Eva Gore-Booth as a beautiful young vague utopian whose involvement in the political world of the poor and uneducated eventually rendered her 'withered old and skeleton-gaunt'. For Markievicz, he invoked the image of a futile last decade in which she 'drags out lonely years/conspiring among the ignorant'.[50]

Others were more disparaging of Markievicz's intelligence and seriousness, preferring to remember her as fraudulent, frivolous, and flighty. Sean O'Faolain (1900–1991), in his 1934 biography of Markievicz, promoted the image of a woman who boasted only limited intellectual capabilities; a woman directed more by instinct than ideas.[51] Playwright Sean O'Casey (1880–1964) trivialized her commitment to politics and denigrated her character. Like Markievicz, he was an elected official in the socialist Irish Citizen Army. He proposed a motion to ask for her resignation, believing that she was courting other militant organizations (namely the nationalist Irish Volunteers). He resigned when his motion was rejected.[52] O'Casey wrote that Markievicz's speeches 'always appeared strained, rarely had any sense to them, and always threatened to soar into a stillborn scream'.[53] He undermined her commitment to the nationalist and socialist causes, recalling that she tended to simply 'whirl' in and out of meetings – a veritable 'Catherine wheel of irresponsibility'. She was not, for O'Casey, a committed nationalist or socialist. Rather, she looked 'at the names over the door and then thought she was one of the family'. He conceded that she had physical courage, with which 'she was clothed as with a garment'. Her privileged upbringing as a member of Ireland's Anglo-Irish elite, however, had made her think that 'things just touched were things well done'.[54] O'Casey declared that she did not have the necessary constitution to dedicate herself fully to any cause.[55] This is contradicted by the evidence that Markievicz endured multiple imprisonments, hunger strikes, and the passing of a death sentence because of her activism, and that she continued to champion her original cause of a socialist republic after the formation of the Free State – dangerously challenging the legitimacy of that new state.

A benign form of republican womanhood: Markievicz's memory in the service of the state

A carefully massaged memory of Markievicz served the political purposes of another of her former comrades-in-arms, Éamon de Valéra, who had fought in the 1916 Easter Rising. Like Markievicz, he escaped execution (by virtue of his American birth); fought in the War of Independence; repudiated the subsequent 1921 Treaty; and committed himself to the Republican cause during the Civil War. Unlike Markievicz, he climbed to great heights of political power in the new postcolonial nation. After forming the Fianna Fáil party later in the 1920s (encouraging Markievicz to be a founding, and ultimately successful, electoral candidate), he became Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of the Free State and later President of the Republic of Ireland. In July 1932, as the new Taoiseach, de Valéra unveiled a limestone bust of Markievicz as an officer in the Irish Citizen Army on St Stephen's Green, the garrison where she had been Second-in-Command during the 1916 uprising. We will discuss the bust further below, but it is de Valéra's utilitarian reshaping of Markievicz's memory that concerns us here.

In his unveiling speech, de Valéra labelled Markievicz 'a strange figure' who did not follow well-trodden paths but instead made her own. Apologizing for her stubborn independence, he added that 'the friends who knew her knew that she did that because she was truly a woman'.[56] His insistence that she was motivated to direct action because of her sex drew on feminized qualities of being unselfish, self-sacrificing, and loving. She 'put aside wealth and position that might have been hers'. She joined the socialist cause – which had been revolutionary twenty years before – inspired as she was by what he termed 'Love of her kind'.[57] De Valéra chose to 'remember' his former political and military ally as feminized and domesticated. She was not extraordinary. Instead, she was presented as a benign force, doing what she did simply because she was compelled to do so as an ordinary member of her sex. He further reduced the complex set of socialist values to which she subscribed to mere heartfelt philanthropy. He eclipsed her extraordinary gender transgressions and achievements while simultaneously disarming the potency of her political ideals. His memory of Markievicz rendered her an unthreatening form of Republican womanhood that would dedicate itself to the new nation that he was soon to usher in. By perpetuating his version of Markievicz's memory, he had found a means to manage those he had previously referred to as the 'unmanageable revolutionaries'.[58]

A fellow female revolutionary's defence of Markievicz's memory: Hanna Sheehy Skeffington

Hanna Sheehy Skeffington (1877–1946), contemporary of Markievicz and renowned feminist and Republican, decried de Valéra's attempts to sanitize the memory of the iconic female revolutionary and press that sanitized memory into service for his own political agenda. In the pages of *An Phoblacht* (Republican

News), Sheehy Skeffington complained that de Valéra had conventionalized 'labour's revolutionary heroine. . .beyond recognition'.[59] His portrait of Markievicz, she said, resembled those portraits by 'studio artists' which 'improve away the real features of the sitter, smoothing out the wrinkles and furrows for a touched-up image of their own, the image of a chocolate-box heroine'.[60] De Valéra's speech revealed that he saw woman as simply 'a sheltered being, withdrawn to the domestic heart, shrinking from public life'. This was in complete contrast to Markievicz's socialist comrade, James Connolly (1868–1916) (executed after the 1916 Easter Rising), for whom 'woman was an equal, a comrade'.[61] The speech constituted 'an apologia' for this woman activist, she continued, 'where none is needed'.[62]

Sheehy Skeffington attested that Markievicz would have laughed at and scorned de Valéra's version of her as a lover and carer of the 'poor and lowly'.[63] She was 'no patronising Lady Bountiful, no well-meaning philanthropist'. She had 'the divine discontent of a Joan of Arc'.[64] She was impatient with compromise and did not feel compelled to respect people, whatever their status. She was a direct actionist.[65] Markievicz was an advocate of an as-yet unachievable Irish Socialist Republic. She was concerned with 'the ownership of the land by the people, who were to have control of the right of production, distribution and exchange; nationalization of canals and railways; abolition of private banks', not with providing temporary 'up-lift' for the poor.[66] The body of serious writing that she left testified to the gravity of her political agenda.[67]

Sheehy Skeffington affirmed that Markievicz was an armed revolutionary. She was 'a rebel meeting challenge with challenge, giving back blow for blow'. She was above all, a bonny fighter: her militant spirit was that of Queen Maeve or Granuaile, her countrywomen.[68] She had no early Victorian repressions and inhibitions, none of the sheltered femininity of the drawing-room type. Where there was work that appealed to her she did it, whether it was carrying up bags of coal to a tenement back-room in the fuel famine of Cosgrave's late regime or shouldering a gun and sniping at the enemy from the rooftops in Stephen's Green or in O'Connell Street in 1922.[69]

It was deserving that she had a monument dedicated to her in the centre of Dublin:

> As typical of resurgent Ireland's revolutionary womanhood she has her place in history, and all those who pass her memorial in Stephen's Green, near Mangan's Dark Rosaleen monument,[70] will salute her as one of Ireland's revolutionary leaders.[71]

Sheehy Skeffington's hope was that the tangibility and permanence of the physical monument to Markievicz – and by extension, to revolutionary womanhood in Ireland – would outlive the corrupted memory of her in de Valéra's passing words.

Markievicz monuments south of the Irish border: St Stephen's Green

Markievicz was the first leading figure of the 1916 Easter Rising to be commemorated in a physical monument once de Valéra and his Republican Fianna Fáil party came into power in 1932.[72] Although de Valéra dominated the unveiling proceedings, it was not Fianna Fáil but rather a committee chaired by Cumann na mBan leaders who erected the bust of Markievicz after being granted state permission to do so.[73] In the 1940s, the St Stephen's Green bust of Markievicz was inexplicably damaged. Possible causes of the damage and the idea of moving it to a safer location were discussed in parliament early in 1945. At some stage the bust must have been removed from its location for, in 1953, parliamentary debates

FIGURE 2.1 'Major Irish Citizen Army 1916', Séamus Murphy's 1954 Countess Markievicz Memorial, St Stephen's Green, Dublin, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

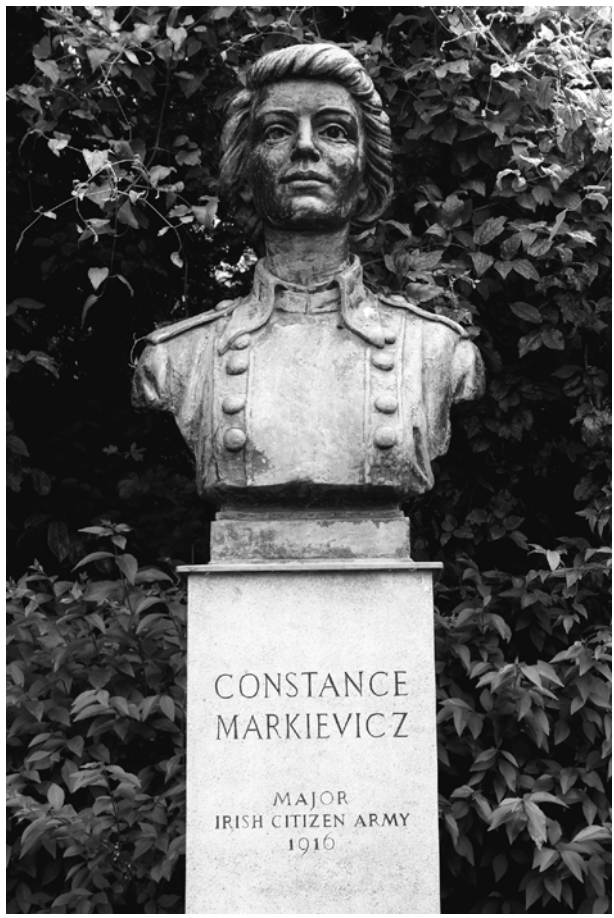

FIGURE 2.2 'A Valiant Woman', Séamus Murphy's 1954 Countess Markievicz Memorial, St Stephen's Green, Dublin, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

record that the Minister for Finance was asked if it would be repaired and restored to its 'place of honour in St Stephen's Green, Dublin, or if it is proposed to perpetuate her memory through any other form of tablet, building or scholarship'.[74]

The government was reluctant to address the issue of the Markievicz memorial, but Republican women again stepped in and exerted pressure.[75] The response to the 1953 inquiry was that the statue was beyond repair and that arrangements were being made to replace the damaged limestone monument with one made from bronze. A new bronze bust was commissioned and produced by sculptor Séamus Murphy (1907–1975) in 1954.[76] It was unveiled on Easter Monday 1956 – on the 40th anniversary of the Easter Rising – by President, Seán T. O'Kelly (1882–1966). Like de Valéra before him, O'Kelly took charge of the unveiling proceedings, stamping his mark on a state-funded monument that was arguably only realized

FIGURE 2.3 Séamus Murphy's 1954 Countess Markievicz Memorial, St Stephen's Green, Dublin, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

because Republican women had pushed for it. Like de Valéra, O'Kelly used the occasion to further sentimentalize and conventionalize the female icon. He recalled, he said, 'with joy and pride' Markievicz's journey forty years before 'from the big house to a dwelling-place in the hearts of Irish people, where she and her memory have ever since abided and will continue to abide'.[77]

A pedestal bearing the bronze bust of Countess Markievicz wearing military garb is situated on the outer ring of the Victorian Floral Display at the very heart of St Stephen's Green (Figure 2.1; Figure 2.2; Figure 2.3). Flanked by monuments to the Quaker suffragists, Anna Haslam (1829–1922) and Thomas Haslam (1825–1917), and prominent nationalist, Thomas Kettle (1880–1916), on one side, and poets, James Clarence Mangan (1803–1849) and W. B. Yeats, on the other, the prominently-positioned Markievicz is remembered as a militant socialist. The pedestal bears the inscription: 'Constance Markievicz. Major. Irish Citizen Army. 1916'. On either side of the pedestal are the words: (in English) 'A Valiant Woman Who Fought For Ireland In 1916' and (in Irish) '*Bean Ċróga a ṫroid ar son na hĖireann i 1916*'. Markievicz's nationalism and socialism are intertwined. Whatever the condescending content of the two Taoiseachs' unveiling speeches, through her monument, her status as a soldier is unequivocal; her controversial militancy is not at issue. The bust of Markievicz occupies a central position in the busy St Stephen's Green in the heart of Dublin.

Markievicz: Kilmainham Gaol

Markievicz is also remembered, among other revolutionary prisoners, in nearby Kilmainham Gaol where she was incarcerated after surrendering to British

authorities in 1916. Kilmainham Gaol, which opened in 1796, operated as a prison for 'ordinary' men, women, and children, but its history as an institution housing nationalist prisoners has overshadowed all other narratives. In the nineteenth century, those who challenged British authority in Ireland were detained and often executed at Kilmainham. The use of the prison in the tumultuous revolutionary years of the early twentieth century maintains a hold on the popular imagination in Ireland. After being shut for six years, the prison was reopened in 1916 to accommodate those who had surrendered to authorities after the failed nationalist Easter Rising. Hundreds of men and women were detained there. Between 3 and 12 May 1916, fourteen men were executed by firing squad in what had been the Kilmainham stone-breakers' yard for their part in the uprising.

The prison went on to gain increasing notoriety. In the Anglo-Irish War, captured members of the Republican Army were held there. During the Irish Civil War, the gaol was taken over by the Free State Army who used it to house and execute some of the captured Anti-Treaty forces. Between February and September 1923, over three hundred women and girls aged between twelve and seventy were imprisoned there for their part in the republican Anti-Treaty campaign. The very last prisoner to be released from Kilmainham was Éamon de Valéra in 1924. After a period of neglect, the Kilmainham Gaol Restoration Committee was established in 1960 to preserve the gaol as a monument to Irish nationalism. The Committee performed all the restorations voluntarily and then handed the gaol over to the State in 1986. The gaol and its museum are now tourist sites for visitors who want to gain an insight into Ireland's troubled and violent past.[78]

Memories of revolutionary women are dispersed throughout the restored gaol and museum. A section of the museum dedicated to the Cumann na mBan displays items from the official to the more personal. Membership cards and uniforms are on show. The organization's opposition to the 1921 Treaty is represented by the official directive from Cumann na mBan Headquarters. Republican women's experiences and their mistreatment at the hands of pro-Treaty forces during the bitter Civil War are prominent themes of the exhibition, exemplified by copies of *An Phoblacht* articles, prison diaries, other writings, autograph books, and craft works constructed by prisoners.

Markievicz features prominently in the gaol and the museum. As one of the most notorious inmates of the prison, Markievicz has been commemorated with a simple plaque bearing her name above a cell in which she was held.[79] In the museum, she is represented by a selection of her own writings and drawings. A copy of her famous 1909 lecture, 'Women, Ideals and the Nation', is displayed in the 'Women and the Nation' section, alongside allegorical portrayals of Ireland as a female being devoured by the vampirish England, information related to the 1880s Ladies' Land League, and photographs of Inghinidhe na hÉireann (Daughters of Erin/Ireland) and its paper, *Bean na hEireann* (translated as Woman of Ireland – with the comment that the banner of this paper was created by Markievicz).

The exhibition also houses what is described as a 'series of bitterly satirical cartoons drawn by the Countess Markievicz during the Civil War', all of which are fiercely anti-Treaty. Other material artefacts are displayed, including her despatch bag, which was said to have been used during the 1916 Easter Rising, and various photographs of her alongside male nationalists and prominent Anti-Treaty men such as de Valéra, Cathal Brugha (1874–1922), and Count Plunkett (1851–1948). There is also a prayer book given to Markievicz in 1921 by two men on the eve of their respective executions. Included in the book are two personal messages to Markievicz:

> Paddy Moran Sentenced to Death. Goodbye to old Ireland and you. Mountjoy Mar. 13th. For the Countess M.
>
> With best wishes from Thomas Whelan Mountjoy Prison 13th March 1921. To the Countess. I loved Ireland and you. xxx

These inscriptions confirm the profound influence that Markievicz had, particularly as one of the founders and leaders of the Fianna na hÉireann (Irish Boy Scouts). They also add fuel to much more insidious allegations that the Countess lured unsuspecting young men to their deaths by feeding them nationalist propaganda and training them for war (as discussed below).

Markievicz: The Poppet statue

In 1998, a statue of Markievicz and her dog, Poppet, was created by Irish sculptor, Elizabeth McLaughlin (Figure 2.4).[80] It was erected outside the fitness facility, Sports and Fitness Markievicz, on Townsend Street, Dublin. Perhaps Markievicz's close association with sports – through her work with the boy scouts – rendered her an appropriate patron of a fitness facility.[81] The monument was commissioned by Treasury Holdings, property developers who had been involved with the redevelopment of the surrounding area. The statue depicts Markievicz informally, only in partial military garb, in a flowing skirt and military blouse, and with her cocker spaniel by her side. It is a very tame, feminine portrait of the rebel Countess.

Reactions to remembering one of the nation's revolutionary heroines through the Poppet statue were divided. Aesthetically, the statue has been deemed 'crudely executed' and 'a gift shop item enlarged' by some. Others claim that the monument continues to have popular appeal because of the endearing presence of the dog alongside the main subject; an unusual inclusion in a sculpture of a political figure.[82]

The twinning of Markievicz with her domestic pet has opened a gateway for observers to further trivialize Markievicz's memory. Frank McNally commented that it was fitting that the statue divided the people of Dublin because the dog, Poppet – inseparable from and indulged by the Countess – divided all those she came into contact with.[83] McNally added to the farce by recounting a story about

the cocker spaniel tearing the famous Irish flag that Markievicz had sewn for the Easter Rising, concluding that had the dog faced a republican court martial for treason, he might have evaded execution like his mistress.[84] Disarmed and domesticated – in the same year that Northern Ireland was disarmed via the

FIGURE 2.4 Sculpture by Elizabeth McLaughlin, 1998, Countess Markievicz with Poppet, Dublin, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

signing of the historic 1998 Good Friday Peace Agreement[85] – the Poppet statue provided no evidence that its central subject had ever been anything but a sentimentally popular local heroine.

Markievicz: Sligo memorials

In recent years, Markievicz has been embraced as a local hero in her home county, Sligo. A number of ventures have demonstrated this regional celebration of Markievicz, including the opening of an exhibition honouring her achievements in her former home, Lissadell House, and the erection of an imposing monument in Rathcormac, a nearby village.

Private individuals bought and preserved Markievicz's childhood home in the early 2000s. The house was home to Markievicz and her sister, Eva Gore-Booth, and an occasional refuge for another of Sligo's celebrities, W. B. Yeats. The home – open to tourists – is necessarily evocative of one of Markievicz's more contentious traits, her membership of the privileged, Anglo-Irish Ascendancy class.[86] In 2007, the then Taoiseach, Bertie Ahern, opened the permanent Markievicz exhibition, which casts light on Markievicz's personal and professional life. There are artefacts on display reflecting Markievicz's public life that are likely to be familiar to visitors, including a copy of her renowned 1909 lecture on women and the nation, the now famous studio photograph of her with a pistol, a selection of her political cartoons and writings, newspaper cuttings detailing the 1916 Easter Rising, and John Conway's colourful and dramatic action painting of Markievicz holding a gun with a backdrop of the Easter Rising. There are also less familiar materials, such as her handwritten notes relating to planning the Rising, a 'Copybook of the Writings of Countess Markievicz While imprisoned in Kilmainham Jail, May 1916', as well as an evocative painting by Count Casimir Markievicz, entitled 'Constance', 1927 (Oil on Canvas) – an intimate portrait of Markievicz in bed in the year of her death.

The distinctive aspects of the Lissadell exhibition are the revelations about Markievicz's private life, particularly in the period before she rescinded her life of privilege. Arranged chronologically, exhibits include images of her superb horse riding abilities, personal letters (such as a letter to her father), photographs taken of her as a young woman in garden settings or in theatrical guise – dressed as Joan of Arc, for example – and a host of her drawings and paintings. These images of the private subject have been augmented by an album containing a series of hitherto unseen photographs of her relaxing among friends and family at the home of the Sterry family at Poltimore near Exeter, England, and in France when she was courting with Count Markievicz.[87] Memorializing Markievicz here, among the relics of her privileged upbringing, means unapologetically remembering her Anglo-Irish origins, while simultaneously lauding her political contributions.

Likewise, the Rathcormac statue devoted to Markievicz presents an integrated form of remembering – not an integration of her private and public life in this case, but rather an amalgamation of the many distinct facets of her political work

(Figure 2.5; Figure 2.6; Figure 2.7). On 21 April 2003, in recognition of the woman the *Enniscorthy Guardian* labels 'Sligo's most famous daughter', a twenty-foot bronze figure of Markievicz raised on a stone plinth with stainless steel gates was unveiled in Rathcormac, County Sligo.[88] Up until then, there had been a Gaelic Athletics Association grounds, health centre, and local housing estate named after Markievicz in Sligo, but no formal monument. The memorial was the result of years of campaigning and fundraising on the part of the Markievicz Millennium Committee. The Committee, together with Sligo Corporation and Sligo County Council, raised over €100,000 for the sculpture.[89] The design, by Dublin-based artist, John Coll, was selected from a shortlist of ten submissions.[90]

Coll's shrine to the Countess is impressive in size and scope. It consists of six steel and bronze figures. Markievicz is depicted in Fianna na hÉireann uniform

FIGURE 2.5 Sculpture by John Coll, 2003, of Markievicz, Rathcormick, Sligo, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

carrying a flag at an opened prison gate. Behind her are five other figures, each representing aspects of her life as an activist working on behalf of the labour movement, the poor, the imprisoned, for women's rights, and for the nationalist campaign. The sculpture rests on a platform that slants up from the ground, rising to a height of about twenty feet. The impression is that Markievicz is leading an uphill battle but, given the open gates, this is ultimately a successful uphill battle. There is a sense that, although she is accompanied by other figures, she is striking a path ahead – alone – as hands are outstretched to touch her, grabbing hold of her. She strikes a formidable, but lonely pose. Four of the six figures are female. The two male figures variously represent the broken shackles of national bondage: one clings in broken chains to the open gate suggesting the despair of a broken Ireland, while the other sits, forlorn, at the back of the monument with his head in his arms in a sorrowful pose.

The Rathcormac memorial has been framed as symbolizing the importance of harmony and unity to a forward-looking Ireland on the cusp of a new millennium. Markievicz was seen to embody these values because her political allegiances lay across so many connected but often competing realms, including socialism, feminism, and nationalism. In his unveiling speech in 2003, Séamus Brennan, then

FIGURE 2.6 Markievicz, Rathcormick, Sligo, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

FIGURE 2.7 Markievicz, Rathcormick, Sligo, June 2015
Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

Minister for Transport in the Fianna Fáil government, asserted that unity and tolerance were essential ingredients in an ever-diversifying modern Ireland. Ignoring the detail that Markievicz was a founding member of his own political party, Brennan claimed that her many allegiances transcended party loyalties. Eliding the fact that she was actively opposed to the establishment of the first iteration of the postcolonial Irish nation and that she was imprisoned because of this resistance, he went on to say that she was 'a remarkable woman, and one of the outstanding social and historical figures in our history'. She was a 'committed revolutionary who went on to fully embrace the democratic system in the emerging new Ireland'.[91] Finally, in line with the Markievicz Millennium Committee's lauding

of the local heroine who 'turned her back on status, privilege and fortune to champion the cause of the poor and the downtrodden',[92] Brennan asserted that this monument was intended to remember the life of a woman who dedicated her life to the service of others, 'particularly the poor and those on the margins of society'. Connecting woman to nation, he added that Markievicz's inclusive actions were a 'testament to her commitment to building an Ireland in which the rights of all would be fully recognized'.[93]

Brennan and the memorial committee may have promoted the issue of unity and harmony as fitting attributes in a twenty-first-century Ireland, but the essential backdrop to these claims to peace and tolerance was the brokering of the 1998 Good Friday Peace Agreement in the North of Ireland in which the government of the Republic of Ireland played a pivotal role. This agreement not only saw a cessation to violent conflict in the north but also had constitutional consequences for the whole island of Ireland.[94] Without remembering Markievicz's resort to violence for nationalist and republican ideals, those extolling the unifying virtues of the Rathcormac monument did so in the understanding that violence in the name of nationalism and Unionism during the thirty-year Troubles had come to an end.

Remembering Markievicz as a violent woman

A number of commentators have pointed out exactly how destructive and violent Markievicz was. Kevin Myers has expressed anger at the fact that there is a statue to Markievicz on St Stephen's Green but that there is 'no memorial to the unarmed policeman she [allegedly] murdered there, Constable Michael Lahiffe'.[95] Referencing the Rathcormac monument, Ruth Dudley Edwards responded that Markievicz was no friend of peace and so she did not deserve a statue dedicated to her under the auspices of supporting the peace movement in Ireland. She was 'a snob, fraud, show-off, and murderer' who 'got a kick out of wearing uniforms'. She proved she was 'bloodthirsty' when she 'brainwashed children into believing that they must die for Ireland'. She was, Dudley Edwards argued, 'physically brave to the point of recklessness', but she was also a 'bloodthirsty show-off' who did not understand the causes she championed. She may have been 'beautiful and flamboyant but she was all style and no substance along with other uncompromising green harpies of her generation'.[96]

In what she considered a final damning indictment of Markievicz and the other 'green harpies', Dudley Edwards ludicrously concluded that they were to blame for postcolonial Ireland's notorious anti-feminist turn. They were responsible for forcing men to do everything they could to keep women out of politics:

> Can you blame them? They turned off men for generations. We are all lucky that in due course some women came along and showed that they could be ordinary and not mad to get involved in politics.[97]

Revolutionary women in general, and Markievicz in particular, Dudley Edwards asserted, were 'mad' and that was why they were active in the campaign for national autonomy. It would then appear from her comments that the men who participated alongside them were 'ordinary' rather than 'mad' to get involved with nationalist politics. Consequently, the 'mad' women 'turned off men' and so were properly exiled from the public sphere, leaving the men free to get on with their 'ordinary' job of managing the new nation's political affairs.[98]

The sanity of Markievicz and her fellow female activists was open to attack at the turn of the twenty-first century. Explaining away transgressive women as insane is a much-used trope.[99] Around the same time, Markievicz's seemingly intractable reputation for courage – a state that Dudley Edwards had described as being 'physically brave to the point of recklessness' – came under dispute. Mounting preparations for the centenary commemorations of the 1916 Easter Rising provided the context for a further attack on Markievicz's memory. Public commentators opposed the centenary commemorations because they said that such 'celebrations' amounted to a glorification of violence: violence that had, until very recently, caused inglorious death and destruction during Northern Ireland's late twentieth-century Troubles.

Kevin Myers stated that there 'has hardly been a more pertinaciously toxic, lie-filled mythology in any European democracy than that which independent Ireland has attached to the 1916 Easter Rising'.[100] He started the process of exposing what he called the lies behind the 1916 myths by countering claims that the most famous woman in the Rising had accepted the pronouncement of her death sentence with a bravado equal to that of any man.[101] Myers resurrected an allegation that Markievicz had 'actually cited her gender when begging her captors to spare her life' during her court martial.[102] He quoted at length from the private memoirs of former judge, William Evelyn Wylie, who was present at Markievicz's court martial:

> Of Countess Markievicz, he wrote: '. . . she curled up completely. "I am only a woman", she cried, "and you cannot shoot a woman. You must not shoot a woman." She never stopped moaning, the whole time she was in the courtroom . . . I think we all felt slightly disgusted . . . she had been preaching to a lot of silly boys, death and glory, die for your country, etc., and yet she was literally crawling. I won't say any more, it revolts me still'.[103]

When being interviewed for the television documentary, *1916: The Man Who Lost Ireland*, Brian Barton strenuously opposed Wylie's version.[104] The official record of the court martial, he said, 'records the countess's behaviour differently'. Instead of capitulating, 'she stood up to the court'. Why the lie, then? Barton's proffered response was: 'I would speculate that it could be something to do with sexual bias. He could have been irritated by her defiance'.[105] Perhaps Myers, too, was irritated by her defiance. Why else – in the face of official evidence to the contrary – would he continue to maintain that this female warrior was incapable

of masculine courage? For Myers, dismantling the myths of romance and heroism on which memories of the Easter Rising had been constructed began with exposing what he said was the fraudulent heroism of the Rising's most famous heroine.

Markievicz: Monuments north of the Irish border

As noted above, until relatively recently, those living in Northern Ireland had been embroiled in a thirty-year violent conflict, euphemistically referred to as the Troubles. Over 3,500 people were killed and tens of thousands injured. The main belligerents in this low intensity or guerrilla war were nationalist and Unionist paramilitaries, the Northern Irish police force, and the British Army. Those fighting on the nationalist side – particularly the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA or more commonly IRA) – denied the legitimacy of the Northern Irish state and opposed the union with Great Britain. As such, they framed their campaign as a direct continuation of the Easter Rising in 1916. The 'Provisional' in the Provisional Irish Republican Army acted as a signifier of that continuity in that it connected the late twentieth-century IRA's aims and objectives – of proclaiming a Republic for the whole island of Ireland – to the Republic proclaimed by the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic in the failed 1916 Rising. The six counties making up Northern Ireland constituted the only region on the island not successfully claimed by the existing Irish Republic. For those fighting in the North for unification of the island, Easter 1916 provided 'the historical legitimacy, the ideology, the heroes and the models of activity'.[106] One popular way to memorialize the Rising in the North was through public murals featuring the iconic leaders of Easter 1916. These leaders symbolized the shared vision of an island-wide Irish Republic.

Markievicz was one of a handful of Republican women who made it onto the public murals in northern cities such as Belfast and Derry during the Troubles and beyond. For members of the late twentieth-century Cumann na mBan – female combatants who were later subsumed into the mainstream IRA – the memory of Markievicz, specifically, legitimized the presence of women in the ongoing Republican movement.[107] As with other anti-colonial nationalist movements, Ireland had a history of using imaginings of long-suffering women to represent the oppressed nation. These images of passive femininity were intended to spur men into violent activism in the name of liberation. Combatant women – whether at the beginning of the twentieth century or at the end – destabilized and challenged the validity of the 'suffering female' trope.[108] Putting the face of an actual female revolutionary on the walls of the northern cities – one who had engaged in active combat for the Republican ideal – served to authenticate the ongoing participation of Irish women in what was both a political and a violent campaign. Markievicz, who had achieved such extraordinary levels of fame and notoriety in each realm, was an obvious choice.

Before the 1998 Peace Accord in Northern Ireland, murals constituted part of 'the local culture of war'. Afterwards, they served as remnants of that wartime

culture.[109] Murals, which were prevalent in nationalist and Unionist areas, have been described as 'one of the most dynamic media for symbolic expression in the north of Ireland'. They have functioned as 'propaganda, as rhetoric, as ideological and symbolic markers'.[110] The political message they carried was often enhanced by their location: on the boundary between segregated areas, within view of a military base, or in a prominent site on a parade route. Murals have the ability to transform mundane public spaces into politicized places. These physical places become activated as part of the ideological struggle in which they are implicated.[111]

Through the course of the Troubles, murals grew in volume and sophistication, particularly in working-class areas of Belfast. Many have remained or been added to so that mural tours have become a popular form of tourism for international visitors in the post-war era. Initiatives to celebrate the centenary of International Women's Day (2011) – most notably the handbook, *Celebrating Belfast Women: A city guide through women's eyes* – have made it possible for local and international visitors to the city to pinpoint those murals specifically depicting women's involvement in the Troubles.[112]

The mural that most strikingly communicates Markievicz's potency as a symbol of women's militant activism is situated on the exposed gable of a house in a West Belfast residential estate, against the imposing backdrop of Black Mountain (Figure 2.8). The painting depicts a scene from the Easter Rising. Inscribed 'Freedom Fighters Outside the GPO. Easter Rising 1916', an armed Markievicz takes centre

FIGURE 2.8 Mural, 'Easter Rising', corner of Whiterock Road and Glenalina Road, West Belfast, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

stage, flanked by male leaders of the Rising, with the Tricolour flag, GPO, and other armed figures battling behind her in the background. Markievicz, flamboyant as she sports her renowned plumed headwear, meets the gaze of passers-by. She strikes the dominant pose in what is essentially a painting full of masculine bodies and masculinized action. Here, this revolutionary woman is part of the essential fabric of the armed Republican movement.

Another Belfast mural does more to depict Markievicz's centrality to the specific legacy of women's activism in Ireland (Figure 2.9). Listed in *Celebrating Belfast Women* (2011) as the 'Constance Markievicz Wall Mural', the painting is currently located at the corner of Rockmore Road and the Falls Road, where residential, commercial, and cultural enterprises mix in nationalist West Belfast. The mural features Markievicz in Irish Citizen Army uniform outside the General Post Office, Dublin, during the 1916 Rising (the site from which the Proclamation of an Irish Republic was read). She is surrounded by images of late twentieth-century Republican womanhood, including a nameless nationalist woman banging a bin lid warning of army raids in the early 1970s – a scene evocative of women's activism in the early years of the Troubles – and the depiction of a more recognisable female activist, Mairéad Farrell (1957–1988), who was shot dead by British soldiers while on an IRA mission in Gibraltar in 1988. The activism of 'ordinary' women is coupled with that of their extraordinary sisters, and early twentieth-century women's efforts for a Republican Ireland are inextricably linked to those of women in the Troubles.

Reflecting the mutability of murals as a form of political culture, the mural has been altered since it appeared in Margaret Ward's *Celebrating Belfast Women*.

FIGURE 2.9 Mural, 'Women in Struggle', corner of Rockmount Street and Falls Road, West Belfast, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

A new inscription has been added to the bottom of the painting – 'Generations shall remember them and call them blessed' – lines from Pádraig Pearse's poignant poem, 'The Mother', about his mother's grief, written just before he and his younger brother were executed following the Easter Rising. The women's memorial is now situated immediately above a painting of socialist leader, James Connolly – leader of the socialist Irish Citizen Army – which acts to highlight not only Markievicz's contributions to the nationalist cause but also to socialism.

In 2014, further murals featuring female activists were established in places such as Belfast and Derry. These new works were created for the centenary commemorations of the Cumann na mBan (Women's Council). Markievicz was a key figure in each of these murals. One is located on Beechmount Avenue and Falls Road, at the heart of intersecting commercial, residential, and cultural areas (Figure 2.10). It is entitled '*Cumann na mBan Céad Bliain. Ní saoirse go saoirse na mban*!' (Cumann na mBan. 100 years. No Freedom until Women's Freedom). Markievicz is situated alongside both Cumann na mBan women of the revolutionary period and Republican women of the Troubles. This is similar to the Derry city centenary Cumann na mBan mural which was unveiled by local Sinn Féin councillor, Patricia Logue, in October 2014. Logue's opening speech connected the two strands of female republican activism:

> This mural is a tapestry of history and it's appropriate that at the centre of it is a picture of Constance Markievicz and Volunteer Ethel Lynch whose 40th Anniversary takes place later this year [Cumann na mBan and IRA officer who 'died while on active service in 1974']. Ethel and all her comrades who made the ultimate sacrifice are always in our thoughts as we move forward.[113]

Designed by famous local mural artist, Danny Devenny, and funded by Tar Abhaile, Derry Republican ex-prisoner organization, the mural 'celebrates not just the Cumann na mBan but the input of women throughout Irish history'.[114] The choice of Markievicz as the anchor to the past is fitting. She exemplified the female warrior of the Republican movement and was the president of the Cumann na mBan later in her career. More importantly for helping to verify the legitimacy of the late twentieth-century Republican movement in the North, she rejected the 1920s Treaty that led to the establishment of Northern Ireland and continued to campaign for an island-wide Republic until her death.

Before 2015, a different Markievicz mural adorned the same Beechmount Avenue/Falls Road site as shown in Figure 2.10. In 2009, a mural depicting Markievicz as co-founder of the Fianna na hÉireann (the Irish National Boy Scouts) was painted to commemorate the centenary of the Fianna na hÉireann (Figure 2.11). A new centenary – that of the Cumann na mBan – provided the opportunity for a renewed use of Markievicz's image in the name of Republicanism.

Markievicz's memory has served to connect the two strands of female Republican activism bookending the beginning and end of the twentieth century. Her image has also, however, been used to facilitate the forward-moving outlook

FIGURE 2.10 Mural, 'Cumann na mBan', corner of Beechmount Avenue and Falls Road, West Belfast, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

FIGURE 2.11 Mural, 'Fianna na hÉireann Markievicz', corner of Beechmount Avenue and Falls Road, West Belfast, August 2010

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

FIGURE 2.12 Mural, 'International Wall', corner of Northumberland Street and Falls Road, West Belfast, June 2015

Photograph by Sharon Crozier-De Rosa

mentioned by Sinn Féin councillor, Patricia Logue. Directly connecting the Catholic Falls Road and the Protestant Shankill Road – the border running through heavily segregated West Belfast – is the International Wall. On the nationalist side, past and present icons of social and political activism in Ireland sit alongside past and present reminders of social and political activism abroad. Modern pop art style portraits of individuals such as Frederick Douglass (1818–1895), Rosa Parks (1913–2005), and Nelson Mandela (1918–2013), flank those of Irish militants, including Markievicz (Figure 2.12). Calls for freedom for the Palestinians from Israeli occupation accompany those demanding attention to climate change. Markievicz has been subsumed into a patchwork of international causes.

Below we consider another woman whose memory has been re-interpreted under successive political regimes – the early twentieth-century Chinese 'woman warrior' Qiu Jin (1875–1907).

Qiu Jin: The woman warrior

In many countries, there are few models for militant women. In the late nineteenth century in Japan, Fukuda [Kageyama] Hideko (1865–1927) was arrested for her involvement in a plot to send explosives to assist Korean radicals. Fukuda was imprisoned for a short time but pardoned and released on the promulgation of the Constitution of Imperial Japan (which became effective in 1890). She reflected wryly, 'I had been a traitor, but in the space of an hour I had been transformed

into a patriot'.[115] She was valorized by her comrades, who referred to her as Japan's 'Joan of Arc', reflecting the lack of local models of women's militancy.[116] Meanwhile, in her autobiography, she compared herself to the male '*shishi*' (warriors) who had overthrown the rule of the Shōguns in the 1860s, referring to herself as a '*jo-shishi*' (female warrior). Fukuda herself is well-remembered in Japan, though, for her autobiography is still in print in an accessible paperback edition.[117]

In neighbouring China, by contrast, there was a rich tradition of the depiction of female warriors, dating back to the stories of the legendary woman warrior Hua Mulan in the Northern Wei dynasty period (386–534). Hua Mulan expressed filial piety by cross-dressing as a man and going to war in place of her aged and infirm father. The story of the woman warrior who cross-dresses and lives as a man has been reworked in each age.[118] As several commentators have noted, however, the various versions of the Mulan story ultimately uphold orthodoxy, as Mulan always returns to her feminized role in the family in the end. In twentieth-century versions, there is a greater emphasis on her patriotic service to the state.[119]

To Anglophone viewers and readers, the stories of the legendary women warriors have come to us through the Chinese martial arts cinema, through Chinese-American novelist Maxine Hong Kingston's *The Woman Warrior*, and more recently through the Disney animated film, *Mulan*, and Ang Lee's international blockbuster, *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*.[120] Stories of women warriors like Hua Mulan in Chinese culture provide an important context for understanding the life of Qiu Jin.[121]

Qiu Jin was born in 1875 in Fujian Province and lived in Zhejiang Province. Qiu Jin and her brothers and sisters received a good education from home tutors. Qiu Jin also learned to ride a horse and wield a sword.[122] As Louise Edwards points out, there were two main roles for élite men, as scholars or as warriors.[123] Women were marginalized from both of these roles but Qiu Jin came to aspire to both the literary and martial ideals. Later in her life she carried a seal with the words 'Read Books, Practise the Sword'.[124] She lived in Taiwan for a time when her father was posted there as Secretary to the Governor of Taiwan. Due to her father's work they also moved to Shangsha and then Xiangxiang in Hunan Province, which was the centre of the reform movement.[125] In 1896 she was married, at the age of 20, to Wang Xifang (1879–1909), the son of a wealthy merchant who was a friend of her father. They originally lived in Wang's hometown but moved to Beijing.

Qiu Jin grew up at a time when intellectuals were questioning the rule of the imperial Qing dynasty (1644–1912) and attempting to resist European imperialism. The two causes were aligned, as it was the majority Han Chinese who were attempting to overthrow the Manchu royal family. China suffered in the Opium Wars of the 1840s and 1860s but was not subject to direct colonial rule in the same way as colonies such as India. The country was, however, forced to sign unequal treaties with the United States and several European powers, who set up settlements in major Chinese cities where their nationals enjoyed the privileges of extraterritoriality. Major trading ports such as Shanghai became known as 'treaty ports'. The legitimacy of the Qing regime was further challenged by its defeat by

Japan in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895 and the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion by the Eight Nation Alliance in 1900.

In this context, intellectuals debated the path that China should take to modernity, with women's situation being seen as an allegory for the state of the nation. We have noted above that the practice of *sati* became a contested site for discussions of the Indian nation. In China, it was foot-binding which became a site of contestation. Anti-foot-binding societies were established as part of the reform movement of the late 1890s:

> [In late nineteenth century China] women's physical health . . . became a foremost concern and almost every reformer now stressed the need to 'unbind' the feet of Chinese women and advocated physical exercise for women substantially if not completely to ensure *fit* mothers for a *fit* nation which was able to resist imperialism in all its forms. One indirect and unsought consequence was that the bodies of women became the battle-ground for redefining a fundamental human relationship, that of woman and man. For conservatives, traditional sexual inequality was a requisite barrier to improper egalitarianism, while for liberals, sexual equality was a necessary requirement for proper egalitarianism.[126]

In 1904, Qiu Jin left her family behind and travelled to study in Japan. She spent time at Japanese educator Shimoda Utako's (1854–1936) Jissen Women's School. While in Tokyo she moved in the circles of Chinese exiles who were plotting to overthrow the Qing dynasty and she contributed to the Chinese-language journals which were being published in Japan. In an essay for one of these publications, 'To the Two Hundred Million Chinese Women', she railed against foot-binding and criticized the marriage and family system.[127] She joined associations such as the Restoration Society, led by Zhang Binglin (1868–1936), and the Revolutionary Alliance, founded by Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925). In Tokyo she studied physical education and trained in fencing and archery at the Martial Arts Society.[128]

Antonia Finnane refers to Qiu Jin's 'restless vestimentary search for a new identity',[129] for she variously wore Chinese, Japanese, and Western-style clothing and also cross-dressed.[130] She visited a photographic studio and had her photo taken in a Western suit and cap, brandishing a cane.[131] In her writings, Qiu Jin referred to the warrior women from China's past, and also other revolutionary women such as Madame Roland from France (1754–1793), Sofya Perovskaya from Russia (1853–1881), and educator Catherine Beecher from the US (1800–1878).[132]

She returned to China in 1906 and lived in the Shanghai area, where she once again mixed in revolutionary circles. In 1906 she founded, with her cousin, the radical women's journal, *China Women's News*.

As principal of Datong Normal College (in Hangzhou) in 1907[133] she drilled her girl students in military gymnastics, almost to the exclusion of other pursuits,

and caused scandal by riding around town dressed in men's clothing. 'My aim is to dress like a man!' she proclaimed. 'If I first take on the appearance of a man, then I believe my mind too will eventually become like that of a man!'[134]

With her cousin, Xu Xilin (1873–1907), she planned an uprising against the Qing. She set out a structure for the Restoration Army and designed uniforms for the troops.[135]

On 12 July 1907 she was arrested and then tried. She was publicly executed by beheading in her home village, Shanyin, at the age of 31. Her students, the Yin sisters, carried on her activities in Shanghai and were active in the events of 1911 when the Qing dynasty was finally overthrown. In the same way as Qiu Jin had looked up to warriors like Hua Mulan, in later years girls would be inspired by the figure of Qiu Jin.[136]

In 1937, Florence Ayscough published a book about Chinese women. Although the research must have been carried out for several years before, it was published just after Japan's invasion of China in 1937. The book places Qiu Jin in a pantheon which includes the legendary Hua Mulan, the Soong sisters, and several Communist women.[137] The 'Introduction' to Ayscough's book sets out this genealogy:

> Disaster envelops China. A ruthless enemy has blockaded her coasts and is attempting by the aid of every modern weapon to obtain mastery of her people and break her national spirit. Non-combatants and refugees, as well as soldiers, are being slaughtered.
>
> That the spirit of Ch'iu Chin [Qiu Jin] and her atavic ancestors, Hua Mu-lan and other Women Warriors, survives is proved by a United Press message, of September 11, from Shanghai which reads:
>
> 'Thousands of Chinese girls fought in the front lines today against the Japanese.
>
> 'They fought side by side with the regular army forces. Others were engaged in militia duties in the rear or were assisting in first-aid relief in the battle zones . . .'[138]

Remembering Qiu Jin

The death of Qiu Jin in 1907 was marked in both Chinese-language and English-language publications.[139] In China, her friends issued a collection of her poetry which, alongside her polemical articles, provides insight into her thoughts. Her friends Wu Zhiying (1868–1934) and Xu Zihua (1873–1935) were devoted to the preservation of her memory.[140] In subsequent years her public prominence increased, which Sabine Hieronymous refers to as a 'Qiu Jin cult'. She was particularly valorized after the overthrow of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the Republic in 1912.[141] She is one of the figures who appears in the nationalist pantheon in both the People's Republic of China and Taiwan.[142]

Writer Lu Xun (1881–1931) referred to Qiu Jin several times in his writings. Lu Xun had been a student in Japan at the same time as Qiu Jin. He heard her

give a speech in 1905 where she enjoined fellow Chinese students to return to the homeland to support the revolution. At this meeting she had brandished a knife and plunged it into the podium for dramatic effect.[143] In one of his stories he writes about a heroic figure with similarities to Qiu Jin. He also refers to her in passing in various other writings, and spoke at her memorial events.[144]

Qiu Jin was initially buried near the site of her death. A few months later her friends Xu Zihua and Wu Zhiying moved her coffin to the banks of West Lake in Hangzhou, where they built a new tomb for her. This tomb, however, was destroyed by the Qing government before its overthrow in 1911.[145]

In the summer of 1912, in Hangzhou, the new Republican government led by Sun Yat-sen held a funeral and built an elaborate new monument for Qiu Jin over her grave. On a new gravestone in Sun Yat-sen's handwriting style was carved 'Long Live Heroine Qiu Jin'. More than ten thousand people attended the funeral. Nearby a Wind and Rain Pavilion was erected in memory of Qiu Jin's last verse.[146] In Shanghai, Qiu Jin's comrades set up a girls' school named after her.

FIGURE 2.13 Statue of Qiu Jin, West Lake, Hangzhou, August 2015
Photograph by Vera Mackie

In Shaoxing, at the fifth anniversary memorial service of Qiu Jin's execution, the members of the Restoration Society built the Qiu Jin Martyr Monument at the place of execution in Shaoxing where the heroine gave her life. In 1981 a new, even more elaborate monument was completed in Hangzhou. Sun Yat-sen's words were retained on the new tombstone.[147]

She was buried and reburied a total of nine times before coming to rest in Hangzhou.[148] The 1981 memorial to Qiu Jin currently stands in greenery in the West Lake tourist and heritage site (Figure 2.13). It incorporates a stone slab from one of the earlier burials. The white statue is a standing figure larger than life-sized and elevated on a pedestal, comparable with the kinds of statues we see of great men'.

Her dress is simple – almost abstract. Although she often dressed in masculine attire in real life, her dress in the statue is a mix of historical styles of feminine dress. She wears a pleated skirt which was historically worn by Han Chinese women. Her trumpet-sleeved blouse is a style worn in the May Fourth Era.[149] The blouse is topped with a shawl of a style which might have been worn around the treaty ports. Her hair is simple and tied back in a bun at the nape of her neck. She holds a sword in reference to her image as a woman warrior.

An inscription in Chinese and English on the pedestal explains some of the history of Qiu Jin's tomb (Figure 2.14; Figure 2.15):

> QIU JIN'S TOMB
>
> In September 1981, Qiu Jin's Tomb was moved to the East side of the Xiling Bridge from Jilong Hill after several times' change of the tomb site. Qiu Jin, known as a revolutionary martyr, once said in her lifetime, 'If I die unfortunately, I wish to have my body be buried by the Xiling Bridge'.[150] The pedestal of the new tomb is 2 meters high, and the white marble statue of Qiu Jin is 2.7 meters high. Inlaid in the front side of the pedestal is "HEROINE", an inscription written by Dr. Sun Yat-sen then in her memory. The tomb ranks among the provincial monuments.

The calligraphy of Sun Yat-sen anoints Qiu Jin as a nationalist heroine. Sun Yat-sen was the first President of the Republic of China and considered to be the founder of modern China. He co-founded the Kuomintang (the Chinese Nationalist Party). He is still remembered as an important figure by the current Communist regime. Similarly, the final location of Qiu Jin's statue in the West Lake heritage precinct indicates that she is now viewed favourably by the current Communist regime.

For much of the Communist era, Qiu Jin's martyrdom was not recognized. Rather, as Louise Edwards argues, fighters for the Communist cause were expected to fight to the death or live to fight another day. After Communist founder Mao Zedong's (1873–1976) death and after the end of the Cultural Revolution,

FIGURE 2.14 Inscription on the pedestal of Qiu Jin's statue, West Lake, Hangzhou, August 2015

Photograph by Vera Mackie

however, so-called 'traditional' values were no longer repudiated. There was a series of events in 1979 marking the centenary of her birth, and her former home in Shaoxing was renovated as a museum.[151]

Qiu Jin had been martyred before the creation of both the Kuomintang and the Communist party. She could thus transcend their rivalries. In the post-Mao era, Qiu Jin 'could be recognized once again as part of the revolutionary heritage and made useful for patriotic education'. As her death was 'made to demonstrate the oppression of "Old China" and the ineffectiveness of the "old democratic revolution"', it could 'shore up the legitimacy and success of the Communist-led revolution'.[152]

In addition to these physical memorials there have been several feature films made about Qiu Jin.[153] Most recently, Asian-American film makers Rae Chang and Adam Tow have produced the documentary biopic *Autumn Gem: The True Story of China's First Feminist*.[154] 'Autumn Gem' is a translation of Qiu Jin's name. Her family name 'Qiu' means 'autumn', while her given name 'Jin' means 'gem'. The synopsis on the cover of the DVD describes her as 'the Chinese "Joan of Arc"', in what is now a familiar comparison. The genealogy of women warriors is affirmed, for the adult Qiu Jin is played by 'former China National Wushu [martial arts] Champion and Hollywood stunt actress Li Jing', while the young

FIGURE 2.15 The tomb of Qiu Jin in West Lake, Hangzhou, August 2015. The calligraphy says 'Qiu Jin's Grave'.

Photograph by Vera Mackie

Qiu Jin is played by Melissa Chin, a young martial arts champion.[155] The DVD is also supported by an interactive textbook available on iBooks.[156]

Chang and Tow's documentary biopic takes Qiu Jin's story out of China and makes it available as a usable history which Asian-Americans can also identify with. They can trace a genealogy from Hua Mulan to Qiu Jin and thence to the various woman warriors in contemporary transnational popular culture.

The shifting memories of these two militant women, Constance Markiewicz and Qiu Jin, demonstrate the ambivalent relationships between feminism and nationalism. In nationalist discourse women are at times enjoined to hold up what are seen as 'traditional' values. At other times, they are enjoined to be 'modern'. Nationalist movements often depend on the model of the passive or allegorical female to inspire menfolk to fight for the nation. Yet the years of revolutionary nationalism often open up spaces for women to actively embody martial values as they fight alongside men to secure the nation's freedom. The imposition of these paradoxical expectations confirms Cynthia Enloe's assertion that living as a nationalist feminist is indeed 'one of the most difficult projects in today's world'. This was so in the early twentieth-century worlds that Markievicz and Qiu Jin inhabited.

Such contested expectations also render the project of remembering revolutionary nationalist women a complex one. The memories of such women as Constance Markievicz and Qiu Jin are transmuted as commentators see them through the prism of contemporary values in each successive generation and each successive political regime. While the memory of each revolutionary woman is subject to shifting political environments, there are also significant differences that influence how each activist is remembered in their relevant nations. One of the most important of these relates to issues of national unity. We have shown that the memory of Qiu Jin can be evoked to inspire national unity in the post-Mao era. This is because she was martyred before the creation of both the Kuomintang and the Communist party and so could transcend their rivalries. The memory of Markievicz cannot be so easily appropriated for a similar cause. Markievicz lived long enough to take a side in the nationalist split and to declare her opposition to the legitimacy of the postcolonial Irish state. Her memory has been called on to fuel late twentieth-century nationalist violence in the north of Ireland; and to inspire further division in the name of a unified Ireland.

Notes

1 Figures drawn from *Markievicz Commission Report. Gender Equality Document*, Fianna Fáil, January 2015, pp. 14–16.
2 Brian Hutton, 'Higgins: Fight for Equality Goes On', *Irish News*, 3 April 2014.
3 See Nicola Tallant, 'She was a Snob, Fraud, Show-Off, and Murderer', *Irish Independent*, 29 October 2006; and Kevin Myers, 'FF Celebratory Plans for the Easter Rising a Load of Claptrap', *Irish Independent*, 20 April 2011.
4 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983); Anthony D. Smith, *Theories of Nationalism* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1971); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (London: Wiley, 1991 [1986]). Among a small number of notable exceptions to the omission of gender are George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig Inc., 1985); and Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer and Patricia Yaeger eds, *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).
5 Cynthia H. Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases. Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), p. 100.
6 Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias eds, *Woman, Nation, State* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1989); Sylvia Walby, 'Woman and Nation', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 32, Nos. 1–2 (1992), pp. 81–100; Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Gender and Nation', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 16, No 4 (1993), pp. 621–632; Anne McClintock, 'Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family', *Feminist Review*, No 44 (1993), pp. 61–80.
7 Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, p. 106.
8 Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, p. 109.
9 See Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986). See also Partha Chatterjee, 'Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India', *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 16, No 4 (1989) pp. 622–633; Joyce M. Chadya, 'Mother Politics. Anti-colonial Nationalism and the Woman Question in Africa', *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 15, No 3 (2003), pp. 153–157.

10 Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, p. 3.
11 Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, p. 10.
12 Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger eds, *The Invention of Tradition*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) pp. 1–14.
13 Rabindranath Tagore, *The Home and the World* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985 [1916]), translated by Surendranath Tagore. See also Satyajit Ray's film adaptation, *The Home and the World* (1984, National Film Development Corporation of India).
14 On these dynamics in India, see Partha Chatterjee, 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question', in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid eds, *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), pp. 233–253; on Japan, see Sharon Sievers, *Flowers in Salt: The Beginnings of Feminist Consciousness in Meiji Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1983), pp. 14–15.
15 Amrita Chhachhi, Interview with Kumari Jayawardena, *Development and Change*. Vol. 37, No. 6 (2006), pp. 1336–7.
16 Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism* (London: Pluto Press, 1983); Margaret Ward, 'Conflicting Interests: The British and Irish Suffrage Movements', *Feminist Review*, No. 50 (1995); Louise Ryan, 'Traditions and Double Moral Standard: The Irish Suffragists' Critique of Nationalism', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1995).
17 Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, p. 7; Robert J. C. Young, *Empire, Colony, Postcolony* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2015), pp. 88–91.
18 Catherine Candy, 'Relating Feminisms, Nationalisms and Imperialisms: Ireland, India and Margaret Cousins's Sexual Politics', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (1994), pp. 581-594.
19 Begoña Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence: Women, Nationalism, and Political Subjectivity in Northern Ireland* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).
20 Lata Mani, 'Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India', *Cultural Critique*, No 7 (1987), p. 153.
21 Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence;* Robert J.C. Young, *The Idea of English Ethnicity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008).
22 Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence*, p. 147.
23 Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence*, p. 147.
24 Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence*, p. 147.
25 Lisa Weihman, 'Doing My Bit for Ireland: Transgressing Gender in the Easter Rising', *Éire-Ireland*, Vol. 39, Nos 3 and 4 (2004), p. 241.
26 See Sarah Benton, 'Women Disarmed. The Militarization of Politics in Ireland 1913–23', *Feminist Review*, No. 50 (1995), p. 168.
27 Aretxaga, *Shattering Silence*, p. 146; Ann Matthews, *Renegades: Irish Republican Women 1900–1922* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2010), pp. 266–282.
28 Louise Ryan, '"Furies" and "Die-hards": Women and Irish Republicanism in the Early Twentieth Century', *Gender and History*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1999), pp. 264–270.
29 Weihman, 'Doing My Bit for Ireland', p. 242.
30 Some women who were active in other anti-colonial nationalist movements – for example, South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe – were awarded with more senior government posts than women in those other postcolonial African countries where women did not play an active female role in the nationalist movements. Arguably, however, active women were not lauded – if they were located at all – within the foundational narratives of any of these postcolonial nations. See Weihman, 'Doing My Bit for Ireland'.
31 Weihman, 'Doing My Bit for Ireland', p. 241.
32 For an analysis of the ways in which the Irish Revolution was remembered by male writers and revolutionaries in the years immediately after the formation of the Irish Free State, see Frances Flanagan, *Remembering the Revolution. Dissent, Culture, and Nationalism in the Irish Free State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

33 Anglo-Irish is the term given to those who had migrated to Ireland from England and now formed a privileged, landed, mostly Protestant social group.
34 For an account of Constance and Casimir Markievicz's lives, see Lauren Arrington, *Revolutionary Lives: Constance and Casimir Markievicz* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).
35 Matthews, *Renegades*, p. 119.
36 Sinéad McCoole, *No Ordinary Woman. Irish Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years* (Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2003), pp. 185–6; Gerry Kearns, 'Mother Ireland and the Revolutionary Sisters', *Cultural Geographies*, Vol. 11 (2004), pp. 452–3; Karen Steele, 'Constance Markievicz and the Politics of Memory', in *Irish Women and Nationalism: Soldiers, New Women and Wicked Hag*, eds Louise Ryan and Margaret Ward (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2004), pp. 62–79.
37 Charles Newton Wheeler, *The Irish Republic: An Analytical History of Ireland, 1914–1918, with particular reference to the Easter insurrection (1916) and the German 'plots'. Also a sketch of De Valera's life by Harry J. Boland, his private secretary; a close-up view of Countess Markievicz, and a defense of Ulster by Ulstermen* (Chicago: Cahill-Igoe Company, 1919), pp. 243–246, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=loc.ark:/13960/t3514hr60;view=1up;seq=9 (Last accessed 21 October 2015).
38 Wheeler, *The Irish Republic*, pp. 243–246.
39 Richard Michael Fox, *Rebel Irishwomen* (Dublin: Progress House, 1967 [1935]), p. 18.
40 Fox, *Rebel Irishwomen*, pp. 15–22.
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42 Quoted in Ryan, '"Furies" and "Die-hards"', p. 256.
43 Quoted in Ryan, '"Furies" and "Die-hards"', p. 256.
44 Ryan, '"Furies" and "Die-hards"', p. 267.
45 Senia Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women, 1900–1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 12.
46 P. S. O'Hegarty, *The Victory of Sinn Féin* (Dublin, 1924), quoted in Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women*, p. 12.
47 Pašeta, *Irish Nationalist Women*, p. 12.
48 Ryan, '"Furies" and "Die-hards"', p. 270.
49 Quoted in Ryan, '"Furies" and "Die-hards"', p. 270.
50 William Butler Yeats, 'In Memory of Eva Gore-Booth and Con Markievicz' [1927], in W. B. Yeats, *The Poems*, Edited and Introduced by Daniel Albright (London: Everyman's Library, 1992), pp. 283–4.
51 Sean O'Faolain, *Constance Markievicz or the Average Revolutionary* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1934), cited in Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2007), pp. 106–7; Steele, 'Constance Markievicz and the Politics of Memory', p. 63.
52 Matthews, *Renegades*, p. 101.
53 Sean O'Casey, 'Drums Under the Window' in *Autobiographies 1* (London: Papermac, 1963), pp. 596–7, quoted in Matthews, *Renegades*, pp. 73–76.
54 O'Casey, 'Drums Under the Window', pp. 596–7.
55 O'Casey, 'Drums Under the Window', pp. 596–7.
56 Quoted in Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For', *An Phoblacht*, 16 July 1932, pp. 7–8. The title of Sheehy Skeffington's article doubtless draws on the title Markievicz gave to a series of articles she wrote and published when she was championing the Republican movement in Glasgow, 'What Irish Republicans Stand For'. Cited in Fox, *Rebel Irishwomen*, p. 17.
57 Quoted in Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
58 Benton, 'Women Disarmed', p. 168.
59 Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.

60 Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
61 Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
62 Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
63 Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
64 Joan of Arc is often invoked as a model for women activists where there are few local models of activist or militant women. Fukuda [Kageyama] Hideko (1865–1927), who was active in the late nineteenth century popular rights movement and the early twentieth century socialist movement in Japan, was described as Japan's 'Joan of Arc' in an early hagiography.
65 Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
66 Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
67 Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
68 Maeve – or Mebh – was a legendary queen of Connaught, in the west of Ireland, who was renowned in Irish mythology for being a fierce warrior. Granuaile – or Grace O'Malley (c. 1530 – c. 1603) – was chieftain of the Ó Máille clan also of Connaught. Many folk tales tell of her legendary exploits as a leader of fighting men on sea and on land.
69 Here Sheehy Skeffington was referring to Markievicz's commitment to social justice amid the austere economic policies and resulting vicious labour dispute of the era of first president of the Irish Free State, W. T. Cosgrove (1880–1965), and her militant roles in the 1916 rising and the Irish Civil War (1922–1923). Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
70 Sheehy Skeffington refers to poet James Clarence Mangan (1803–1849) who wrote 'Dark Rosaleen'. His bust in St Stephen's Green has an inset of Dark Rosaleen, the poet's symbolic representation of Ireland.
71 Sheehy Skeffington, 'Constance Markievicz – What She Stood For'.
72 Antoine Guillemette, 'Coming Together at Easter: Commemorating the 1916 Rising in Ireland, 1916–1966', Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Montréal: Concordia University, 2013), p. 124.
73 Guillemette, 'Coming Together at Easter', p. 124.
74 Countess Markievicz Memorial, Thursday, 5 February 1953, *Dáil Éireann Debate*, Vol. 136 No. 2, p. 29, http://oireachtasdebates.oireachtas.ie/debates%20authoring/DebatesWebPack.nsf/takes/dail1953020500029?opendocument&highlight=markievicz (Last accessed 13 October 2015).
75 Guillemette, 'Coming Together at Easter', p. 157.
76 Peter Murray, 'Rediscovering Seamus Murphy', *Irish Arts Review* (Spring 2007), pp. 68–73: http://archive.irishartsreview.com/irisartsrevi2002/pdf/2007/25503540.pdf.bannered.pdf (Last accessed 13 October 2015); St Stephen's Green, Visitor's Guide, Office of Public Works: http://ststephensgreenpark.ie/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/stepheng-green-brochure.pdf (Last accessed 13 October 2015).
77 Quoted in Mark McCarthy, *Ireland's 1916 Rising. Explorations of History-Making, Commemoration & Heritage in Modern Times* (Franham: Ashgate, 2012), Plate 3.6: Séamus Murphy's bronze bust of Countess Markievicz in the uniform of the Irish Citizen Army at St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, unveiled on 2 April 1956, by the President, Seán T. O'Kelly.
78 Kilmainham Gaol, Visitor's Guide, Office of Public Works, www.heritageireland.ie/media/39954%20KilmainhamGaol.pdf (Last accessed 19 October 2015).
79 Few other women are marked out as Markievicz is. Moves have been made, however, to uncover other revolutionary women's experiences. For example, *'Following the Fighters?': Female, Political Imprisonment in Early-20th Century Ireland* was a project funded by the Irish Research Council (IRC) with the collaboration of the Office of Public Works (OPW) from October 2012 to October 2014. Its aims were to correct the 'under-researched and misunderstood' phenomenon of the mobilization of female combatants in the Irish movement for independence – primarily members of Cumann na mBan – by identifying, photographing and analysing remnants of graffiti that had

survived in the older wing of the Gaol. Untold numbers of nationalist women were imprisoned in Kilmainham. See the project's website, https://kilmainhamgaolgraffiti.com/ (Last accessed 17 June 2016).

80 Elizabeth McLaughlin is known for her Troubles memorial in Claudy (2000) which was commissioned by village residents. Her statue is of a woman who holds her head in her hands with clear anguish showing on her face. According to Patricia Byrne, whose mother was killed in the bombing, many people in the village remained silent for several years following the blast. As she remarked, 'Nine people did lose their lives and I think that should be remembered. It should be talked about'. The sculptor has insightfully discussed the ramifications and purpose of her work: 'Although grief might affect hundreds of people, it is always felt by the individual person', and she sees her statue as the 'expression of the grief of the individual' (BBC News Online 2000). Brian McIlroy, 'Memory Work: Omagh and The Northern Irish Monumentary', Centre for Cinema Studies, University of British Columbia, www.centreforcinemastudies.com/articles/article_mcilroy_memory.pdf (Last accessed 21 October 2015). First published in *Genre and Cinema: Ireland and Transnationalism*, ed Brian McIlroy (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), pp. 261–272.

81 The Gaelic Athletics Association (GAA) sports grounds and recreational parks have been launched in her name. See, for example, Markievicz Park, Sligo; and, Markievicz Park in Dublin. Mary Condren of Trinity College's Centre for Gender and Women's Studies says she is not surprised by the disproportionate representation of parks and public spaces named after men rather than women – 'Currently, Dublin has 116 designated green spaces and parks. Many are named after geographical places, but on that list only three parks – St Anne's, St Catherine's and Markievicz Park – are named after women.' Condren adds, 'We live in a heroic culture, a culture of the warrior, the militarist. There's no room to represent the nurturing, nourishing life of women'. That Markievicz has a park named after her does nothing to disprove Condren's theory, for Markievicz crossed the female/warrior threshold. See Sinéad Gleeson, 'Any Room in the Park for Women?' *The Irish Times*, 23 April 2010.

82 Frank McNally, 'An Irishman's Diary', *The Irish Times*, 5 September 2015.

83 McNally, 'An Irishman's Diary'.

84 McNally, 'An Irishman's Diary'.

85 The Good Friday or Belfast Agreement refers to an accord reached on 10 April 1998, ratified in Ireland and Northern Ireland by popular vote, that called for a devolved government in Northern Ireland (known as the Northern Ireland Assembly). The Irish and British governments were involved in the multiparty talks that led to the Agreement. The Agreement signalled the formal end of the three decades of violent conflict known as The Troubles.

86 A legal dispute between the owners of the property, Constance Cassidy and Edward Walsh, and local residents over public access through the estate has raised the issue of Markievicz's juxtaposing privileged origins and egalitarian politics, with some residents declaring that, given Markievicz's political ideals and dedication to the people, she would have endorsed the people's campaign for making the grounds accessible to the public. Paddy Clancy, 'Lissadell Protest at Bertie', *The Daily Mirror*, 31 March 2007; Colin Coyle, 'Vandals at the Gates of Lissadell', *Sunday Times*, 3 January 2010; Justine McCarthy, 'The Barbarians at the Gate Need to Look After our Ivory Towers', *Sunday Times*, 3 June 2012; and, Michelle Fleming, 'Beauty Behind Bars', *Daily Mail*, 16 Nov 2013.

87 'The Sterry Album', Lissadell Collection, Lissadell House, Co. Sligo, Ireland. The commentary informs the reader that in 2007 a Victorian Photograph Album came on the market through Jarndyce of Bloomsbury in London.

88 'Unveiling of Statue', *Enniscorthy Guardian*, 17 April 2003.

89 Leo Gray, 'Countess Memorial to be Erected at Rathcormac', *The Sligo Champion*, 27 December 2002.

90 Gray, 'Countess Memorial to be Erected at Rathcormac'.

91 Alison Healy, 'Sculpture Unveiled to Honour Countess Markievicz', *The Irish Times*, 22 April 2003.
92 'Town Hall Site for Markievicz Monument', *The Sligo Champion*, 12 January 2000.
93 Healy, 'Sculpture Unveiled to Honour Countess Markievicz'.
94 The Republic of Ireland agreed to amend Articles 2 and 3 of its Constitution (*Constitution of Ireland - Bunreacht na hÉireann*) to alter the wording of the Republic's territorial claim to the island of Ireland.
95 It is alleged that Markievicz fatally shot Constable Michael Lahiffe on St Stephen's Green during the 1916 rising. Myers, 'FF Celebratory Plans for the Easter Rising a Load of Claptrap'.
96 Quoted in Tallant, 'She was a Snob, Fraud, Show-Off, and Murderer'.
97 Quoted in Tallant, 'She was a Snob, Fraud, Show-Off, and Murderer'.
98 Quoted in Tallant, 'She was a Snob, Fraud, Show-Off, and Murderer'.
99 Jill Matthews, *Good and Mad Women. The Historical Construction of Femininity in Twentieth-Century Australia* (Sydney and London: George Allen & Unwin, 1984).
100 Myers, 'FF Celebratory Plans for the Easter Rising a Load of Claptrap'.
101 Richard Michael Fox's account of Markievicz receiving news of her pending execution is different from Myers' account: 'I have heard how she received the sentence which was read to her in prison by the Governor. He mumbled under his breath and was afraid to look her in the face. "What's that you're saying, man!" she exclaimed, with a mischievous smile. "Read it again! I don't know what you've been mumbling about!" ' When her colleagues were executed and she was not, Fox asserted that she found it difficult to live. See Fox, *Rebel Irishwomen*, p. 16.
102 Myers, 'FF Celebratory Plans for the Easter Rising a Load of Claptrap'. Myers was resurrecting an older accusation. See, for example, Nicole Tallant, 'The Countess Wept and Begged Court for her Life, Memoirs Claim', *Irish Independent*, 16 April 2006.
103 Myers, 'FF Celebratory Plans for the Easter Rising a Load of Claptrap'.
104 Barton was the author of *From Behind a Closed Door: Secret Court Martial Records of the 1916 Easter Rising* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 2002) and had examined previously-closed court martial records.
105 *1916: The Man Who Lost Ireland*, RTÉ Documentary, first aired Tuesday 25 April 2006.
106 Neil Jarman, 'Parading Culture. Parades and Visual Displays in Northern Ireland', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology (London: University College London, October 1995), p. 340.
107 The Cumann na mBan continued beyond the revolutionary years of the early twentieth century up to the end of the 1970s but it did not again achieve the levels of membership that it had in the early 1920s (close to 11,000). Although much depleted, it was still active when the Troubles broke out in the six northern counties in 1969. Just prior to this, though, the women's organization faced an immediate challenge to its existence via the IRA General Army Convention's landmark decision to allow women to become IRA members. In 1970, that decision was confirmed by the dominant Provisional IRA after its split from the Marxist Official IRA. Existing members of the women's council objected to this integration of female members into the mainstream Provisional IRA, electing instead to remain independent until their integration in the late 1970s. Whether as members of the women-only organization or integrated into the previously male-only IRA, women actively participated in the violent conflict right up to the cessation of hostilities. Dieter Reinisch, 'Cumann na mBan and the acceptance of women in the Provisional IRA: An Oral History study of Irish republican women in the early 1970s', *Socheolas. Limerick Student Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2013), p. 116. Cumann na mBan lasted until 1977–78, when it was disbanded and members absorbed into the IRA. Sikata Banerjee, *Muscular Nationalism: Gender, Violence, and Empire in India and Ireland, 1914–2004* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), p. 123.

108 Banerjee, *Muscular Nationalism*, pp. 107–132.
109 Neil Jarman, 'Painting Landscapes: The Place of Murals in the Symbolic Construction of Urban Space', in *Symbols in Northern Ireland*, ed. Anthony Buckley (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University of Belfast, 1998). Accessed via CAIN, http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/bibdbs/murals/jarman.htm (Last accessed 22 October 2015).
110 Jarman, 'Painting Landscapes'.
111 Jarman, 'Painting Landscapes'.
112 *Celebrating Belfast Women: A City Guide through Women's Eyes* was written by historian, Margaret Ward, on behalf of the Women's Resource and Development Agency. As part of the centenary celebrations for International Women's Day in 2011, a number of women's agencies throughout the Belfast area combined their efforts and resources to remember notable women across the educational, labour and political fields (feminist, nationalist and unionist) and to draw attention to women's demands today by pioneering a woman's bus and walking tour of key sites related to women. They also renamed streets to honour women who had made notable contributions to their communities. Their efforts culminated in further funding, which enabled them to train women as tour guides and to produce the tour booklet itself. Margaret Ward, *Celebrating Belfast Women: A City Guide through Women's Eyes* (Belfast: Women's Resource and Development Agency, 2011).
113 'Cumann na mBan mural launched', *Derry Journal*, 3 October 2014.
114 'Cumann na mBan mural launched'.
115 Fukuda, Hideko, *Warawa no hanseigai* [My Life so Far] Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 1958 [1904]), p. 63; Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour and Activism, 1900–1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 4.
116 Dokuzen, Kyōfu, *Kageyama Hidejo no den: jiyū no gisei, joken no kakuchō* [The Life of Kageyama Hide: Martyr to Freedom, Expanding Women's Rights] (Tokyo: Eisendō, 1887). On referring to women in Japan as 'Joan of Arc', see Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 28, 32, 124, 140.
117 Fukuda, *Warawa no hanseigai;* see the discussion in Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan*, pp. 2–12. Two other militant women in early twentieth-century Japan were Kanno Sugako (1881–1911), the first woman to be executed for the crime of *lèse majesté*, for her involvement in a plot to assassinate the Emperor of Japan, and Kaneko Fumiko (1903–1926), tried on similar grounds, but who died in prison. Vera Mackie, 'Four Women, Four Incidents: Gender, Activism and Martyrdom in Modern Japan', in Masako Gavin and Ben Middleton eds, *Japan and the High Treason Incident* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), pp. 103–114.
118 Louise Edwards, *Women Warriors and Wartime Spies of China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 17.
119 Edwards, *Women Warriors and Wartime Spies*, p. 39.
120 Maxine Hong Kingston, *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977 [1975]); Tony Bancroft and Barry Cook, dirs., *Mulan* (1998, Bay Lake, Walt Disney Feature Animation Florida); Ang Lee, dir., *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2000, New York, Sony Pictures Classics); on women warriors in Chinese martial arts cinema, see Catherine Gomes, 'A Study of the Cross-Cultural Reception of the Asian Swordswoman in Chinese-Language Cinema', unpublished doctoral dissertation (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 2006).
121 On Qiu Jin's life, see Robyn Hamilton, 'Historical Contexts for a Life of Qiu Jin', unpublished doctoral dissertation (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 2003).
122 Fan Hong and J. A. Mangan, 'A Martyr for Modernity: Qiu Jin, Feminist, Warrior and Revolutionary', *The International Journal for the History of Sport*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (2001), p. 30.
123 Edwards, *Women Warriors and Wartime Spies*, p. 56.
124 Rae Chang and Adam Tow, *Autumn Gem* interactive textbook.
125 Fan and Mangan, 'A Martyr for Modernity', pp. 29–30.

126 Fan and Mangan, 'A Martyr for Modernity', p. 28.
127 Qiu Jin, 'To the Two Hundred Million Chinese Women', excerpt translated in Jonathan D. Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and their Revolution, 1895–1980* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1982 [1981]), p. 83; see also Fan and Mangan, 'A Martyr for Modernity', pp. 36–7.
128 Antonia Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China: Fashion, History, Nation* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007), p. 88.
129 Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, p. 88.
130 For photographs of Qiu Jin in Chinese women's dress, Japanese women's dress (and holding a short sword), Manchu men's dress and Western men's dress, see Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, p. 90. The abovementioned Japanese activist Fukuda Hideko also cross-dressed in her youth. Fukuda, *Warawa no Hanseigei*, pp. 3–4; Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women*, pp. 3–4.
131 *Autumn Gem* interactive textbook.
132 Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, p. 84. A biography of Madame Roland appeared in China in 1902. A hagiography of Joan of Arc appeared in serialized form in 1900 and in book form in 1904. Fan and Mangan, 'A Martyr for Modernity', p. 34.
133 The school had been founded by Xu Xilin in 1905. Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, p. 91.
134 Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, p. 89; Fan and Mangan, 'A Martyr for Modernity', p. 38.
135 Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, p. 91.
136 Finnane, *Changing Clothes in China*, p. 91.
137 The Soong Sisters – Ailing (1888–1973), Chingling (1893–1981) and Meiling (1898–2003) were involved in many of the important events in the nationalist struggle in early twentieth-century China. Soong Ailing married the Finance Minister and then richest man in China, Kung Hsianghsi (1881–1967); Chingling was originally married to Sun Yat-sen, but later supported the Communists and remained on the mainland in the People's Republic of China; Meiling married Chiang Kaishek (1887–1975), Kuomintang leader and later President of the Republic of China (Taiwan).
138 Florence Ayscough, *Chinese Women: Yesterday and To-Day* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937), p. xiv.
139 See, *inter alia*, 'A Victim of a Governor's Panic', *South China Herald* (26 July 1907), pp. 204–5; Lionel Gates, 'Ch'iu Chin: A Chinese Heroine', Paper read before the China Society at Caxton Hall, Westminster (March 29, 1917); Florence Ayscough, in her chapter on Qiu Jin in *Chinese Women: Yesterday and To-Day* relied on Chinese sources and on Gates' China Society paper.
140 Gates, 'Ch'iu Chin: A Chinese Heroine', p. 8; Hu Ying, 'Qiu Jin's Nine Burials: The Making of Historical Monuments and Public Memory', *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, Vol. 19, No 1 (2007), p. 141.
141 Sabine Hieronymus, 'Qiu Jin (1875–1907): A Heroine for All Seasons', in *Women in China: The Republican Period in Historical Perspective*, eds Mechtild Leutner and Nicola Spakowski (Münster: LIT, 2005) pp. 194–207; Edwards, *Women Warriors and Wartime Spies*, pp. 49–51.
142 Hu Ying, 'Qiu Jin's Nine Burials', p. 139
143 Eileen J. Cheng, 'Gendered Spectacles: Lu Xun on Gazing at Women and other Pleasures', *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2004), p. 6.
144 Cheng, 'Gendered Spectacles', pp. 7–8.
145 Fan and Mangan, 'A Martyr for Modernity', p. 46.
146 The verse 'Autumn rain, Autumn wind, they make one unbearably sad' has been attributed to Qiu Jin as her last poem 'Autumn' is a reference to her family name 'Qiu', which means 'autumn'. Hu Ying, 'Qiu Jin's Nine Burials', p. 139.
147 Fan and Mangan, 'A Martyr for Modernity', p. 47.

148 Hu Ying, 'Qiu Jin's Nine Burials', pp. 138–191. On the death of her husband in 1909 her tomb was moved for a time to the Wang family tomb in Hunan.
149 The May Fourth Movement was a political and cultural movement starting with protests on 4 May 1919 against China's weak response to the Treaty of Versailles, where Japan received territories which had formerly been controlled by Germany. That is, the dress in the statue is somewhat anachronistic. On the clothing worn by Qiu Jin in the statue, I am indebted to personal communication with Antonia Finnane, June 2017.
150 Near the Xieling Bridge was the tomb of Yue Fei (1103–1142), a patriotic general and hero of the Song dynasty. Fan and Mangan, 'A Martyr for Modernity', p. 54, note 105.
151 Edwards, *Warrior Women and Wartime Spies*, p. 64. The date of Qiu Jin's birth is contested.
152 Hu Ying, 'Qiu Jin's Nine Burials', p. 171
153 Edwards, *Warrior Women and Wartime Spies*, p. 64.
154 Rae Chang and Adam Tow, dirs., *Autumn Jade: The True Story of China's First Feminist* (2009, San Francisco, Adam and Rae Productions).
155 'Melissa started to learn Chinese martial arts (wushu) when she was a 4 1/2 yr old. Melissa won the Gold medal at the 2005, 2006 and 2007 UC Berkeley Chinese Martial Arts Tournament, 2007 All Around Champion at the Overseas Chinese American Athletic Tournament Wushu Competition, and Gold medal at the 2007 11th World Cup International Martial Arts Championship in Kaohsiung, Taiwan. She also won the first place at the 2004 Sing Tao Newspaper Children Talent Competition and first place at the 2009 World Journal Star Talent Show.' 'About the Film', *Autumn Gem*, autumn-gem.com. Last accessed 15 July 2017.
156 *Autumn Gem for the Ipad*, http://itunes.apple.com/us/book/autumn-gem/id551197955?mt=13 (Last accessed 4 March 2018).