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SECTION ONE:
TRANSNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE APPROACHES TO 1916

CHAPTER ONE

Globalising the Easter Rising: 1916 and the Challenge to Empires

Enrico Dal Lago, Róisín Healy, and Gearóid Barry

The year 1916 has recently been identified as “a tipping point for the intensification of protests, riots, uprisings and even revolutions.”¹ Many of these constituted a challenge to the international pre-war order of empires and thus collectively represent a global anti-imperial moment, which was the revolutionary counterpart to the later diplomatic attempt to construct a new world order in the so-called Wilsonian moment.² As Keith Jeffery has pointed out, “The Easter Rising in Ireland ... was far from being the only rebellion against imperial rule during 1916.”³ The Rising was an attack, in late April 1916, on British rule by a group of 1,000 committed revolutionaries, who seized key strategic positions in Dublin and other parts of Ireland, but were defeated by 20,000 British forces. The Rising was marked by the destruction of the city centre and the deaths of over 400 civilians. It was followed by the arrest of the combatants and thousands of alleged sympathisers across the country, the execution of fifteen of its leaders for treason after secret courts martial and the public trial and hanging of the famous humanitarian turned revolutionary Roger Casement in London in August 1916.⁴

Some historians have interpreted the Rising as an attempt to mobilise popular opinion against British rule rather than defeat it militarily and as anti-democratic in that the majority of the population supported Home Rule rather than separation, rejected physical force nationalism and 200,000 Irishmen were fighting in British uniforms in World War I to secure the former.⁵ In this volume, we argue that the Rising was a serious attempt to overthrow British imperial

rule in Ireland. The planners took over several major public buildings, including the General Post Office, one of the principal communications nodes of the capital, and used modern technology, such as radio, to broadcast the collapse of the Empire's second city to the world. Moreover, the Proclamation of the Irish Republic was profoundly anti-imperial in its assertion of "the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland ...asserting it in arms in the face of the world".⁶ It provided a clear democratic and pluralist framework for the new state that the rebels hoped to establish. Many of the principles contained therein enjoyed broad support among nationalists and the constitutional tradition tolerated violence in certain political circumstances.⁷

From a global and anti-imperial perspective, the fact that the Rising took place in Europe granted it, as Lenin, the foremost contemporary critic of Europe imperialism, observed at the time, "a hundred times more political significance than a blow of equal weight would have in Asia or Africa."⁸ Indeed Richard Bessel has argued in a recent synthesis on revolution in the era of World War I, "What happened in Dublin in 1916 and its aftermath needs to be understood not just in an Irish or European context, but in a broader global framework."⁹ Part of its significance was the inspiration it offered anti-imperial forces in both Europe and beyond.¹⁰ Lenin welcomed the Easter Rising as a blow against imperialism, although he wrote "It is the misfortune of the Irish that they rose prematurely, before the European revolt of the proletariat had *had time* to mature". At the same time, he viewed the Rising as an important training ground for future revolutions, including the one that the Bolsheviks were planning in Russia. He wrote: "it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful, revolutionary movements that the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians".¹¹ Significantly, the Easter Rising of 1916 was followed by a series of anti-imperial revolts, which culminated

in the Russian Revolution of October 1917, just as the Revolution of February 1848 in France had set in train a series of revolts against the Restoration order which lasted into 1849, not just across Europe but as far beyond as New Granada and Brazil in Latin America.¹²

With this edited collection, we intend to provide a global perspective on the Easter Rising by means of fourteen case studies, which highlight the contemporaneity, in a single year, of multiple anti-imperial occurrences and their links with the Irish rebellion. In so doing, we seek to explain the temporal clustering of anti-imperial revolts in 1916 and the particular place of the Easter Rising on an international canvas. Following Niall Whelehan's insight, we argue that "discussions of the 1916 Rising raise ... questions about what transnational perspectives can bring to the historiography of the Irish Revolution of 1912-1923."¹³ In this connection, this volume is novel in several respects. It is the first collection of specialist studies that aims at interpreting the global significance of the year 1916 in the decline of empires. It brings together chapters on anti-imperial movements that span the globe from Ireland to Central Asia and from Finland to Australia. It looks beyond the conventional context of national histories to emphasise the transnational and global connections of anti-imperial risings in different parts of the world. The combination of studies of the Easter Rising and other analogous events helps to highlight the peculiarities and commonalities, alongside the mutual connections, of the various revolutionary episodes that characterised the global anti-imperial moment of 1916. These national anti-imperial movements often supported one another. However, in their drive for the liberation of their own homelands, sometimes they were forced to make strategic alliances with the imperial powers against which their own empires were in conflict.

According to Fearghal McGarry, a transnational perspective on the Irish revolution promises to provide insights into “the significance of broader factors, such as the destabilising impact of the First World War, the postwar shift of power from imperial state to nation-state, and the acceptance of self-determination as the principal source of political legitimacy.”¹⁴ Recent historiography has recognised the potential of transnational perspectives in the study of modern Ireland, most notably Christine Kinealy’s work on famine philanthropy, Niall Whelehan’s work on the Fenians, and the well-established scholarship on Irish-Indian and Irish-South African connections.¹⁵ Studies of Irish nationalism have exposed the extent of sympathy for anti-imperial causes elsewhere in the British Empire.¹⁶

There have been some attempts in recent years to explore links between the rebels of 1916 and contacts with the Irish diaspora in various parts of the English-speaking world. For example, Tom Garvin has discovered that half of the 304 nationalist leaders active in the period from 1858 to 1928 period had lived outside Ireland.¹⁷ The constant movement of people and ideas between Ireland and established Irish communities in Britain, North America and Australasia had a major impact on the shaping of Irish nationalism. In 2016 alone, two books highlighting the significance of American links for the Irish revolutionaries have appeared.¹⁸ This significance was apparent in the realm of cultural nationalism which was so critical to the formation of the 1916 revolutionary generation. The founders of the Gaelic League drew inspiration from the efforts to protect the Irish language among the immigrant community in America.¹⁹ One of the most committed activists of the Gaelic League and later executed for his part in the Rising, Thomas Kent had himself been active in the Philo-Celtic Society based in Boston in the 1880s.²⁰ The Irish Republican Brotherhood, founded in New York in 1858 and colloquially known as the Fenians, exemplified the close intellectual and political contact between revolutionaries across the English-speaking world.²¹

As Niall Whelehan points out, there has not yet been a comprehensive analysis of the impact of foreign residence on the “revolutionary generation”, and how its exposure to global intellectual trends influenced their ideas, particularly in relation to nationalism, revolution, and labour. Indeed recent scholarship on paramilitary violence has emphasised the global connections between “revolution, imperial collapse and ethnic conflict”.²²

Some valuable research has been undertaken, however, on prominent individuals involved in the Rising. Robert Schmuhl has emphasised the importance of John Devoy in conceiving, financing and executing the Rising from his base in New York.²³ Joost Augusteijn has shown the importance of Patrick Pearse’s sojourn in America in his political development.²⁴ Fearghal McGarry has pointed out that five of the seven signatories of the Easter Proclamation spent time in America.²⁵ Indeed many of them led transnational lives. Tom Clarke was imprisoned in Britain for fifteen years before he went to the U.S. Joseph Plunkett was educated at the elite English Catholic boarding school, Stonyhurst. Most notoriously, Roger Casement was a servant of the British Empire. Michael Mallin, an Irish Volunteer commandant who was executed for his part in the Rising, had served in the British army in the Tirah campaign on the Indian-Afghan border in 1897-98. James Connolly spent his early life in Britain and had extensive contact with syndicalists and socialists throughout the world, especially during his time in the U.S., where he became active in the Industrial Workers of the World, also known as the Wobblies.²⁶ Indeed prosopographical analyses of the rank and file participants in the Rising indicate that many included foreign-born children of Irish immigrants. The most notable of these were the so-called “Liverpool Lambs”, a company of the Irish Volunteers drawn from the Irish community of Liverpool and other British cities, including the three King brothers, John, Patrick and George.²⁷

In addition to the transnational connections we have outlined above between the rebels and the Irish diaspora, Fearghal McGarry has called for a comparison of the different Irish settlements across the world in order to determine their impact on the global reverberations of the Rising.²⁸ This type of comparative study would resonate with the current historiography of the British Empire, which focuses on the intra-imperial connections between the metropole and its peripheries and between the different colonies.²⁹ These connections consist of “cultural and social networks built by migrants, as well as market forces, new technologies, and imperial armies.”³⁰ In attempting to develop a full understanding of the reception of the Rising across the British Empire, historians need to look to Melbourne, Bombay, Capetown, and Toronto as well as London. Indeed it would be worthwhile to examine the role of the Irish diaspora in comparison with other diasporic nationalist movements, such as the Polish and Zionists, in anti-imperialism at home.³¹

Anti-imperialist forces were gaining strength in the early years of the twentieth century, as exemplified by the formation of the Subject Races International Committee in 1907, which brought together not only activists pleading the causes of Europeans, such as Irish and Poles, but also those of non-Europeans, such as in the Aborigines’ Protection and Egyptian Committee.³² World War One itself weakened the existing imperialist world order. As Richard Bessel has pointed out, “Not only did the war bring destruction to the three main continental European empires; it also shook the belief in the solidity of European global domination” constituting “a revolutionary challenge to imperial power, in Cairo no less than in Dublin.”³³ This present volume treats the Easter Rising as the first major anti-imperial revolt on European soil in 1916 in a series of anti-imperial episodes which together constitute a global anti-imperial moment which would culminate in the October Revolution in Russia the following year. From the outbreak of World War I, Irish radical nationalists were plotting

a revolt, following the long-time Irish republican dictum that “England’s difficulty was Ireland’s opportunity”. They decided to strike in April 1916 rather than later because of both the national and international context. By early 1916, the planners felt that public opinion was more sceptical about the War, especially in light of the delay in granting Home Rule, and feared that the War might end before they had an opportunity to strike. Keeping in mind the international context of World War I, this collection therefore considers the global framework of 1916, both transnationally, by means of little-known links between the rebels and different parts of the world, and comparatively, by means of a series of case studies of contemporaneous anti-imperial revolts across the globe.³⁴

At the time of the Rising, Dublin was far more cosmopolitan than historians have acknowledged. According to the 1911 census, there were 18,905 people resident in Ireland who had been born outside the U.K. These included approximately 6,000 Europeans. Of these, 1,985 were born in Russia, most of whom were Jews fleeing persecution there. The remainder came principally from France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, the Low Countries and Scandinavia.³⁵ Just as in London or Paris or Vienna, residents of Dublin could avail of Turkish baths in the city centre. The Hammam Family Hotel and Turkish Baths, established in 1869, occupied a prominent position, on the city’s main thoroughfare and epicentre of the Rising, O’Connell Street. Moreover, many of the Rising’s leaders and some of the rank and file had spent time on the continent, exploiting artistic, intellectual and Catholic networks. One combatant, Liam Ó Briain, had studied in Berlin, Bonn and Freiburg and later became professor of modern languages at University College Galway.³⁶ The most famous female combatant, Constance Markiewicz, owed her unusual surname to the Polish artist she met while studying in Paris. Indeed there are numerous more underexplored examples of continental connections which lend themselves to a full-length study. Word of

the Rising spread quickly throughout Europe and encouraged anti-imperial sentiment in several places, such as Poland.³⁷ Hungary provided a model for Arthur Griffith, whose Sinn Féin Party benefitted from the radicalisation of Irish nationalist opinion in the aftermath of the Rising.³⁸ Roy Foster has drawn parallels between the Irish “revolutionary generation” and the contemporary Russian intelligentsia.³⁹

Irish observers of the Rising were particularly familiar with the anti-imperial tradition of Latin America, as a result of the participation of Irish expatriates, most notably Bernardo O’Higgins, in the nineteenth-century revolts against Spain and Portugal. In Easter Week, one witness described an old captain as having “just arrived from the home of revolutions, South America”.⁴⁰ In fact, in the same years of the Irish Revolution, one major Latin American country, Mexico was in the throes of its own revolution, which involved in part resistance to American imperial interference.⁴¹ In addition, Argentina was home to a large Irish expatriate community, one of whom, Eamon Bulfin, fought in the G.P.O.⁴²

Events in Africa also provided a frame of reference for the Easter Rising. A journalist, who was staying in a hotel opposite the G.P.O. compared the Rising to Hail Columbia, an encounter in the Anglo-Boer War.⁴³ He might have noticed the slouch hat, worn by the Irish Volunteers. According to Keith Jeffrey, “Some Irish Volunteers of Easter 1916 styled themselves ‘De Wets’, and ostentatiously adopted Boer commando cocked hats.”⁴⁴ In October 1914, De Wet helped launch a rebellion against South Africa’s participation in the British war effort with a view to establishing a provisional republican government in South Africa, but was defeated in January 1915.⁴⁵ Bill Nasson has called the Boer Rebellion of 1914-15 “a warm weather version of the 1916 Easter Rising”.⁴⁶ The War sparked further rebellions in Africa, especially in 1916, most notably the Senussi Rebellion against British

and Italian forces in Libya.⁴⁷ In French Africa alone in this year, there were rebellions in the Maghrib and Madagascar.⁴⁸

News of the Easter Rising also reached the Middle East. It was reported extensively, if somewhat generically, for instance, in the Persian press.⁴⁹ Just five weeks after the surrender in Dublin, Grand Sharif Hussein of Mecca, supported by British intelligence and troops, most notably Colonel T. E. Lawrence of Arabia, led a major attack on the Ottomans in an attempt to unite the Arab people and establish an independent Arab state, but was eventually overcome by Ottoman forces.⁵⁰ Just over a month after the outbreak of the Arab Revolt, hundreds of thousands of Muslims in Central Asia, provoked by the expansion of labour conscription, rose up against their Russian imperial rulers.⁵¹ In India, Annie Besant, a nationalist and women's rights activist of mixed Irish and British heritage, founded the All Indian Home Rule League in September 1916 to challenge British imperial rule. She became president of the Indian National Congress in 1917.⁵² The Rising radicalised Irish opinion abroad. One of the most spectacular examples of this was the conversion of the Irish-born Archbishop Daniel Mannix of Melbourne from constitutional nationalist to republican sympathiser, a change which informed his vigorous interventions against the imposition of conscription in Australia in 1916.⁵³

All the above examples demonstrate the type of methodology we suggest as the best way of studying 1916 in a global context. A methodology that looks both at transnational connections and parallels between the Irish Easter Rising and contemporaneous events throughout the globe as part of a synchronous anti-imperial moment. As a history of 1916 as a global anti-imperial moment, this volume considers connections and parallels between multiple manifestations of anti-imperial discontent in different parts of the world, of which the Easter Rising is one specific local manifestation and the earliest major one in

chronological terms. Within the global framework of World War I and the challenge it posed to empires, by 1916, this anti-imperial discontent had reached a critical point and acquired a momentum that reached a climax in the Russian Revolution of October 1917. The combination of the severe pressures placed on all their subjects by imperial authorities for the purposes of the war effort and the strategic opportunities provided by the conflict of empires produced a perfect storm for the creation of an anti-imperial moment. The evidence for this lies in the multiple revolts and protests against imperial rule that flared up across the world in 1916, only some of which were causally connected.

This book is divided into four sections. Section One provides a discussion of the methodology behind the issues addressed in the volume and highlights the long-term significance of the Easter Rising in the context of anti-imperialism in a European and global setting. The introductory chapter acknowledges the wealth of scholarship situating the Easter Rising within the Irish, British-Irish and Irish-American contexts, but argues for an expansion of horizons to include connections and comparisons with other parts of the world. The following chapter by Timothy Hoyt contextualises the Easter Rising within the history of anti-imperial violence across the world over the course of a century. Hoyt places Ireland's 1916 Easter Rising in a broad geographical and temporal context, arguing that the lessons learned from the Rising "not only enhanced the effectiveness of the Irish rebellion to come (the Anglo-Irish War of 1919-1921) but also of other revolts throughout the [British] Empire and, after the Second World War, in the postcolonial world." By contrasting the reasons for the failure of the Rising in organizational and military terms – i.e., the excessive secrecy and the decision to focus on Dublin – and in political terms – specifically, the lack of a broad political support – with its long-term implications, "both unanticipated and revolutionary",

Hoyt argues in favour of the Rising's importance both for subsequent Irish historical developments and for anti-imperial and postcolonial movements worldwide.⁵⁴

Section Two examines the Atlantic World from North America to South Africa, a region that current scholarship has identified as characterised by increasing interconnectedness well into the twentieth century. Two chapters consider comparable social and political upheavals among French Canadians and African Americans in response to the pressures of a prolonged war and racism at home respectively. Two other chapters in this section reflect on the links between challenges to empire from non-white communities based in New York City and by miners in South Africa. In the first chapter of this section, Charles-Philippe Courtois takes an innovative approach to the Atlantic dimension of the Easter Rising by looking at parallels with the 1918 Conscription Crisis in the province of Quebec as comparable events in an anti-imperial moment against British rule, which encompassed both Ireland and French Canada in World War I. In Courtois's analysis, the echoes of the Easter Rising emerge as an important factor that galvanised French Canadian nationalists in the years preceding the Conscription Crisis, as Quebecois separatist and nationalist papers such as *La Croix* and *Le Devoir* praised the 1916 Irish revolutionaries, making either implicit or explicit references to the situation in French Canada.⁵⁵ In the following chapter, Cecelia Hartsell focuses on a contemporaneous event to the Irish Easter Rising in another part of the Atlantic: the 1916 start of the First Great Migration of African Americans to the northern cities of the United States. Hartsell argues that the Great Migration created room for African Americans to develop strategies of political resistance to the racist politics of Woodrow Wilson's administration, and that those political strategies became increasingly radical, also as a result of contact with Irish and other foreign anti-imperialists. Ultimately, she concludes that "the activist ethos of the Great Migration,

which began in earnest during the same year of the Easter Rising”, led to a new urban form of African American protest whose origins fall within “the revolutionary tradition of 1916.”⁵⁶

In his chapter, David Brundage approaches the important Atlantic dimension of 1916 by focusing specifically on New York as a central node of the political activities of Indian nationalist Lala Lajput Rai in his struggle against British imperial rule in the years of the Irish Revolution. By inserting Rai’s activism within the “vibrant multinational anticolonial movement” in New York during and after World War I, which found a major source of inspiration in the Easter Rising, Brundage is able to trace the changing influence that Irish nationalism had on Rai as he transitioned from an initial support of Home Rule in Ireland to an increasing identification with Irish revolutionary republicanism.⁵⁷ In the final chapter in this section, Jonathan Hyslop looks at the Rand Rebellion carried out by British and Afrikaner miners in South Africa in 1922 and at the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland, emphasising both the parallels between the two “armed insurrections against British imperial authority”, and also the connections between the two events’ insurgents, dating back to the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). He emphasises specifically the concept of “contemporaneity” as a way to understand separate events as parts of particular “global conjunctures”. Thus, in his view, Ireland’s 1916 Rising and South Africa’s 1922 Rebellion, though separate events, occurred “in the context of a particular global concatenation of forms of warfare, labour movement and nationalism that prevailed from roughly 1911 to 1923.”⁵⁸

Section Three addresses anti-imperial activity in North Africa, Asia and the Pacific. The first three chapters in this section examine anti-imperial activities in the British Empire and the Ottoman Empire and links between them. The next two chapters look at the reception of the Easter Rising abroad, both in terms of media coverage in Central Asia and direct political

impact on the Australian contribution to the imperial war effort. In Chapter Seven, Michael Provenance considers events in the Middle East in 1916 in their global context, reviewing the strategic position of the Ottoman Empire since 1911, so as to help explain the Entente powers' political manipulations and military interventions in the region from 1914 to 1916. The late spring of 1916 brought bad news for the British Empire, first from Ireland and then, within a week, that of the catastrophic British surrender to Ottoman forces at Kut in Mesopotamia. Provenance argues that 1916 was a moment of acute anxiety for the prestige and security of the British Empire which presaged future troubles.⁵⁹ In Chapter Eight, Erin O'Halloran considers the British Empire's response to the Silk Letters Conspiracy, a secret anti-imperial plot discovered by British intelligence in 1916, which implicated a range of Indian, Arab and Afghan Muslim leaders. Hidebound by religious stereotypes, British officials – in Cairo and especially in Delhi - underestimated the potential threat just as they misread the emerging phenomenon of joint Muslim-Hindu opposition within India itself. O'Halloran concludes that, in fact, "nationalist and anti-imperial sentiments were at least as important as communal or sectarian identities in driving political opinion – and anti-British action" in south Asia in 1916.⁶⁰ In Chapter Nine, Stephen McQuillan examines in transnational perspective the wartime collaboration of Irish and Indian radical nationalists against "the combined subjection of Ireland, India and Egypt to English rule" as the US-hosted Irish Race Convention described it in March 1916. A daring (but foiled) arms shipment to India in 1915 involving Irish, Indian and German intrigue – and whose nerve centre was San Francisco – was but one (sensational) act of solidarity. Energised by the Rising, the international Friends of Irish Freedom and the Indian National Committee fraternised again in Stockholm in 1917, worrying British intelligence, but also, in McQuillan's words, "conferring legitimacy upon [their] respective claims to independence".⁶¹

In Chapter Ten, Danielle Ross considers the range of attitudes to empire and to anti-imperial violence amongst Russian Muslims - and amongst the ethnic Kirghiz intelligentsia in Turgai province in particular - during the Easter Rising and the extensive Central Asian revolt of the summer of 1916. Local press coverage of the Rising reveals Muslim opinion to be divided on rebellion as a strategy. The July 1916 urban insurrection led by Alibi Jangil'din in Turgai paralleled aspects of the Irish rebellion: whilst not imitative, it demonstrates for Ross the “existence of models, ideals, and rituals in anti-imperial revolt and state-founding” that transcended imperial boundaries during World War One.⁶² In Chapter Eleven, Daniel Marc Segesser places Irish Australian reactions to the Easter Rising in a broader imperial context by looking at how, in 1916, the relationship between the imperial centre in London and the Dominion of Australia was influenced by a conglomeration of global factors, mostly beyond Prime Minister William Hughes' direct control. All these factors – a crisis in grain production related to climatic conditions, wheat farmers' disgruntlement with British import policy and the dramatic events in Ireland - contributed to the defeat of conscription in a referendum in October 1916, making this plebiscite a “national event with global ramifications and a strong Irish imprint”.⁶³

Section Four considers the reverberations of the Easter Rising in Europe, focusing on the specific examples of Britain, Italy, Finland, and Poland. The first two chapters examine responses to the precedence of national over socialist goals in the anti-imperialist activities of James Connolly and Cesare Battisti, both executed by imperial authorities in 1916, within the context of the First World War and a history of mixed national and imperial loyalties. The next two chapters examine responses to the Easter Rising in Finland and Poland and the validity of alleged parallels between these parts of Europe and Ireland, as territories subject to

imperial authority and denied independent statehood. In Chapter Twelve, Geoffrey Bell argues that most members of the British labour movement were highly critical of the Easter Rising and vilified Connolly in particular for putting nationalism before socialism. He ascribes their hostility to the Rising to a lingering resentment at the establishment of separate Irish trade unions before the War and either support for the British war effort or a commitment to pacifist principles. He also suggests that the British labour movement was not actually anti-imperial, quoting Ramsay MacDonald as typifying its view that the British Empire “must exist, not merely for safety or order, or peace but for richness of life”.⁶⁴ In Chapter Thirteen, Vanda Wilcox examines the conviction and execution of Cesare Battisti for treason in July 1916 within the context of anti-imperialism in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. She shows that while the Austrian authorities regarded the Austrian subject from the Tyrol as a traitor for having joined the Italian army, Italians saw him as a hero for having put his nation before his empire. The harsh treatment of Battisti, especially the distribution of photographs of his corpse, and other Italian “traitors” during the War exposed the incompatibility of loyalty to both the Empire and the nation and sealed the fate of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁶⁵

Andrew Newby begins the following chapter with the well-known story of the presence of a Finnish volunteer in the GPO during the Easter Rising to explore anti-imperialism in Ireland and Finland. As subject peripheries of the Entente Powers, Finland and Ireland followed similar trajectories during World War I, including small-scale collaboration with the German enemy. “In this respect,” he concludes, “both countries conform to a more general sense that 1916 was an ‘anti-imperial moment’, forming part of a tapestry of causally (if sometimes loosely) connected reactions against imperialism, drawing on long-term resentment, the particular socio-political flux caused by war, and the interference and encouragement of the

imperial powers' enemy."⁶⁶ In the final chapter, Róisín Healy argues that there are strong parallels between the Easter Rising and the Poznanian Uprising of 1918/19 as highly organised anti-imperial rebellions fought with minimal outside assistance. She explains the considerable time lapse between them in terms of the very different geopolitical positions of Ireland and Poland in World War I. Unlike Ireland, Poland's strategic position at the heart of Europe led each side to woo it with promises of greater autonomy. While impressed with the Easter Rising, the Poznanian Poles feared confronting the Germans until they were assured of their defeat in 1918.⁶⁷

In Ireland, the radicalisation of Irish nationalist opinion which followed the Easter Rising and the threat of conscription in 1918 resulted in a landslide electoral victory for Sinn Féin, the political party most committed to seeking independent statehood for Ireland, in December 1918. The Irish Republican Army, heirs of the IRB and the Volunteers, supported the establishment of an Irish government with a renewed military struggle in the Irish War of Independence from 1919 to 1921. Meanwhile, in 1920, the British government granted self-government to the northern six counties of Ireland, where Unionists who had resisted rule from Dublin held a majority. The truce that ended the War of Independence was followed by the Anglo-Irish Treaty of December 1921, which established the Irish Free State in the remaining twenty-six counties, but unleashed a Civil War (1922-1923) between those for and against the Treaty.⁶⁸

In global perspective, the transnational significance of the Easter Rising long outlived the anti-imperial moment of 1916-17. International interest in Irish affairs remained strong into the Irish War of Independence and Civil War. Maurice Walsh has pointed out that the outrage caused by foreign journalists' reports of British atrocities in Ireland in the War of

Independence put pressure on the British government to reach a settlement in Ireland.⁶⁹ Anti-imperial forces abroad continued to look to the example of the Easter Rising in their efforts to free themselves from their own empires. Indeed, armed Indian anti-imperialists took direct inspiration from the events of 1916 in Ireland when launching their own rebellion against British rule in Chittagong in the Bengal region of India in 1930.⁷⁰ The later president of India from 1969 to 1974, V.V. Giri, claimed himself to have been inspired by the Easter Rising to work towards Indian independence. He had witnessed the Rising as a student in Dublin and had even been tutored by one of the executed leaders, Thomas MacDonagh.⁷¹ As a founding moment for the Irish state, the Easter Rising left a legacy of anti-imperialism, which has defined Irish foreign policy and the reputation of Ireland abroad, particularly in relation to the process of decolonisation in Africa and Asia.⁷²

¹ Klaus Weinbauer, Anthony McElligott, Kirsten Heinsohn, "Introduction", in Weinbauer, McElligott and Heinsohn, ed., *Germany 1916-23: A Revolution in Context* (Bielefeld, 2015), 21.

² Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (Oxford, 2009).

³ Keith Jeffery, *1916: A Global History* (London, 2016), 4.

⁴ Fearghal McGarry, *The Rising: Ireland: Easter 1916*, new ed. (Oxford, 2016).

⁵ Fearghal McGarry, Easter Rising (Great Britain and Ireland), in: 1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War, ed. by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin 2014-10-08. DOI: [10.15463/ie1418.10076](https://doi.org/10.15463/ie1418.10076). For a critical introduction to the vast historiographical debate on the Easter Rising, see Diarmuid Ferriter, *A Nation, not a Rabble* (London, 2015), 56-96.

⁶ The Proclamation of the Irish Republic,

http://www.taoiseach.gov.ie/eng/Historical_Information/State_Commemorations/Proclamation_of_Independence.html

⁷ Brian Hanley, “The Ireland of Our Ideals,” Paper Delivered at “Proclaiming the Revolution” Conference, National University of Ireland Galway, 22 January 2016 (posted 26 January 2016 at <https://cedarlounge.wordpress.com/2016/01/26/the-ireland-of-our-ideals-paper-delivered-at-proclaiming-the-revolution-conference-brian-hanley/>)

⁸ V. I. Lenin, *British Labour and British Imperialism: A compilation of writings by Lenin on Britain* (London, 1969), 164-68.

⁹ Richard Bessel, “Revolution,” in Jay Winter, ed., *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, vol. 2, *The State* (Cambridge, 2014), 139.

¹⁰ Liam Ó Ruairc, “Easter Rising (1916),” in Immanuel Ness & Zak Cope, eds, *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Imperialism & Anti-Imperialism: Volume 1* (Basingstoke, 2016), 622.

¹¹ Lenin, “The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up,” *Lenin’s Collected Works*, (Moscow, 1964), vol. 22, 320-60.

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/jul/x01.htm>

¹² Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, 2014), 543-58.

¹³ Niall Whelehan, “Introduction,” in Niall Whelehan, ed., *Transnational Perspectives on Modern Irish History* (London, 2015), 6. For an example of broader perspectives on the Rising, see Ruán O’Donnell, ed., *The impact of the 1916 Rising: among the nations* (Dublin, 2008).

¹⁴ Fearghal McGarry, “‘A Land Beyond the Wave’: Transnational Perspectives on Easter 1916,” in Whelehan, ed., *Transnational Perspectives*, 182-83.

¹⁵ Donal P. McCracken, *Forgotten Protest: Ireland and the Anglo-Boer War* (Belfast, 2003).

¹⁶ Paul A. Townend, “Between Two Worlds: Irish Nationalists and Imperial Crisis, 1878-1880,” *Past and Present* 194 (2007), 139-74; Sean Ryder, “Ireland, India and popular nationalism in the early nineteenth century,” in Tadhg Foley and Maura O'Connor, eds, *Ireland and India: Colonies, Culture and Empire* (Dublin, 2006), 12-25; Jennifer Regan, “‘We Could Be of Service to Other Suffering People’: Representations of India in the Irish Nationalist Press, c. 1857-1887,” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41 (2008), 61-77.

¹⁷ Tom Garvin, *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland, 1858-1928* (Dublin, 2005), 53-55.

¹⁸ Miriam Nyhan Grey, ed., *Ireland's Allies: America and the 1916 Easter Rising* (Dublin, 2016); David Brundage, *Irish Nationalists in America: The Politics of Exile, 1798-1998* (Oxford, 2016).

¹⁹ Úna Ní Bhroiméil, *Building Irish Identity in America, 1870-1915: The Gaelic Revival* (Dublin, 2003).

²⁰ Gearóid Barry, “Thomas Kent: total abstainer,” in David Bracken, ed., *The End of All Things Earthly: Faith Profiles of the 1916 Leaders* (Dublin, 2016), 57-60.

²¹ Niall Whelehan, *The Dynamiters: Irish Nationalism and Political Violence in the Wider World, 1867-1900* (Cambridge, 2012); Jonathan Gantt, *Irish Terrorism in the Atlantic Community, 1865-1922* (New York, 2010); Fearghal McGarry and James McConnel, eds, *The Black Hand of Republicanism: Fenianism in Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2009); Shane Kenna, *War in the Shadows: The Irish-American Fenians who Bombed Victorian Britain* (Dublin, 2013).

²² Robert Gerwarth and John Horne, eds, *War in Peace: Paramilitary Violence in Europe after the Great War* (Oxford, 2012), 7. For a sceptical view of the impact of the Easter Rising on events abroad, see Roy Foster, *Vivid Faces: The Revolutionary Generation in Ireland, 1890-1923* (London, 2015), xvii.

²³ “John Devoy: The Intrigue of Exile,” in Robert Schmuhl, *Ireland’s Exiled Children:*

America in the Easter Rising (Oxford, 2016), 15-44. For another example of a transatlantic Irish republican activist, see Eileen McGough, *Diarmuid Lynch: A Forgotten Irish Patriot* (Cork, 2013).

²⁴ Joost Augusteijn, *Patrick Pearse: The Making of a Revolutionary* (Basingstoke, 2010), especially 41-43.

²⁵ Fearghal McGarry, “A Land Beyond the Wave: Transnational Perspectives on Easter 1916,” in Whelehan, ed., *Transnational Perspectives*, 169; Gerard MacAtasney, *Tom Clarke: Life, Liberty, Revolution* (Dublin, 2013).

²⁶ Donal Niven, *James Connolly: A Full Life: A Biography of Ireland’s Renowned Trade Unionist and Leader of the 1916 Rising* (Dublin, 2006). For a female socialist participant in the Rising also born in Scotland, see Lawrence William White. “Skinnider, Margret” in James McGuire and James Quinn, eds, *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009). (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a8112>). Arthur Wicks, a former British wobbly who moved to Ireland, joined the rebels in the Easter Rising. See “Arthur Wicks,” in Jimmy Wren, *The GPO Garrison Easter Week 1916: A Biographical Dictionary* (Dublin, 2015), 374-75. Tom Glynn, who spent periods in Ireland, South Africa and Australia, is another example of a transnational labour activist.

²⁷ “George King,” “John King,” and “Patrick King,” Wren, *G.P.O. Garrison*, 154-55.

²⁸ McGarry, in Whelehan, ed. *Transnational Perspectives*, 182. See Kevin Kenny, “Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study,” *American Historical Review* 90 (2003), 133-62.

²⁹ Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation: Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850-1914* (Cambridge, 2010).

³⁰ Niall Whelehan, “Playing with Scales: Transnational History and Modern Ireland,” in Whelehan, ed., *Transnational Perspectives*, 11.

³¹ On diasporas generally, see Kevin Kenny, *Diaspora: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2013). Specifically, on the Irish diaspora in comparative context, see, for an earlier period, Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Special Sorrows: The Diasporic Imagination of Irish, Polish and Jewish Immigrants in the United States* (Berkeley, CA, 1995) and Donald Akenson, *Ireland, Sweden and the Great European Migration: 1815-1914* (Liverpool, 2012) and, on World War I a whole, Michael Neiberg, *The Path to War: How the First World War Created Modern America* (Oxford, 2016).

³² Róisín Healy, *Poland in the Irish Nationalist Imagination, 1772-1922: Anti-Colonialism within Europe* (London, 2017), 224-25.

³³ Bessel, “Revolution,” 143.

³⁴ Gearóid Barry, Enrico Dal Lago and Róisín Healy, “Towards an Interconnected History of World War I: Europe and Beyond in Gearóid Barry, Enrico Dal Lago and Róisín Healy, ed., *Small Nations and Colonial Peripheries in World War I* (Leiden, 2016), 1-18.

³⁵ William Buck, “POWs and Civilian Internees in Ireland during World War I,” in Barry, Dal Lago, Healy, eds, *Small Nations*, 73.

³⁶ For more detail on Liam Ó Briain’s transnational connections, see online exhibition at NUI Galway, “A University in War and Revolution, 1913-1919: The Galway Experience,” <http://www.nuigalway.ie/anationrising/ourprogrammeofevents/hardimanbuildingexhibition/>

³⁷ See *Macallaí san Eoraip: Scéal éirí amach na Cásca i nuachtáin na hEorpa* [Echoes in Europe: The Story of the Easter Rising in Europe’s Newspapers] (Dublin, 2016).

³⁸ Thomas Kabdebo, *Ireland and Hungary: A study in parallels* (Dublin, 2001).

³⁹ Foster, *Vivid Faces*, xviii-xxiii.

⁴⁰ John Higgins, “The Chivalry, the Madness, the Inevitable End,” in Mick O’Farrell, ed., *1916: What the People Saw* (Cork, 2013), 95.

⁴¹ Douglas W. Richmond and Sam W. Haynes, eds, *The Mexican Revolution: Conflict and Consolidation, 1910-1940* (College Station, TX, 2013).

⁴² “Eamon Bulfin,” in Wren, *G.P.O. Garrison*, 15.

⁴³ O’Farrell, *1916*, 179.

⁴⁴ Keith Jeffrey, *1916: A Global History* (New York, 2016), 218.

⁴⁵ Bill Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme: South Africa in the Great War, 1914-1918* (Johannesburg, 2007), 210.

⁴⁶ Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme*, 41-55.

⁴⁷ Richard Bosworth and Giuseppe Finaldi, “The Italian Empire,” in Robert Gerwarth and Erez Manela, eds, *Empires at War, 1911-1923* (Oxford, 2014), 42-43.

⁴⁸ Richard Fogarty, “The French Empire,” in Gerwarth and Manela, eds, *Empires at War*, 120-23. On the Maghrib, Amal Ghazal, “Counter-currents: Mzabi independence, pan-Ottomanism and WWI in the Maghrib,” *First World War Studies* 7 (2016), 81-96.

⁴⁹ Correspondence from Prof. Stephanie Cronin to the editors, 10 Nov. 2015.

⁵⁰ Mustafa Aksakal, “The Ottoman Empire,” in Gerwarth, Manela, eds, *Empires at War*, 31-32.

⁵¹ Jonathan Smele, *The “Russian” Civil Wars, 1916-1926: Ten Years that Shook the World* (Oxford, 2016).

⁵² Anne Taylor, *Annie Besant: A Biography* (Oxford, 1992).

⁵³ Brenda Niall, *Mannix* (Melbourne, 2015).

⁵⁴ See Timothy Hoyt, Chapter Two in this volume.

⁵⁵ See Charles-Philippe Courtois, Chapter Three in this volume.

⁵⁶ See Cecelia Hartsell, Chapter Four in this volume.

⁵⁷ See David Brundage, Chapter Five in this volume.

⁵⁸ See Jonathan Hyslop, Chapter Six in this volume.

⁵⁹ See Michael Provence, Chapter Seven in this volume.

⁶⁰ See Erin O'Halloran, Chapter Eight in this volume.

⁶¹ See Stephen McQuillan, Chapter Nine in this volume.

⁶² See Danielle Ross, Chapter Ten in this volume.

⁶³ See Daniel Marc Segesser, Chapter Eleven in this volume.

⁶⁴ See Geoffrey Bell, Chapter Twelve in this volume.

⁶⁵ See Vanda Wilcox, Chapter Thirteen in this volume.

⁶⁶ See Andrew Newby, Chapter Fourteen in this volume.

⁶⁷ See Róisín Healy, Chapter Fifteen in this volume.

⁶⁸ Ferriter, *A Nation and not a Rabble*, 170-278; Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Ireland: The Sinn Féin Party, 1916-1923* (Cambridge, 1999).

⁶⁹ Maurice Walsh, *Bitter Freedom: Ireland in a Revolutionary World 1918-1923* (London, 2014). For examples of international interest in the War of Independence, see the study of a French Christian Democrat activist by Gearóid Barry, *The Disarmament of Hatred: Marc Sangnier, French Catholicism and the Legacy of the First World War, 1914-45* (Basingstoke, 2012), 66-67 and, on Italian irredentists, see Mark Phelan, "'Prophet of the Oppressed Nations: Gabriele D'Annunzio and the Irish Republic, 1919-21,'" *History Ireland* 21 (2013), 44-48.

⁷⁰ Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire: Indo-Irish Radical Connections* (Manchester, 2008).

⁷¹ Conor Mulvagh, *Irish Days, Indian Memories* (Dublin, 2016).

⁷² Gerard Keown, *First of the Small Nations: The Beginnings of Irish Foreign Policy in the Interwar Years, 1919-1932* (Oxford, 2016); Kevin O'Sullivan, *Ireland, Africa and the End of Empire* (Manchester, 2012).