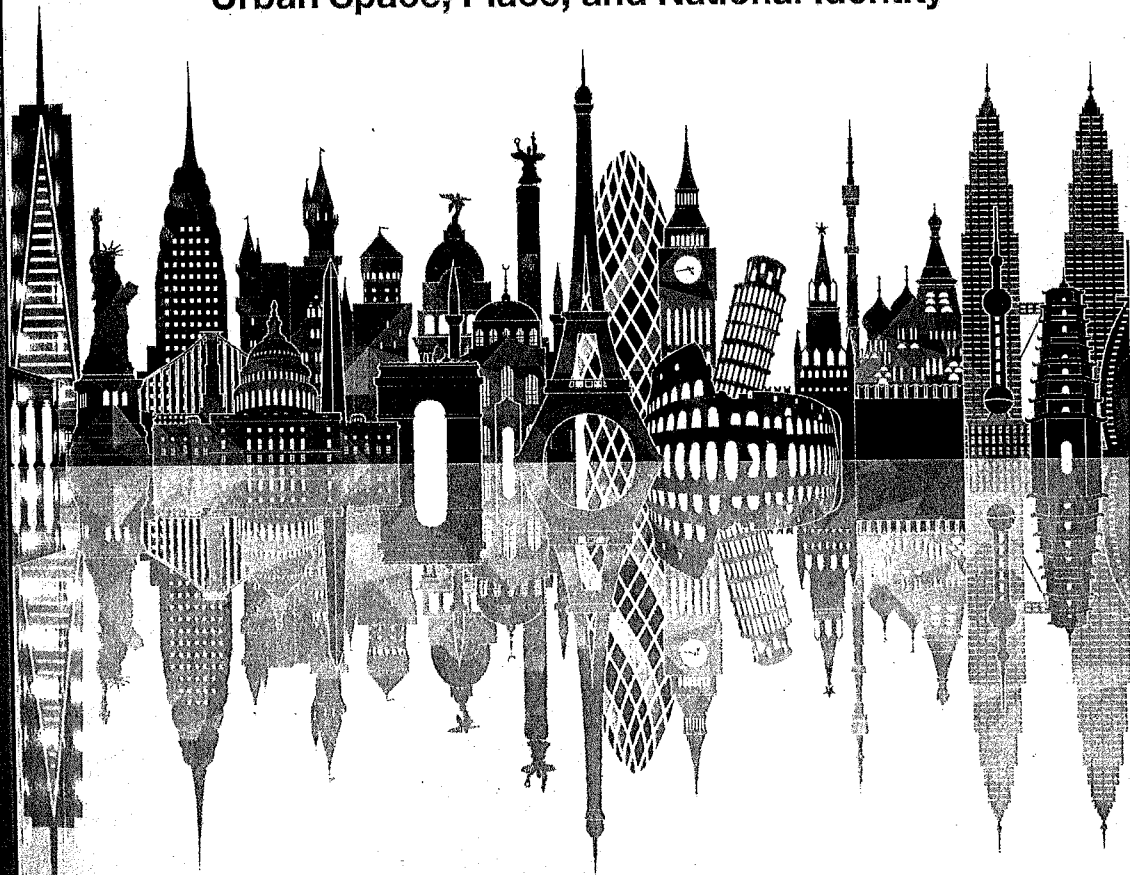


THE CITY AS POWER

Urban Space, Place, and National Identity



Edited by **ALEXANDER C. DIENER**
and **JOSHUA HAGEN**

Creating a Place for the Nation in Dublin *The Republic of Ireland's Garden of Remembrance*

Kara E. Dempsey

THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND'S HIGHLY ANTICIPATED Garden of Remembrance, which was dedicated to "those who died fighting for the Irish nation" and set in the center of the Irish capital, opened to the public amid great celebration on Easter Monday, April 10, 1966.¹ This date marked the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising, the Irish Republican armed insurrection that sought to end British rule of Ireland. In addition to the general public, officials, and army officers, many who attended the opening ceremony were survivors of the rising. The desire for a national commemorative place is not unique. The creation of national monuments is often a manifestation of a deeply felt need to foster national identity and perpetuate the memory of particular events, ideals, individuals, or groups considered worthy of remembrance.² And commemorative urban spaces, in particular, can hold great meaning in that they may possess certain spatial and political implications that can influence societal understanding of belonging, particularly during times of heightened reflectivity, which can occur during festivals, celebrations, and spectacles.

Located in the heart of the Republic of Ireland's capital city on a site that was central to the 1916 rising, the garden is a symbolic urban space designed to visibly legitimize and celebrate a young Irish republic that was not established until the end of the 1940s despite a long struggle against British rule. Thus, the Garden of Remembrance was created as a space particularly sensitive to the ideals of national permanence and legitimacy while fostering a sense of shared history and national identity. It is a place where efforts to shape official discourses about the republic and selected visions of its past are

publicly conveyed. It was designed to project an image of the republic signifying a strong and fruitful future that accordingly honored its long struggle for independence. However, the public has not always passively accepted just how the republic is represented in this national sacred space and how the space is employed. In some cases, these have been directly challenged.

In this chapter, I examine some of the ways in which the Garden of Remembrance is strategically employed to promote a sense of collective Irish national identity and how this urban space is a venue for negotiating highly selective understandings of the past. I begin by providing the relevant historical context, exploring various perceptions of Irish nationalism and national identity, and reviewing the motivations for the creation of the garden. Then I examine the garden's symbolic design and strategic employment of this national space by focusing on the deliberate inclusion of certain elements of Irish language, religion, culture, and history, as well as the controversies regarding the use of and access to the monument.

Irish Nationalism and National Identity

While conceptualizations of Irish nationalism and identity are complex and contested, Irish national identity is often perceived to comprise certain constitutive elements, including specific connections with Irish language, culture, history, landscape, the Catholic Church, and non-Britishness.³ Seminal works on nationalism and national identity, such as Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, suggest the state can be a powerful agent that often endeavors to legitimize its power by attempting to foster a sense of national identity, but conceptions of nationalism and identities can also be altered and contested.⁴ Indeed, some in Ireland are reluctant to recognize or commemorate those Irish who participated in events that could be perceived as cooperating with the British, including those Irish who fought in World War I under the British flag. The long and complicated history between Britain and Ireland was frequently fraught with conflict and violence, but the English (and later British) presence in parts of Ireland, especially Dublin, where the Irish national garden is located today, spans several centuries and a range of political arrangements. The following very brief sketch reveals a particularly multifarious and interrelated history.

The colonization of Ireland by English settlers began in the thirteenth century. While some of the English assimilated, marrying into Gaelic families and adopting the Irish language and customs, enclaves of independent Gaelic Irish existed separately from the English colonies throughout Ireland. Before long, the existence of foreign settlers as an internal "other" living in Ireland

generated a cultural and linguistic Gaelic Resurgence among the native Irish. Their efforts to restore their old high kingship to unite Gaelic Ireland or drive out the English settlers proved unsuccessful. By the late Middle Ages, the initial English colony, reduced in size, centered on an area around Dublin known as the English Pale.

English efforts to rule Ireland continued unevenly, but the Tudor reconquest of Ireland in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries launched a period of clearly defined English rule. The period also witnessed an increasing number of political and religious conflicts both in Ireland and throughout Europe. In Ireland, mounting tensions between Irish and English culture and language were further exacerbated by religious battles between Catholic Ireland and Protestant Anglican England. Control of Ireland and the Irish Sea also played a strategic role in the imperial designs of the English as they competed with Catholic Spain and France over colonial claims in North America.

Following an aggressive campaign in Ireland that intensified after Henry VIII was named king of Ireland, English efforts to complete the subjugation of Catholic Ireland ultimately succeeded. By the time of Queen Elizabeth I's death in 1603, the old Irish world was gone. The process continued with the flight of the Gaelic earls from Ulster in 1607, which left that northeastern Irish province without leadership. Plantations were subsequently established in Ulster that drew some English and a larger number of Scottish settlers, primarily Presbyterian, to the area. Later, Oliver Cromwell's settlement campaign, which began in 1649, would ultimately shift Catholic power in Ireland into Protestant hands.⁵

The establishment of the Penal Laws in the seventeenth century severely limited the power of both Catholics and Protestant nonconformists in Ireland. In reaction, a Protestant elite led the first definitive large-scale manifestation of Irish nationalism. Many Protestant Irish nationalists, such as Henry Grattan, and revolutionaries, such as Theobald Wolfe Tone, who headed the ultimately unsuccessful Rebellion of 1798 against British rule in Ireland and ultimately died for the cause, championed the demand for legislative freedom as an independent republic. However, against the wishes of Irish Republicans (who wanted Ireland to become an independent republic), the Acts of Union in 1800 legally united Great Britain and Ireland, creating the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Over time, many Irish nationalists, including Ireland's "liberator," Daniel O'Connell, would campaign to repeal the acts. In fact, during the first half of the nineteenth century, O'Connell emerged as the most prominent champion of Irish rights, demanding not only the repeal of the acts but also Catholic emancipation from any restrictive laws against Catholics in Ireland. Over time, O'Connell would become one of the most important heroes in Irish

history and one of the first Catholics to hold a seat in the British parliament. It was Charles Stewart Parnell, though, who founded the Irish Parliamentary Party that demanded Irish legislative independence and supported legislation for the Home Rule Bill for Ireland, which promised national self-government by 1914.

However, home rule was suddenly suspended due to the outbreak of the Great War. While many Irish opted to support the British war effort, as the war continued a small group of Irish Republicans who desired an end to British rule, consisting primarily of members of the Irish Volunteers (such as Patrick Pearse) and the Irish Republican Brotherhood, staged an armed rebellion on Easter Monday, April 24, 1916. This Easter Rising occurred throughout the island, but the vast majority of the effort focused on key locations in Dublin. The city's General Post Office along Sackville Street, which would be renamed O'Connell Street in 1924, was occupied and served as the garrison headquarters for the Republicans. It was from this building that Pearse first read the Proclamation of the Irish Republic.

After six days of fighting and British shelling, Pearse and the others were forced to surrender. The rebellion had failed, and the British chose to execute fifteen of the rebel leaders, including Pearse, an act that would dramatically alter the hearts of the Irish public and greatly strengthen popular support for Republicanism. The Anglo-Irish War (Irish War of Independence) followed, lasting from 1919 to 1921, when Britain, exhausted by fighting World War I and then a war in Ireland, called a truce.⁶

Following lengthy negotiations, the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed, creating the Irish Free State within the dominion of the British Commonwealth. The new state was not a republic but gained what Michael Collins referred to as the "freedom to achieve freedom."⁷ Twenty-six of the thirty-two counties in Ireland would accept the conditions of the Irish Free State in hopes of achieving an independent republic in the near future. The remaining six counties in Ulster, which had maintained a British majority since the Ulster plantations began in the seventeenth century and were dominated politically by Unionist opposition to an independent Ireland, elected to leave the Irish Free State. In 1922, those counties became Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom.

The loss of the six counties in Ulster and a lack of full independence fueled discord within the Free State. These tensions would erupt in 1922 into the Irish Civil War between pro- and antitreaty forces, in which the pro-treaty side ultimately prevailed with the support of British supplies and ammunition. The official connection between the British Commonwealth and Ireland was officially severed in 1949 with ratification of the Republic of Ireland Act of 1948, which declared Ireland an independent republic.

A National Place for Ireland

Despite a tumultuous past, there were many in the Irish Free State, which would become the Republic of Ireland, who already wanted to venerate the Irish nation visibly on the landscape. As early as 1935, the Old Irish Republic Army's Dublin Brigade Council specifically called for the creation of a memorial to the nation.⁸ The first concrete plans in 1961 called for a memorial, set within the center of Dublin, to honor those who died fighting for the Irish republic, with the specific intention of dedicating the national space on the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising. The decision to locate it within the capital city is notable, as this location stands in stark contrast to that of the more controversial and less celebrated National War Memorial to those who died during World War I, which was located in Islandbridge on the city's suburban outskirts (figure 2.1). During that conflict, Ireland was part of the British Commonwealth, and Irish soldiers therefore fought under the British flag—a historical reality that many in the republic were more hesitant to celebrate.

In contrast, the Garden of Remembrance's central location reflects the importance of the monument, not only to the Irish struggle for independence

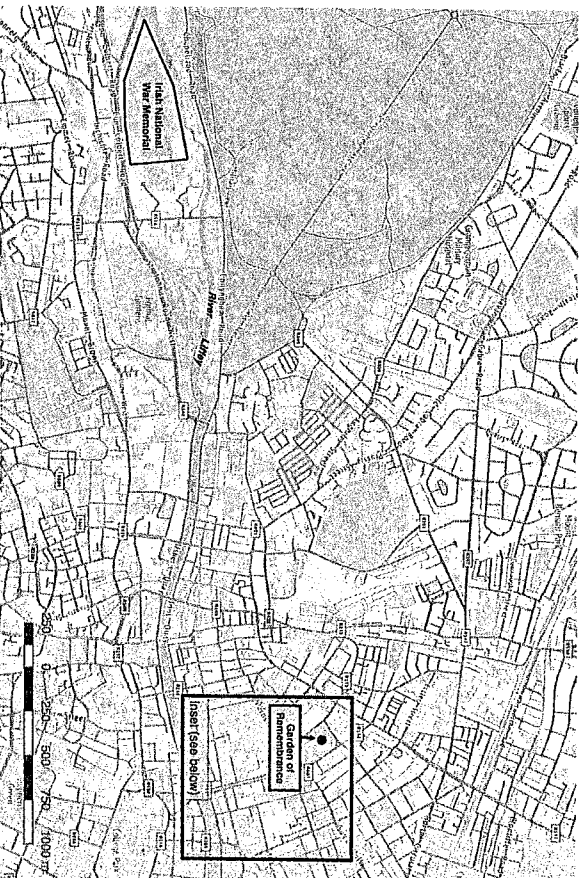


FIGURE 2.1

The Garden of Remembrance is centrally located in downtown Dublin, while the Irish National War Memorial is relegated to the far western outskirts of the city.

Map by D. Vines.

but also to the history of the city and its role in the rising as well. Situated just north of the General Post Office, one of the most important garrison locations during the rising and the location from which Pearse first read the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, the monument honors one of the pivotal places in the unfolding drama of the Easter Rising (figure 2.2). It is also located within the greater Rotunda Gardens, site of the founding of the Republican Irish Volunteers, many of whom participated in the 1916 rising.

Additionally, this commemorative space is constructed on the location where several of the leaders of the 1916 rising were kept overnight before they were officially jailed. Many of these leaders were subsequently executed, unleashing the chain of events that led to great turmoil and a growing sense of Irish nationalism and Republican sympathy among the Irish public. Since the Garden of Remembrance is dedicated specifically to those who died fighting for an independent Ireland, it is also not surprising that this national commemorative space is strategically located just off O'Connell Street, renamed in honor of Ireland's "liberator," and along Parnell Square, named for another national hero and champion of Irish legislative independence.

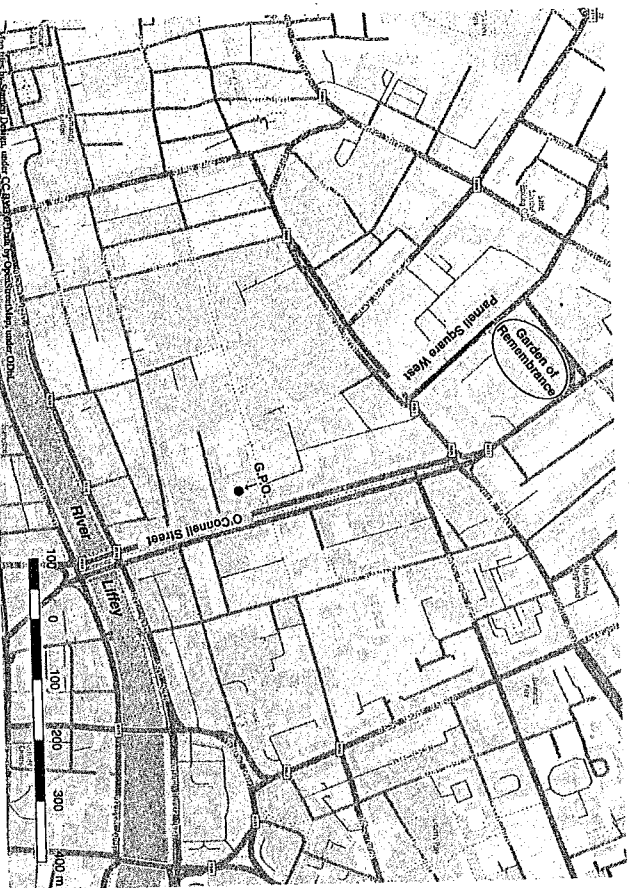


FIGURE 2.2
The Garden of Remembrance is strategically located within Parnell Square and north of the General Post Office in the northern part of downtown Dublin.
Map by D. Vines.

While the location is significant in relation to Irish national events in the first decades of the twentieth century, the Garden of Remembrance also commemorates other key events, including the aforementioned 1798 rebellion led by Theobald Wolfe Tone and the Anglo-Irish War (Irish War of Independence). Accordingly, the location and scope of the garden transform an ordinary urban space into a commemorative place that honors the nation. In this way, the garden plays an active role in the tribute paid to, and the creation of national narratives about, the Republic of Ireland's struggle for national independence, identity, and legitimacy.

Dedication and Design

On Easter Monday 1966, President Éamon de Valera, who participated in the 1916 rising and was a signatory of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, presided over the Garden of Remembrance's opening ceremony. The garden's public debut, which marked the fiftieth anniversary of the rising and the proclamation, was part of a larger celebration that included a military parade and a commemorative event at the General Post Office. Many attended the opening of the garden, including hundreds who participated in the 1916 events, Irish army officers, and government officials, as well as members of the general public. One of the attendees, who had served in the General Post Office garrison during the rising, was carried into the garden for the ceremony on a stretcher and greeted with applause by onlookers.

Highlighting the intended purpose of the garden, a local reporter called it a "national shrine" and "a place of pilgrimage that attracted Irish young and old alike."⁹ The intentional use of the word "pilgrimage" not only suggested that the garden was to become a site of such great national significance that people would travel to see it but also refers to the importance of religion in conceptions of Irish nationalism and national identity. The Catholic Church has long played a role in Irish politics and culture—the Constitution of the Republic of Ireland included the declaration, only removed in 1973, that the "State recognizes the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens."¹⁰ In order to emphasize the Catholic Church's "special position" within the republic, the archbishop of Dublin, Reverend John Charles McQuaid, was invited to bless the memorial gardens at the beginning of the opening ceremony. At the conclusion of the archbishop's blessing, President de Valera addressed the audience by speaking first in Irish, the national and first official language of the Republic of Ireland, about the importance of commemorating those who fought and died for the Irish nation.¹¹ In essence,

the opening ceremony worked to consecrate the Garden of Remembrance as a sacred, national space for Ireland.

The prominent role of the Catholic Church, the strategic use of the Irish language, and the celebration of past historic events served to create an imagined sense of national unity and collective national identity. However, they also highlighted and heightened key symbolic design elements that evoked aspects of Irish religion, language, culture, and history. Architect Dairbhí Hanly's design for the garden had been selected for its highly historical-symbolic elements that commemorated Irish sacrifice and transcendence. Hanly believed the site was a symbolic place of execution and therefore wanted to create a place that both demonstrated and celebrated a narrative of sacrifice, suffering, and redemption. His intentional invocation of national martyrs was driven by his desire to create a design that would remind visitors of the numerous sacrifices made by the Irish in their centuries-long struggle for an independent Ireland.¹²

Other elements of Hanly's design for the Garden of Remembrance capture this theme. Its overall shape is rectilinear with a sunken cruciform shape, reminiscent of a Latin-cross-style church, carved out of its center. Within this sunken cruciform shape, there is a raised central platform with the national flag. The platform serves as a national altar, designed with a pedestal for wreaths or an important speaker, while the centerpiece of the garden is a reflecting pool, set in the center of the sunken area and also in the shape of a Latin cross. The remaining raised lawn is seven feet higher than this pool, in dramatic contrast to the sunken cruciform shape where visitors walk to the garden. The geometric overall form of the memorial garden suggests a rigid military character and discipline within the space. Additionally, the cruciform shape and the sunken part of the garden combine to set a solemn and religious tone within the otherwise busy city block. In this way, the garden connects the sacred with the secular in material form to create a special place that honors and legitimizes the Irish nation.

In order to enter the Garden of Remembrance, which is enclosed by external walls, visitors must pass through one of two dramatic entrances, thus creating a clearly defined urban space.¹³ The entrances feature fifty-foot-wide sliding gates and large letters that declare in both English and Irish that the garden is "dedicated to those who gave their lives in the cause of Irish freedom."¹⁴ The use of Irish is also evident throughout the garden, particularly on one of the walls that displays author Liam Mac Uistin's poem "We Saw a Vision." This poem, which was added two decades after the garden first opened to the public, focuses on Ireland's desire for freedom, asking visitors to be mindful of those who died and the sacrifices they made fighting for the establishment of the republic. The Irish word *saorise* (freedom) was employed

often during the Irish struggle for independence and remains a dominant term in Republican neighborhood murals in Northern Ireland today. With regard to the importance of the Irish language to national culture and identity, it is significant to note that Uistin's poem was originally only written in Irish. Translations in English and French were only added to the site in 1976 so that more visitors would be able to read the poem.

While the reflecting pool's shape is highly religious in nature, the symbols included in its design highlight some of the historical and cultural elements of Ireland's past. For example, the bottom of the pool is decorated with green and blue mosaic tiles in a wave pattern punctuated with a design featuring daggers, broken spears, and bright yellow shields. The appearance of broken weapons at the bottom of the pool references the Celtic tradition in which war parties broke their weapons and tossed them into rivers at the end of a conflict to symbolize the conclusion of hostilities. Additionally, the railings that flank the sunken cruciform area include important Irish emblems modeled from cultural artifacts held at the National Museum, such as the national Irish harp and a two-thousand-year-old Irish sword. However, they also include religious emblems, such as the Cross of Cloyne, an early Irish Christian cross, in addition to wrought iron bars that represent eternal light, again demonstrating the close relationship that existed between Irish culture, history, and religion.¹⁵

The focal point of the garden features the Irish national flag in the center of the raised platform with a pedestal for wreaths. The Irish flag is centered between four provincial flags, representative of the four historic Irish provinces, that flank the main entrance on the opposite side of the garden. The inclusion of the four provincial flags is symbolic of a still unsatisfied aspiration for a united Ireland. While all counties in three of the four historic provinces of Ireland (Connacht, Leinster, and Munster) are presently located within the Republic of Ireland, only three of the nine counties of the fourth province (Ulster) are in the republic. Northern Ireland comprises the remaining six counties and remains a source of great strife for many in the republic and Northern Ireland today.

In 1971, a rather contentious sculpted centerpiece designed by Oisín Kelly was added to the raised platform in front of the Irish flag. Kelly's highly emotional and provocative sculpture of the Irish myth of the Children of Lir was also inspired by a famous line in "Easter, 1916," a poem by one of Ireland's best-known poets, William Butler Yeats. Yeats describes those who were involved in the 1916 rising as "transformed utterly" and as subsequently for an Ireland in which "a terrible beauty is born."¹⁶ The statue relates to Yeats's description through the depiction of Lir's four children in the midst of transforming into swans. According to the Irish myth, Lir's children were turned

into swans by their jealous stepmother for nine hundred years, mirroring Ireland's almost nine-hundred-year struggle against British control.¹⁷ While several variations of this legend exist, they commonly conclude with the children's conversion back into human form as a result of either a Christian blessing, the sound of a church bell, or a baptism. By incorporating the religious and transformational elements of this legend, the statue is symbolically representative of the Irish nation and its rebirth as the modern Irish republic with Irish myths, history, and Christianity. Nonetheless, the statue was not universally embraced. Some government officials expressed concern regarding whether it was appropriate in this national space. However, after searching for alternative designs, most agreed that "it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find a more suitable alternative."¹⁸

The prominence of Irish myths and historical artifacts in the Garden of Remembrance is significant. Even the key fashioned for the entrance gate was designed as a replica of the oldest known key in Ireland. This intentional effort to emphasize the past was motivated by a specific antipartition political campaign championed by President de Valera in a variety of speeches delivered in international fora between 1948 and 1951 protesting the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty. One of his central arguments against what he considered to be an illegal division of the island was that Northern Ireland—a nonhistorical creation—divided the "ancient nation of Ireland."¹⁹ Thus, for strategic as well as celebratory reasons, this symbolic memorial space seeks to draw connections to Ireland's national past, language, history, culture, and religion. More than a space to commemorate national martyrs, the garden works to legitimize the creation of the Republic of Ireland and the purported need to reunite the island under the republic's flag.

A Selective Space

Given the polyvocal nature of state-building projects, not all individuals will necessarily agree with the officially promoted meaning or representations. It is important to recognize that the official iconography and meaning of national and commemorative landscapes are subjective entities open to contestation or subversion.²⁰ Public reaction to Hanly's *Children of Lir* sculpture, for example, ranged from warm acceptance of the notion that the romanticism portrayed in the statue was evocative of the spirit of those who died for Ireland to ridicule for depicting what some considered an old myth that was about not resurgence or transcendence but death and loss instead.²¹

Access to this national garden and how the government determines its use are also significant. From its inception, the Garden of Remembrance was a key

location for commemorative marches and rapidly became a stage for political rallies and protests. For example, thousands of protesters marched there to express their shock and horror after the January 1972 Bloody Sunday events in Londonderry, Northern Ireland.²² The intentional incorporation of the garden during this protest demonstrates protesters' efforts to gain legitimacy and gravitas by drawing on the power and significance endowed in this sacred, national memorial space. The garden has also served as the political platform from which Taoiseach, or prime minister, Jack Lynch publicly advocated for reconciliation and a peaceful reunification of the island, a statement that upset many within the British government.²³ Veterans of the Anglo-Irish War have chosen the garden as the venue for their annual outings and reunions.²⁴ The garden has even been the location for a protest staged against the republic's acceptance into the European Economic Community on the grounds that Ireland was entering without the six counties of Northern Ireland.

Moreover, not all have been welcomed into this urban space. As in many cases with memorial spaces that commemorate a historic or political past, utilization and access can become a source of contention within the community. For example, concerts were held regularly in the garden until they were banned in 1967 as a result of complaints by the Irish Republican Army's Council of the Dublin Brigade. The council demanded that the garden only be used to honor those who died for Ireland, insisting that "the Garden of Remembrance be maintained in the spirit in which it was conceived, as an honour to those who made the supreme sacrifice for Ireland."²⁵ Additionally, plans to host the first National Commemoration Day at the Garden of Remembrance, which would have honored all Irish who died in past wars, including Irish who died during World War I when Ireland was part of the British Commonwealth, were altered due to protests. The government was forced instead to host smaller ceremonies at various denominational churches throughout Dublin.²⁶

Contentious debates pertaining to access to the garden also occurred around cultural proceedings. For example, the Irish National Gay Federation's recent efforts to host a wreath laying ceremony in the garden "in memory of the many millions of persons, who, over the centuries have been tortured, imprisoned or killed because of their sexual orientation" was blocked by the national government, which reasoned that the "stated objectives of the ceremony were not in keeping with the purpose for which the garden was dedicated."²⁷ While the government affirmed that it supported the need to commemorate victims of abuse, it made clear that it did not believe the Garden of Remembrance was the appropriate location for this event.

The most notable debate regarding access to and the use and meaning of this national space occurred during British queen Elizabeth II's visit to the

republic in May 2011. Her visit was to commemorate the 1998 Good Friday Agreement (Belfast Agreement), a major advance in the peace effort for Northern Ireland that helped substantially curtail the violence known as "the Troubles." Irish president Mary McAleese, who was born in Belfast and lived in the city during the Troubles, was a staunch supporter of reconciliation and eager for the queen's visit. While the four-day visit to the republic was generally considered a success by the Irish media and the public, the Republican political party Sinn Féin publicly objected, stating that the time was not right for a British monarch to visit the republic. It is therefore not surprising that the most controversial event during the queen's trip was her visit to the Garden of Remembrance.

Sinn Féin and members of the Real Irish Republican Army vehemently opposed her presence in this national sacred place and promised to organize protests to block her entrance to the garden. Unionists in Northern Ireland, who support the continued existence of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom, were also uncomfortable with the queen's visiting a memorial garden that honors people who fought against the British. Fearing potential disturbances, the government restricted access to the ceremony and closed the streets surrounding the entrance, including that of the local Sinn Féin headquarters on Parnell Square. As a result, the queen's motorcade traveled along deserted streets to the garden, and the public was unable to see her pass through its gates. The small protests organized by certain Republican groups were confined to the southern and northern edges of Parnell Square. Arguably, the queen's presence in the garden was the most politically and culturally significant moment of her visit to the republic as she, accompanied by Irish president Mary McAleese, walked to the raised platform, laid a memorial wreath on the national altar, and observed a moment of silence. The fact that a British monarch could be publicly welcomed by the Republic of Ireland's political leaders in a space that honors those who died primarily fighting against what the queen embodies is a demonstration of the republic's more recent openness to altering century-old political traditions. Additionally, the queen's willingness to enter this Irish national place and honor deceased Irish patriots was a momentous indication of a reciprocal acceptance. While it was generally a silent affair, the actions of these political leaders in this highly symbolic and political space worked to redefine Irish-British relations.

Conclusion

The Republic of Ireland's Garden of Remembrance has become what the Dublin Brigade Council originally desired: a national place that honors those

who died for the Irish nation. However, the garden has additional meanings and functions within Irish society. This symbolic place is hallowed ground within the capital city's urban core and promotes a sense of national identity, history, and legitimacy. It is a place where negotiations of Irish society are publicly manifested or challenged, because it is a medium through which the interrelations and subjective entities that exist between the government and society are mediated to the larger community. Because iconic national places, including their use and control, are not neutral, such places are constantly open to contestation and alternative interpretations and employment by the public.

As the Republic of Ireland continues to negotiate its relationship with the United Kingdom, while simultaneously struggling with certain historical elements of its own past and issues of contemporary society, this commemorative space serves as a mirror. The queen's visit to a garden that was created to help define a nation, primarily by honoring those who fought against the British, signals a significant potential transformation for the republic, its national identity, and its relationship with the United Kingdom. Subsequently, many in Ireland hope that the queen's visit to the Garden of Remembrance is an indication of a renegotiation of the troubled relationship between these states. In the words of President McAleese, there is hope that these actions will further aid in reconciliation efforts to "forge a new future, a future very, very different from the past, on very different terms from the past."²⁸

Notes

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3. On nationalism as a process, see Anthony D. Smith, "Ethno-symbolism and the Study of Nationalism," in *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, ed. Anthony Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).
4. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983); Nuala Johnson, "Sculpting Heroic Histories: Celebrating the Centenary of the 1798 Rebellion in Ireland," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 19, no. 1 (1994): 78–93; Kara Dempsey, "'Gallia's Hurricane': Actor Networks and Iconic Constructions," *Geographical Review* 102, no. 1 (2012): 93–110.
5. Cromwell's campaign in Ireland resulted in the confiscation of all (or, in some cases, a large percentage) of Catholic landowners' property rights on the island. This effectively transferred Catholic affluence and power to Protestants, producing

- a Protestant upper class. Theodore Moody and F. X. Martin, *The Course of Irish History* (Cork: Mercier Press, 2011).
6. Moody and Martin, *The Course of Irish History*.
 7. Matthew Heintz, "The Freedom to Achieve Freedom: Negotiating the Anglo-Irish Treaty," *Intersections* 10, no. 1 (2009): 431–51.
 8. The "Old" Irish Republican Army was recognized as the legitimate army of the republic in 1921.
 9. "Garden of Remembrance," *Irish Press*, May 19, 1966.
 10. Constitution of Ireland, 1937, Article 44.
 11. "Garden of Remembrance."
 12. Hanly, "Garden Fit for Heroes."
 13. The original garden entrance, along the eastern wall, was supplemented in 2007 with an additional entrance along the northern wall.
 14. Hanly, "Garden Fit for Heroes."
 15. Hanly, "Garden Fit for Heroes."
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3

Making a Wrong Turn in Tokyo Yasukuni Shrine and the "Empty Center" of Contemporary Japanese Nationalism

Ronald Davidson

IN APRIL 2014, POP STAR JUSTIN BIEBER was being whisked through streets of downtown Tokyo in a chauffeured automobile when he glir a shrine in a grove of trees. He told his driver to pull over so he could around. A short time later, Bieber posted photos of his impromptu sighting stop on Instagram. In one photo, the star, draped ironically in a robe monkish white "hoodie," stands beside a Shinto priest with his hands pr together in a gesture of prayer.¹ In another, he faces the Haiden, or mai of worship, dwarfed by a banner bearing the imperial chrysanthemum Posting the photos may have seemed like an innocent, goodwill gesture¹ Japanese fans. But unbeknownst to Bieber, he had just "stepped into o the world's greatest geopolitical controversies" (as the *Washington Post* it), triggering a storm of protest across East Asia.² The star was soon tw apologies to his fans and claiming to "love" them all.

It is little wonder, perhaps, that the uproar caught Bieber by surpris place he visited resembles many others in Tokyo—at least in superficial spect. Throughout Tokyo one can find shrines with similar arrays of gardens, ponds, shrine buildings, and so on. The seeming typicality of th is reinforced by its location in the city's center—the urban-cultural he Tokyo—just blocks from the imperial palace moat. To the naive visito greenery and serenity of the shrine grounds may appear to offer an unj lematic glimpse "beneath the surface" of the bustling city into the de spiritual moorings of Japanese culture.

As the reaction to Bieber's Instagram photos makes clear, however pearances can be deceiving. For the shrine he visited was Yasukuni, v