1916年アイルランドイースター蜂起は 日本にどう伝えられたか

The 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland and the Japanese newspapers

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Recent article¹⁾ by *The Irish Times* on the controversy concerning the application of the word 'British' to the Irish people was strangely relieving for a reader in Japan. The article expresses a reporter's bewilderment with the fact that the Irish nominees for the annual film awards presented by the London Film Critics' Circle (LFCC) have been categorized as 'British' for some time. So far 'the nominated Irish personnel, not wishing to seem ungrateful, rarely comment on the matter'. In 2015, however, 'things came to a head' when 'four Irish professionals [were] nominated in "British" categories'. So the reporter has 'raised the issue' with the LFCC, which has been giving some 'extraordinary' reasoning for their use of the word 'British'²⁾. Other critics have also expressed their dismay on this issue and 'before the Twitter storm had time to gain strength', the LFCC have renamed those categories as 'British/Irish'. Although 'formal, institutional blurring of the distinctions between the nations is now much less common than it once was', it is still 'rare you won't find some Irish person being identified as British' in the UK media.

This episode gave me some relief because if the situation in the UK is like that, numerous examples of very careless uses of the word 'British' in the Japanese media and in any other field can be permissible. In fact, in Japanese we have very peculiar words like 'Ei-koku' or 'Igirisu', which could mean either 'Great Britain', 'the United Kingdom', or 'England'. And 'Ei-koku-jin' or 'Igirisu-jin' could describe someone from either 'Great Britain', 'the United Kingdom', or 'England'. To make matters more complicated, very many people here do believe that Ireland, North and South, is part of the UK. And they do not have any malicious intent. They do not have any intent at all. 'The distinctions between the nations' are quite blurry or

¹⁾ Donald Clarke, "And the best British actor is ... Saoirse Ronan? Really? Why does the London Film Critics' Circle refer to Irish actors as British? It's baffling", *The Irish Times*, December 19, 2015.

²⁾ "We know Ireland isn't part of Britain, but the Irish film industry is part of the British film industry, and that's what these awards refer to". "Irish citizens are eligible for these awards but many Irish actors and directors work on what are technically British films and their work deserves recognition", quoted in *Ibid*.

perhaps even invisible when they reach here. And people here simply do not know or care, or too busy to notice those distinctions. And this is the year 2015. How about one century ago then? The Irish Revolutionary period was an effort to let 'the distinctions between the nations' be known. But did that effort reach as far as the Far East? This paper tries to examine how the Japanese newspapers reported and explained the Easter Rising to the audience who did not know those distinctions to begin with.

The first coverage of the Rising appears on April 26, 1916 with the report of the capture of Roger Casement (1864-1916) in County Kerry. Casement will be the centre the focus of the Japanese newspapers throughout the coverage of the event while the other leaders of the Rising are mentioned only briefly or not mentioned at all. The Rising itself in Dublin is first reported on April 27. Correspondents in London and New York of The Tokyo Asahi gives the details of the events at the General Post Office and in Dublin city. The Asahi also quotes The Reuters and The Times, and their coverage of the Rising continues every day until May 6, reporting 'Pearse, Clarke and MacDonagh were found guilty by court martial and executed by the firing squad on May 3'3. Those three and Casement are the only leaders who are actually named on The Asahi among the executed. James Connolly is described as a 'Syndicalist' and a 'labour leader' 4) and this is as much as a reader can get from the paper concerning the backgrounds or the motives of the leaders. And by quoting The Times, The Asahi contends that the 'disastrous defeat' of the Irish rebels is 'no doubt a result of the failed attempt of the arms smuggling from Germany^{'5}. The emphasis on the German role as well as Casement's during the event will be the feature of the coverage by the Japanese newspapers. The Yomiuri, for instance, gives a massive coverage on the capture of Casement on the edition of April 27 and on his activities in Germany on later editions. Other than him, Connolly and Patrick Pearse are again the only leaders mentioned on The Yomiuri and their treatment is quite simple. Connolly 'might have been killed during the fight' 6) while Pearse 'have surrendered'7).

Roger Casement had been already captured by the authorities when the Rising

³⁾ "Executions of the leaders of the riots in Ireland", The Tokyo Asahi, May 6, 1916.

⁴⁾ "Details of the riots in Ireland", The Tokyo Asahi, May 1, 1916.

⁵⁾ "Riots in Dublin is over", *The Tokyo Asahi*, May 4, 1916.

⁶⁾ "Rebels in Ireland are suppressed", *The Yomiuri*, May 2, 1916.

⁷⁾ "Surrendered rebels", *The Yomiuri*, May 4, 1916.

actually took place in Dublin on Eater Monday, April 24, 1916. And in the narrative of the Rising, Casement is usually somewhat side-lined and 'thrown into the shade by the spotlight on Dublin'⁸⁾. But why is he the centre of attention in the Japanese newspapers? It is because of his ties with Germany and the Japan's position during the Great War. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which provided for mutual defence between Britain and Japan, had been in force since 1902. When Britain announced the entry to the Great War, Japan was obliged to be engaged in the War on the British side. On August 23, 1914, Japan declared war against Germany after the request by the British government to secure the Pacific sea-lanes. The Japanese troops occupied the German Pacific islands by October 6, and Japan continued the naval assistance to the allies until the end of the War. When the Rising took place in Dublin, Britain was Japan's ally while Germany was an enemy, and anything that could discredit Germany would be of a great news value. This Japan's position in the Great War will greatly bias the whole news coverage of the Irish issues in the 1910s and 1920s.

In the words of George Bernard Shaw, 'the position taken by Sir Roger Casement in the war of 1914 was perfectly clear and logical'. Casement's 'object as an Irish patriot was the freeing of Ireland from her enforced subjection to England, and the establishment of her national independence' And Casement as a diplomat 'understood perfectly that it was necessary to have a considered diplomatic policy and not a mere gush of patriotic sentiment'. Shaw continues to explain Casement's actions:

England is Ireland's conqueror and enemy, and so much more powerful that it is impossible for Ireland to free herself by her own unaided efforts. Ireland must therefore seek an alliance with some anti-English Power or combination of Powers, and offer them her support, such as it is, in return for a promise to guarantee the independence of Ireland in the event of their coming victorious out of a war with England, Casement's calculation being that such a victorious Power or Powers would have a strong interest in weakening their defeated foe by establishing a hostile independent nation in the fairway of her foreign trade. Accordingly, when England took the field against Germany, and for some time Germany seemed quite a likely winner, Casement took the German side and

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⁸⁾ Roger McHugh, "Casement and German help" in *Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising: Dublin 1916*, ed., F. X. Martin (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 187.

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actually went to Germany and tried to raise an Irish brigade there⁹.

The understanding that 'it is impossible for Ireland to free herself by her own unaided efforts', and that 'Ireland must therefore seek an alliance with some anti-English Power or combination of Powers' was not solely Casement's idea. Already at the planning stage of the Rising, the Irish Republican Brotherhood (the IRB), which was a secret revolutionary organization, and its American counterpart, Clan na Gael, had the consensus that they had to seek 'alliance' and they knew that it could only be Germany¹⁰. In August 1914, the members of Clan na Gael, headed by John Devoy, made the first meeting with the German Ambassador in the United States. Devoy told the Ambassador that the Irish would take advantage of the War and rise against the British, and in that case, they would need trained officers and arms from Germany¹¹.

Casement did not belong to the IRB or Clan na Gael, but in the United States he met Devoy and other leading Irish-American figures in 1914. There they discussed how to obtain an official declaration from Germany that they would support and respect the Irish independence. Casement and the executive members of Clan na Gael signed 'a Petition to the Kaiser to include the freedom of Ireland among the declared war aims of the Central Powers', and Casement, as an 'envoy', went to Germany by the sanction of Clan na Gael¹²⁾. He had three objects to achieve. First was to organize an 'Irish Brigade' from among the Irish soldiers in the British Army who were now in Germany as prisoners of war and prepare them for the upcoming rising. His second object was to secure a statement of German support and friendship for the independence of Ireland. And the third was to secure arms, which could be used for the rising in Ireland. However, 'collecting money was not one of' his objects, for 'at all times he was scrupulous to refuse to allow German money to be used in Ireland's cause'¹³⁾.

On October 31, 1914, Casement reached Berlin. Of three of his objects in Germany, he was able to achieve the second one. On November 20, Casement secured an official

⁹⁾ George Bernard Shaw "The Roger Casement trial" *The Massachusetts Review* 5:2 (Winter 1964): 311. This statement was originally presented in 1934.

 ¹⁰ F. S. L. Lyons, "The revolutions in train, 1914-16" in *A New History of Ireland Volume VI Ireland under the Union II, 1870-1921*, ed., W. E. Vaughan (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005, first published in 1996), 200.
 ¹¹ McHugh, *op. cit.*, 178.

¹²⁾ Dorothy MacArdle, The Irish Republic: A Documented Chronicle of the Anglo-Irish Conflict and the Partitioning of Ireland, with a Detailed Account of the Period 1916-1923 (London: Victor Gollancz, 1937), 132.
¹³⁾ Ibid., 132.

statement of the German Imperial Government's friendly attitude towards the Irish people and wishes for their attainment of independence, and this statement was published. On December 27, Casement also managed to secure a 'Treaty' between Germany and Ireland. The 'Treaty' was signed by Casement and by the German State Secretary, and sealed with the Seal of the German Chancellor¹⁴. This 'Treaty' consists of ten articles and here are the articles 2, 4 and 5.

Article 2

The object of the Irish Brigade shall be to fight solely in the cause of Ireland, and under no circumstances shall it be employed or directed to any German end.

Article 4

The Irish Brigade shall be clothed, fed, and efficiently equipped with arms and munitions by the Imperial German Government on the clear understanding that these are furnished it as free gift to aid the cause of the Irish independence.

Article 5

It is distinctly understood and is hereby formally declared by the Parties to this agreement that the Irish Brigade shall consist only of Volunteers in the cause of Irish national freedom, and as such no member of the Irish Brigade shall receive pay or monetary reward of any kind from the Imperial German Government during the period he shall bear arms in the Brigade.¹⁵⁾

The 'Treaty' was a grand design and Casement was in high hopes. However, his first object, the plan to raise an Irish Brigade, failed miserably. The Irish prisoners in Germany were largely hostile.¹⁶⁾ The collusions with the Germans can be seen 'as a stab in the back for the thousands of nationalists who had signed up with the British Army during the Great War'¹⁷⁾. Other than that, the bad communication between the

¹⁴⁾ McHugh, op. cit., 180; Lyons, op. cit., 201; MacArdle, op. cit., 133.

¹⁵⁾ "Typescript copy of the secret agreement made by Roger Casement with the German Foreign Office, concerning the formation of a brigade from Irish prisoners of war", accessed on January 5, 2016, http://digital.ucd.ie/view/ivrla:7153.

¹⁶ David Fitzpatrick, "Militarism in Ireland, 1900–1922" in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed., Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, first published in 1996), 394.

¹⁷⁾ Mark McCarthy, Ireland's 1916 Rising: Exploitations of History-Making, Commemoration and Heritage in Modern Times (Surry: Ashgate, 2012), 28.

German and Irish agents was also a problem, and only fifty to fifty-five Irish soldiers volunteered. The situation was as such that a German official even had a suspicion that Casement might be a double agent¹⁸. Casement knew this number was too small and not at all adequate to organize a rebellion. He also knew that without the weapons supply from Germany, the would-be rising in Ireland should meet a disastrous end. Then he decided to go back to Ireland with the weapons supplied by the Germans, twenty-thousand rifles and ten machine-guns, which was also too short a supply for the planned rebellion. The momentum for the German side to help the Irish cause had been already lost and their aid was not as much as the Irish leaders had hoped for. For the Germans, Ireland was 'a remote and improbable sideshow in which it would be folly to make a major investment of men and materials at a critical moment in the war'¹⁹. Thus Casement failed the third object, but probably 'it was a job that no man could have performed adequately'²⁰.

On April 9, 1916, the *Aud*, a single steamer with German arms and disguised as a Norwegian ship, left Lubeck for Ireland. The Captain of the ship, Karl Spindler, was ordered to reach Tralee Bay in County Kerry between 20 and April 23. And he did on April 20. In the meantime, on April 15, having spent eighteen months in Germany, Casement left Heligoland on the German U-19 submarine with two other Irishmen in order to meet up with the *Aud* in Kerry as well as to inform the leaders of the Easter Rising that there would not be enough weapons from Germany. According to the Captain of the submarine, Raimund Weisbach, Casement 'seemed initially very confident regarding the Irish Rising'. All that the Captain knew was to land Casement and the other two Irishmen in Ireland and 'to rendezvous with the *Aud* at Tralee Bay on Holy Thursday night, and also with the pilot-boat in the service of the IRB'. However, 'Casement grew increasingly despondent as the U-19 neared Ireland, and seemed convinced he was going to his death'. And yet, he 'expressed his appreciation of the German help during the voyage but made no observations as to whether this aid was adequate or not'²¹.

The submarine 'arrived in Tralee Bay on Holy Thursday night according to plan, but was unable to rendezvous with either the pilot-boat or the Aud'. The submarine stayed there 'from 10 p.m. until about 3 a.m., and somewhere between 1 a.m. and 2

¹⁸⁾ Angus Mitchell, 16 Lives: Roger Casement (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2013), 243.

¹⁹⁾ Lyons, *op. cit.*, 201.

²⁰⁾ Ibid., 201.

²¹⁾ Owen Dudley Edwards, "Captain Raimund Weisbach's Narrative of Casement's Last Voyage to Ireland" in 1916 Easter Rising ed., Owen Dudley Edwards and Fergus Pyle (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968), 116-7.

a.m. Casement and the Captain agreed' to put him and his associates ashore²². In the early hours of Good Friday, April 21, Casement and two other Irishmen reached on the Kerry coast but soon captured by the police. Meanwhile the Aud had already arrived in the afternoon of Thursday, April 20 as planned, and waited for instructions from the IRB and Clan Na Gael how to land the arms. Captain Spindler 'decided to stop as long as possible' because he thought 'the Irish would probably wait for the darkness to come on board. When it became dark I gave the arranged signals but made no connection with anyone at sea or ashore'. In his words, 'this was the greatest disappointment I ever had in my whole life^{'23)}. British warships finally intercepted the Aud next day and ordered into Queenstown (now Cobh) harbour on Saturday, April 22. Captain Spindler sank the ship as well as the cargo as he should.²⁴ And without the supply of arms, the Rising went ahead on Easter Monday, April 24, only in Dublin. It barely lasted for a week. With this failure of arms smuggling from Germany, the planned national rising became confined in Dublin city. As for Casement, he was eventually sent to London and tried there. In August 1916, he was hanged in Pentonville Prison in London. His body did not return to Ireland until 1965 and given a state funeral. Nine days before the execution, Casement wrote the joy of arriving in Ireland:

When I landed in Ireland that morning (about 3 a.m.) swamped & swimming ashore on an unknown strand I was happy for the first time for over a year. Although I knew that this fate waited on me, I was for one brief spell happy and smiling once more.²⁵⁾

Curiously, the Japanese papers describe Casement as 'Ei-jin', which means he is from England or Great Britain, but never from Ireland. It is hard to determine how much attention the newspapers back then were paying to the wording. But the other leaders of the Rising and of the Anglo-Irish War, such as Michael Collins, Eamon De Varela, or Arthur Griffith are not described as 'Ei-jin'. Perhaps, the fact that Casement was a 'Sir' and that he had been working at the British Consular Service made him look like an Englishman. On April 26, 1916, a correspondent in London of

²²⁾ Ibid., 118.

²³⁾ Karl Spindler, "Speech delivered at the Easter Week Observance in New York City on April 5th, 1931", quoted in MacArdle, *op. cit.*, 165.

²⁴⁾ McHugh, op. cit., 184-5; Lyons, op. cit., 201-2.

²⁵⁾ A Letter from Roger Casement to Agnes Newman, July 25, 1916, quoted in Mitchell, op. cit., 267.

The Tokyo Asahi reports the news of his capture for the first time:

German ship sinks in Ireland:

A German auxiliary cruiser which tried to smuggle arms to Ireland sank. On that ship was Sir Roger Casement, and now he is captured. Casement had worked for the British Consular Service at the various locations but he has been under surveillance as a spy for Germany.²⁶⁾

On the next day The Asahi continues from London and New York:

Rebel Englishman transported:

A rebel Englishman Sir Roger Casement was transported to London.

Movements of the rebel Englishman:

Sir Roger Casement, who was arrested after trying to smuggle weapons to Ireland and instigate a rebellion against Great Britain, had worked for the British Consular Service in South America and other places for twenty seven years. He grew a very strong anti-British feelings during those years. At the start of the War, which was two years ago, he went to Germany from the United States and made contacts with the German authorities. There he tried to organize a rebellion in Ireland. And also he tried to raise an army from among the Irish prisoners of war so that they can fight for the German state.²⁷⁾

On the same day the situation in Ireland is discussed on the editorial of *The Asahi*. It is titled as 'Disturbances in Ireland, a deep-rooted problem', and analyses the events took place in Ireland. It starts with an excuse: 'Because of the breakdown of the communications between Great Britain and Ireland caused by the recent disturbances in Dublin, it is difficult to determine who the rioters are and what caused the disturbances'. But the editorial is already sure that the Germans are behind this event: 'It is highly likely that a small number of Pro-German Irishmen, who have been incited by the Germans, took this opportunity to start a separatist movement'. It goes on to say that 'since the start of the War, Germany has been trying to provoke civil disturbances in British colonies such as India and Ireland',

²⁶⁾ "German ship sinks in Ireland", The Tokyo Asahi, April 26, 1916.

²⁷⁾ "Rebel Englishman transported"," Movements of the rebel Englishman", The Tokyo Asahi, April 27, 1916.

and 'Ireland is so close to Great Britain that the disturbances there would be a great blow to the British. Hence provoking disturbances there is the primal object of the Germans.' And 'the arrest of Sir Roger Casement, a spy for Germany, reveals part of the German conspiracies'. According to this editorial, what happened in Ireland in April 1916 was planned by the Germans, and Casement, who is referred to as 'an Englishman', was 'a spy for Germany'. 'When the Home Rule was suspended, the Germans did not give up. They provoked the Irish and used that spy for Germany, and their conspiracies were in full swing'²⁸⁾.

Next day's editorial also deals with the Irish situation. Under the title of 'British internal concerns (Riots instigated by Germany), it again explains the disturbances in Dublin as a German plot. 'Spying is the primal policy of the Germans during the war time' and 'after the arrest of Roger Casement, who willingly became a spy for Germany', 'a riot broke out in Dublin city'. 'Sir Roger Casement was working in Germany to start a rebellion by the Irish. He argued that "Ireland and Germany must fight against the British oppression" and his articles on various papers were influential among the Irish in the United States'. This editorial is optimistic about the future of the Anglo-Irish relationship, saying that this riot 'did not erupt out of blue and the British authorities knew and were duly alerted'. And 'the Germans know how to strike the enemy's weak spot very well and it is no wonder that the Germans tried to provoke the Irish'. But 'it took twenty months since the outbreak of the War to interfere with Ireland', and it took such a long time 'because of the effective British security operations and the fair mind of the Irish citizens'. 'The Irish people well understand the position of Great Britain in the War' so that 'the issue of Home Rule has been calmed down since the start of the War'. But in reality the suspension of Home Rule until the end of the Great War angered many nationalists in Ireland and in fact it even stimulated the activities of the Irish Volunteers and the IRB. Still the editor 'is sure that this riot will not spread to the rest of Ireland.' And 'if the riot spreads, that will only benefit the Germans and we must be fully aware of the German conspiracies'. 'The riot in Dublin should not have much significance for the British, but the same situation might arise in any other part of the British Empire'. 'Then today's incident in Dublin is not merely an Irish problem. Everywhere we must not give the Germans opportunities to instigate. Especially the British citizens in China should be fully aware the consequence of the German provocation in war

²⁸⁾ "Disturbances in Ireland, a deep-rooted problem", The Tokyo Asahi, April 27, 1916.

time'.²⁹⁾

More sensationalistic was *The Yomiuri*. On the edition of April 27, 1916, the capture of Roger Casement is reported under the title of 'Ireland: Cursed by the devil; ominous weapons are smuggled by a spy for Germany; a black hand was behind the riots'. And the article continues:

A German cruiser not only sailed the east coast of Ireland in spite of the British surveillances but also tried to smuggle arms and ammunitions. Now the ship has been destroyed by the offensives. And surprisingly, an Englishman named Sir Roger Casement, who was a spy for Germany, was on board. Moreover, according to foreign sources, a riot erupted in Dublin city on April 24 and twelve people were killed. It has been reported that the rioters occupied crucial parts of the city. Anonymous Military General, who has just come back from Britain, told us the following: 'I have not yet have the confirmed information, but it is not surprising if such an incident might have happened, for Ireland has been a nagging problem for the British government. During the Home Rule crisis, there were also numerous attempts of arms smuggling. In Ireland, Ulster is the only place where Englishness is kept alive. During the Boer War, the Irish was wishing a defeat of the British side. Germany is good at what they are doing. The Irish prisoners of war are separated from other British prisoners and treated better, so that they would have pro-German feelings. Sir Roger has been marked as a dangerous man for a long time. After the current War broke out, he somehow went to Germany via the United States. Lots of the Irish have emigrated to the US, and there they are in touch with the Germans and always conspiring. I do not think all the Irish would fight on the German side, but no doubt some would do so willingly. Only ten percent of the tens of thousands of the Irishmen volunteered for the current War'. This account proves that the Irish people are not Anglophiles. Needless to say that the arms and ammunitions on board of the sunken ship were the evidence of the desperate attempt to instigate a rebellion in the United Kingdom. We should watch how the British government will deal with this problem.³⁰⁾

²⁹⁾ " 'British internal concerns (Riots instigated by Germany)"', The Tokyo Asahi, April 28, 1916.

³⁰⁾ "Ireland: Cursed by the devil", The Yomiuri, April 27, 1916.

As long as reading the Japanese newspapers, a reader's understanding of the Easter Rising will be all about the Germans and their conspiracies. Roger Casement is only used by them. He is not even recognized as an Irishman. At the early stage of the coverage of the Easter Rising, the event is either described as 'riots' or 'disturbances' and its significance is not comprehended. The German role and Roger Casement's activities are so much emphasized that within a few years the event came to be known as the 'Casement affair' in the Japanese media and never as a 'Rising'. It shows the limit of their understandings about the Irish matters though the heavy-handed state censorship was yet to come. If the idea of the Rising was a German creation, and Casement was instigated by the Germans and working for them, it directly contradicts the Proclamation of the Irish Republic, which was read out by Pearse on Easter Monday: 'We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people'.

It seems 'the distinctions between the nations' were not at all clear in the Japanese press one century ago. What about now? In 2014 an Irishman working in Tokyo has confessed 'it's very hard to be Irish in Japan'. He says, 'at least in English speaking countries you can still sound Irish. Japanese, however, is a different kettle of raw fish. You can sound Japanese, or you can sound like a foreigner. Irish isn't on the menu'. However, his 'Irishness never completely goes' and he makes efforts, 'like my overuse of the colour green in spreadsheets and annoying my friends in the cinema by saying, "He's Irish" whenever Michael Fassbender appears on screen'³¹⁾. You can keep on trying, or perhaps you can take advantage of the situation and immerse yourself in the world of anonymity. Japan could be a good place to live for those who are tired of being 'Irish at all times' and 'too busy to be Irish or Catholic or anything else'³²⁾.

³¹⁾ Christopher Greene, "It's impossible to still sound Irish in Japan, but I try: 'Ireland and Me"', *The Irish Times*, December 27, 2014.

³²⁾ Frank McCourt, 'Tis (London: Flamingo, 2000, first published in 1999), 213 and 185.