

that year with upper-class leadership, but set to become 'the largest female political organisation in Ireland'. This was a highly effective grouping, linking together a range of unionist opinion and engaging in intensive propaganda campaigns.³¹ For example, in June 1911, Mrs Wetherall of Ballycastle, County Antrim, and Miss Johnson of Londonderry, were sent to conduct an anti-home Rule campaign in the south of England at the request of South Berkshire Conservative Association.³² In November it was announced that twelve workers had been sent to England and Scotland, and that Mrs Sinclair of Strabane, County Tyrone, who was going to conduct a campaign in Cambridgeshire, proposed to bring with her a conjurer and entertainer 'as the means of securing an audience amongst the working classes'.³³ A delegation from the British Women's Amalgamated Unionist and Tariff Association, arriving to study the Home Rule issue, were not to be subjected to any enormous public displays – in case of rioting; instead they should be sent first to the North West of Ulster to see the condition of affairs in a Nationalist district, and should then be brought to the loyal districts in the East to contrast the prosperity and industry which prevailed there'.³⁴

'That the contrast between social conditions in east and north-west Ulster was a result of religious allegiance rather than economic or environmental issues was a recurring theme in the loyalist discourse of the period. UUP leader James Craig referred to the UWUC as 'the motherhood of Ulster', and as Lurgan Women's Unionist Association warned, Home Rule would threaten the sanctity of the Protestant home:

If our homes are not sacred from the priest under the existing laws, what can we expect from a priest-governed Ireland... [L]et each woman in Ulster do a woman's part to stem the tide of Home Rule... The union... meant everything to them – their civil and religious liberty [and] their homes and children... [T]he home was a woman's first consideration... [I]n the event of Home Rule being granted, the sanctity and happiness of home life in Ulster would be permanently destroyed.³⁵

These kinds of tensions between the two major religious communities had been considerably heightened in 1907 by the publication of *Ne Temere*, the papal decree which attempted to ensure that Catholics marrying Protestants would bring up their children in the Catholic faith. Unionist women were also involved at a more populist level in working-class Protestant culture, participating from around 1887 in a short-lived association of loyal (Orange) women. Revived at the end of 1911, within 8 years this organisation had 12 female lodges, 10 of which, based in Belfast,

radical nationalism was too nonconformist to attract widespread popular support.²⁷ The society's journal, *Bann na hIreann*, edited by Helena Moloney, advocated 'militancy, separatism and feminism'; however, an editorial reflected the commonly held view among many nationalist feminists that suffragism was not just a deflection, but a betrayal: 'The feminist cause in Ireland is best served by ignoring England and English politicians... At all events, women should first set their own house in order'.²⁸ As Margaret Ward comments, to ignore Westminster was rather difficult when it was the forum where suffrage Bills were being debated.²⁹ Some individuals did manage to straddle both the suffrage and nationalist camps, but this became much harder to achieve as the constitutional crisis deepened. It was more usual for opinion to polarise, particularly when both nationalists and unionists formed armed movements in support of their respective causes.

It was in response to this fast-changing situation that Cumann na mBan, a new all-female nationalist organisation, was formed in Dublin on 5 May 1914. Largely led by relatives of leading Irish Volunteers, it was seen as an auxiliary to the male movement. In her opening address, Agnes O'Farrelly made it clear that the women of Cumann na mBan were to play a supportive role in advancing the 'cause of Irish liberty', particularly by helping to arm the men: each rifle we put in their hands will represent to us a bolt fastened behind the door of some Irish home to keep out the hostile stranger. Each cartridge will be a watchdog to fight for the sanctity of the hearth.³⁰ One hundred women attended the first meeting of this organisation, which was to play a significant role in nationalist politics, although until the Anglo-Irish Treaty split of the 1920s that role would be largely supportive. The Irish Citizen Army, initially formed to protect striking workers during the Dublin lockout of 1913, was much more likely to offer women immediate involvement in all the activities of the organisation, including military training. Cumann na mBan's prioritising of nationalism over suffragism, however, given women's lack of equality of status within the nationalist movement, inevitably engendered suspicion and conflict between it and the wider feminist groupings.

From within the unionist tradition, also, women came forward to lay claim to their heritage and their identity, participating in the political, religious and cultural debates critical to the growing constitutional crisis of this period. Irish women had been active in support of the Union before the twentieth century, but by 1911 the progress of the Home Rule legislation, coinciding with the crescendo of suffrage activity, combined to empower political activists of all shades. Many women in the north-east concentrated their energies on the Ulster Women's Unionist Council (UWUC), formed in

force, whilst opposing that of suffragettes, as nothing short of 'nauseating'."

1914-1918: WAR

When Britain declared war on Germany in August 1914, Ireland was already engulfed in an atmosphere of tense expectation in which violent protest and popular militarism were common. Responses to the new situation, however, differed among societies and individuals. An Emergency Council of Suffragists, formed in Dublin in 1914, aimed to enable and encourage women to retain their identity as suffragists while engaging in war relief works, a compromise of priorities which was firmly rejected by the WSL. Some members of the WSWF who did go down this route later changed their minds, and from early 1915 re-engaged in the suffrage activities which they had initially suspended. Louie Bennett continued her opposition to militarism in all its forms and called for international solidarity, arguing that 'Suffragists of every country must face the fact that militarily it is now the most dangerous foe of women's suffrage, and of all that women's suffrage stands for.'⁴⁵ But once war had broken out, international co-operation was difficult to maintain. While three Irish women had been present at the Budapest Congress organised by the International Women's Suffrage Alliance in 1913, travel restrictions prevented their participation in the 1915 Hague Conference, which resulted in the formation of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. When this body called for representatives from national committees, Irish women responded with two distinct lines of approach. Skeffington was to the fore of those linking the call for women's full citizenship to the cause of Irish freedom, and strongly lobbied for the recognition of the rights of small nations. Peace from this perspective, had to be accompanied by justice. As Skeffington explained:

If I saw the hope of Ireland being freed for ever from British rule by a swift uprising, I would consider Irishmen justified resorting to arms in order that we might be free. I should still be radically opposed to war and militarism. This is of course my personal view and in no way represents the League. But I hold no such hopes. I think that freedom for small nations lies in Justice by Arbitration and there is one of my strongest motives in standing for Peace.⁴⁶

Bennett, on the other hand, represented a pacifism that refused to be confined within national boundaries or compromised by nationalist ideology, and these conflicting views reflected the dilemma of feminists across Europe and America. But feminists debated the intricacies of their positions on the

demands that he clarify his position, Unionist leader Sir Edward Carson asserted that he 'had never agreed with the suffrage movement'. Nor could he make such a demand on his party as they were divided on the subject.⁴⁷ The reaction of the WSPU, which had established a branch in Belfast, was perhaps also predictable. While Belfast, in particular, had already witnessed suffrage militancy, the small, dedicated group of WSPU members declared war on Carson and made Ulster the focus for a series of incendiary attacks on private property. Dorothy Evans and Madge Muir were arrested following the burning of Abbeylands House in Whiteabey and the breaking of windows in Castle House, Lisburn, both in County Antrim. Although Muir defiantly cried 'No Surrender!' on her arrest, such actions were counterproductive.⁴⁸ The growing hostility of the public may have been related to the passing of the Malicious Injuries (Ireland) Act, which meant that payment for damage to private property resulting from such attacks was taken from public rates. County Antrim paid a total of £92,000 in damages for property destroyed by suffragettes, and consequently a threepenny levy in the pound was applied to the county's rates.⁴⁹ Suffragettes, however, felt that such dramatic actions were necessary if their cause was to make an impact at a time when the spectre of civil war loomed close, and significant numbers of women, as well as men, were physically demonstrating their commitment to more traditional political allegiances.⁵⁰

By early 1914, around 3,000 women had enlisted in the unionist Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), training in the signalling section, as ambulance and dispatch riders, postal workers, typists and intelligence workers. Women on both sides of the political divide were also involved in more unconventional Anglo-Irish supporters of republicanism were Mary Spring Rice, daughter of Lord Montagu, and Molly Childers, who took part in a major gun-running exercise, helping to bring in 1,500 rifles and 45,000 rounds of ammunition from Germany in July 1914. Rice's account of this adventure aboard the 28-ton yacht *Asgard* conveys the excitement and the tension, the apprehensions and the discomfort of the crew, as they sailed into Howth, County Dublin, with Mary's red skirt signalling their co-conspirators at the harbour.⁵¹ Loyalist women were also engaged in unloading weapons and ferrying them to safe houses during the loyalist gun-running at Larne, County Antrim, just three months earlier.⁵² Indeed, former unionist supporter and ardent suffragist Mrs L.A.M. Priestly McCracken denounced the ethical and moral distinctions which unionist women made in supporting

the militancy of their own party through the arming of the Ulster Volunteer

- 140 Unpublished paper, J.S. Johnson, 'Prostitution and Venereal Disease in Ireland during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century', in possession of the author
- 141 John Funggan, *The Story of Monto: An Account of Dublin's Notorious Red Light District* (Dublin, 1978), p. 1
- 142 Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life*, p. 55
- 143 O'Connor, *Oliver St. John Gogarty*, pp. 49-52; Sandra Ruth Larmour, 'Aspects of the State and Female Sexuality in the Irish Free State, 1922-1949', Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University College Cork, 1998, pp. 75-128
- 144 Anne V. O'Connor, 'The Revolution in Girls' Secondary Education in Ireland 1860-1910', in Cullen (ed.), *Girls Don't Do Honours*, pp. 31-54
- 145 Logan, 'The Dimensions of Gender', in Kelleher and Murphy (eds), *Gender Perspectives*, p. 48
- 146 Daly, *Women and Work*, pp. 39-40
- 147 Myrtle Hill, 'Women in the Irish Protestant Foreign Missions, c. 1873-1914: Representations and Motivations', in P. Holtop and H. McLeod (eds), *Missions and Missionaries* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 2000), pp. 170-85, pp. 178-9
- 148 *Irish Citizen*, May 1919
- 149 Mary E. Daly, 'Women and Trade Unions', in Donal Evin (ed.), *Trade Union Century* (Dublin, 1994), pp. 106-16, p. 107
- 150 Mats Greiff, 'Marching through the Streets Singing and Shouting': Industrial Struggle and Trade Unions among Female Linen Workers in Belfast and Lurgan 1875-1910', *Saothar* (Ireland), vol. 22 (1997), pp. 29-44
- 151 Dermot Keogh, *The Rise of the Irish Working Class: The Dublin Trade Union Movement and Labour Leadership 1890-1914* (Belfast, 1982), pp. 67-86
- 152 Gray, *City in Revolt*, pp. 96-8
- 153 Ward, 'Ulster was Different?', pp. 230-31
- 154 Jones, *These Obstreperous Lassies*, pp. 10-13
- 155 McCaffrey, 'Jacob's Women Workers during the 1913 Lock-out'
- 156 Greiff, 'Marching through the Streets Singing and Shouting'

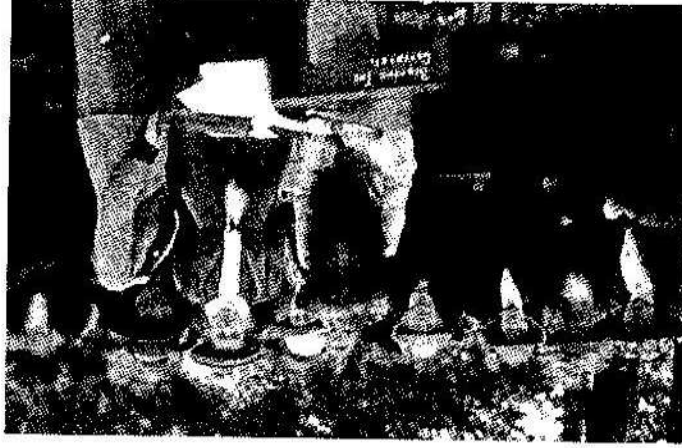
CHAPTER 2

- 1 Helena Moloney (editor), *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 3 (January 1909)
- 2 Quoted in Rosemary Cullen Owens, *Smashing Times: A History of the Irish Women's Suffrage Movement 1889-1922* (Dublin, 1984), p. 74
- 3 Isabella Tod formed the North of Ireland Women's Suffrage Society in Belfast in 1872; Anna Haslem's Dublin Suffrage Society, formed in 1876, became the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association in 1901
- 4 Typed manuscript of suffrage involvement in Belfast by Marie A. Johnson, written to Andree Skeffington, PRONI, T/3259/2/7
- 5 Quoted in Owens, *Smashing Times*, p. 49
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 32
- 7 Diane Urquhart, *Women in Ulster Politics, 1890-1940* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 11-12
- 8 Editorial, *Irish Citizen*, 10 August 1912, quoted in Louise Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote: An Anthology of the Irish Citizen Newspaper 1912-1920* (Dublin, 1996), p. 15
- 9 Quoted in Owens, *Smashing Times*, p. 39
- 10 Quoted in Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote*, p. 16
- 11 *Irish Citizen*, 28 December 1912
- 12 Nora Tynan O'Mahony, 'The Mother', *The Irish Monthly*, vol. 91 (1913), quoted in Maria Luddy, *Women in Ireland: A Documentary History 1800-1918* (Cork, 1995), p. 17

- 107 Bleakley, *Sadie Patterson*, p. 18
- 108 Jordan, *Who Cared?*, pp. 144-6
- 109 Muthall, *A New Day Dawning*, pp. 76-7
- 110 Jennie Sheehy, *The Rediscovery of Ireland's Past: The Celtic Revival 1830-1930* (London, 1980), p. 147
- 111 Margaret Ward, 'Ulster was different?' Women, Feminism and Nationalism in the North of Ireland', in Yvonne Galligan, Ellis Ward and Rick Wilford (eds), *Contesting Politics: Women in Ireland, North and South* (Colorado and Oxford, 1999), pp. 219-39, p. 226
- 112 Ulick O'Connor, *Oliver St John Gogarty: A Biography* (London, 1964), p. 117
- 113 Verdon, *Shawkes, Echo Boys*, p. 121
- 114 Love, *The Times of Our Lives*, pp. 39-41
- 115 Tony Farnam, *Ordinary Lives: Three Generations of Irish Middle Class Experience 1907, 1932, 1963* (Dublin, 1991), p. 40
- 116 Deila Larkin, *Irish Worker*, 8 March 1913
- 117 Andrea Ebel Brozyna, *Labour, Love and Prayer: Female Piety in Ulster Religious Literature 1850-1914* (Belfast, 1999)
- 118 Keane, *Isabel*, p. 127
- 119 Lynch, *Tale of Three Cities*, p. 14
- 120 Keane, *Isabel*, p. 145
- 121 *Ibid.*, quote on p. 158
- 122 Ward, *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington*, p. 11
- 123 Quoted in *Irish Times*, 25 August 2001
- 124 Bleakley, *Sadie Patterson*, p. 15
- 125 Kennedy, *The Irish*, p. 55
- 126 Ruth Barrington, *Health, Medicine and Politics in Ireland 1900-1970* (Dublin, 1987), pp. 35, 60
- 127 Mary E. Daly, *Women and Work in Ireland* (Dundalk, 1997), p. 27
- 128 Marilyn Cohen, 'Working Conditions and Experiences of Work in the Linen Industry', *Tullylish, County Down, Ulster Folklife*, vol. 30 (1984), pp. 1-21, p. 16
- 129 *Ibid.*, p. 7
- 130 John Gray, *City in Revolt: James Larkin and the Belfast Dock Strike of 1907* (Belfast, 1985), p. 7
- 131 Patricia McCaffrey, 'Jacob's Women Workers during the 1913 Lock-out', *Saothar* (Ireland), vol. 16 (1991), pp. 118-29, p. 121
- 132 Maura Cronin, 'Work and Workers in Cork City and County 1800-1900', Flanagan and Buttimer (eds), *Cork: History and Society*, pp. 721-58, p. 741
- 133 Mona Hearn, 'Life for Domestic Servants in Dublin: 1880-1920', in Maria Luddy and Cliona Murphy (eds), *Women Surviving: Studies in Irish Women's History in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Dublin, 1990), pp. 148-79
- 134 *Ibid.*, p. 164
- 135 Reverend Jeremiah Newman (ed.), *The Limerick Rural Survey 1958-1964* (Tipperary, 1964), p. 200
- 136 Vivienne L. Pollock, 'The Herring Industry in County Down 1840-1940', in L. Proudfoot (ed.), *Down: History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1997), pp. 405-29, pp. 414-6
- 137 Daly, *Women and Work in Ireland*, p. 19
- 138 Love, *The Times of Our Lives*, p. 33
- 139 F. Beresford Ellis (ed.), *James Connolly, Selected Writings* (London, 1975), pp. 190-1

had a membership of over 1,000. During the Twelfth celebrations of July 1912, the *Belfast Evening Telegraph* recorded the public tribute to the women's progress made by the Orange Grand Master of Londonderry:

What that meant to Protestantism no one could estimate, because they all knew that the hand that rocked the cradle ruled the world. So they said to their Orange sister: — 'Go on and God be with you in your splendid work for the truth and home and freedom.'



PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND

Women outside their local church in Strabane sign a declaration in support of the union between Britain and Ireland, 1912.

Perhaps the greatest public display of unionist commitment to the existing constitution was the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant on 28 September 1912 by 218,206 men, some of them symbolically writing their names in blood. Women showed their solidarity by signing a supplementary declaration of support after marching in procession to church services, a total of 234,046 women signed in Protestant parochial halls.

The UP was emphatic that Home Rule took priority over any other political issue. However, there was a brief flurry of excitement among suffragettes in September 1913 when a letter from Dawson Bates, secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council (UUC), to Mr. Hamill, secretary of the UWC, was published in the press. The letter indicated that the UUC's plans for a provisional government in the north-east would include granting the franchise to women. This revelation was greeted with some surprise by the officials of the UWC. Indeed, Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava wrote to her friend:

Ulster women in defence of the Union

The Ulster Women's Unionist Council co-ordinated women's opposition to the proposals for Home Rule under discussion in the Westminster parliament. This excerpt from the petition of 1912 highlights the issues the UWC felt directly affected women:

Serious dangers would arise to our social and domestic liberties from intrusting legislative functions to a body of which a large permanent majority would be under ecclesiastical control.

No legislative safeguards would avail to protect us against such dangers, as the Roman Catholic Church refuses to recognise the binding effect of any agreements which curtail her prerogatives and claims an uncontrolled jurisdiction in the provinces of education and the marriage laws, a claim which has been recognised in practice by the Irish Parliamentary Party.

The late injurious enforcement of the McTernan Decree — a Decree which specifically affects the women of Ireland — and the slavish acquiescence of the Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament in its operation, demonstrate that in an Irish Parliament the natural instincts of humanity would be of no avail as against the dictates of the Roman Church.

The dominating power of ecclesiastics over education in Ireland, which is already excessive, would be largely increased and schools and colleges under the control of religious orders would be state-favoured institutions under an Irish Parliament.

There would be no prospect of beneficent legislation to ameliorate the conditions of life of unprotected women engaged in industrial work in many conventional institutions, as the Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament steadfastly oppose any such legislation. No valid reason has been advanced for depriving Irish women of the rights and privileges which they now enjoy.

We therefore pray the honourable Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled to reject any legislative proposals to disintegrate the United Kingdom and expose us to the disastrous consequences of such disintegration.

Repton, 1912. Minute Books of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council.
FRONT D/1098/1/1

There is a great deal of feeling about Mr. Bates's letter, and the suffragettes are triumphant. Others wrote to suggest that we 'veto' the resolution. So I came to the conclusion that it would be best entirely to ignore the suffrage part of the letter.

It proved to be a wise decision. In the spring of 1914, in response to WSPU

- 13 Quoted in Owens, *Smashing Times*, p. 45
- 14 Margaret Ward, *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington: A Life* (Cork, 1997), p. 77. Ulster Unionists had responded violently to the introduction of the third Home Rule Bill and stated their determination to resist its imposition by force. The Ulster Volunteer Force was officially formed in January 1913, but training in arms for the possibility of civil war was already well under way. By the end of that year the Irish Volunteer Force had also been established to organise nationalists in defence of legislative independence.
- 15 Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster (Belfast, 1992)* pp. 439–43
- 16 Margaret Robinson, who ran a small private school in Whitehead, near Belfast, joined the Belfast branch of the WSPU, selling *Votes for Women* on the Belfast streets. In 1911 she set off with Dr Elizabeth Bell to present a petition to parliament with stones in her pocket, and was jailed for breaking shop windows in Piccadilly Circus. Transcript of tape-recorded interview with Margaret Robinson, Cleggan, County Galway, a former suffragette in Belfast, 1975, PRONI, Tp. 35
- 17 The sentences were two months for the first four women and six months for the other four.
- 18 Bushmills society 'deeply regretted the policy of the militant suffragettes in attacking property'. Letter from Mrs Heron in Holywood, leaving the Belfast Women's Suffrage Society to join the nonmilitant local Holywood branch, 29 April 1912, PRONI T/3259/1/6. On 16 April 1913 the Derry branch of the Irish Women's Suffrage Society resolved to 'sever the connection with the Belfast militants and become affiliated to the IWSF. Letter from Robina Gamble, Londonderry, to Mrs Robinson, 16 April 1913, PRONI, T/3259/1/7
- 18 Quoted in Margaret Ward, 'Nationalism, Pacifism, Internationalism: Louie Bennett, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, and the Problems of "Defining Feminism"', in Anthony Bradley and Maryann G. Valulis (eds), *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland* (Amherst, 1997), pp. 60–84, p. 64
- 19 Quoted in Rosemary Cullen Owens, 'Votes for Women', *Labour History News*, vol. 9 (summer 1993), pp. 15–19, reprinted in Alan Hayes and Diane Urquhart (eds), *The Irish Women's History Reader* (London, 2001), pp. 37–43, p. 41
- 20 Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, 'Reminiscences of an Irish Suffragette' (Dublin, 1975), in Angela Bourke, et al., *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, vols. IV and V, Irish Women's Writing and Traditions (Cork, 2002), vol. V, p. 94
- 21 Ward, *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington*, pp. 102–3
- 22 *Irish Citizen*, 15 June 1912
- 23 Cliona Murphy, 'A Problematic Relationship: European Women and Nationalism 1870–1915', in Maryann G. Valulis and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *Women and Irish History: Essays in Honour of Margaret MacCurtain* (Dublin, 1997), pp. 145–58
- 24 Quoted in Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote*, pp. 149–50
- 25 Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London, 1995), p. 51
- 26 *Bean na hÉireann*, September 1909, quoted in Margaret Ward, *In Their Own Voice: Women and Irish Nationalism* (Dublin, 1995), p. 29
- 27 Urquhart, *Women in Ulster Politics*, p. 108
- 28 Editorial, *Bean na hÉireann*, vol. 1, no. 4 (February 1909)
- 29 Ward, *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington*, p. 60
- 30 Quoted in Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, p. 93.
- 31 Diane Urquhart (ed.), *The Minutes of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council and Executive Committee 1911–40* (Dublin, 2001)
- 32 UVC Minute Books, PRONI D/1098/1/1. 7 June 1911 Executive Committee meeting
- 33 *Ibid.*, 28 November 1911
- 34 *Ibid.*, 25 August 1911
- 35 Quoted in Diane Urquhart, 'In Defence of Ulster and the Empire: The Ulster Women's Unionist Council, 1911–1940', *University College Galway Women's Studies Review* (1996), pp. 31–40, p. 33
- 36 Quoted in Urquhart, *Women in Ulster Politics*, p. 60
- 37 Londonderry Letters, PRONI D/2846/1/8/23; 16 September 1913, Lady Dufferin, Clondeboy, to Lady Londonderry
- 38 *Irish Citizen*, 28 March 1914
- 39 Papers relating to Dorothy Evans, PRONI, BELF/1/1/2/45/8
- 40 Diane Urquhart, 'The Political Role of Women in North East Ulster, 1880–1940', unpublished MA thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 1996, p. 49
- 41 Suffrage Correspondence, PRONI, T/2125/32/1–32
- 42 Mary Spring Rice, log of the *Asgard*, 1–25 July 1914, typescript, TCD 7841
- 43 Urquhart, *Women in Ulster Politics*, p. 50
- 44 *Ibid.*, pp. 27–8
- 45 Rosemary Cullen Owens, 'Women and Pacifism in Ireland 1915–32', in Maryann G. Valulis and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *Women and Irish History*, pp. 220–38, pp. 223–4
- 46 Quoted in Ward, 'Nationalism, Pacifism, Internationalism', in Bradley and Valulis (eds), *Gender and Sexuality in Modern Ireland*, pp. 60–84, p. 70
- 47 Mary Ciancy, 'The "Western Outpost": Local Government and Women's Suffrage in County Galway 1898–1918', in Gerard Moran (ed.), *Galway History & Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County* (Dublin, 1996), pp. 557–87
- 48 Killiyteagh Women's War Work, PRONI, D/3524/2/1
- 49 WNHA, Omagh Branch Report 1916–19, PRONI D/1884/1/1/5
- 50 Margaret Downes, 'The Civilian Voluntary Aid Effort', in David Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Ireland and the First World War* (Dublin, 1986), p. 34
- 51 Anne V. O'Connor and Susan M. Parkes, *Gradly Learn and Gladly Teach: A History of Alexandra College and School, Dublin 1866–1966* (Dublin, n.d.), p. 93
- 52 Helen Jones, *Women in British Public Life, 1914–50: Gender, Power and Social Policy* (Harlow, 2000), pp. 45–6
- 53 Quoted in Philip Orr, *The Road to 'The Somme: Men of the Ulster Division Tell Their Story* (Belfast, 1987), p. 50
- 54 Emily Usher, 'The True Story of a Revolution: An Account of Life at Cappagh, County Wickford, Spring 1914–Spring 1925', TCD 9269
- 55 Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge, 2000)
- 56 Mary Kenny, *Goodbye to Catholic Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), pp. 68–73
- 57 Somme Heritage Centre, Newtownards
- 58 Emma Duffin, *Nursing Diaries*, PRONI D/2109/8–13
- 59 Papers of Lady Londonderry, PRONI D3099
- 60 Winifred Campbell, 'Down the Shankill', *Ulster Folkife*, vol. 22 (1976), pp. 1–33, p. 2
- 61 Quoted in Sarah McNamara, *Those Intrepid United Irishwomen: Pioneers of the Irish Countrywomen's Association* (Limerick, 1995), p. 80
- 62 *Seventy Years Young: Memories of Elizabeth, Countess of Fingall* (Dublin, 1995), p. 362
- 63 D. S. Johnson, 'The Northern Ireland Economy, 1914–39', in Liam Kennedy and Philip Ollertshaw (eds), *An Economic History of Ulster, 1820–1939* (Manchester, 1985), pp. 184–223, p. 184

tensions between the two movements could create both ideological and practical difficulties. But as Cliona Murphy suggests, Irish suffragists were not the only ones to experience this tug of loyalties between nationalism and feminism.²² Within nationalism generally, a fairly traditional perception of gender roles prevailed, with women's major contribution seen to be in the private domain, sustaining and nurturing family life and thus perpetuating the race. Feminism, on the other hand, transcended national boundaries, challenged the separation of private and public spheres, and sought women's freedom of choice in matters such as birth control, education and employment. Murphy argues that contemporary observers in many parts of Europe thought that support for such issues undermined the state and, as a result, were hostile to national aspirations. Women pursuing both nationalist and feminist ambitions therefore experienced significant tension in the expression and pursuit of their goals.

In Ireland in the pre-war period of growing nationalist fervour, it is perhaps not surprising that some women shifted their allegiance. In May 1914 Mary MacSwiney, a former member of Munster Suffrage Society, argued that Ireland had the question of national sovereignty to settle and to oppose the government now would, in effect, mean to oppose Home Rule.²³ However, a majority of those women for whom national identity came first, and who were unwilling to compromise in the battle against British rule, found little outlet for their political energies in the male-dominated nationalist organisations of the day. Women's involvement in the Celtic Revival has already been mentioned, and it was against the background of growing nationalist political campaigns, both constitutional and militant, that Inghinidhe na hEireann (Daughters of Ireland) was founded in October 1900. The twenty-nine women attending the first meeting elected Maud Gonne as president and dedicated themselves to the re-establishment of the complete independence of Ireland.²⁴ Much of their work was educational, with a strong focus on the Irish language and on Irish literature, history, music and art. They also supported and helped to popularise Irish manufacture, reflecting their commitment to discouraging all things English – which were defined as 'low', 'vulgar', and antipathetic to the 'artistic taste and refinement of the Irish people'.²⁵ All members were required to be Irish or of Irish descent, and a belief in the necessity of violence to aid the cause was clearly expressed: 'A movement that stops short of shedding blood, and therefore forbids you to make the last sacrifice – that of your life – cannot be taken very seriously, and must end in contempt and ridicule.'²⁶ But although members of the Belfast branch, for example, received instruction on the cleaning and loading of weapons, Diane Urquhart argues that such

two English women went on hunger strike, and were subsequently force-fed, the only two convicted of suffrage militancy in Ireland to suffer this brutal treatment, though a total of twelve engaged in hunger strikes. As Skeffington later remarked, 'Hunger strike was then a new weapon – had we but known we were the pioneers in a long line.'²⁷

Militant action undoubtedly raised the temperature and heightened tension, both among suffragists and in the public debate on their activities. Onlookers who had been merely curious were now more likely to be hostile. Skeffington recalled a meeting in Limerick where she was confronted by an angry mob. As she made her escape, the women – they are swift actionists – tore my hat from my head. An elderly "bum" thrust a dirty face close to me and shouted beerily: "Are ye a suff?" I said, "Yes", whereupon he spat copiously into my face.²⁸ Militancy could have other negative consequences: on her release from Mountjoy, Skeffington received notice of dismissal from her part-time teaching post at Rathmines College of Commerce; Georgina Manning, another Dublin teacher, suffered the same fate. On the other hand, the committee of Belfast Technical College permitted suffrage prisoner Mabel Small to keep her post, as she had undertaken only to be involved in militant action during school holidays.²⁹ But while militancy was divisive, the ideological clash with nationalism was probably of greater significance. The fear that inclusion of suffrage in the already contentious and difficult parliamentary debates would irretrievably damage the passage of Home Rule has already been noted, and within mainstream unionism the suffrage issue was generally regarded as an irrevocable. However, a mass meeting of suffragists held in Dublin in June 1912 to demand the inclusion of votes for women in the Home Rule Bill indicated that not all unionist women agreed. Mrs M.E. Cope, from Armagh Suffrage Society, sent a forceful message to the organisers:

I write from the purely Unionist point of view. But it seems to me imperative that all women, of whatever political party, should now stand for a great principle – the principle that no democratic Government can be considered complete which ignores not only a class but a whole sex. It is because I know we are one in standing for this that I would gladly have joined you on your platform tonight.³⁰

At the same time, within the nationalist community, those revolutionaries following an extra-parliamentary agenda similarly felt that the 'women's issue would detract from the major aim of independence. They deplored the Irish suffragist links with British societies and their attempts to influence a British, therefore alien, government. For politicised Irish women, the

decided by a counting of heads . . . but by the force of the spirit of right and justice which makes a handful of determined souls carry along with them a host of the merely ignorant and undecided, of the selfish and the cynical."

A majority of these determined souls in the suffrage campaign were from middle-class backgrounds, and many of those involved were, like McKillop, among that generation of articulate, motivated young women who had benefited from widening educational opportunities only to discover that their ambitions to fully participate in social and political life were severely curtailed. Thus, on joining the WSLCA, Skeffington remarked, "I was then an undergraduate, and was amazed and disgusted to learn that I was classed among criminals, infants and lunatics – in fact that my status as a woman was worse than any of these." Contemporary sources demonstrate the extent to which this shared sense of outrage was a critical motivating factor. With middle-class males increasingly broadening their participation in the political world, it is perhaps not altogether surprising that the more progressive of their female relatives also demanded a share in power. For many – perhaps a majority of the more articulate – the argument was one of equity in terms of gender: votes for women on the same terms as for men that is, with a property qualification. The 'suffrage catechism', published in the *Irish Citizen* on 10 May 1913, clearly stated that the demand for the vote was not for every woman, "because every man has not got a vote. Men have to qualify for the vote in certain ways . . . what we ask is that women who qualify in the same way should have the same right to vote".¹⁰ Not all suffragists agreed with this stance, however, and a significant number of activists lobbied for a broader, more inclusive, extension of the franchise. Marion Duggan of the IWFL felt that it was essential to organise working-class women in the battle for the vote; only then, she argued, would their claims for better wages and conditions be addressed. This was seen to be a particularly important issue in Belfast, where "without political power to enforce their economic necessities, the sweated women workers of [the city] are virtually powerless to secure the legislative changes which they demand".¹¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that the Northern Committee was concerned to reach out to working women, adopting the tactics of a generation of evangelical preachers by holding lunch-hour meetings at factory and mill gates, and proclaiming their message from street corners.

Class was only one of the issues dividing suffragists; within wider society objections to women attaining the vote focused on gender difference. The articulate, assertive suffrage campaigner must have been anathema to those already horrified by the boldness of modern womanhood:

constitutional question, or even to devote parliamentary time to discussion of the issue.

There had been some movement in terms of female representation at local government level. From 1896 women with certain property qualifications had been eligible to stand for election as Poor Law Guardians, and within three years eighty-five women had taken up this position, suggesting that a reservoir of talent and ability was ready to be tapped. The 1898 Local Government (Ireland) Act gave women the municipal franchise and by 1911 they were able to serve on county councils and boroughs. Welcome as this was, Rosemary Cullen Owens has observed that it was not an advance to be cheered, so much as Ireland 'catching up' with legislation already enacted in Britain. Therefore, although progress was undoubtedly being made in the political realm, it seemed that 'the more power connected with the office, the longer it was withheld from women'.¹²

In 1903 growing impatience and a rising sense of frustration with this situation in Britain was reflected in the formation in Manchester of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), a group prepared to resort to unconstitutional and even militant action to bring their cause to the forefront of the public arena. Five years later, inspired by this example, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington and Margaret Cousins formed the Irish Women's Franchise League (IWFL) with the aim of having a 'votes for women' clause introduced into the Home Rule Bill then making its way through parliament. Within four years, the league could boast a membership of 1,000. Although the IWFL stressed its independence from the organisation of the English militants, the two groups were mutually supportive. The WSPU, recognising the importance of the support of the Irish lobby, visited Ireland on a regular basis, often accompanied by or sharing the platform with leading members of the IWFL.

As the number of suffrage groups and societies proliferated, Lisburn Suffrage Society seems to have been responsible for initial moves to form an umbrella association to co-ordinate activities, and in 1911 the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation (IWSF) was founded by Dubliners Louie Bennett and Helen Chenevix. By July 1913 twenty societies had become affiliated. Interestingly, around 70 per cent of affiliated societies were fronted by the Northern Committee of the IWSF, reflecting the strength of the suffrage movement in the province of Ulster.¹³ Overall statistics for suffrage activity are difficult to ascertain, however, as an editorial in the *Irish Citizen* was quick to point out:

The mere question of numbers is immaterial . . . great questions are never

Suffrage activism

Elizabeth Hutchinson remembers that when her mother joined the Belfast branch of the suffragette movement in 1910, they were often invited by members of the Women's Social and Political Union

In Donegall Place in Belfast there was a very fashionable cake shop and tea room called the Carlton. Their trademark was a cardboard cake box in black and white stripes. It was excellent for carrying cakes and also a good camouflage for carrying firelighters. When one of these visitors stayed with us we always had cake for tea. My mother and two other members of the committee were put under police surveillance. The two other ladies took delight in embarrassing their detectives, they would go in to town to one of the large stores and make a bee-line for the underwear/corset department or go to the ladies' rest room and read a book for about an hour. Another trick was to get hold of a young assistant and say that they thought that there was a man following them and she would very likely get them out by the back door. If my father and mother were going to the theatre or the opera house my father booked two seats in one row and one in the row behind for the detective. On cold wet nights the man on duty was very often invited in for a cup of tea and a sandwich. This consideration paid off as one night one of the men told my father that the house was going to be raided that night. When the police arrived there was no sign of a visitor and certainly no sign of a Carlton cake box and we didn't get so many cakes for a long time.

Elizabeth Hutchinson, 'Reminiscence', unpublished manuscript, in possession of author

ideals, there was considerable overlap between the various strands of female activism. The same names recurred within suffrage, pacifist, trade-union and nationalist or unionist societies, and while it can be difficult to separate these strands of allegiance, it should be remembered that on frequent occasions individual women did not themselves do so. For many, one cause was intricately bound up with the other, with individual rights and freedoms seen as an integral part of wider constitutional or ideological issues, and vice versa. Writing in 1913, Countess Markievicz claimed that the three great movements in contemporary Ireland – the national movement, the women's movement and the labour movement – were 'all fighting the same fight, for the extension of human liberty'.² However, while historians have also been keen to focus on these particular linkages, it was clear that some women at the time perceived that political progress could be best achieved by maintaining and indeed strengthening the Union with Britain. Feminists were no more immune from the consequences of conflicting political loyalties than any other grouping.

SUFFRAGE

The suffrage campaign in Ireland, north and south, has been the subject of much feminist historical analysis. Developments on the island to a large extent paralleled those in Britain, with small groups emerging firstly in the urban centres of Belfast and Dublin,³ then proliferating at an increasing rate as the debate became more public and contentious. The range of societies in existence at the beginning of the twentieth century reflected the diversity of women's voices seeking the common goal of the parliamentary franchise: the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association (WSLGA), the Munster Women's Franchise League, the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, the Church League for Women's Suffrage, the Irish Catholic Women's Suffrage Society. As well as 'special interest' groups, some individual societies embraced a broad range of political opinion. As Marie A. Johnson, of the Ulster Women's Suffrage Centre commented:

We had Unionists like Dr. Bell, Nationalists like Winifred Carney and the Misses Boylan, Liberals: Mrs Bennett, Mrs Russell, Mrs McCracken, me Labour, and so was Mrs Adamson; Mrs Kavanagh was Sinn Féin. It was doubly hard on the Liberal women, for our actions were directed against the Asquith government.⁴

While the hopes of suffragists ebbed and flowed in line with broader parliamentary developments, there was no doubt that Asquith's administration

proved a major disappointment. Liberalism in Ireland had already been critically fractured over the question of Home Rule – a measure of independence for Ireland involving the setting up of a separate Irish parliament – which was vehemently opposed by the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) for going away too much, and by radical nationalists for proposing too little. But, whatever their views on other aspects of the Irish constitution, no mainstream political party, with the exception of the small but growing Labour Party, supported the women's campaign. Although individual men proved willing to align themselves with the suffrage movement, wider party considerations generally predominated in public debates. For example, the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP), committed to constitutional separation from Britain and in 1912 holding the balance of power at Westminster, felt it necessary in the interests of Home Rule to save the Liberal Ministry from the disruptive effects of women's suffrage, and in that year voted decisively (71 votes to 5) not to include female suffrage in its Home Rule Bill.⁵ Similarly, the Unionist camp was unwilling to be deflected from the critical

The mannish cut of the modern woman's scanty garters, the short skirts, the liberal display of ankle, the often bared throat and neck (even in the street), the jaunty set of her hat janned down to one side and completely covering her hair and her eyes – it may be convenient and comfortable, but it certainly is not womanly or dignified or nice.¹²

For its part, the Catholic Church expressed the view that, allowing women the right of suffrage is incompatible with the catholic ideal of the unity of domestic life.¹³ While representatives of the conservative and conventional Liberals and their Irish allies about 'bluff' with regard to the Ulster Militants who acknowledge the lead of Sir Edward Carson, there is no bluff about the women militants who have hoisted in Belfast the banner of the W.S.P.U. While we remain unchanged in the opinion (also expressed this week by Mr. T. M. Healy) that the work of organising Ireland on the suffrage question ought to be left to the Irish Suffrage Societies, militant and non-militant, we cannot refrain from noting the inconsistency of the Government's attitude, which has been disclosed at close quarters by their arrest of Miss Dorothy Evans and other

militants in Ulster. Miss Evans last week made an effective protest against the injustice of arresting her while Sir Edward Carson was left at liberty in consequence, bail was refused on her next remand, and she and Miss Muir, at once entered on the Hunger and Thirst Strike, which led to their release, in a shockingly debilitated state from the poisoning which this protest induces, on Sunday after four days without touching food or water. They were not, we gather, deprived of any of the usual privileges of a ball prisoner while on hunger strike; the reform, we may assume, that the mandamus in this respect of Irish officials is permanent and not accidental. (It will be remembered that the first Irish Hunger strikers in Mountjoy were deprived of these privileges, but they were not taken away from Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington on her last hunger strike, also as a ball prisoner.) Meantime, the imprisonment of Miss Evans and Miss Muir and the threat of conspiracy charges made against their friends in Belfast, do not appear to have had any effect in stopping the militant campaign there. On the contrary, another mansion, valued at £10,000, has been burned, glass has been broken in the Ulmonist headquarters, and Bangor Railway Station has been attacked. When will the Government learn in the case of women, as it apparently has learned in the case of Ulster men, the futility of coercion, and the need for applying fundamental remedies to the grievances which lead to these violent methods? – in this case, Votes for Women. Miss Evans and Miss Muir were too ill to appear in Court on Tuesday, and their case was adjourned for a week. The savage sentence of two months' imprisonment on Miss Mabel Smail, for breaking a window in the Ulmonist headquarters, has excited much unfavourable comment even in non-suffragist areas in Belfast.

As this *Irish Citizen* report suggests, militant action in 1914 by Dorothy Evans and Madge Muir, members of the English-based Women's Social and Political Union, caused a stir both within suffrage circles and the wider community.

Belfast is still in the midst of a genuine revolution. Whatever may be said by Liberals and their Irish allies about 'bluff' with regard to the Ulster Militants who acknowledge the lead of Sir Edward Carson, there is no bluff about the women militants who have hoisted in Belfast the banner of the W.S.P.U. While we remain unchanged in the opinion (also expressed this week by Mr. T. M. Healy) that the work of organising Ireland on the suffrage question ought to be left to the Irish Suffrage Societies, militant and non-militant, we cannot refrain from noting the inconsistency of the Government's attitude, which has been disclosed at close quarters by their arrest of Miss Dorothy Evans and other

By the summer of 1912, the attitudes of the various political parties were clear, with the defeat of compromise Conciliation Bills clearly reflecting their opposition to the issue of women's franchise. Feeling that they had exhausted every other avenue, the leaders of the WFL made the decision to engage in more public militant action – after all, if northern unionists were prepared to resort to violent methods to demand changes to the Home Rule legislation which had now gone through the various stages of parliamentary procedure, why should suffragists not do the same?¹⁴ Some members of the league had served terms of imprisonment as a result of stone-throwing activities in London as early as 1910,¹⁵ but 13 June 1912 saw the first arrests of suffragists in Ireland, for breaking windows. Not surprisingly, given the intention to gain as much publicity as possible, all of the eight accused refused the option of a forty-shilling fine, choosing the alternative of a prison sentence.¹⁶

The scene was thus set for open hostility between suffragists and their opponents, with militant activism introducing another element of division and disagreement within the feminist movement. Several individuals, as well as a number of societies, voiced their disapproval of militancy, and there was some shifting of allegiance between militant and non-militant groupings.¹⁷ While Skeffington insisted that the oppressed should use whatever means were available to them, Bennett argued that 'no real victory has ever been gained by force or coercion'.¹⁸ The issue was further confused by the dramatic militancy of English suffragists in Ireland, who not only acted without consulting their Irish sisters, but also alienated a significant portion of wider nationalist opinion with their assertion that there should be no Home Rule without votes for women. In July 1912, during a prime ministerial visit to Dublin, Asquith was attacked by three members of the WSPU, who also tried to set fire to the Theatre Royal. Following their arrest, the

Suffrage militancy in Belfast

As this *Irish Citizen* report suggests, militant action in 1914 by

Dorothy Evans and Madge Muir, members of the English-based Women's Social and Political Union, caused a stir both within suffrage circles and the wider community.

Belfast is still in the midst of a genuine revolution. Whatever may be said by Liberals and their Irish allies about 'bluff' with regard to the Ulster Militants who acknowledge the lead of Sir Edward Carson, there is no bluff about the women militants who have hoisted in Belfast the banner of the W.S.P.U. While we remain unchanged in the opinion (also expressed this week by Mr. T. M. Healy) that the work of organising Ireland on the suffrage question ought to be left to the Irish Suffrage Societies, militant and non-militant, we cannot refrain from noting the inconsistency of the Government's attitude, which has been disclosed at close quarters by their arrest of Miss Dorothy Evans and other

militants in Ulster. Miss Evans last week made an effective protest against the injustice of arresting her while Sir Edward Carson was left at liberty in consequence, bail was refused on her next remand, and she and Miss Muir, at once entered on the Hunger and Thirst Strike, which led to their release, in a shockingly debilitated state from the poisoning which this protest induces, on Sunday after four days without touching food or water. They were not, we gather, deprived of any of the usual privileges of a ball prisoner while on hunger strike; the reform, we may assume, that the mandamus in this respect of Irish officials is permanent and not accidental. (It will be remembered that the first Irish Hunger strikers in Mountjoy were deprived of these privileges, but they were not taken away from Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington on her last hunger strike, also as a ball prisoner.) Meantime, the imprisonment of Miss Evans and Miss Muir and the threat of conspiracy charges made against their friends in Belfast, do not appear to have had any effect in stopping the militant campaign there. On the contrary, another mansion, valued at £10,000, has been burned, glass has been broken in the Ulmonist headquarters, and Bangor Railway Station has been attacked. When will the Government learn in the case of women, as it apparently has learned in the case of Ulster men, the futility of coercion, and the need for applying fundamental remedies to the grievances which lead to these violent methods? – in this case, Votes for Women. Miss Evans and Miss Muir were too ill to appear in Court on Tuesday, and their case was adjourned for a week. The savage sentence of two months' imprisonment on Miss Mabel Smail, for breaking a window in the Ulmonist headquarters, has excited much unfavourable comment even in non-suffragist areas in Belfast.

Irish Citizen, 18 April 1914

Case against working mothers

The case against the employment of married women was argued not only by men – leading women trade unionists also expressed their opposition, Delia Larkin, secretary of the Irish Women Workers' Union, was among those who argued that the solution to poverty was a fair family wage paid to the male breadwinner.

What a crime this system of married women going out to work is. It is a crime against the woman herself, against the husband and against the children. [It has a bad effect on the whole community of workers; it keeps women's wages at a starvation rate, men's wages low and is the means of making drunkards of both men and women. The woman goes out to work the same as the husband and works as many hours. There is no home life for them, and no meals are prepared. Therefore the temptation to indulge in strong drink is very strong. A married woman's duty is not to help the sweeter [the sweeper employer] and [the] publican, but to look after her home and those who live there. This can only be done when the men's wages are of such a standard as will enable them to live in decent houses and provide in a right manner for their wives and children.

Irish Worker, 8 March 1913

which could claim no real victors and which left the Irish labour movement in disarray.¹⁵¹ Not all women joined unions or took part in strikes, of course; for many, family considerations came first and some at least must have faced pressure not to add to everyday hardships.¹⁵² Recent research has also indicated that class-consciousness and the individual's relationship with the local community were important in helping to determine different attitudes to strikes and labour relations.¹⁵³

Although the significance of the IWU can be overestimated in terms of the overall trade-union movement, it is worthy of further comment, given that it was intricately involved in the wider cultural and political movements which were transforming Irish society in this period. Leading members and supporters of the union, such as Countess Markievicz, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, Louie Bennett, Helena Moloney and Helen Cheney, espoused the causes of suffragism, nationalism or socialism, their participation in the passionate debates of the early twentieth century a reflection of their desire to make women's voices heard and their citizenship a reality.

Our desire to have a voice in directing the affairs of Ireland is not based on the failure of men to do so properly, but is the inherent right of women as loyal citizens and intelligent human souls.¹

Emerging identities

A great deal has been written on the public activism of Irish women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the decades during which Ireland suffered civil disruption, world war and dramatic constitutional change, a minority of women, proactive and vocal, made their own impact on history. While women had participated in public campaigns, both political and social, in previous periods, their activities during the years 1880–1920 were particularly noteworthy. The causes to which they gave their time, energy, support and commitment, were diverse and sometimes conflicting, and would affect the lives of future generations of Irish women. But these were also years of sweeping change – cultural, legal and constitutional – on the broader canvas of Western Europe, and it is important to view developments in Ireland within this context. National conflicts and debates took place against a backdrop of shifting ideologies, processes and policies which helped determine the shape of the new century. The interaction of local and global influences gave rise to situations which were by no means unique, but which nonetheless in many aspects were particular to the island of Ireland.

During this period of controversy, debate and the passionate pursuit of