THE ANGEL OF THE HOME OR THE DEVIL IN DISGUISE: THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE IRISH PRESS, 1908-1916

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Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
July, 2017

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Date of Degree: JULY, 2017

Title of Study: THE ANGEL OF THE HOME OR THE DEVIL IN DISGUISE: THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE IRISH PRESS, 1908-1916

Major Field: HISTORY

Abstract: This dissertation addresses the representation of women in the Irish press from 1911 to 1916. The study uses discourse analysis to examine the portrayal of women within three Irish newspapers, the *Irish Times,* the *Irish Citizen*, and *Bean Na hEireann*. Each newspaper epitomized a specific view of women. This view either reinforced or contradicted the prevailing stereotypes that existed during this period. Victorian society was dominated by two contrasting archetypes of women. The ideal woman was an innocent, sheltered housewife, who remained at home and tended to the children and servants. Her counterpart, the dissolute woman, was worldly wise and often involved in the public sphere. The *Irish Times* reflected that view and reinforced those stereotypes in its discussion of women. *Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Citizen* were both women's papers. The editors and contributors to them challenged the prevailing view. *Bean na hEireann* asserted that a virtuous woman was an Irish nationalist, who used her feminine influence in the service of her country. Irish nationalist women claimed that a reprobate woman supported other movements, such as suffrage, that undermined the nationalist cause. The women of the *Irish Citizen* prioritized support for suffrage. The ideal woman for them was a suffragette, who saw the enfranchisement of women as a way to help all women. The suffragettes believed that a degenerate woman was anyone who prioritized other movements over suffrage. Nationalism was a primary example of this. This study reveals how women attempted to circumvent the molds they were placed into by society. Their efforts merely resulted in the creation of other molds, with differing characteristics. This dissertation demonstrates the impact of stereotypes on the lives of real people, and shows how marginalized groups have attempted to influence their own representation.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines how three Irish newspapers, the *Irish Times, Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Citizen*, created and reinforced stereotypes concerning women. The standard of the ideal Victorian housewife, the angel of the home, was often contrasted with her counterparts, also archetypes, the worldly wise, single woman, or the dissolute female petty criminal. These figures were frequently reflected in the Irish press, with some papers commending them and others challenging them. All three papers presented a version of the ideal woman, informed by the social class, political views, and religious beliefs, of the individuals involved with that paper. The *Irish Times* subscribed to Victorian and Edwardian notions of proper and improper female behavior. The two women's papers, *Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Citizen*, conceptualized women differently. *Bean Na hEireann's* ideal woman backed Irish nationalism above all else, while the *Irish Citizen's* model female championed women's suffrage and eschewed other causes. These women's papers demonstrate an attempt by a marginalized group to control their own depictions through the creation of alternate images.

The timeframe for this study is 1908 to 1916. These years constituted a key shift in Ireland's history wherein the centuries' long struggle between England and Ireland for control of the country culminated with the Easter Rising in 1916 that started Ireland's final fight for independence. Women, too, came into their own during these years with the expansion of the Irish women's franchise movement.

The present study uses discourse analysis as a methodology for examining how these papers conveyed ideas about virtuous and debased women through advertisements, letters to the editor, and specific articles and columns. Discourse analysis involves the in-depth study of specific texts, and the use of those to draw conclusions about the representation of individuals and ideas. The depictions contained within these texts lacked an acknowledgement of nuances, and reflected the dichotomous biases of the authors of the texts.[1] Discourse analysis has also been used to study women in colonial settings.[2] Attitudes

[1]Sara Dybris McQuaid, "What Difference Does It Make: The Construction of Liminal Plurality in Northern Ireland," *Nordic Irish Studies* 8 (2009): 97-119;
Karen Margaret Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2007);
Alison Buckley, "'Let the Girls Come Forth': The Early Feminist Ideology of the Irish Women's Workers' Union," in *Irish Women's History*, eds. Allen Hayes and Diane Urquhart (Portland, Oregon: Dublin Academic Press, 2004), 103-114;
Aine McCarthy, "Hearths, Bodies, and Minds: Gender Ideology and Women's Committal to Enniscorthy Lunatic Asylum, 1916-1925," in *Irish Women's History*, eds. Allen Hayes and Diane Urquhart (Portland, Oregon: Dublin Academic Press, 2004),115-136;
Louise Ryan, *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation* (Dublin: Edwin Mellen Publishing, 2002);
David Fitzpatrick, "Women, Gender, and the Writing of Irish History" *Irish Historical Studies*, 27 (May 1991), 267-273;
Margaret Kelleher, *The Feminization of Famine: Expressions of the Inexpressible?* (Durham, NC : Duke University Press, 1997)

[2] Philippa Levine, *Prostitution Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (Psychology Press, 2003;
Philippa Levine, "Sexuality and Empire," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006), 122-142;

about gender are typically confined to notions of masculinity, sexuality, and the contrasted experiences of colonizing and colonized women.[3]

Ireland was included in imperial histories, with some works contextualizing Ireland's place within the broader British Empire and other studies focusing on perceptions of gender and Irishness within the imperial context.[4] These studies are newer, and many attempt to link Ireland and the other British colonies. Some scholars examine debates around Ireland's colonial status.[5] Others focus on the role of Ireland itself in helping to sustain and perpetuate the British Empire.[6] Another popular theme concerns the interactions between the Irish and other colonized peoples.[7] Additional studies on Ireland have reflected a concern with examining gender roles. Irish men are often the subject of analyses on gender and sexuality, and are frequently depicted in contradictory terms. They are portrayed as either hyper masculine, aggressive and threatening, or as ultra-feminine, weak-willed, and undeserving of self-government.[8] Because this project assumes that Ireland was a colony of England, the discussion of its status is limited, as the primary focus of this dissertation concerns the

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[3] Jane Randall, "The Conditions of Women, Women's Writings, and the Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds. Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006),101-121;
Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, Illinois, Chicago University Press, 1992);
Kevin Kenny, eds. *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 16-17.

[4] Stephen Howe, "Historiography," in *Ireland and the British Empire,* eds. Kevin Kenny, 229-232*;*
Alvin Jackson, "Ireland, the Union, and the Empire," in *Ireland and the British Empire,* eds. Kevin Kenny, 123-153.
Christine Kinealy, "At Home With The Empire: The Example of Ireland," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds.
Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006); Patrick James O'Farrell, *England and Ireland Since 1800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975;
Kevin Kenny, eds*. Ireland and the British Empire,* 16-17.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Stephen Howe, "Historiography," in *Ireland the British Empire,* eds. Kevin Kenny, 232-234;
Kevin Kenny, "The Irish in the Empire," in *Ireland and the British Empire,* eds. Kevin Kenny, 90-122.;
Antionette Burton, *Empire In Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 258, 260.

[7] Ibid; Antionette Burton, *Empire In Question,* 259-260, 270-271.

[8] Kevin Kenny, eds. *Ireland and the British Empire,* 16-17.

gendered portrayal of women in the media and the impact of that on women's status and role in Victorian and Edwardian Irish society.

Women in the colonial context are also frequently viewed in dichotomous terms. They are seen either as agents of reform who take an active participation in the colonization efforts, or as threats to colonial and patriarchal authority. Women often used their status as reformers to carve out niches for themselves, and their resistance to various colonial policies was typically their introduction to the public sphere.[9] Colonized women of color were typically depicted as overtly sexual, and in need of the reforming influence of white colonizing women.[10] This emphasis on women and reform has also been seen in studies of Ireland, where scholars have uncovered women's role in creating and sustaining various reform groups.[11]

The gendered reading of specific events, like the Irish Potato Famine, the use of nineteenth-century first-wave feminist rhetoric, and the characterizations of women in fiction, are also common topics wherein discourse analysis is used.[12] Discourse on the Irish Potato Famine came to be centered on linking the tragedy with women. Its victims were portrayed in writings and illustrations as starving mothers unable to care for their children.

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[9] Jane Randall, "The Conditions of Women, Women's Writings, and the Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain," in *At Home with the Empire.*

[10] Philippa Levine, *Prostitution Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*;
Philippa Levine, "Sexuality and Empire," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*;
Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London.*

[11] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, A *Social History of Women In Ireland 1870-1970* (Dublin, Ireland: Gill & McMillan, 2005), 5, 17-18, 37-39;
Frances Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of the Magdalene Asylums in Ireland* (Piltown, Ireland: Cosgrave Press, 2001), 9-10, 242;
Claudia Nelson, *Family Ties in Victorian England,* 46;
Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-8.

[12] Kevin Kenny eds. *Ireland the British Empire*, 273-279;
Vera Kreikamf, "Fiction and Empire: The Irish Novel," in Kevin Kenny, eds. *Ireland the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 175-178;

Men's involvement was obscured, and the Famine came to be seen as a tragedy that mainly impacted women.[13] Women in fiction are typically presented in one of two ways. They are either models to be imitated, as in the case of the Irish New Woman novels, or they are representations of the negative impact of colonialism. The Irish New Women are modern and daring and take an active part in public life. Fictional women of this second type are often stereotypical victims of male aggression, or they are scheming, manipulative, and overbearing.[14]

Studies examining the portrayal of women in Irish newspapers have used discourse analysis as well. Works on Irish women and the press tend to focus on the presence of feminist rhetoric within the pages of newspapers, particularly the women's press. This rhetoric reflected the conceptualization of feminism seen throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. During this period, feminism was the purview of middle-class women, and their discourses centered on concerns over women's education, the local and parliamentary franchise, and the care and custody of children.[15] This definition of feminism, with its ties to reform campaigns and its emphasis on female moral superiority, is the definition employed throughout this current project.[16] Scholars examining women's writings viewed these texts through a feminist lens, and nationalist women's writings are frequently analyzed for their feminist content. Often women would appeal to traditional ideas of femininity as justification for their involvement in various causes. For Irish women, this

[13] Margaret Kelleher, *Feminization of Famine: Expressions of the Inexpressible?* (Cork University Press, 1997).
[14] Vera Kreikamf, "Fiction and Empire: The Irish Novel," in Kevin Kenny, eds. *Ireland the British Empire;* Tina O'Toole, "The (Irish) New Woman: Political, Literary and Sexual Experiences," in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1880-1920*, eds. Holly A. Land (London: Holly A. Land, 2914).
[15] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland*, 4.
[16] Maria Luddy, "Women and Politics in 19th Century Ireland," in *Women in Irish History: Essays in Honour of Margaret MacCurtain*, eds. Maryann Gialanella Valiulis and Mary O'Dowd. (Dublin 1997), 72, as quoted in Rosemary Cullen Owens, *A Social History of Women In Ireland*, 20.

meant using feminist arguments that hinged on female moral superiority, to advocate for their involvement in Irish nationalism.[17]

Works on women and the press outside of Ireland situate their discussions around issues of gender, race and nationalism. These studies discuss specific groups of women, such as racial minorities, New Women, or criminals using papers published in Spanish, American, or English presses.[18] Though the studies concern themselves with different women, and different time periods, they all agree that ideal views of women existed in society, and that these views were reflected and disseminated in the popular press. David Sachsman and Rushing, S. Kittrell's edited collection, *Seeking A Voice: Images of Race and Gender in the Nineteenth Century Press,* presents an essay collection centered on the prominence and prevalence of racial and gendered stereotypes within the American press of the late 1800s.[19] The essays on women examine the representation of female criminals, African-American

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[17] Louise Ryan, *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation* (Dublin: Edwin Mellen Publishing, 2002);
Karen Steel, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007);
Karen Steel, "Rocking the Cradle, Rocking the System: The Cultural Representations of Femininity in 20th Century Ireland," (PhD Diss, University of Texas at Austin, 1996);
Brittany Columbus, "Bean na h-Éireann: Feminism and Nationalism in an Irish Journal, 1908-1911," *Chaplain University Historical Review* 1:1 (2008: no pages;
http://journals.chapman.edu/ojs/index.php/VocesNovae/article/view/13/82;
Breda Gray and Louise Ryan, "The Politics of Irish Identity and the Interconnections between Feminism, Nationhood, and Colonialism, " in *Nation, Empire, Colony : Historicizing Gender and Race,* eds. Ruth Roach Pierson, Nupur Chaudhri, and Beth McAuley. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 121-135.
[18] Patricia Marks. *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: the New Woman in the Popular Press* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1990);
Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *Fictions Of The Feminine In The Nineteenth Century Spanish Press* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Stated University Press, 2000);
David Sachsman and Rushing, S. Kittrell, eds., *Seeking A Voice: Images Of Race and Gender In The Nineteenth Century Press* (West Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue University Press, 2009);
Marjorie Ferguson, *Forever Feminine: Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity* (London: Heinemann, 1983);
Judith Knelman, *Twisting in the Wind: The Murderess and The English Press* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1998).
[19] David Sachsman and Rushing, S. Kittrell, eds., *Seeking A Voice: Images Of Race and Gender In The Nineteenth Century Press.*

women, female journalists, and female political figures.[20] Others examine the impact of the Civil War on American women.[21] These works highlight how the American media reinforced traditional notions of proper feminine behavior, and also shows how some women attempted to circumvent these conventional images.[22] Marjorie Ferguson's *Forever Feminine: Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity* examines three types of periodicals published from the 1950s to the 1980s: English magazines directed at adult women, American magazines also catering to female adults, and periodicals aimed at younger women.[23] Ferguson asserts that these magazines served to reinforce and create notions of proper feminine behavior by presenting women as a group in need of guidance.[24] Judith Knelman's *Twisting in the Wind: The Murderess and the English Press* examines the depiction of female murderers in the English press during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[25] She asserts that, despite a growing sympathy toward female murderers within the general public, on the whole, women criminals were still seen as a threat to the natural social order.[26] Lou Charnon-Deutch's *Fictions of the Feminine in the Nineteenth-Century Spanish Press* analyzes images of women printed in Spanish periodicals and magazines published during the mid to late nineteenth century.[27] She argues that these images simultaneously created and reinforced existing gender stereotypes.[28] Patricia Marks' *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the*

[20] For some examples, see the essays written by Kate Roberts Edenborg, Sarah Mitchell, Hazel Dicken-Garcia Susan Inskeep Gray, Amy Aronson, J. F. Saddler, Dianne S. Blake and others in *Seeking A Voice: Images Of Race and Gender In The Nineteenth Century Press,* eds. David Sachsman and Rushing, S. Kittrell
[21] For some examples see the writings of Regina M. Faden, Kate Robertson Edenborg and Hazel Dicken-Garcia in *Seeking A Voice: Images Of Race and Gender In The Nineteenth Century Press,* eds. David Sachsman and Rushing, S. Kittrell.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Marjorie Ferguson, *Forever Feminine: Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity.*
[24] Ibid.
[25] Judith Knelman, *Twisting in the Wind: The Murderess and The English Press.*
[26] Ibid., 232-233.
[27] Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *Fictions Of The Feminine In The Nineteenth Century Spanish Press.*
[28] Ibid.

Popular Press charts the rise of the worldly-wise, "New Woman," through the reactions of the British and American press.[29] These reactions were often hostile, and took the form of satirical political cartoons.[30] Marks' work emphasizes the continued presence of the ideal Victorian housewife, but asserts that the New Woman came to prominence in America and England despite stringent opposition.

As the present study shows, the reverse was true in Ireland. The ideal of the Victorian housewife predominated and continued to exert influence on Irish society and culture well into the twentieth century. This project analyzes the representation of women in the Irish press through a discussion of gender models that reflect attempts to control women, as well as women's attempts to resist that control. This study uses discourse analysis to scrutinize the words printed in these newspapers. This allows for an understanding of how these attitudes about women were created and reinforced. Both the terms 'ladies' and 'women' are used within the three papers, but not as interchangeable gender identifiers. 'Ladies' indicates women who met the qualifications of the ideal woman as defined by that particular paper. The use of 'women' or 'female' often indicated that the person being described had behaved in ways that violated the norms of proper behavior set out in the paper.

This work examines newspaper pieces printed from 1908 to 1916. These years constituted a brief window within Ireland, one which was closed by 1937. For five years, the chaos brought about by the Irish nationalist movement allowed women to take a more active role. They engaged in meaningful dialogues, creating their own notions of the ideal woman and her counterpart. The granting of limited franchise in 1918, as well as the political struggles that plagued Ireland throughout the mid twentieth century, shifted the focus away

[29] Patricia Marks. *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: The New Woman in the Popular Press*.
[30] Ibid.

from women's issues and onto other issues. Religiously conservative, traditional elements began gaining power in the Irish government. These individuals and political parties linked Irishness with religion—usually Catholicism—and sought to limit the rights of women, under the guise of promoting Irishness and protecting the family. Women lost much of the gains they had won during the previous years. With the reassertion of the Victorians' ideal woman, they were once again relegated to hearth and home.[31]

This project's relevancy stems from the discussion of the ways in which stereotypes about women were employed to sustain and maintain the male dominated institutions of state and church within Ireland in the years following the War for Independence. The enforcement of the model of the ideal woman dramatically impacted the lives of real women. Those who conformed to the standard were lauded. Those who fell short were ridiculed, or perceived as dangerous.[32] Because these contrasting notions of femininity were so restricted, women themselves were hampered. They were limited in their access to education, healthcare, and employment and had little political representation. Concerns over the prevalence of working women, and their influence on the traditional family, were common.[33] The expression of these anxieties demonstrates that the stereotypes not only remained, but continued to drastically influence the lives of Irish women. This helped to propagate a version of femininity that conformed to and reinforced a specific standard of Irishness. In "An (Irish) New Woman," the author notes how attitudes about gender can influence and be influenced

[31] Meadbh, McNamara, *Women in Parliament: Ireland, 1918-2000* (Dublin: Wolfhound Press, 2000);
Pat Walsh, *Irish Republicanism and Socialism: The Politics of the Republican Movement, 1905 to 1994* (Belfast: Athol Books, 1994).
[32] Louise Ryan, *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation* (Dublin: Edwin Mellen Publishing, 2002.)
[33] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland 1870-1970* (Dublin, Ireland: Gil & McMillon, 2005), 209, 270.

by politics and religion.[34] She writes, "The interaction of patriarchal Catholic and inherited imperialist values ultimately produced a post-colonial society characterized by the regulation of sexuality and reproduction and the concomitant institutionalization of motherhood as women's principal role."[35] This outcome can be attributed to the prevalence of the Victorian concept of the ideal woman. For Ireland in particular, "The mother Ireland figure…was deployed to produce…'a revolutionary family cell' at the center of which nationalist rhetoric inscribed a passive and pure female figure, the ideal woman of the house and the keeper of the social order."[36] This woman is reflected in the *Irish Times*, and subverted in both *Bean Na hEireann* and *the Irish Citizen*.

Much of the previous scholarship dealing with the portrayal of marginalized groups has focused on the depictions of the Irish in relation to American stereotypes and English colonialism.[37] The works which discuss women often examine specific types of women such as female criminals or women belonging to ethnic minorities. Other studies investigate women's writings in the Irish Press. These books address the use of feminist ideology in various women's papers. The two main works which focus on women and the Irish press are Karen Margaret Steele's *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* and Louise

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[34] Tina O'Toole, "The (Irish) New Woman: Political, Literary and Sexual Experiences," in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1880-1920*, eds. Holly A. Land (London: Holly A. Land, 2914), 35.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] For examples of works on the subject, see the following. David M Emmons, *Beyond the American Pale: The Irish In The West 1845-1910* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010);
John Gillingham, "The English Invasion of Ireland," in Brendon Bradshaw, Andrew Hadfield, and Willy Maley, ed., *Representing Ireland: Literature and the Origins of Conflict 1534-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993);
Shirley Adawy Peart, *English Images of the Irish, 1570-1620* (Lewiston, New York: 2002);
David B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966);
Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men In The Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment, and Demonology* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1952), 13-14, quoted in Robert Burkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbia to the Present* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 19-20.

Ryan's *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation.*[38] Steel's work deals with women's contributions to the Irish nationalist and feminist presses throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[39] She addresses the use of feminist rhetoric in the writings of several prominent Irish nationalist women.[40] Ryan examines the representations of Ireland and Irishness in a host of regional and national newspapers.[41] She discusses how women who deviated from the Victorian standard of proper feminine behavior were portrayed.[42] Steel and Ryan discuss Irish women in the press, but Steele's work catalogues women's writings while Ryan's describes the archetypes in question.

The present study likewise takes the Irish press as its source base. It analyzes the writings found within the newspapers to demonstrate the papers' characterization of women. A discussion of the terms used demonstrates how models are created. The earlier example of the different uses of 'ladies,' 'women,' and 'females,' demonstrates how three different words can be used to indicate and sustain different perceptions of women. The current project examines how women employed portrayals of themselves to change or conform to the narrative of the stereotypical righteous and unrighteous woman. In endeavoring to overcome the standards imposed upon them by the late Victorian Irish society, these women merely created other molds. The previous studies of women in the Irish press serve as a starting point for the current study.

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[38] Karen Steele, Women, *Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival*;
Louise Ryan, *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation*.
[39] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival*.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Louise Ryan, *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation*.
[42] Ibid.

Depictions of women in the Irish press must be examined in the context of the history of the Irish press. Most works centering on the Irish press have focused on the more radical presses. The papers belonging to militant nationalist groups in Dublin receive the most attention. The Irish provincial press and specific individuals within the Irish press are also examined.[43] This dissertation examines the Irish press through a new lens. It analyzes how the three papers conceptualized women, drawing upon notions that originated in Ireland and England in the late nineteenth century. These conceptualizations have only recently begun to fade.

The most popular subject of study concerns the individuals and ideologies associated with the radical, or advanced nationalist press. Virginia E. Glandon's *Arthur Griffith and the Irish-Nationalist Press: 1900-1922,* details the experiences of *Sinn Fein* editor Arthur Griffith, and illustrates how he was received by members from other movements. This reception is indicated in an analysis of several newspaper pieces.[44] James E. Combs' *The Language of Nationalist Ideology: A Content Analysis of Irish Nationalist Publications, 1906-1914*, studies the newspaper *Sinn Fein*, and accesses its success or failure at creating an Irish nationalist ideology from 1906 to 1914.[45] Both these works demonstrate the use of newspapers to determine how individuals or groups were viewed within a larger context.

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[43] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2007);
Mark O'Brien and Kevin Rafter, eds. *Independent Newspapers: A History* (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2012);
James E. Combs, "The Language of Nationalist Ideology: a Content Analysis of Irish Nationalist Publications, 1906-1914" (master's thesis, University of Houston, 1969);
Virginia Glandon, Arthur Griffith and the Irish-Nationalist Press, (New York: P. Lang, 1985);
Marie-Louise Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism: The Irish Provincial Press, 1850-1892* (Portland, Oregon, Four Courts Press, 1999).

[44] Virginia Glandon, "Arthur Griffith and the Irish-Nationalist Press."

[45] James E. Combs, "The Language of Nationalist Ideology: A Content Analysis of Irish Nationalist Publications, 1906-1914." (Master's thesis, University of Houston, 1969).

The present dissertation also uses newspapers, but does not question their conformity with an ideology. It looks at how the media presented the paradigm of the ideal and dissolute woman. This study illustrates the creation of alternate stereotypes by investigating the contrasting images of pure and impure women put forth by *Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Citizen*.

Other books focus on the newspapers themselves. Marie-Louise Legg's *Newspapers and Nationalism: The Irish Provincial Press, 1850-1892,* charts the development of Irish newspapers throughout Ireland's four provinces, from 1830 to 1892.[46] Legg's book serves as a source of background information on the newspapers printed in Ireland during the mid to late nineteenth century. Mark O'Brien and Kevin Rafter's work, *Independent Newspapers: A History*, examines the *Independent*'s coverage of a variety of political and international issues.[47] O'Brien and Rafter's book is far different from the present project, but lays the groundwork well by illustrating the topics covered in another prominent Irish newspaper. The coverage of the *Irish Times* consists of works that chart the paper's reporting of specific events, or books that discuss the history of the paper from its founding to its present.[48] These studies largely omit references to women.[49] Only Terrance Brown's *The Irish Times: 150 Years of Influence*, references women, and that only in the context of the suffrage

[46] Marie-Louise Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism: The Irish Provincial Press, 1850-1892* (Portland, Oregon: Four Courts Press), 1999.
[47] Mark O'Brien and Keven Rafter, eds., *Independent Newspapers: A Histor*y (Dublin: Ireland, Four Courts Press, 2012).
[48] Mark O'Brien, *The Irish Times: A History* (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2008);
Terrance Brown, *The Irish Times: 150 Years of Influence* (N. C., : N.P. 2015);
John Martin, *The Irish Times: Past and Present*, *A Record of the Journal Since 1859* (Belfast, Northern Ireland: Belfast Historical and Educational Society, 2008);
David Lloyd, *The Irish Times: Temporalities of Modernity* (Dublin, Ireland: Keough-Naughton Institute for Irish Studies, 2008);
[49] Ibid.

movement.[50] The discussion of suffrage is limited to brief quotes from relevant articles that indicate the paper's condemning of the movement.[51]

Almost no attention has been paid to how women were perceived by those outside the radical Irish nationalist movement. The works that have discussed this, do so only in passing and typically within the context of the Irish nationalist movement itself.[52] These scholars have used the Irish Press to examine either the presence of feminist rhetoric within the nationalist press or to discuss the conceptualization and presentation of Ireland as a sainted female figure in the media.[53] The scholarship surrounding Irish women's writing focuses on women's representation of themselves[54] This is typically done by analyzing fictional works, particularly those known as the New Woman novels. These illustrate another way women reacted to the prevailing gender norms. They attempted to present a modern, single, independent woman as an ideal role model for other young women to imitate.[55] No work has examined the intersection of gender and identity creation within the context of the Irish Press. This is due to the prevalence of the pattern of the respectable and dissolute woman in Victorian society. These archetypes were so engrained into late nineteenth and early twentieth century Irish society, that their presence is taken for granted. The studies that do mention it in the context of references to women within the press, do so only briefly, with no analysis of the sources.

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[50] Terrance Brown, *The Irish Times: 150 Years of Influence*, 39-41, 54-56.
[51] Ibid.
[52]Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries* (London: Pluto Press, 1989);
Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women: Irish Female Activists In The Revolutionary Years, 1900-1923* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003).
[53] Karen Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival*;
Louise Ryan, *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation*.
[54] Tina O'Toole, "The (Irish) New Woman: Political, Literary and Sexual Experiences," in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1880-1920*.
[55] Ibid.

The main goal of this study is an examination of how preconceived notions about women were used to control them and the women's subsequent appropriation and manipulation of those ideas to reassert control over their lives. An analysis of the newspapers reveals their role in the creation and perpetuation of the model of the honorable and reprobate woman. The focus is on the treatment of these women in the press, and the words and phrases used in the creation of these archetypes. The *Irish Times* represented the traditional views of women. The two women's papers provide a counterpoint. They demonstrate the creation of an alternative paragon of the ideal and dissolute woman through their implementation of other categories.

An understanding of the scholarship surrounding Irish women provides the framework for the current project. Irish women as a historical subject follow a similar course to that found in an examination of women's history in general. The focus was on the great women of Ireland's history, those made famous by their involvement in the war for the island's independence. The emphasis has grown to include other, less well known, Irish women. One key theme to emerge is the role of Irish women in politics.[56] These scholars highlight specific women and concentrate on the roles they played within both the Irish government as well as the Irish nationalist movement.

Certain scholars address individuals' impact on women's issues and nationalism. Anna Parnell, the sister of Charles Stewart Parnell and founder of the Ladies' Land League, Anna Hanselm, a noted suffragette and Quaker, and Isabella Todd, a Protestant suffragette,

[56] Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy, eds., *Women, Power and Consciousness in 19th Century Ireland (*Dublin: Attic Press, 1995);
Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*; Jason Knirck, *Women of the Dáil: Gender, Republicanism and the Anglo-Irish Treaty* (Portland, Oregon: Irish Academic Press, 2006);
Anne Matthews*, Renegades Irish Republican Women, 1900-1922* (Cork, Ireland: Mercier Press, 2010);
Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*.

are some of the women discussed in Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy's *Women, Power and Consciousness in 19th Century Ireland.*[57] Cullen and Luddy's work emphasize the differences between these women and show how they came together to benefit other women.[58] Sinead McCoole's *No Ordinary Women*, focuses on the events surrounding the Easter Rising and the Irish War for Independence.[59] She asserts that the women involved were dedicated nationalists, willing to endure mistreatment and prison for the cause they endorsed.[60] Margaret Ward, author of *Unmanageable Revolutionaries,* assesses the contributions made by these nationalist women and argues that their assistance did not translate into tangible benefits for women. Nationalist women were unable to translate their contributions into a broader status for Irish women.[61] Six other women, Mary MacSwiney, Margaret Pearse, Grace Gifford, Kathleen Clarke, Kate O'Callaghan, and Ada English, are the subjects of Jason Knirck's, *Women of the Dáil: Gender, Republicanism and the Anglo-Irish Treaty*.[62] As relatives of well-known Irish male revolutionaries, these women used that connection to further to their own political views. Primarily this was done through supporting or opposing the ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty.[63] Knirck's book illustrates how they cultivated a particular image by presenting themselves as martyrs and attempting to exert influence on the wider Irish society.[64] Irish women nationalists were pressed to back male

[57] Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy, eds., *Women, Power and Consciousness in 19th Century Ireland*.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women: Irish Female Activists In The Revolutionary Years, 1900-1923*.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*; Sinnead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women: Irish Female Activists In The Revolutionary Years, 1900-1923*.
[62] Jason Knirck, *Women of the Dáil: Gender, Republicanism and the Anglo-Irish Treaty*.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.

nationalists, but these women were also aware of their own abilities to play upon stereotypes to their advantage.[65]

The above discussion of Irish women's involvement with nationalism contextualizes this dissertation. It asserts that the initial gains for women soon faded, due to the resurgence of traditional Victorian and Edwardian views of women. Understanding how society conceptualized women demonstrates how and why women were later excluded by governmental bodies that once courted their support. An examination of the women's press revealed another way women attempted to cultivate their image to their own advantage. Women suffragettes and nationalists both sought to present themselves in a certain light that would render their participation in the movement and society more acceptable. They did not draw on associations with men, but played upon Victorian ideas about ideal women by taking those ideas and molding them into new ones that better suited their own aims. For the women of *Bean Na hEireann*, an ideal woman used her natural femininity in service of Irish nationalism. The women of the *Irish Citizen* claimed that a respectable woman employed her feminine traits in the furtherance of the women's suffrage's movement.

Much of the remaining scholarship on Irish women falls into three categories. Some historians discuss how specific groups of women responded to social issues within Ireland.[66] Others make use of gender theory to examine a host of topics, ranging from women's confinement to mental hospitals to the presence of feminist ideology within the trade union

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[65] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*, 184, 189, 209-211;
Meadbh, McNamara, *Women in Parliament: Ireland, 1918-2000*;
Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*, 189, 210;
Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland 1870-1970*, 209, 267-269.

[66] Maureen Langan-Egan, *Galway Women in The Nineteenth Century* (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 1999).;
Deirdre Toomey, ed. *Yeats and Women* (London, England: Macmillan Press, 1997);
Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women In Ireland, 1870-1970*.

movement.[67] Some examine the perceptions of the Irish held by other countries.[68] Many historians have used political cartoons to examine American attitudes toward the Irish.[69] Other scholars have examined earlier impressions, which date back to the reign of Elizabeth I.[70] The studies that examine Irish stereotypes focus on the views held of the Irish by either the English or Americans. Scholars who discuss the perceptions of Irish women in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ireland do so only in passing.[71] This dissertation centers on these conceptions, and so fills the gap in the historiography.

The present project demonstrates that gender based stereotypes existed within the pages of the three newspapers. Discussions of gender were explicit in the *Irish Citizen,* while implicit in the *Irish Times* and *Bean Na hEireann*. The above works do not use newspapers as a source as this project does. They do establish how newspapers may be used as a source

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[67] Alison Buckley, "'Let the Girls Come Forth': The Early Feminist Ideology of the Irish Women's Workers' Union," in *Irish Women's History*, eds. Allen Hayes and Diane Urquhart. (Portland, Oregon: Dublin Academic Press, 2004), 103-114;
Aine McCarthy, "Hearths, Bodies, and Minds: Gender Ideology and Women's Committal to Enniscorthy Lunatic Asylum, 1916-1925," in *Irish Women's History*, edited by Allen Hayes and Diane Urquhart (Portland, Oregon: Dublin Academic Press, 2004),115-136;
Mary E. Daly, "Women, Work, and Trade Unionism," in *Women in Irish Society: The Historical Dimension,* edited by Margaret Mac Curtain and Donncha O Corrain (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979), 71-82;
David Fitzpatrick, "Women, Gender, and the Writing of Irish History," *Irish Historical Studies*, 27 (May 1991), 267-273;
Margaret Kelleher, *The Feminization of Famine: Expressions of the Inexpressible?* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).
[68] Michael Willem De Nye, *The Eternal Paddy: Irish Identity and the British Press, 1798-1882* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004);
Lewis Perry Curtis, *Apes and Angels: The Irishman In Victorian Caricature* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian, 1972);
L. P. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice In Victorian England* (University of Michigan, 2008);
Maureen Bridget McGee, "Paddymaking: Cartoons of Irish Immigrants In Transnational America, 1865-1900," (master's thesis, University of California, Lost Angeles, 1992);
Shirley Adawy Peart, *English Images of the Irish, 1570-1620* (Lewiston, New York: 2002);
David B. Quinn, *The Elizabethans and the Irish* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1966).
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*.;
Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*.;
Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women In Ireland.*

of information about a group or ideology. By examining the representation of women within the newspapers, this dissertation will illustrate how these archetypes are created.

The period examined by this dissertation—1908 to 1916—was a pivotal time in Irish history. The women's suffrage movement became prominent, despite existing in Ireland since the late 1800s.The push to enfranchise women accelerated in 1908 with the creation of the Irishwomen's Franchise League. The IWFL sought the expansion of the suffrage beyond the limited voting rights granted under the Local Government Bill. This bill was passed in 1898 and allowed women to vote in local elections. Though numerous other suffrage groups sprang up during this time, the IWFL, and its paper the *Irish Citizen*, were among the most influential.[72]

Women were not the only group to receive a measure of political freedom during this time. Ireland itself fought for and eventually won independence from England. The struggle for Irish independence culminated in December 1921 with the signing of the Anglo-Irish treaty. Irish nationalism had a lengthy and detailed history, stretching back into the sixteenth century. By the early twentieth century, the movement had split into three main camps. The moderates favored the Irish Parliamentary Party, while those who wanted complete separation from England favored Arthur Griffith and Sinn Fein. Radical socialist nationalists like James Connolly, Constance de Marciewicz, and the members of *Cuman Na mBan,* endorsed the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Citizen Army.[73]

Both the nationalist and women's suffrage movements influenced one another. Some members of one group were members of the other. Some suffragists saw nationalism as a way to enfranchise women, and some nationalists likewise supported women's suffrage. In

[72] Louise Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote: An Anthology of the Irish Citizen Newspaper 1912-1920* (Dublin: Folens Publication, 1996).
[73] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*; Sinnead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*.

1921, Ireland won its independence and enshrined several new rights for women within its 1922 constitution.[74] These rights included affirming women's status as equal citizens, with the same rights and responsibilities as their male counterparts. The constitution granted the franchise to all women and eliminated property qualifications. The document likewise allowed them to be elected to various governmental positions.[75] With the passage of the Conditions of Employment Act in 1935, and the new Constitution in 1937, these gains were lost.[76]

Despite women's political advances, prevailing societal attitudes towards them changed little during the early twentieth century. Characteristics of virtuous and dissolute women were complex, and included ideas about religion and class. A proper woman was someone who conformed to Victorian ideas of femininity.[77] She could be of any class, but if

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[74]The Irish Constitution, http://www.electoralsystemchanges.eu/Files/media/MEDIA_410/FILE/1922Constitution_of_the_Irish_Free_State.pdf. Accessed March 27, 2017;
"Election manifesto of Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, 1943," in Maria Luddy, eds. *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington* (Dublin, Historical Association of Ireland, 1995), 50, quoted in Siobhan Mullally, "On Women and The Home," February 11, 2013. https://www.constitution.ie/AttachmentDownload.ashx?mid=ee219062-2178-e211-a5a0-005056a32ee4. Accessed March 27 2017.

[75] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*, 184, 189, 209-211.

[76] Meadbh, McNamara, *Women in Parliament: Ireland, 1918-2000*; Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*, 189, 210; Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland 1870-1970*, 209, 267-269;
Siobhan Mullally, "On Women and The Home," February 11, 2013. https://www.constitution.ie/AttachmentDownload.ashx?mid=ee219062-2178-e211-a5a0-005056a32ee4. Accessed March 27 2017.

[77] Isabella Beeton, *Mrs. Beeton's Book of Household Management*, abr. ed. (London: S. O. Beeton, 1861; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000);
The Cult of Domesticity was a term coined by American feminist scholars in the 1960s to refer to the experiences of American Victorian women. The term has since been applied to Victorian women living elsewhere, as the concept of proper feminine behavior was a constant staple of the period.
See Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-174;
Aileen S. Kraditor, Introduction, *Up From The Pedestal: Selected Writings from American Feminism*, ed. Aileen S. Kriaditor, (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968), 3-24;
Joyce W. Warren, Notes, *Women, Money and the Law: Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Gender, and the Courts* (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 2005).
For a discussion of this concept in relation to Victorian and Edwardian England and Ireland, see, Claudia Nelson, *Family Ties in Victorian England* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2007);
Chris Roulston, *Narrating Marriage in Eighteenth-Century England and France* (Ontario, Canada; University of Western Ontario Press, 2016);

she was of the lower class, she was typically a domestic servant. Middle class and upper class women were expected to conform to different standards. These women were dutiful housewives and mothers. Eschewing politics, such a woman was involved in a variety of reform movements aimed at benefiting the poor. These were seen as an extension of her responsibilities as a natural caretaker. In Ireland, women were either Protestant or Catholic and their religious beliefs informed their notions of proper behavior. Protestant women favored marriage and the family, and Catholic women prioritized a life dedicated to either the family or the Church. Both religions preached against vices, with alcoholism and sexual immorality being two of the most common.[78] The model woman oversaw the servants if she had them, tended to the children, and ensured that her home was a haven from the world. Morally superior to men, she was chaste, innocent, and loving. She was naive and relied upon her husband for all worldly matters.

The reprobate woman violated the standards of ideal behavior by involving herself in politics, thereby removing herself from the home. She participated in either the suffrage movement or the Irish nationalist movement, or engaged in criminal activities, with petty theft, prostitution, and child neglect being most common. This woman was reprobate because she contradicted everything that an ideal woman embodied. Her unmarried status opposed the idea that a woman was only a true woman if she were married. Her involvement in sex

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Bridget Walsh, *Domestic Murder In Nineteenth-Century England: Literary and Cultural Representations* (Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014);
Susan G. Bell, Karen M. Offen, eds. *Women, The Family, and Freedom, 1750-1850: The Debate in the Documents*, (Stanford, California; Stanford University Press, 1983), 139;
Breda Gray, *Women and the Irish Diaspora* (London: Routledge, 2004), 27-28, 63;
James H. Murphy, eds., *The Oxford History of the Irish Book* Volume IV *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 382.

[78] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women In Ireland 1870-1970*, 5, 17-18, 37-39;
Frances Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of the Magdalene Asylums in Ireland*, 9-10, 242;
Claudia Nelson, *Family Ties in Victorian England*, 46; Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-8.

work opposed the supposed truism that women were innocent asexual beings. Her lower-class status was only a problem if she was involved in criminality. The harm she did to her children contradicted the oft-touted idea that all women possessed maternal instincts and were mothers even if only symbolically.[79]

For much of the nineteenth century, prostitutes were the epitome of the dissolute woman, but attitudes towards them varied. Some reform groups only took in women guilty of one offence while others focused on unwed mothers from the upper-classes. Some groups believed that prostitution was an unavoidable necessary evil and saw the girls as merely victims of seduction or bad influences, but most blamed the women themselves. The prostitutes were expected to be contrite and repent if they were to have any hope of losing their reprobate image.[80] Discussing the differences between prostitutes and non-prostitutes, Maria Luddy writes, "The prostitute, by her 'unwomanly' behavior in displaying her ability for sexual acts, was seen as an affront to 'respectable' women, who were supposedly sexually ignorant."[81] This attitude reflected the double standard of the era.

Noting the prevalence of this dichotomy between the ideal women and the reprehensible, Maria Luddy and Cliona Murphy write elsewhere that, "The ideology of the 'good woman'…is shown to have shaped the response of middle-class women, and society in general, to prostitution."[82] The righteous women were portrayed as the innocent middle class and upper-class women actively engaged in rescue work. The contrast between the ideal woman and the reprobate was even more pronounced for Catholic women. They had two

[79] Maria Luddy, "Prostitution and Rescue Work in Nineteenth Century Ireland," in *Women Surviving: Studies in Irish Women's History in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 61-64.
[80] Ibid, 69.
[81] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women In Ireland 1870-1970*, 17-18.
[82] Maria Luddy and Cliona Murphy, "'Cherchez La Femme': The Elusive Woman In Irish History," in *Women Surviving: Studies in Irish Women's History in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 9.

concepts of femininity, the virtuous housewife and the nun. According to Luddy, "The institutions ran by nuns are of special interest in regard to the idealized picture of women common in Ireland in the last century. In these refuges, the 'purest' women looked after the most 'impure.'"[83]

By the twentieth century, a new conception of reprobate women had emerged. Seen most commonly in the literature of the period and dubbed the New Woman, this archetype was likewise condemned. In the newspapers under consideration, such a woman is referred to as a "bachelor girl." This figure was "a marriage resister, she [was] intelligent, courageous, masculinized…an avid reader, and a capable speaker."[84] This description comes from Tonia O'Toole's discussion of the fictional New Woman archetype often seen in novels of the same name. While the adjectives quoted above are describing one fictional character, O'Toole notes that "Noyes displays key characteristics of the New Woman type who would become familiar in the culture over the ensuing decade."[85] This archetype became the reality for many women living in Ireland during the period under consideration. Women like Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, Helena Moloney, Constance de Markievicz, Louie Bennett, and others, epitomized the ideal New Woman. Traditional Irish society remained strongly committed to Victorian and Edwardian ideas about women and viewed any attempt at circumventing those roles as a threat. This concern led to the negative connotations seen in the *Irish Times*, as that newspaper reflects the traditional viewpoint. Both *Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Citizen* contain the writings of these new women, and are therefore much more favorable to them.

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[83] Maria Luddy, "Prostitution and Rescue Work in Nineteenth Century Ireland," in in *Women Surviving: Studies in Irish Women's History in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 69.
[84] Tonia O'Toole, "The (Irish) New Woman: Political, Literary and Sexual Experiences," in *The History of British Women's Writing, 1880-1920*, 27.
[85] Ibid.

These more traditional ideas were intertwined with the burgeoning religious polarization of the period that came to identify all nationalists as Catholics and all Protestants as unionists.[86] Both Protestants and Catholics had strong ideas about the proper role of women in society, and both groups could at times feel threatened by women who stepped outside their prescribed roles. Catriona Beaumont notes that,

> There is no doubt that traditional assumptions about the role of women in twentieth-century Irish society mirrored the teaching of the Catholic Church. Pope Leo XIII clearly outlined the 'natural' duty of women when he wrote in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) that a 'woman is by her nature fitted for home work and it is this which is best adapted to preserve her modesty and promote the good upbringing of children and the wellbeing of the family.[87]

Such a view mirrored that of Protestant counterparts. For Irish Protestants, too, women's proper place was in the home.[88] When she did step outside it, she did so only to participate in charitable functions, as these were seen as a natural extension of her womanly duties. Women were meant to use their capacity as nurturers to benefit those around them, chiefly their fellow women, children, or the poor and destitute. Women who stepped outside these prescribed roles were castigated by both Protestants and Catholics alike.[89] The following chapters address the relationship between religion and the models of the ideal and reprobate women but the main focus is on these women's treatment within the press.

While both Protestants and Catholics required restricted roles for women, the Catholic view ultimately dominated. Echoing the claims of Tonia O'Toole discussed above, Catriona Beaumont likewise links Catholic teachings with the suppression of women. She

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[86] Christine Kinealy, "At Home With The Empire: The Example of Ireland," in *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World,* 89, 96.
[87] Caitriona Beaumont, "Women, Citizenship and Catholicism in the Irish free state, 1922-1948," *Women's History Review,* 6, no. 4 (1997): 564.
[88] Maria Luddy, "Prostitution and Rescue Work in Nineteenth Century Ireland," in *Women Surviving: Studies in Irish Women's History in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 61-64; Terrance Brown, *The Irish Times: 150 Years of Influence*, 39-41, 54-56.
[89] Ibid.

states, "By the early 1940s it had become clear that Irish men and Irish women were not considered equal citizens and that women were not entitled to the same rights of citizenship as men."[90] She goes on to note that, "Historians have suggested that Catholic ideology, economic austerity and traditional attitudes regarding women's role were responsible for the continuing discrimination against women."[91] While all factors have relevance, Beaumont asserts that, "The prevalence of Catholic social teaching has generally been regarded as the most far-reaching and persuasive influence."[92]

This project investigates the creation of these archetypes through an analysis of three newspapers, the *Irish Times, Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Citizen*. All three newspapers were in print during the period under consideration. Each paper reflected the views of its editors and readership. The *Irish Times* presented the views of Unionist Protestants and the *Bean na hEireann* the views of radical Catholic nationalists. The *Irish Citizen* illustrated the opinions of those affiliated with the women's suffrage movement. A close reading of the gendered language used by these newspapers reveals various ways in which diverse groups dealt with women.

The *Irish Times,* first published in 1859 and continuing into the present, began life as a Protestant nationalist paper. The paper's focus shifted upon its purchase in 1873 by the widow of a Member of Parliament. It retained its Protestant focus, but now backed the Unionist cause. Though women were mentioned throughout, they were not the target audience, and the paper was ambivalent toward women's suffrage. The *Irish Times* did contain numerous examples of a traditional view of women. It put women into groups—woman as consumer, woman as charitable donor, woman as reformer, woman as household

[90] Caitriona Beaumont, "Women, Citizenship and Catholicism in the Irish free state, 1922-1948," 564.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.

manager or woman as domestic servant. The columns that appeared to be intended for women concerned themselves with fashion, and the lives of the nobility. A supplement to the paper, the *Weekly Irish Times* conformed to the same pattern. Articles pertaining to household management, entertainment of children, fashion, and issues surrounding marriage made up much of the content aimed at women. The *Irish Times* illustrated one of the ways women were depicted in the media.[93]

Women attempted to influence Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. An analysis of writings in the women's press shows that women were not content to let others define their roles for them. They desired to change what constituted the ideal woman through the creation of alternate paradigms. These were rooted in either a feminist or nationalist ideology that the women used to countermand the negative caricatures of them frequently found in other media. The female nationalists prioritized involvement with Irish nationalism and the use of one's feminine characteristics in the furtherance of the movement. The character of this endorsement depended upon the type of nationalism one supported. Those allied with the Irish Parliamentary Party merely sought the creation of an independent Irish Parliament, while those who were members of Sinn Fein, or the Irish Socialist Republican Party had more far-reaching goals for Ireland. The proponents of women's suffrage maintained that a virtuous suffragette employed her innate moral superiority to campaign for the franchise and assist her fellow women.

Bean Na hEireann, or "Women of Ireland" in English, was published by members of Inghinidhe Na hEireann or "Daughters of Ireland." The editor of the paper, Helena Moloney

[93] Mark O'Brian, *The Irish Times: A History* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), and the newspaper itself.

was a middle-class woman who was heavily involved with numerous causes.[94] She was a prominent member of Inghinidhe Na hEireann, and served as a secretary for James Connolly. Moloney served as a member of the Irish Women's Workers' Union and attempted to create a union for domestic servants.[95] She brought that same reforming spirit to the paper she edited. The paper itself was staunchly nationalist in character and reflected this in the pieces it published. It employed and subverted the middle-class emphasis on reform. Moloney and the other women of Inghinidhe saw their paper as a way to reach poorer rural women, and encourage them in their support of Irish nationalism.[96] The newspaper was a monthly paper, consisting of eight to ten pages, with the advertisement section was found on the final page, but other ads were scattered throughout the paper. Most of the content was in English, but the paper did contain a Gaelic section, which spanned two or three pages, depending on the issue in question.

The *Irish Citizen* was an agent of the women's suffrage movement and it circulated from 1912 to 1920. Founders Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, her husband Frank, Mary Cousins and her husband James, all jointly edited the paper. The paper's goal was to convince the public of the value of enfranchising women. This goal was stated in the masthead, "For men and women equally the rights of citizenship. From men and women equally the duties of citizenship."[97] Part of the process of winning these rights and duties included addressing issues relevant to women. This newspaper, which ran for eight years, contained scores of

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[94] Brittany Columbus, "Bean na h-Éireann: Feminism and Nationalism in an Irish Journal, 1908-1911," *Columbus* 1:1 (2009), published in *Voces Nove Chaptman University Historical Review Online,* http://journals.chapman.edu/ojs/index.php/VocesNovae/article/view/13/82, Accessed 2/10/17.
[95] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women In Ireland 1870-1970*, 200; Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women: Irish Female Activists in the Revolutionary Years, 1900-23*, 188.
[96] Brittany Columbus, "Bean na h-Éireann: Feminism and Nationalism in an Irish Journal, 1908-1911."
[97] "A Psychological Moment," *The Irish Citizen*, May 25, 1912, 1, Center for Research Libraries Archive, MF-7097 r.116.

articles by, about, and for women. It provided an example of how women were dealt with in a radical women's paper.

Chapter One presents the historical context for period under consideration. It describes the society and culture that influenced the newspapers, highlighting the changes that had occurred in Irish society with respect to women. The chapter also discusses the origins of both the nationalist movement and the women's suffrage movement. An in-depth description of each of the papers, including the publication history, layout, and readership, is also included.

Chapter Two discusses the *Irish Times* and argues that this paper reflected the viewpoint of upper and middle-class Protestant Unionists who ascribed to Victorian and Edwardian notions of proper feminine behavior. That newspaper prioritized the conception of women as chaste paradigms of propriety—the ideal wife and mother who knew her place and remained in it. The *Irish Times* conceptualized the dissolute woman as any woman who violated traditional gender norms. This violation could come because of involvement in petty crime, or campaigning for more rights for women.[98]

Chapter Three is an examination of *Bean Na hEireann*, a radical Catholic nationalist women's paper. *Bean Na hEireann* took its conceptualization of virtuous and reprobate women from the radical Irish nationalist movement. Figures such as Helena Moloney, Constance de Markievicz, and Arthur Griffith, impacted how the paper described women. Catholicism came to dominate the movement, and with that came traditional views of women

[98] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women In Ireland 1870-1970*, 5, 17-18, 37-39;
Frances Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of the Magdalene Asylums in Ireland*, 9-10, 242;
Maria Luddy and Cliona Murphy, "'Cherchez La Femme': The Elusive Woman In Irish History," in *Women Surviving: Studies in Irish Women's History in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 9.

rooted in religious teachings.[99] Many Irish Catholic nationalists added another qualification for a model woman—one not shared by their Protestant Unionist counterparts. For Irish Catholic nationalists, a true woman was an Irish nationalist. She drew upon her particularly feminine attributes to serve the nationalist cause, either by trying to convert her friends and family to the movement or serving in an auxiliary function. She did not endorse causes or people that hindered Irish nationalism, including women's suffrage and English women. An Irish Catholic nationalist insisted that the ideal woman place her identity as a nationalist above her identity as a woman.

Chapter Four discusses the *Irish Citizen*, which presented yet another view of the honorable woman and her inverse. The editors of the *Irish Citizen* believed that a woman was to be lauded if she campaigned for suffrage and if she took an active role in women's issues. Many suffragettes used the trope of the morally superior woman found within Victorian and Edwardian Irish society to advance the cause of suffrage. The prototypical Irish suffragette campaigned for the vote so that she might have more of an influence on society. She eschewed causes that would conflict with supporting women's enfranchisement. A true female suffragist placed greater emphasis on her identity as a woman than she did on her national identity.

The study concludes with a chapter that serves as an epilogue. It charts the eventual fates of some of the key figures discussed throughout the dissertation. The chapter also examines the shift in Irish politics that saw the continued disenfranchisement of women that began in the mid-1930s and continued throughout the last half of the twentieth century. It

[99] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women In Ireland 1870-1970*, 37-39.

ends with an examination of the present state of the field, and offers suggestions on possible future areas of scholarship.

CHAPTER I

IRISH WOMEN AND THE PRESS, 1911-1916

From 1900 to 1937, Ireland underwent a period of tremendous political and social change. During these thirty-seven years, Ireland gained its independence from England, and in 1918, married women over thirty won the right to vote. While this limited suffrage might seem a small gain, it represented years of struggle on the part of suffragists within England and Ireland against a social model that persisted well into the twentieth century. Women of all social classes faced restrictions. In Ireland, the Victorian ideal of the genteel, domestically minded wife and mother, contrasted with the reprobate, single New Woman. These notions persisted well into the modern age, along with concerns over women's sexual purity. The last Magdalen laundry, that housed former prostitutes and unwed mothers, among others, closed in 1996, indicating that these stereotypes were still alive and well.[100]

While women of all social classes were held to this ideal, middle and upper-class women were far more likely to challenge it than their working-class counterparts. Most women who made up the two main branches of the suffrage movement came from the middle class, with a few coming from the aristocracy.

[100] Frances Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of the Magdalene Asylums in Ireland*, 9-10, 242.

Working class women tended to involve themselves in movements that furthered their interests as laborers, though some were associated with the suffrage movement. Some suffragettes likewise concerned themselves with the plight of working women. Class differences affected both movements and made working together problematic. During the mid-1900s, many suffragettes supported organized labor but the reverse was not always the case. The push for women's suffrage would only benefit middle-class women, so many in the labour movement rejected it. Working women opposed the campaign for the enfranchisement of women because the property qualifications excluded them. Due to class differences, some suffragettes were reluctant to ally themselves with the labour movement.[101]

This shift in politics and society was frequently reflected in the plethora of newspapers that were in print from 1900 to 1920. These newspapers espoused a broad range of ideals, from the Protestant Unionist *Irish Times* to the militant suffragette organ the *Irish Citizen*. Class distinctions among the various papers were more difficult to tease apart however there were some clues. In Marie Legg's *Newspapers and Nationalism*, the author describes a survey of "the business records of Wynne's in Castlebar," which would yield "some idea of the newspaper reading of one west of Ireland town…between 1879 and 1900."[102] Though this was only one town, the results were useful and according to the records, "the gentry and professional classes, the army, and the clergy," were the three groups most likely to take newspapers in general.[103] Of those papers, the *Freeman's Journal, United Ireland* and the *Irish Times* were read by all three groups, while individuals from the other groups subscribed to other papers.[104] Irish peasants

[101] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland*, 4-8, 82-84, 103-107; Anne Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkley, University of California Press, 1995), 195, 218-219.
[102] Marie-Louise Legg, *Newspapers and Nationalism: The Irish Provincial Press, 1850-1892*, 199, 149.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid. These other papers included the *Evening Telegraph* and *Detroit Free Press*, among others.

tended to read their local papers, or those from the radical presses, whereas landlords typically avoided the local press in favor of newspapers published in Dublin and London.[105] Though the study halted at 1892, it is likely that this pattern held true through the mid twentieth century.

Examining the three newspapers demonstrates how society at large responded to women's involvement in these changes. For the purposes of this study, scrutinizing these newspapers reveals how society viewed women of all social classes, and how these women attempted to either conform to or reject society's views of them. Though the *Irish Times* primarily concerned itself with events occurring in London, Dublin, and Belfast, *Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Citizen* reported on events occurring throughout Ireland, which granted a broader coverage.[106]

The growth of feminism and nationalism brought about Irish independence and the limited enfranchisement of women. While both groups had existed in Ireland for some time prior to 1900, they began to receive greater recognition in the early twentieth century. These two causes were sometimes intertwined, but both nationalism and the suffrage movement ultimately had different goals. These shaped the movements both individually and collectively.

Irish Nationalists

The movement for Ireland's independence had existed since the fifteenth century, but.by 1900, the Irish nationalist movement was not a unified whole and was composed of a variety of

[105] Ibid., 148-149, 151-152. As the scope of this work extends only to 1900, circulation information after 1900, for the whole of Ireland, was unavailable.

[106] This information comes from a survey of the newspapers themselves, in particular the content contained within them. For example, the *Irish Times* tends to focus on Parliament, sports, finances, charity work, and the activities of the nobility, with the intended audience being members of the middle and upper classes. Their ads for domestic servants likewise support this claim. The *Irish Citizen* focuses on women, and included writings on various social ills particularly relevant to lower class women, such as the effects of poverty and issues surrounding children and labour concerns, while including articles on and by educated women, who were middle or upper class themselves.

parts.[107] Each group had goal of Irish independence but advocated different means of achieving it. The Irish Parliamentary Party, founded by Charles Stewart Parnell, wanted Home Rule, or the creation of an Irish parliament, while still maintaining ties to England.[108] Sinn Fein, formed by Arthur Griffith in 1905, had a more expansive vision for the country.[109] They desired not just the creation of an Irish parliament, but an Ireland culturally and linguistically independent from Britain.[110] Their insistence on using Gaelic reflected this idea.[111] James Connolly's Irish Republican Socialist Party, instituted in 1896, was initially created to address issues relating to labor, but eventually came to espouse nationalism.[112] They desired the creation of an Irish socialist republic. Excepting the IRSP, the other parties' member base was mainly middle and upper-class men and women. The groups clashed at times, with conflict existing between Arthur Griffith's party and the men and women who backed James Connolly and his concern for the workers. Griffith desired an independent Ireland, and asserted the superiority of Irish manufacturing. He did not share Connolly's socialism, and was hostile to the Irish Republican Socialist Party's advocating on behalf of the laboring classes.

The Irish Parliamentary Party grew out of the Irish Independence Party and received endorsement from other Irish MPs who desired Home Rule.[113] Charles Stewart Parnell rose to prominence within the party in the late 1870s.[114] Because Ireland had not had an independent parliament since the second Act of Union in 1800 that united the Irish parliament with its English

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[107] Peter Newman, *Companion to Irish History* (Oxford, England: Facts on File Limited, 1991), ix, 201;
Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 66-67;
Karen Margaret Steele, *Women, The Press and Politics During the Irish Revival*, 68-71;
D. J. Hickey and J.E. Doherty, eds. *A Dictionary of Irish History Since 1800* (Dublin, Ireland: Gill & McMillan, 1980), 262.
[108] Peter Newman, *Companion to Irish History*, ix, 201.
[109] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 66-67;
Karen Margaret Steele, Women, *The Press and Politics During the Irish Revival*, 68-71.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] D. J. Hickey and J.E. Doherty, eds. *A Dictionary of Irish History Since 1800*, 262.
[113] Peter Newman, *Companion to Irish History: From the Submission of Tyrone to Partition 1603-1921*, 90.
[114] Ibid., 154.

counterpart, the IPP advocated an independent Ireland won through the creation of an Irish parliament. Throughout the early twentieth century, the Irish Parliamentary Party championed Home Rule. The IPP often opposed causes which threatened Home Rule, such as women's suffrage. John Redmond, who assumed leadership of the IPP following its split, had many clashes with suffragists.[115]

Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein reflected views he'd previously published in his newspaper the *United Irishmen*, in print from 1899 to 1906. Like the Irish Parliamentary Party, Sinn Fein championed the creation of an Irish Parliament, but went a step beyond. Sinn Fein desired that the current MPs from Ireland remove themselves from Westminster in protest, and create a parliament in Dublin. Sinn Fein prioritized Irishness over Englishness. Maire Butler, a contributor to the *United Irishmen* suggested their name, Gaelic for "ourselves alone" as a way to show the group's commitment to Irish self-sufficiency. Griffith and his fellow Sinn Feiners wanted to have an Ireland that had no ties to England—economically, socially, politically, or linguistically. To advance this goal, Griffith advocated the creation of a national economy based around goods produced in Ireland, and maintained that Catholicism should be the religion of the Irish people. He sponsored the Gaelic League and his paper contained a column written in Gaelic.[116]

Concerned with the plight of workers, James Connolly's group, the Irish Socialist Republican Party, though nationalist, had as its primary goal the establishment of a socialist republic in Ireland. To achieve that end, Connolly, along with fifteen others, formed the Irish Citizen Army and launched a failed uprising during Easter Week, 1916. Like Griffith, Connolly

[115] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 40; Numerous articles in the *Irish Citizen* discuss Redmond's clashes with suffragettes. The IPP split over Charles Stewart Parnell's affair with Kitty O'Shea.
[116] Margaret Ward*, Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 66-67; Karen Margaret Steele, *Women, The Press and Politics During the Irish Revival,* 68-71.

created a newspaper to publish his views. *The Workers' Republic* was in print sporadically from the early 1900s through the 1930s. In 1926, it was co-opted by the Irish Communist Party, which had ties to Moscow and from then on, it followed the party line as established in Russia.[117]

Irish Nationalist Women

Women were involved in Ireland's struggle for independence and like their suffragette counterparts, these nationalist women came from all social classes. Working class women, as well as women from the middle class, and even a few from the aristocracy, were involved in Ireland's quest for independence.[118] Irish women were barred from entering politics due to societal pressures and disenfranchisement. Many participated regardless, and women contributed by creating female-centric nationalist groups. The Ladies' Land League, one of the first groups to be formed was founded in 1881. It was created when the leaders of the Irish Land League approached a group of women and requested that they join them in creating The Irish Ladies' Land League.[119] Anna Parnell, the sister of Charles Stewart Parnell, was chosen, along with her sister Fanny, to lead them. Together they came to embrace the cause of Irish nationalism.[120]

Anna, Fanny and their brothers John Howard and Charles Stewart came from an impoverished family who were members of the Protestant Ascendency. The term Protestant Ascendency refers to the ruling class in Ireland, the Anglo-Irish who had come to power in the

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[117] Virginia Glandon, *Arthur Griffith and the Irish-Nationalist Press* (New York: P. Lang, 1985), 37; *Workers' Republic*, Dublin: 1888-1938. Housed in the Irish Political and Radical Newspapers Collection, the following microfilms were available; 13 Aug. 1898 - May 1903 (reel 22)29 May 1915 - 22 April 1916 (reel 25) 8 Oct. 1921 - 17 Nov. 1923 (reel 28)March - Dec. 1927, 12 May 1929 (reel 29)May - Aug. 1938 (reel 36), National Library of Ireland, http://www.nli.ie/en/NewspapersDetails.aspx?IndexNo=10289.

[118] Anne Matthew's book, *Renegades*, which deals extensively with the women involved in Ireland's nationalist movement, makes the claim that most of the women involved were middle-class housewives, looking for something to fill up their time. See Anne Matthews, *Renegades Irish Republican Women, 1900-1922*; Sinead McCoole's work includes biographical sketches of the women involved in the nationalist movement, which provide examples of the broad social spectrum encompassed by the movement. See Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*, *Irish Female Activists In The Revolutionary Years, 1900-1923,* 22, 129-215.

[119] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 4-5.

[120] Ibid., 5-7.

late 1600s as a result of the Penal Laws. The passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1839 conceded to Catholics the right to be elected to Parliament and diminished the Protestant influence in matters pertaining to the government of Ireland. Despite the lessening of their influence, the use of the term Protestant Ascendency persisted throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[121]

Anna associated the cause of women's rights with the Nationalist movement, identifying women with the oppressed Irish Catholic peasantry and desiring the liberation of both groups.[122] This identification resulted from the social and economic dependency of women on men that existed during this time. Women were not permitted to participate in politics and were denied the franchise. Unmarried women depended upon their families to provide them "yearly allowances" or stipends.[123] A position as a governess was the only acceptable occupation for an Ascendency woman, "but…that was a last resort for those without an inheritance."[124] Anna Parnell was as economically dependent upon her family as the Irish tenants were upon the British. John Howard Parnell provided Anna with her yearly allowance of £100, while Charles Stewart Parnell provided her with lodgings, in the form of the family home at Avondale, as well as continued economic aid.[125]

Anna Parnell joined the Irish Women's Franchise and Local Government Association, a group created by two Quakers, Anna and Thomas Hanselm. She quickly became dissatisfied with their goals, as she believed the IWFLG's aims were focused too closely on only

[121] Ibid.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Ibid., 6.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid., 7.

enfranchising middle-class women. Parnell turned to nationalism, now desiring "a total reform of Irish society and the breaking of the enforced economic and political link with Britain."[126]

These desires led to Anna Parnell's establishment of the Ladies' Land League that was in existence from January1881 to August 1882. The cause encapsulated all of Anna Parnell's own goals: freedom for Ireland and an active role for Irish women. Though the men did not have high expectations for the Ladies' Land League, the women involved took their roles very seriously. These women "directed the campaign and organized resistance on the ground."[127] The women of the Ladies' Land League were able to take on this active role because the men who subjugated them were absent, and they quickly proved themselves capable of adopting the strategies employed by the members of the male-dominated Land League.[128]

These tactics included protests, boycotts, and two specific measures designed to force recalcitrant landlords into surrendering the confiscated lands to the original tenants. Repossession was the first strategy, and it involved the evicted families taking up unlawful residence on the property from which they had been evicted. This action usually resulted in the arrest of the head of the household, though the family might remain behind.[129] Reinstatement was the second strategy and was similar to repossession in that both had the same goal of returning tenants to their lands. Reinstatement entailed a third party bringing the evicted family back to their land.[130]

Besides being involved in these protest activities, women attained leadership positions within the Ladies' Land League. Although women could join the National Land League if they

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[126] Ibid., 8.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid., 8, 34-35.
[129] Janet K. TeBrake, "Irish Peasant Women in Revolt: The Land League Years," Irish *Historical Studies* 28 (May, 1992): 66-80
[130] Ibid., 68.

were tenant farmers or widows of tenant farmers, they could not attain leadership positions. The Ladies' Land League was formed exclusively for women of all social classes. Many peasant women were not only able to join, but were able to lead the local branches. Middle-class women, like Anna and Franny Parnell, were involved. These leadership roles enabled women to become prominent members of their communities.[131]

By 1882, the success of the Irish Ladies' Land League proved to be its undoing, as both the government and the police reacted with hostility to these women who had stepped outside their prescribed roles. When the women were arrested, they faced a number of abuses. Often being kept in solitary confinement, they were treated as prostitutes rather than as political criminals. They were forbidden to even speak with fellow female prisoners during their allotted exercise period. This treatment was in stark contrast to the treatment of the male prisoners as the men could socialize and most were well fed. One prominent Irishman even continued to print the journal, *The United Ireland*, from within the walls of his prison. In spite of this oppression and the arrest of several prominent members, the Irish women continued their efforts. They passed out copies of *The United Ireland* despite the presses' closing and continued to build huts for evicted families. Anna Parnell continued to speak at political meetings.[132]

The male Land League members' views of the women were more difficult to ascertain. Margaret Ward, in *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, made the claim that Charles Parnell and the English government allied to stop the Ladies' Land League. Parnell and the English government entered into this alliance because The Ladies' Land League had ignored orders from the men to stop the no-rent policy. Ward argued that this was the basis for Parnell's signing of the

[131] Ibid., 71-74.
[132] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 27-28.

Kilmainham Treaty while he was in prison. This treaty simultaneously secured the passage of a land reform act and ensured the disbanding of the Ladies' Land League.[133]

Charles Stewart Parnell feared the women's successes, according to Ward, because the movement was shifting away from Home Rule and toward an independent nationalist movement. Parnell and the other founders of the Land League did intend to use the movement as a springboard for nationalism but Charles Stewart and the American Fenians' nationalist policies differed. The American Fenians desired the movement to ultimately result in the abandonment of Ireland by the English. Charles Parnell wanted, an "all-class movement to campaign for Home Rule."[134] His sister Anna desired "the creation of a movement which would unite the most disadvantaged sections of the population into a force which would eventually win independence through its own activity, not through an act of Parliament."[135]

By the late 1880s, Charles Stewart Parnell saw his plan failing—and the primary woman responsible was his own sister. Faced with this intolerable situation, Charles Stewart Parnell and the other male leaders determined to disband the Ladies' Land League, they claimed that the women were happy to see the League dissolved. The men asserted that the women only reluctantly continued to work while the issue was being decided but this was not the case. Many of the female members did not agree with this dissolution and attempted to persevere in spite of the opposition. The pressure proved too great and, in 1882, the Irish Ladies' Land League was formally dissolved.[136]

[133] Ibid., 9, 30-35.
[134] Ibid., 9.
[135] Ibid., 36.
[136] Ibid., 35.

The Kilmainham Jail Treaty and the role of the Ladies' Land League in its formation have become a point of contention for historians.[137] Ward claims that the dissolution of the Ladies' Land League was fundamental to the signing of the Kilmainham Treaty and this seems most likely in light of later events. When Parnell created the National League—another association that had as its goal Irish independence—he expressly barred female participation.[138] Parnell's attitude toward the women of the Ladies' Land League exposed the position of many male Irish Nationalists at this time. These men believed that women were only useful insofar as they were willing to abide by the dictates of the male leaders.

Following the disbanding of the Ladies' Land League, the women of Ireland turned to a new sort of nationalism: cultural nationalism.[139] This renewed interest in Ireland's culture differed from the older nationalist movement that sought only the attaining of a separate parliament. The renewed interest in Gaelic culture began as a means of fostering a national identity and a sense of pride among the Irish people. Literary societies were launched, as well as athletic associations that encouraged the creation and re-discovery of traditional modes of art and athletics. The societies themselves were not nationalist but their members often were. The Irish Republican Brotherhood's members were often involved with these other groups. Members of

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[137] While Ward made the claim that the treaty was made to stop the women, Peter Newman, author of *Companion to Irish History From the Submission of Tyrone to Partition 1603-1921*, argues that the treaty was signed in order to get the land reform passed and does not mention the impact of the Ladies' Land League.
Newman argues that Parnell merged his goals for land reform and Irish nationalism into the creation of the National League. He writes, "The Irish National League, a, revived form of the Land League but bringing together Home Rule issues, land reform, and industrial development, was Parnell's constituency organization."
Ward, however, argues that "Parnell was preparing a political deal between the Irish party and the Liberal political government and so he wanted to drop the land agitation question in order to concentrate on the constitutional issues, conducted not in Ireland but in the House of Commons." See Peter Newman, *Companion to Irish History: From the Submission of Tyrone to Partition 1603-1921* (Oxford, England: Facts on File Limited, 1991), 154 and Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*,36.
The two likewise disagree on the No-Rent Manifesto, with Newman maintaining that the idea was Parnell's—indeed that the document was "issued from his cell," and Ward maintaining that the women were ordered to cease and desist the no rent call. See Peter Newman, *Companion to Irish History,* 154 and Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 30.
[138] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 36.
[139] Ibid., 40-44.

the Celtic Literary Society studied Irish history and music in addition to literature and their members joined Sinn Fein after its inception. The success of the Ladies' Land League might have motivated the exclusion of women from these movements. Women were barred from participating in any political movements, including the Fenians—a different group from Sinn Fein—and the Irish Party.[140] The Fenians were linked to the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and advocated the use of force.[141]

This exclusion led to the formation of Inghinidhe Na hEireann, founded in 1900 by Maud Gonne. The "Daughters of Erin," which was the English translation of the Gaelic name, came about as a result of a move to host a Children's Treat. The Treat provided a nationalist activity for children and served as a counter-balance to the one hosted in honor of Queen Victoria's visit. The women formed a Ladies' Committee to oversee the event but quickly realized the need for a female-led organization that would allow them to have a role in the growing nationalist movement. While advocating for children remained a priority, Irish nationalism soon became the main focus, as evidenced by the founding of Inghinidhe Na hEireann.[142]

From the onset, the movement was nationalist in character, and its goals included, "the re-establishment of the independence of Ireland… [the] support and [popularization] of Irish manufacture… [the combating of] in every way [the] English influence, which was doing so much injury to the artistic taste and refinement of the Irish people."[143] In order to accomplish these and other goals, the Inghinidhe Na hEireann set up a fund, dubbed "the National Purposes

[140] Ibid., 40-42. The interest in Gaelic culture came about as Irish nationalists looked to other groups to take the place of the Irish Parliamentary Party, following the split which had occurred in 1890. The split resulted from a scandal involving Parnell, who was having an affair with a Kitty O'Shea, the wife of an army officer.
[141] Peter Newman, *Companion to Irish History: From the Submission of Tyrone to Partition 1603-1921*, 66.
[142] Ibid., 50-51
[143] Inghinidhe na hEireann (Daughters of Erin), Resolutions in *Bean na hEireann*, October 1910, 14, in *Irish Feminisms 1810-1930*, Mary S. Pierse ed. (London: Rutledge, 2010), 3: 320.

Fund."[144] This fund endeavored to promote Gaelic culture. Many of the women later joined Sinn Fein, and also participated in a number of protests, primarily against the British crown and its military recruitment program.[145]

The Inghinidhe Na hEireann would be dissolved in 1914, but the group did not simply disappear, instead it became absorbed by the Cumman Na mBan. Translated as "Women's Committee," it existed from 1914 to 1940. The Cumman Na mBan was formed to "'assist' the men in their fight for freedom."[146] This assistance culminated in the drafting of a letter by Cumman na mBan to the United States Congress. The letter demanded recognition of the Irish Free State. It pointed out that, Ireland, like America, had recognized the rights of its own women. This counted as another reason America should stand behind Ireland.[147] Despite these efforts, Cumman Na mBan continued to be marginalized, but this did not stop them from continuing their activities for a number of years. They existed until the 1940's and championed a variety of causes, including the rights of workers.[148]

Irish Women's Suffrage

In addition to the nationalist struggle, women were involved in other political and social reforms, the campaign for women's suffrage was one such movement. Women in England enjoyed the right to vote in local government elections, having won this right with the passage of two key bills. The Municipal Franchise Act was passed in 1869 and gave some women the right

[144] Ibid.
[145] Terence Denman, "'The Red Livery of Shame': The Campaign against Army Recruitment in Ireland, 1899-1914," *Irish Historical Studies* 29 (May, 1998): 212-214.
[146] Ibid., 88.
[147] "Cumman na mBan to the President of the United States, 1918," in *Irish Feminisms 1810-1930*, Mary S. Pierse ed. (London: Rutledge, 2010), 3: 379.
[148] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 199-248.

to vote in local elections. The County Council Act was passed in 1888, allowing women to vote on members of the county councils, but neither act granted these rights to Irish women.[149]

To rectify this situation, Thomas Hanselm and his wife Anna founded the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association in 1876. The IWSLGA campaigned for women's suffrage at the local and parliamentary level and remained small, with meetings often held in the homes of members. The activities were often confined to the drafting of letters and petitions and with the passage of the Irish Local Government Bill in 1898, the group achieved its first goal. The bill granted the local government franchise to women.[150] Women had yet to receive the parliamentary franchise and the IWSLGA remained active throughout the mid twentieth century.[151]

The feminists were likewise divided between the constitutionalists and the militants and divisions existed between those who were also nationalists and those who were not. Like their nationalist counterparts, many women involved in the suffrage movement came from the middle class. Louie Bennett and Helena Maloney made an active effort to involve working class women as well. The constitutionalists, much like the Irish Parliamentary Party, sought the vote for women via constitutional means. They wanted parliament to pass an amendment which would enfranchise women. Constitutionalists tended to avoid confrontation, and instead used petitions and letter writing to garner support. The militants pursued a more aggressive strategy. Like the constitutionalists, the militants desired the vote for women, but they engaged in breaking windows and participated in hunger strikes to force parliament to act. The feminists in Ireland were divided between those who were also nationalist and those who were feminists first. Many

[149] Katherine Williams, "Public Law and Women's Rights: The Nineteenth Century Experience," *Cambrian Law Review* 23: 94; Louise Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote: An Anthology of the Irish Citizen Newspaper, 1912-1920*, 7-8.
[150] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, A Social History of Women in Ireland, 12.
[151] Louise Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote*, 8.

constitutionalist suffragettes came into conflict with Irish nationalist feminists, who saw any collaboration with England as opposing Irish independence.

With the establishment of the Irish Women's Franchise League in 1908 by Hanna Sheehy Skeffington and Margaret Cousins, the Irish women's suffrage movement had risen to prominence, reflecting the growing changes within Ireland. In the early 1800s, women had limited access to higher education, but by 1908, women attended universities and received degrees. Despite this increase in educational benefits, women still found most jobs closed to them. Many of the women involved with the IWFL were young, educated, unemployed, and radicalized.[152]

The women of the IWFL used a strategy that was borrowed from the militant English suffrage movement. The IWFL women flouted convention and scorned traditionally feminine behavior. They practiced attention-grabbing tactics such as speaking in public, heckling politicians, and vandalizing property. Breaking windows seemed to be a particularly favorite tactic, but some women defaced golf greens and burned politicians' properties.[153] Their most famous strategy was the hunger strike and it gained notoriety in 1912 and 1913, following the passage of the Cat and Mouse Act. This Act "allow[ed] for the temporary discharge of hunger-strikers when their health was endangered, until they were fit enough to be recommitted to continue their sentence."[154] The Irish suffragettes borrowed the strategy of hunger striking from their English counterparts, as the English suffragettes launched many hunger strikes throughout 1913. Many suffragists who were arrested used this strategy as a way of emphasizing their status as political prisoners. While the English prisoners were forcibly fed, the outcry against the practice was so great in Ireland that it was only practiced for a short time, though forced feeding

[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid., 8; Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland*, 89-92.
[154] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland*, 94.

was a frequent topic in the *Irish Citizen*. The IWFL began in Dublin, but soon had branches throughout the country. These branches contributed weekly, then monthly, reports of their meetings to the *Irish Citizen*.[155]

The Irish Women's Suffrage Federation was the final group of note that existed during this period. Formed in 1911, it served as an umbrella organization for the other suffrage groups. By that point numerous smaller suffrage societies existed throughout Ireland and both the IWSF and the IWFL contributed extensively to the *Irish Citizen*.[156]

Irish Reformers

Women during this period were involved in a variety of reform movements. Louie Bennett, a frequent contributor to the *Irish Citizen*, prioritized the plight of working women in her writing and founded the Irish Women's Reform League to work on behalf of these women, and to ensure that they were included in the franchise. Bennett would later become secretary of the Irish Women's Workers' Union, a group created to unite the disparate Irish female workers who were often excluded from male dominated unions. After independence, Bennet became a senator, and spent the rest of her life championing Irish women, in particular those from the lower classes.[157]

[155] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland*, 90-95; Louise Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote*, 8, and various pieces in the *Irish Citizen*, Dublin, 1912-1920. For some examples, see the coverage of forced feeding in the following locations: *The Irish Citizen*, 3 May 1913, 396; *The Irish Citizen*, 8 November, 203; and *The Irish Citizen* 21 February 1914, 314.
[156] Ibid.
[157] Louise Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote*, 8.

Women's Education

Besides being involved in political and societal reform, many women during this period took an interest in education and they were more educated than women of previous generations. National schools became available throughout Ireland in 1831 but despite the availability of these schools, many Irish girls remained uneducated prior to the Famine. Their families kept them at home, viewing their assistance as more valuable than their education. Following the Famine, so many young Irish women emigrated that the pattern shifted. More girls than boys were being educated, to better prepare them for a life abroad. In addition, boys were now seen as needing less of an education and were now expected to remain at home to assist their families in managing their farms. [158]

Though many girls were kept at home prior to the Famine, those who did attend school experienced their education in gendered terms. This was not unique to Ireland. Often, they were only taught the basics of arithmetic and reading. The remainder of their classes focused on such homemaking skills as cooking and sewing. The schoolbooks used reinforced traditional gender roles. They reiterated that a girl's duty was to adhere to her assigned role through being appropriately demure, submissive and contented. Boys were given more advanced classes and were offered training in a variety of skills which would prepare them for employment.[159] Gender roles were not the only roles reinforced in these schools, as notions of class were present, and many of the books used by the children perpetuated the view that poverty was caused by

[158] Rosemary Cullen Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland, 1870-1970,* 22-24. Despite attempts to make them nondenominational, most nationalist schools were either staunchly Catholic or staunchly Protestant, a holdover from the eighteenth century, where education was used as a means of conversion and strengthening religious beliefs.
[159] Ibid.

laziness. Poor women were seen as uncouth and unsociable while middle class women were portrayed as thrifty and creative.[160]

Both teachers and the curriculum helped enforce stereotypes and these factors perpetuated the class and gender biases of Irish society. Nuns emphasized a woman's proper place, and established separate schools for children based upon their class. Historian Rosemary Cullen-Owens asserts that curricula, too, varied. She notes, "In some convent schools, middle-class girls…were taught French or music, while some schools operated a separate school on Sunday for servant girls and those from laboring families, confined to basic reading, writing, and religious instruction."[161] The female teachers who came to dominate in the national schools reinforced traditional gender roles. They were employed primarily to instruct "girls and infants."[162] Teaching as a career for women became a mixed blessing, but while it provided a steady income, it did so by demanding "an unquestioning acceptance of an authoritarian and patriarchal structure."[163]

Secondary and post-secondary educations were not readily available to girls. The concern expressed over girls' suitability for primary education was incorporated into arguments concerning girls in higher education. The class biases continued at this level. Owens states that, "Boarding schools for girls in Ireland generally were the preserve of wealthy parents and were run by branches of European religious orders much influenced by French convent tradition."[164]

These schools served to inculcate the separate spheres theory so popular during this era. Various groups founded paid schools that were nearly identical to the boarding schools. Children from lower middle-class families would attend these schools and receive the same education as

[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid., 26.
[162] Ibid., 27.
[163] Ibid., 28.
[164] Ibid., 29.

their peers in the boarding schools.[165] In some cases, both the lower-class girls and the middle-class girls would attend school "in the same building, catering for the same age range—the only difference based on fees or free."[166]

The passage of the Intermediate Education Act provided "a clear model of secondary education."[167] This Act helped to bring about greater opportunities for women in secondary education by allowing girls to take examinations in a variety of subjects. Through the actions of notable Irish women like Isabella Todd and several English supporters, along with the positive results from the examinations, the public eventually came to endorse higher education for girls.[168] The passing of the Royal Universities Act in 1879 enabled girls to qualify for its "degrees and scholarships."[169] With this provision came a greater push for women's access to higher education. Several new women's colleges were created and those that existed already were strengthened. With the passage of both these Acts, Irish approval of women's participation in higher education was slowly building.

These changes did not eliminate all barriers. Women who pursued higher education were closely scrutinized and held to a more rigorous standard than their male peers. Female students were expected to be more moral than their male counterparts. Victorians viewed men as inherently more sexual than women with this stereotype manifesting in fears that female students would unintentionally corrupt their male classmates. The men would be unable to resist because of their natures.[170]

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[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Ibid., 36

Middle-class women, in particular, benefited from access to higher education and poorer women benefited from primary education. The benefits to both groups were not what might be expected. The end result was not to be the creation of a "modern woman," but rather a woman more suited to her traditional role of wife and mother.[171]

Independence and After

Throughout the mid-1900s, women were actively involved in the various political struggles occurring in Ireland. This involvement came about as a result of a number of Acts that allowed them to participate in the government. In 1918, Parliament passed the Representation of the People Act, granting the franchise to women over thirty, women who had university degrees, women who met the property qualifications, or married women whose husbands met the above requirements.[172] The franchise was extended to all women in 1922, with the ratification of the Irish Constitution. That Constitution echoed sentiments found in the 1916 Proclamation.[173] The 1919 Sex Disqualification Act, claimed that men and women had equal rights and responsibilities as citizens of Ireland.[174] Women continued to participate in politics throughout the turbulent years of the Irish Civil War. From 1921 through 1923, Republican women served as judges and were elected to leadership positions within political parties.

These gains soon faded and throughout the 1920s, attempts were made to restrict women's involvement in public life.[175] The primary example of attempts to limit women's employment in the 1920s was the Civil Service Regulation Bill, brought before both the Dail and

[171] Ibid., 29-40. This goal became particularly pronounced once Ireland had its independence, and its emphasis on its Catholic heritage became more prominent.
[172] Sir Hugh Fraser, LL. D., "The Representation of The People Act (1918)," (London, England Sweet and Maxwell, Limited, 1918), accessed May 25, 2017. https://archive.org/stream/representationof00frasrich/representationof00frasrich_djvu.txt.
[173] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland*, 252.
[174] Ibid., 253.
[175] Ibid., 253-256.

the Seanad in 1925. It was defeated, in large part due to the protests of various influential women, among them Jenny Wyse Power and Eileen Costello. The Juries' Bill, first brought up in 1927, attempted to bar women from jury service. Because of the protest of women's groups, an amendment was eventually added that required women who wished to participate in jury duty to volunteer.[176] Cullen-Owens notes that, "In this form, the bill became law, and remained in force until 1976."[177]

By the 1930s, the Irish government was even more strongly committed to removing women from the public sphere. Allying themselves with the Catholic Church, these politicians sought to present a version of Ireland that adhered to traditional views of women's place within both the family and society.[178] In 1934, the Criminal Law Amendment Bill was passed, banning contraception.[179] Debates about the ban ensued, but according to Cullen-Owens, "Notwithstanding Senate attempts, the ban on contraception was retained in the government bill. The criminal Law (Amendment) Bill became law in February 1935."[180] The Conditions of Employment Bill, passed in 1936, was another way that politicians sought to limit women's employment. This bill enabled employers in the civil service industry to discriminate in their hiring practices.[181] The restrictions placed upon women culminated in the adoption of a new constitution by the Irish government in 1937.[182] This constitution contained numerous articles

[176] Ibid., 252.
[177] Ibid., 256.
[178] Breda Gray and Louise Ryan, "The Politics of Irish Identity and the Interconnections between Feminism, Nationhood, and Colonialism," 127-129.
[179] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland*, 260-263.
[180] Ibid., 263.
[181] Ibid., 206-209.
[182] Breda Gray and Louise Ryan, "The Politics of Irish Identity and the Interconnections between Feminism, Nationhood, and Colonialism," 127-129.

that cemented women's roles as wives and mothers, effectively barring them from any activities that might bring them into the public sphere.[183]

The Newspapers

Ireland underwent a great many political and social changes from 1900 to 1920. These changes were brought about by women as well as men and these individuals formed diverse groups that sometimes cooperated and sometimes conflicted with each other. This diversity in ideology and methods was reflected in the Irish press as well. Irish newspapers varied according to the causes they endorsed. Almost all political factions had their own newspaper many of which were based in Dublin. Sinn Fein had the *United Irishmen* which was later renamed *Sinn Fein*. Connolly had the *Workers' Republic*. The Irish Parliamentary Party had the *Freeman's Journal* and other papers. Both Catholics and Protestants had their own papers, likewise based in Dublin. The main women's paper of the period was the *Irish Citizen.* Two others, *Bean Na hEireann,* which was printed in Dublin, and *Shan Van Vocht*, printed in Belfast, had existed previous to the *Citizen*, but neither was as radical. Ireland had a thriving provincial press and several smaller women's journals existed as well. Every town had a local newspaper, as did numerous social political and religious associations. In total, there were upwards of three hundred newspapers published in Ireland between 1900 and 1922.[184]

The newspapers not only reflected the beliefs of their editors and contributors, but they reinforced commonly held opinions and stereotypes as well. The three newspapers investigated by this dissertation all portrayed women in specific ways that either reflected the overall view of

[183] Ibid.
[184] Appendix in Virginia Glanden's "Arthur Griffith," 256-304.

society, or was an attempt to subvert that view. The paper's stance on women often reflected its position on other issues as well.

The *Irish Times* epitomized the traditional view of women. It presented them as either the pure middle or upper-class housewife and mother or the often single and dissolute lower-class woman. Though ambivalent toward women's suffrage and the "New Woman," the paper had an implicit bias against both. This attitude was likewise reflected in their discussion of Irish nationalist women. The paper maintained an Anglo-centric focus, and as a counterpart to the *London Times*, the *Irish Times* continues to remain in print, though its structure has changed over time. It was and remains a daily paper, with a varying page length of eight to twelve pages. It cost one penny, and was circulated throughout Ireland and the other British Isles.[185]

The layout of the paper varied across the twenty-year span, so that the pattern described below was not always true for any particular edition of the paper. Despite this, the following descriptions represented patterns that generally applied. The first two pages were devoted to advertisements. This could be a sales tactic, requiring anyone interested in the remainder of the newspaper to purchase it. It could be a way of attracting attention, by showcasing ads for well-known stores on the first page. The first page contained a grouping of miscellaneous ads, along with birth, death, and marriage announcements.[186] The second page of the paper contained a help wanted section. By 1909, it had expanded to incorporate the third page. These ads were grouped according to category, and included a variety of jobs. The third or fourth pages contained the "Sporting News." The sixth page covered various topics, with the "Market Reports" appearing on either the sixth or seventh pages when the issue contained eight pages, or the tenth page in a

[185] Ibid., 275.
[186] *Irish Times*, 1900-1920, Dublin Ireland.

twelve-page edition.[187] The seventh page likewise generally contained the "Money and Commerce" column, though this sometimes appeared on other pages of the paper.[188] In an eight-page edition, the seventh page also contained advertisements as did the final page of the paper. These were likewise grouped by category, and tended to revolve around properties for sale or lease, and animals for sale. In a ten-page edition, which was most common, the seventh and eighth pages housed the "Letters to the Editor" and contained writings on different topics with the ninth and tenth pages devoted to ads.[189] On Saturday, the paper sometimes included twelve pages, but the layout was generally the same as that described above, and the extra pages were made up of ads, book reviews, and miscellaneous features. Other advertisements were displayed on different pages throughout each issue. The ads scattered throughout the paper tended to be remedies for various ills, or ads for different plays or other forms of entertainment.[190]

In the *Irish Times*, the topics pertaining directly to women were few and reflected the adherence to the model women common to Victorian and Edwardian society. These women were seen in the ads for goods and services and the notices pertaining to specific charitable groups. Before 1906, references to women's suffrage occurred only in the ads. These ads were for meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union and other suffrage groups.[191] The word suffragette first appeared in 1906, and by 1909, reports were circulating concerning the English militant suffragettes.[192] These condemnatory reports continued throughout the period. Social issues pertaining to women were rarely discussed in the *Times*. Crimes against women were

[187] Ibid.
[188] During 1907, this column was superseded by the "Financial News." This report was found on the seventh, ninth, tenth or eleventh pages generally.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] *Irish Times,* April 14, 1900, 9, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1900/0414/Pg009.html. Accessed 3/6/2017.
[192] For an example, see, *Irish Times*, January 1, 1909, 4, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1909/0101/Pg004.html. Accessed 3/6/2017.

reported but few editorial comments were made on the nature of the crimes or the light sentences that were sometimes imposed.[193]

Women in the *Irish Times* were underrepresented. Aside from the advertisements, and a few letters in the correspondence section, only two columns existed that focused on women. Both columns concerned fashion and the lives of the aristocracy. Letters by women were published sparingly, and tended to reflect the gendered norms seen elsewhere in the paper. The *Irish Times*, when it saw women at all, saw them only as consumers, reformers, or troublemakers.[194]

The second newspaper, *Bean Na hEireann,* portrayed the ideal woman as an Irish nationalist first and the dissolute woman as a woman supporting anything other than Irish nationalism. *Bean Na hEireann* circulated from 1908 to 1911, it cost one penny, and it was distributed in Dublin and elsewhere in Ireland. Its purpose was to reach out to rural women and give them a sense of community. The creators of the paper wanted it to address social issues of the day, and "to create a moral force movement within Ireland."[195] Released weekly, each issue was eight pages long. The paper was in print sporadically throughout its run, as it often disappeared for weeks at a time due to a lack of funding. Because it styled itself as a women's paper, it included items deemed important to women. Housekeeping, gardening and fashion tips were some examples.[196]

By December of 1910, the newspaper was sixteen pages in length, and now circulated monthly. Its layout, similar to the *Irish Times*, devoted the first two and final two pages to

[193] For an example, see *Irish Times,* December 2, 1902, 3, http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1902/1202/Pg003.html. Accessed 3/6/2017.
[194] *Irish Times*, 1900-1920. These results were the summation of a sampling of the first week of the January, August and December issues from the following years: 1900, 1902, 1903-1906, 1909, 1910, 1912, 1914, 1916, 1918-1920.
[195] Ibid., 266; Brittany Columbus, "Bean na h-Éireann: Feminism and Nationalism in an Irish Journal, 1908-1911,".
[196] Brittany Columbus, "Bean na h-Éireann: Feminism and Nationalism in an Irish Journal, 1908-1911."

advertisements. The third and fourth pages contained short stories and poetry, while the fifth and sixth pages were occupied by an editorial. The seventh page included the conclusion to an editorial, a poem, and a piece in Gaelic, while page eight contained editorial notes. These were brief summations of a variety of events occurring throughout Ireland and elsewhere. Pages nine and ten were dedicated to the coverage of miscellaneous topics, such as a column published in in December on the Fianna Na Eireann, an Irish boy scout like organization, and its Belfast branch. Opinions on nationalist issues filled pages eleven through fourteen. The final two pages, fifteen and sixteen, contained the remainder of the ads for the newspaper.[197]

The final paper under consideration, the *Irish Citizen*, maintained that the ideal woman was an Irish suffragette and the reprobate woman was anyone who was willing to compromise on the suffrage issue. The papers' founders Mary and James Cousins, and Hanna and Frank Sheehy-Skeffington, were members of the Irish Women's Franchise League. The IWFL was a radical wing of the women's suffrage movement and the editors wanted to create a newspaper that would serve as a vehicle for the movement. They needed their own paper for two important reasons. The mainstream press was largely hostile to the militant suffragettes. They tended to avoid reporting any of their activities. Because of this refusal, the IWFL needed their own platform to promote their message and propaganda. Out of these two needs, the *Irish Citizen* was born. First published in 1912, it would remain in print until 1920, when a variety of factors led to the cessation of the paper. Chief among these were the passage of the Representation of the People Act in 1918. This Act granted married women over thirty who met the property qualification the right to vote. The unstable political climate within Ireland itself also

[197] *Bean Na hEireann*, 1908-1911, O'Hegarty G15, Spencer Library (Special Collections), University of Kansas.

contributed. The instability resulted in the destruction of the *Irish Citizen* printing offices by the Black and Tans, a violent British paramilitary force, in October 1920.[198]

The *Irish Citizen* began publication on May 25, 1912. It circulated throughout Ireland, the other British Isles, and the U.S.[199] The paper was eight pages long, and came out every week. By the time publication ceased in 1920, it had become a monthly, with each issue costing one penny. Each edition of *The Irish Citizen* contained between twenty-five to twenty-seven articles of varying lengths, grouped into sections. The Current Comment section dealt with general suffrage activities, current events, treatment of prisoners, or anti suffrage reactions from leading figures. This report occupied the first two pages of the newspaper.[200]

The second through the sixth pages contained different features, some as part of a series. The seventh page held the report of the activities of different women's suffrage groups. The eighth page contained correspondences and a report of events in Britain and abroad and advertisements. Recurring columns, the Current Comment, Reports Of Suffrage Activities Within Ireland, Correspondences and Report of British and Foreign Affairs appeared consistently in each issue. By 1914, the eighth page had become the location of the Franchise Tea ad. This ad replaced the correspondences section and the section containing reports from outside Ireland. From 1914 on, the eighth page was the home of the various advertisements which appeared within the paper, though other ads appeared on other pages. [201]

A host of topics were covered within the confines of the paper, ranging from reports on political matters to a brief debate over a piece on housekeeping. Opinion pieces and the correspondence section were the most varied. Those two categories comprised the bulk of the

[198] Louise Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote*, 9-13.
[199] Appendix in Virginia Glanden's "Arthur Griffith," 271.
[200] *Irish Citizen*, 1912-1920, Dublin, Ireland.
[201] Ibid.

sources pulled from within the paper. Of particular interest were the writings on Irish nationalism, the intersection between nationalism and suffrage, and social and moral issues.

Conclusion

The period from 1900 to 1937 was one of tremendous change throughout Ireland. The nationalist movement and the women's movement both gained in influence during this period and there was a growing interest in the rights of workers. Gaelic culture and literature became more popular due to the growing nationalist sentiments. The Easter Rising of 1916 culminated in the War for Independence from 1918 to 1921. The limited enfranchisement of women also occurred in 1918. Both feminists and nationalists profoundly impacted Irish society during this period.

The experiences of diverse social groups were reflected in the mainstream and independent press. Both the nationalists and the feminists had their own presses, as did the unionist movement. The writings in these papers were influenced by the conscious and unconscious biases of their editors and contributors. An examination of two women's papers, *Bean Na hEireann* and *The Irish Citizen*, and the unionist paper, The *Irish Times* reveals how women were seen in Victorian and Edwardian Irish society.

The *Irish Times* served as a counterpoint to both the *Irish Citizen* and *Bean Na hEireann*. As one of the more mainstream papers in existence during this time, the *Irish Times* illustrated a more traditional view of women. It portrayed them in dichotomous terms, contrasting the model housewife and mother with the degenerate criminal, suffragette, or nationalist woman. The paper reflected the views of its audience who were primarily composed of middle and upper-class

Protestants. This allowed for a comparison of Ireland's ruling social class with radical feminists and nationalists, whose opinions were found in the other two papers.

Bean Na hEireann presented the views of its female editor and contributors who were allied with radical Irish nationalism. The paper provided a useful point of comparison between itself and the other two papers examined in this study. Despite being a women's paper, it dealt with nationalist issues as well and endorsed groups that the other two papers did not. *Bean Na hEireann* reflected the ways women sought to portray themselves in a paper that was more nationalist than feminist.

The *Irish Citizen* served as the organ of the women's suffrage movement. It provided a counterpoint to the views expressed in *Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Times*. The *Citizen*'s discussion of militant and non-militant suffrage tactics illustrated the priority of suffrage itself to the paper. Women might adopt whichever stratagies they chose. It was support of suffrage that made a woman respectable or reprobate and her tactics rarely factored into the designation. The *Citizen* included discussions of nationalism and World War I and these issues were framed as competing with suffrage. A model woman called for the enfranchisement of women above other causes whereas a dissolute woman participated in the war effort, thereby aiding the oppressive male government during war time. According to the *Irish* Citizen, this was done out of a misguided sense of patriotism. The *Irish Citizen* was valuable as a means of examining the ways in which women deliberately represented themselves within the context of several issues.

CHAPTER II

SERVANTS AND SUFFRAGETTES, NOBLEWOMEN AND NATIONALISTS: THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE *IRISH TIMES*

This chapter examines the representation of women within the *Irish Times* by analyzing pieces printed from 1909 to 1916. The *Irish Times,* though not a women's paper per se, had a desire to showcase their version of the ideal woman. This was accomplished by presenting two contrasting archetypes, the virtuous woman and the dissolute woman.[202] Both were rendered in the paper in a variety of ways, ranging from advertisements to trial reports. These paradigms were grounded in gender and class stereotypes and they reinforced those archetypes.

[202] The dual model has received limited scholarly attention. The focus has been on the ways that women adhered to or subverted this duality. Discussions of the creation of the contradiction were limited. For a more comprehensive discussion of this, see the following books and the Introduction to this dissertation.
Frances Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of the Magdalene Asylums in Ireland*;
Rosemary Cullen Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland,*
Maria Luddy, *Women Surviving*;
Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism*;
Kathleen Steele, *Women, the Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival;*
Louise Ryan, *Gender, Identity, and the Irish Press, 1922-1937: Embodying the Nation;*
Anna Clark, *The Struggle For The Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class.*

Women of all classes were thought to be careful consumers, concerned about everything from health to their appearance, as shown in the ads. The want ads for servants outlined the class biases held by both the employers and the employed. They revealed a preoccupation among potential employers with supposed deficits in hygiene, intelligence and poor sleeping habits. The religious biases were less clear and when religion was mentioned, which was not often, Protestantism was the dominant sect by far. The very presence of the specific ads indicated at least the possibility of an anti-Catholic bias on the part of some employers and employees.

Women were not featured only in advertisements, they appeared in requests made by charitable organizations, and they were involved in the nursing profession. World War I played an influential role in both areas. The war heightened the need for charitable groups, activities directed toward the soldiers and the fighting called for a greater number of nurses. The paper portrayed nursing as a patriotic duty. Items highlighted the nursing profession as yet another way for women to serve their country.

There were many faces to the dissolute woman as reflected in the *Irish Times*. She was found in the coverage of court cases and reports addressing both the suffrage movement and the nationalist movement. The court cases showed a similar class bias to that found in the ads for domestic servants. The women involved in these cases were often poor, and their lower-class status both informed their crimes and influenced the way in which they were treated in the press. Lower class reprobate women were found in reports of court cases involving alcohol, theft, or child abuse. Women of the suffrage movement came from all social classes. The majority tended to be middle class, particularly those involved in organizing the movement. The newspaper took no notice of

this, omitting any discussion of class from its commentary on suffrage. This did not mean the paper portrayed suffragettes in a positive light, essays ridiculed both suffragettes and the women's suffrage movement, and the paper featured only the most militant among them. The *Irish Times* rarely discussed Irish suffragettes. It was not clear if this was the result of the Anglo-centric bias of the editors, or a desire to ignore what was happening around them. The discussion of English militancy provided enough material that conclusions could be drawn about the paper's stance on women's suffrage and suffragettes. The lack of coverage of Irish issues was in itself educational and depicted the inherent Anglocentric bias of the editors and contributors. The coverage of the Easter Rising and its female participants demonstrated both the paper's attitude toward nationalism and its attitude toward radical women. There was no class bias in these descriptions. The tension was between unionism—which the paper endorsed—and nationalism—which it condemned. By focusing on the female participants of the Rising, and holding them up as stand-ins for all the rebels, the paper was making a statement about the detrimental effects of Irish nationalism on Irish women. Features on suffrage and nationalism demonstrated the paper's condemnation of these women. It categorized them as reprobate by condemning their involvement in those causes. Both movements took them outside the home. Women involved in these causes committed crimes as well. Window smashing, arson, and destruction of letters by vandalizing mailboxes, were most common.

The representation of the "New Woman" figure in the pages of the *Irish Times* confirms the dichotomy discussed throughout this chapter. This archetype appeared extensively from 1894 to 1908, and these references took the form of advertisements for

and reviews of satirical plays, a report of a contest in a men's magazine, and lectures given by men.[203] This figure was presented as a single, employed woman, who was involved in activities outside the home. After 1908, the term had disappeared from the pages of the *Irish Times*.[204] Its legacy lived on in the newspaper's treatment of suffragettes.

Women in the *Irish Times* were seldom treated as individuals, and when they were, that only occurred once certain conditions were met. Notorious figures, like Countess De Markievicz, or specific female criminals, were mentioned by name and received individual coverage. More commonly, women were discussed in groups, they were seen as consumers, or as sources of entertainment or aggravation. The latter two categories were particularly apparent in the portrayal of suffragettes in the paper. Women's issues were not discussed at all, barring a few features that dealt with the Women's National Health Association. Nationalist women were mentioned in a few columns describing the immediate aftermath of the Easter Rising. These women were

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[203] "The 'New Woman' At The Comedy," *Irish Times,* September 3, 1894,6, accessed May 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1894/0903/Pg006.html;
"Derby and Rahoe Diocesan Synod," *Irish Times*, October 24, 1894, 6, accessed May 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/news paper/archive/1894/1024/Pg006.html;
"Public Amusements, Madame Butterfly and Miss Hobbs," *Irish Times*, February 26, 1901, accessed May 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1901/0226/Pg017.html;
"Coming Events," *Irish Times*, December 4, 1906, 6, accessed May 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1906/1204/Pg006.html.
The final use of the term appears in the following ad. See York Literary Society, "A Lecture Will Be Delivered This Evening At York Street Congregational Church By Rev. M. F. Bovexizer On The New Woman," *Irish Times* October 5, 1908, 4, accessed May 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1908/1005/Pg004.html. A related term, the "bachelor girl," is discussed in "No Title," *Irish Times* January 24, 1910, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0124/Pg006.htm. This article ultimately reaffirms the paper's support of the Victorian model woman, while offering cautious affirmation of some independence for women, in order to prevent the creation of "a nation of blue stockings."

[204] Scholars of the "New Woman" in fiction have noted that its departure occurred toward the end of the 1890s. As in other areas, here, too, Ireland seemed slow to catch up. For a discussion of the rise and fall of the "New Woman," see, Clare Mendes, "The New Woman," *The Oxford Bibliographies* March 2, 2011. DOI:10.1093/OBO/9780199799558-0045.

singled out as aberrations, meant to be compared with their more favorable sisters who served as nurses both at home and abroad.

The *Irish Times* shared one similarity with the *Irish Citizen* and *Bean Na hEireann*. All three papers embraced the Victorian view that the ideal woman was chaste and a morally superior wife and mother, but there the similarities ended. The *Irish Citizen* subscribed to one type of ideal womanhood, only affirming the traits of the prototypical Irish suffragette. *Bean Na hEireann* promoted the traits of the ideal woman and condemned the traits of the dissolute woman. These characteristics were filtered through the lens of Irish nationalism. *Bean Na hEireann* claimed that the perfect woman backed Irish nationalism, but her counterpart, the degenerate woman, opposed nationalism and was loyal to other causes, in particular women's suffrage. The *Irish Times* explicitly represented both the ideal woman, who matched Victorian ideas about proper feminine behavior, and the dissolute women, those who did not meet those standards. Both *Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Citizen* only implicitly mentioned degenerate women.

The *Irish Times*'s coverage of women's issues illustrated an interesting dichotomy. The virtuous woman was juxtaposed against the reprobate woman. The honorable woman had servants, she was wealthy or middle class, though a member of the aristocracy seemed preferred. She was involved in charity works, and she stayed out of politics. In stark contrast, the dishonorable woman was often poor, and involved in crime, or at the very least was involved with suffrage and nationalism. This dichotomy was apparent throughout the newspaper and it appeared in every section, from the advertisements to the reporting of court cases.

Women as Consumers

The samples discussed below revealed how the *Irish Time*s depicted the ideal woman within their advertisements. They also served to target a specific audience, those women who saw themselves as conforming to the Victorian and Edwardian stereotype of the ideal woman. Such a person was a good consumer who prioritized the needs of her household. She was thrifty and health conscious. Though she was concerned with her appearance, the model woman could also engage in athletic pursuits, provided her athleticism did not hamper her attractiveness. She used home remedies, and advised others to do so, and these remedies were seen as more effective than those prescribed by doctors. The virtuous woman who employed servants often expressed concerns over their qualifications, she only sought out those with exemplary characteristics. This sometimes included a concern over the servants' religious beliefs. A member of the lower class could be an ideal woman, and such a woman often found work as a domestic servant. Domestic service was a career choice that permitted her to use her intelligence. A commendable domestic was tidy, hard-working avoided excess, was experienced and willing to learn. Though a religious preference was not normally specified, when it was, Protestant seemed to be the preferred denomination.

The first two to three pages of the paper, and the final two, were taken up entirely with advertisements. More were scattered throughout the remaining pages of the publication, creating a newspaper that was almost primarily composed of advertisements. In order to remain in print, the paper relied upon subscriptions and advertisements, making the sheer volume of advertisements less surprising. A brief overview of the types of ads presented within the parameters defined above enables a consideration of how

women were typified as consumers. The following list embodied a portion of the ads found in the first page of the January 1st, 1910 issue of the *Irish Times*. Besides miscellaneous ads for goods for sale, a sampling of the ads included the following: "Hely's Limited Manufactured Stationers," "Lemon and Co LTD"—a confectionary—"Trinidad Coca Shells," "W. Curtis and Sons"—a store which specialized in a variety of lamps—and "Miller and Beaty Irish Manufactured Furniture."[205] Other ads of note were "Manor Mill Laundry," "The Universal Furnishing Company," "Phoenix Laundry," and ads for clothing and tailoring such as "J.H. Webb and Co. LTD School Outfitters" and "James Reilly and Sons Tailors."[206] Other ads included listings for general stores, such as the ad for the "Anderson Standford and Ridgeway Company," ads for auto shops, like "John Colclough and Sons," and ads for silverware like "Lewis and Company."[207] There were furniture makers, like "Miller and Beaty" and "The Universal Furnishing Company." There were sellers of beverages—tea and wine were most popular—such as "Beawley, Sons and Company, Teas, Coffees, Wines and Whiskeys," "Kelly Brothers' Wines for Invalids" and "McGarty and Sons Limited, Wholesale Tea and Wine." Finally, there were numerous restaurants, hotels, spas, lending services, butchers, tailors, plumbers and coal sellers, who offered their services.[208]

Various conclusions may be drawn from the above ads. The *Irish Times* was aware of the spending habits of its readers, who consumed a variety of goods. One could infer that the readers of these ads were women since they were the primary procurers of goods for their families. Most of the ads that spoke to a specific audience targeted women

[205] Ads, *Irish Times*, January 1, 1910, 1, accessed January 06, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0101/Pg001.html.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.

and children, though a few, like ads for tobacco, alcohol, and suits, however, were aimed at men.[209] These conclusions can be drawn with confidence due to the consistency of the ads. The same ads appeared both before and after the period under consideration in this study. The businesses soon became staples of the community, they were expected to be there, providing their goods and services. The ads appeared in roughly the same order, in roughly the same location on the page. This enabled a harried shopper to quickly and easily locate the ad in question. That person could see which services or specials were highlighted in that week's ad. [210] Due to the consistency of the advertisement section, commentary will be limited to the list of ads included above, though some were drawn from later in the paper's printing run.

The ads for the three main laundry services, "Dunlop's," "Manor Mill," and "Phoenix," typified how advertisers appealed to women. These ads all emphasized their ability to clean garments, but their approach differed. "Manor Mill Laundry" attracted customers by stating, "If you value health, comfort, and economy, and appreciate good work, send your linens to Manor Mill Laundry."[211] This ad portrayed potential customers as health-conscious, thrifty, and concerned about their family's comfort. The "Phoenix Laundry" emphasized the type of items washed and required only a demand for "perfection" from customers. The ad ran, "If you want perfection in the finish of your curtains, quilts, cretonnes, counterpanes and similar articles, you would be well advised

[209] Ibid.
[210] A careful reading of the following issues, January, August and December, 1910, 1912, 1914 and 1916, bore out the above conclusions. In order to avoid belaboring the point, then, for the most part commentary would be limited to the list of ads included above, with some being drawn from later in the paper's printing run.
[211] "The Manor Mill Laundry," *Irish Times*, January 1, 1910, 1, accessed January 09, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0101/Pg001.html.

to go to the Phoenix Laundry."[212] Using the term "perfection" presupposed that concerns over the "health…comfort…and economy" of the services were assumed rather than specified.[213] "Dunlop's Laundry" was one of the companies that expressly mentioned women in its ads. "Dunlop's" advertised the cleaning of "women's and misses' gowns" as well as offering cleaning and dyeing services.[214] By the January 3rd issue, "Dunlop's Laundry" had gone from focusing on laundering clothes to focusing on dyeing them. Similar to the "Phoenix Hill Laundry," "Dunlop's" emphasized thrift while catering to female patrons. The December ad ran as follows, "Save money! Don't buy new clothes. Send your old ones to us. They'll be cleaned or dyed like new."[215] For the patrons of "Dunlop's", the emphasis was on thrift and the quality of the results. Through washing, dyeing, or re-dyeing, a customer could save money and still look fashionable.

Ads for home remedies were also popular, and mainly appealed to women, as evidenced by their presentation. They contained personal stories of women or children who were suffering from a variety of ailments. These afflictions were supposedly cured by the remedies being advertised. An ad for Cuticura Soap placed in the July 15, 1910 issue used an especially dramatic illustration. The ad presented the scenario of a baby who nearly died from eczema. The headline read, "Expected Baby To Die With Skin

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[212] "Phoenix Laundry Ad," *Irish Times* January 1, 1910, 1, accessed January 09, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0101/Pg001.html.
[213] "The Manor Mill Laundry," *Irish Times*, January 1, 1910, 1, accessed January 09, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0101/Pg001.html. Accessed 1/9/2017.; "Phoenix Laundry Ad," *Irish Times* January 1, 1910, 1, accessed January 09, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0101/Pg001.html.
[214] "Dunlop's Laundry Ad," *Irish Times,* January 1, 1910, 1, accessed January 09, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0101/Pg001.html.; "Dunlop's Dyeworks Ad, *Irish Times,* "January 3 1910, 1, accessed January 09, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0103/pg001.html; "Dunlop's Dyeworks Ad," *Irish Times,* December 7 1910, 1, accessed January 09, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/1207/Pg001.html.
[215] "Dunlop's Dyeworks Ad," *Irish Times*, December 7 1910, 1, accessed January 09, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/1207/Pg001.html.

Disease."[216] The ad was presented as an informative story written from the point of view of the mother. It ran in part, "I use Cuticura's Soap regularly for my baby's skin. She had the eczema when she was three months old.... We sat with her night and day for about a month, expecting any minute to see her die."[217] After this harrowing statement, the author went on to explain that even the doctors were of no help. The solution came from the woman's mother, who, "was home from America and…told me to try Cuticura Ointment, and to wash her with Cuticura Soap."[218] The woman followed the advice and her baby recovered. She recovered so well in fact that the mother claimed, "She has the purest skin and is the fattest baby now! She is a miracle, the doctor declares."[219] The woman, who signed herself as Mrs. John Eirean, gave Scotland as her country, and the date listed was 1909. Though this ad was presumably aimed at Irish women, the author was Scottish. Another ad for Cuticura Soaps and Ointments featured a nurse. It favored dramatic language and emphasized doctors' incompetence. The prescription of a different remedy than the one given by the doctor saved the day. The ad ran as follows, "I suffered great pain [in] my leg and arm…I saw a doctor, but did not derive any benefit. After that, I went to another, with the same result. Then I tried Cuticura Ointment which I washed off with a strong lather of Cuticura Soap."[220] It took "a few weeks," but within that time the cure was effective.[221] The nurse reported, "It gradually disappeared and at present there is not [word obscured] sign of that dreadful eruption, eczema."[222] There was little

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[216] Mrs. John Eirean, "Expected Baby To Die With Skin Disease," *Irish Times*, July 15, 1910, 8, accessed January 21, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0715/Pg008.html.
[217] Ibid.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Nurse Wattrz, "Nurse's Eczema Defies Doctors," *Irish Times*, August 6, 1910, 7, accessed January 21, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0806/Pg007.html..
[221] Ibid.
[222] Ibid.

information given about the sufferer, besides her profession, surname, and the nature of her condition. The focus was on the difficulty of treating the disease, and the promotion of Cuticura products.[223]

These ads reflected a common advertising tactic of the period. The ailment was presented in the worst possible light and with the direst of outcomes. When children were mentioned, they were either tremendously disfigured or faced with the threat of death. Women chronicled their suffering of unimaginable pain, and doctors' remedies were always ineffective. A woman was either the recipient or the originator of the cure. In the first ad, a woman gave the cure. In the second ad, a woman received it. The ointment manufacturers believed that women could treat themselves and their loved ones. The ads denoted that women were more capable than the presumably male doctors they visited. The above ads revealed positive characteristics associated with female shoppers. Women were assumed to be interested in saving money and they wanted to procure good quality services or products. The straightforward nature of the ads showed that the companies felt their products spoke for themselves, as their customers understood the value of the product or service being offered. Many of the ads fell into this category and the consistency of placement and product value appealed to their busy female shoppers.

The traits outlined above were not the only traits implicitly characteristic of the ideal woman. Other ads appealed to a woman's vanity and their wording suggested that being appearance-conscious was perfectly acceptable. Clothing ads proclaimed, "Dainty Cream Jap Blouses,"[224] "Pretty Ecru Lace and Crepe-de-Chine Blouses,"[225] and "very

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[223] Ibid.
[224] "Kellett's Great Annual Winter Sale," *Irish Times* January 3, 1916, 3, accessed January 21, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0103/Pg003.html.
[225] Ibid.

dainty Small Frocks."[226] Ad writers chose words that would emphasize the attractiveness of their clothing. Even athletic women were expected to be aware of their appearance as the ad for boot polish showed, "The prettiest feet look larger on skates, so the boots must be the peak of perfection, (dainty and brilliantly polished) and only Cherry Blossom Boot Polish will ensure that." [227] While athleticism was accepted in a woman, she was still expected to be attractive. The concern over even the appearance of large feet would prompt women to buy the product. There must have been at least the assumption that a proper woman may have been athletic, but not at the expense of her appearance.

Domestic Workers: The Ideal Lower-Class Woman Worker

Women did not simply procure goods and services like the ones listed above for their families. In wealthier households, they oversaw the staff as well, the varied ads for domestic servants bore this out. These ads were located in the help wanted section and often advertised positions commonly housed under the blanket term "domestic servants." Ads for female servants, cooks, housekeepers, nurses, maids, and laundresses, provided the examples under consideration for this section. These ads delineated three key points. They exemplified the desired qualities of women who worked as domestics, they showed that women could exercise some autonomy by placing the ads themselves, and they demonstrated that the ideal good woman was not completely relegated to members of the upper class. Prospective employers were focused on the hygiene, religious beliefs, and sleeping habits of potential employees. Both the servants and their employers had

[226] "Walpole's Ladies' Department Ad," *Irish Times*, December 17, 1914, 10, accessed January 21, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1914/1217/Pg010.html.
[227] "Cherry Blossom Boot Polish Ad," *Irish Times*, January 29, 1913, 9, accessed January 21, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1913/0129/Pg009.html.

standards. These characteristics implied that lower class women had a clear pattern they were capable of emulating.

The section of want ads for domestics was divided into two main classifications within the newspaper, ads for domestic servants and ads by domestic servants. The ads were then further divided by category. These included listings for general servants, cooks, housemaids and parlourmaids, nurses, and kitchenmaids, laundresses and scullery maids. The ads placed by servants were grouped in the same way. The number of ads varied from year to year, and by 1916 they had diminished to only two or three columns on the first two pages of the paper. In previous years, these ads occupied most of the second page. The following selection, taken from the December 1910, August 1912, January 1914, and December 1916 issues of the *Irish Times*, contained the type of ads commonly placed for and by domestic servants.

The ads emphasized a specific set of characteristics, as demonstrated by the samples included below.

> Charwoman wanted clean, tidy young Woman; must be good laundress and scrubber…[;]Working Housekeeper, wanted immediately, respectable, sturdy woman[;]Wanted immediately steady, experienced Cook...[;]Wanted, a Maid for a delicate lady, must be strong and have some experience in nursing; a good needlewoman…Required, end of September, good Plain Cook; steady, sober, good manager…[;]Wanted, clean, tidy girl for Light Housework…[;]thoroughly honest, trustworthy Plain Cook; clean, active and obliging…[;]. Clean, active Woman as cook…[;] Wanted, a good strong Cook General; must be early riser…[;] respectable Protestant General; must be clean, a good worker, and reliable.[228]

[228] "Domestics Wanted," miscellaneous ads for domestic servants, *Irish Times*, December 5, 1910, 2, accessed January 25, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/1205/Pg002.html.
"Domestics Wanted," miscellaneous ads for domestic servants, *Irish Times*, August 8, 1912, 2, accessed January 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0808/Pg002.html.;
"Domestics Wanted," *Irish Times*, January 10, 1914, 2, accessed January 23, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1914/0110/Pg002.html;
"Domestics Wanted," *Irish Times* December 7, 1916, 1, accessed January 23, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/1207/Pg002.html.

Most ads did not specify a particular religion. When they did reference denominations, they typically requested Protestants, though a few ads were open only to Catholics. Despite the growing religious polarization within Irish society, there remained no significant indication of religious bias in the want ads.[229]

Servants placed ads seeking positions as well. These tended to advertise the applicant's qualifications for the job, and focused less on their character traits. The word, "respectable," was used most often, when traits were mentioned.[230] The following sample comes from the dates previously used. They run as follows:

> Cook, very good, disengaged middle of December; no objection to small dairy; highly recommended; good wages expected… [;] A Young Girl wishes to be trained as House and Parlourmaid, tall and good appearance, and highly recommended….[;]Experienced Laundress for immediate engagement; abstainer; good references…[;]A young Woman; understands soups, fish, entrees, savouries, pastries, good breakfast, bread; highly recommended; town or suburubs….[;]General, settled person, smart, clean, active: plain cook, good Laundress: recommended….[;]A House Parlourmaid-Country Girl. good appearance. excellent reference. open for engagement, Dublin or suburbs…[;]Girl, R.C., wishes situation as Kitchenmaid or Under Housemaid…[;] A respectable middleaged (*sic*) Person, very good cook, would take job in gentleman's family: highly recommended: R.C.: suburbs…[;]Young Girl, General, country; no children in house; recommended…[;] Experienced Housemaid disengaged; would go House and Parlourmaid; suburbs preferred….[;]Cook, thoroughly understands her business, with kitchen or betweenmaid; highest references….[;]Nice General Servant, disengaged the 13th: wages at £16: good cook: good appearance: good papers…[;]

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[229] For some ads specifying Protestants, see the following. "Domestics Wanted," miscellaneous ads for domestic servants, *Irish Times*, December 5, 1910, 2, accessed January 25, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/1205/Pg002.html;
"Domestics Wanted," miscellaneous ads for domestic servants, *Irish Times*, August 8, 1912, 2, accessed January 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0808/Pg002.html;
"Domestics Wanted," *Irish Times*, January 10, 1914, 2, accessed January 25, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1914/0110/Pg002.html; "Domestics Wanted," *Irish Times* December 7, 1916, 1, accessed January 23, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/1207/Pg002.html. There were also ads for Catholic servants. In the main, these tended to occur in the section devoted to male servants.

[230] Ibid.

> Steady, respectable person wants situation, Front Parlourmaid, or General small family…[;]First class Laundress, go Single, disengaged.[231]

These ads illustrated the characteristics attributed to an ideal lower-class woman. She was intelligent, and respectable. She was "clean," an "early riser," "strong," "steady, [and] sober,"[232] An ideal woman could have value as a laborer, but only insofar as that labor was seen as respectable. There were some class based stigmas apparent in the ads. The concern over hygiene, intelligence, sleeping habits and a possible propensity to alcohol, were some of the negative stereotypes surrounding lower-class women. Intelligence had become a prominent criterion by 1914. The explicit stating of the traits quoted above implied an assumption that without such specifications, one would be met with applicants who did not possess the desired qualities. Potential employers had preconceived notions about the working classes, likely either based on heresy or a few bad experiences. Working class women could be respectable but they were still subjected to prejudice, as seen from the ads.

Women and Charity

Model women were not merely consumers concerned with providing their families the best in goods and services, they were also involved in charity work. The

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[231] "Cooks, Dairymaids, Disengaged, House, Parlourmaids, Disengaged, Kitchen, Laundry, etc. Disengaged," *Irish Times*, December 5, 1910, 2, accessed January 25, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/1205/Pg002.html;
"Cooks, Dairymaids, Disengaged, House, Parlourmaids, Disengaged, Kitchen, Laundry, etc. Disengaged," *Irish Times*, August 8, 1912, 2, accessed January 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0808/Pg002.html;
"Cooks, Dairymaids, Disengaged, House, Parlourmaids, Disengaged, Kitchen, Laundry, etc. Disengaged," *Irish Times*, January 10, 1914, 2, accessed January 23, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1914/0110/Pg002.html;
"Cooks, Dairymaids, Disengaged, House, Parlourmaids, Disengaged, Kitchen, Laundry, etc. Disengaged," *Irish Times* December 7, 1916, 1, accessed January 23, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/1207/Pg002.html.

[232] Ibid.

women who participated were typically from the aristocracy, though there were some middle-class women as well. References to these women came in the form of announcements or requests for aid. From 1910 to 1914, references to women's charity work only existed in brief mentions in the advertisement sections of the paper. The ads for charitable donations took the form of short announcements detailing what was needed. A list of individual or group contributors was sometimes included. With the advent of World War I in August 1914, women's involvement in charity work came to symbolize their patriotism. This involvement took a variety of forms, with nursing being the most prevalent. These examples demonstrated the depiction of women's participation in charity work.

The first ad requesting aid came from January 11, 1910 and concerned the "Cottage Home for Little Children in Kingston."[233] This piece referenced women while the other ads in this issue focused on men.[234] The ad requested specific goods that were needed and listed women among its board.[235] It stated, "The Monthly Committee meeting was held on January 6th, the Rev. J. Pinn in the chair. There were present—Mrs. Larson,

[233] "Cottage Home For Little Children, Kingston," *Irish Times*, January 11, 1910, 10, accessed January 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0111/Pg010.html

[234] "Cottage Home For Little Children, Kingston," *Irish Times*, January 11, 1910, 10, accessed January 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0111/Pg010.html.
For other ads of this type, see "the Mansion House Coal Fund," *Irish Times,* January 6 1910, 9, accessed January 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0106/Pg009.html;
"Irish Law Clerks' Mutual Benefit Society," *Irish Times*, January 6 1910, 10, accessed January 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0106/Pg010.html; "Mercer's Charitable Hospital, *Irish Times,* January 7 1910, 4, accessed January 31, 2017.
http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0107/Pg004.html;
"Church of Ireland Y.M.C.A.," *Irish Times*, January 7 1910, 12, accessed January 31, 2017.
http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0107/Pg012.html;
"Catholic Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Situate at Cabra." *Irish Times* January 8 1910, 3, accessed January 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0108/Pg003.html.

[235] "Cottage Home For Little Children, Kingston," *Irish Times*, January 11, 1910, 10, accessed January 31, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0111/Pg010.html.

Mrs. Herbert Underon, Miss Wall, Mrs. W. Ross, Mrs. Moffett, Mrs. Orpen."[236] The final six members were men, "Mr. F.C. Moore, Captain Lea, the Rev. E. S. Gardner, Mr. Marrable, Professor Barrett, and the Hon. Secretary."[237] The report outlined the meeting itself, noting various monetary donations and expense reports. It concluded by noting, "The Matron would be grateful for gifts of pieces of flannel or flannelette and calico, pillow slips were also much needed."[238]

The next reports contained lists of donations and donors. Many of the donors were married women. Some were members of the aristocracy. The following partial list came from the Dublin Prison Gate Mission. It included, "Miss Marablow…Miss McMahon…Miss F.S. Wall…Mrs. R.J. Harvey…Mrs. Taylor…Mrs. Gillespie…Mrs. Faulkner…Mrs. Lehy…the Ladies Howard…Mrs. Boyd…Mrs. Leweson-Gower Gunt…Baroness de Rolbeck…Mrs. Fawcett…Mrs. R.M. Smith."[239] The report referenced, "the Hon. Lady Superintendent."[240] Women contributed to a Christmas dinner, supplied toys for the children, "tea and sugar" and other miscellaneous items.[241] Women were the main contributors of the goods provided. The "Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society," report likewise mentioned a woman, "Mrs. Ogilby, Hon. Secretary."[242] A branch of the Society was devoted to women, "The Ladies' Working and Gentlemen's Clothing Guild."[243] The latter, "supplied 68 garments to 18 men, most if (*sic*) these

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[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.
[238] Ibid.
[239] "Dublin Prison Gate Mission," *Irish Times*, January 18, 1910, 3, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0118/Pg003.html.
[240]Ibid.
[241] "Dublin Prison Gate Mission," *Irish Times*, January 18, 1910, 3, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0118/Pg003.html.
[242] "The Soldiers' and Sailors' Help Society," *Irish Times*, January 12, 1910, 7, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0112/Pg007.html.
[243] Ibid.

articles being issued on Christmas Eve."[244] The report concluded with a list of the donations received, the list mentioned women donors, including, "The Hon. Mrs. C. Nugent…Miss Frances Chevenix Trench…Lord and Lady Bellew…The Marchioness of Waterford…Mrs. Viliers Stewart of Dromana…Mrs. Charles Martin…Mrs. Chenevix Trench…Mrs. Cooke Trench…Mrs. Fowler…Lady Maurice Fitzgerald…Mrs. Duckett."[245] Keeping to the theme, the "Stewart Institution for Imbecile Children," likewise contained a lengthy list of donors. The list referenced both married and unmarried women as well as women who were members of the aristocracy. A sampling of the list ran as follows, "their Excellencies, the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen…Lady Holmes…Mrs. A. F. Millar…Mrs. Wyatt…Mrs. French…Miss M.F. Bradshaw."[246] The ad contained a plea for more funds, owing to expansion. The author of the report elaborated, "The special accommodation set apart on the completion of the buildings was rapidly filling up, private families from various parts of the country being glad to take advantage of it for their children. The Committee earnestly appeal for additional subscriptions and donations in aid of this pressing work."[247]

The pattern continued in August 1912 and December 1914. Ads contained donation lists that referenced women and requests for more funds and specific goods continued to appear. The following reports from August 1912 provided evidence that the trend continued. The first two samples mentioned women who left monetary donations to various charitable groups upon their deaths. The documents gave the name of the donor,

[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid.

the sum and listed the recipients, but provided no other information.[248] The "Incorporated Orthopaedic Hospital Of Ireland, For Treatment of Club Feet, Knees and Other Joints, Also Ratchitis and Spine Diseases," was the first example.[249] Among its list of donors included the following, "Mrs. Hamilton Stubber….Mrs. Fleming…Mrs. W.S. Haughton…Miss H. O'Donnel…Miss Gatchell….Lady Butler…Miss Cochrane."[250] This was one of the few such reports for August. The rest listed individual contributions made by men and some reports concerned institutions for men alone.[251] The report from the Old Men's Asylum mentioned a "Ladies' Visiting Committee," a "Ladies' Committee," and a donation by a "Mrs. A.C. Cameron."[252] An ideal woman was expected to take part in charity even in institutions designed for men.

An ideal woman took part in charitable associations aimed at animals as well. The August 17, 1912 issue of the paper printed the monthly report by the Dublin Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. The list of members included two women, namely,

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[248] William Johnson, "Notice of Charitable Bequests," *Irish Times,* August 5, 1912, 4, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0805/Pg004.html;
Thomas F. O'Connell, "Notice of Charitable Bequests," *Irish Times*, August 6, 1912, 4, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0806/Pg004.html.;
Vincent and Beatty, "Notice of Charitable Bequests," *Irish Times*, August 26, 1912, 1, accessed February 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0826/Pg001.htm.

[249] "Incorporated Ortthopaedic Hospital Of Ireland, For Treatment of Club Feet, Knees and Other Joints, Also Ratchitis and Spine Diseases," *Irish Times,* August 9, 1912, 6, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0809/Pg006.html.

[250] Ibid.

[251] "Catholic Seamen's Association," *Irish Times*, August 8, 1912, 3, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0802/Pg003.html;
H.Y. Bantry White, "Legal Notices," *Irish Times*, August 14, 1912, 1, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0814/Pg001.html;
"Presbyterian Church," *Irish Times*, August 9, 1912, 8, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0809/Pg008.html;
"Old Men's Asylum, Northbrook Road," *Irish Times*, August 17, 1912, 11, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0817/Pg011.html.

[252] "Old Men's Asylum, Northbrook Road," *Irish Times*, August 17, 1912, 11, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0817/Pg011.html

"Mrs. Betham, [and] Mrs. Caulfold McGrath."[253] The "Society" was small, and the remaining five members were men. The report discussed court cases involving cruelty to animals, noting the outcomes, and there was a surprising amount, and an equally surprising number of convictions. There was also a list of donations that included two women, "the Misses Moore…Mrs. H.E. Knox," and four men.[254] The reasons for the surprising predominance of men in such an organization were not clear, but undoubtedly require further study.

Three other institutions requested donations and listed contributions from women. Two of these counted women among their clientele. The first was the Stewart Institution for Imbecile Children and Hospital for Mental Diseases. The proprietors informed interested parents that, "The above institution is open for reception of Children of slow or defective intellect by election or payments of fixed rates, according to requirements. Votes at Elections obtained by annual Subscriptions of 10s 6d, or donations of £5.5s. and upwards."[255] Mothers were the intended target of the advertisement, as women were assumed to be the ones primarily interested in their children's upkeep. The second institution was separate from but affiliated with the Stewart Institution and exemplified the type of institution that benefited from women's charity. The ad follows,

> This branch is separate from the above, and is open to Ladies and Gentlemen suffering from Mental Complaints, at moderate rates, varying with accommodations required. The apartments were handsomely furnished and command attractive views of river and mountain. Grounds extensive and well-wooded. Amusements suited to summer and winter. Sanitary arrangements up to date. Resident Medical Superintendent and

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[253] "Dublin Society for the Prevention of Cruelty To Animals," *Irish Times*, August 17, 1912, 11, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0817/Pg011.html.
[254] Ibid.
[255] "Stewart Institution for Imbecile Children and Hospital for Mental Diseases," *Irish Times*, August 26, 1912, 6, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0826/Pg006.html.

> trained Staff. Voluntary Boarders received. Lucran tram passes gate hourly. Telephone. Fully illustrated prospectus and all information on application to Secretary.[256]

This writing emphasized the comfortable furnishings and scenery of the hospital. The ad proclaimed the up-to-date accommodations, it gave an account of the modern sanitation and the presence of both trained personnel and easy transportation. The administrators seemed anxious to assure interested donors that their patients lived separately from the children and this concern reflected attitudes towards the mentally ill as well as attitudes toward women. A virtuous mother would be concerned about her children being near potentially threatening individuals. The final report from August was published by the committee for the Royal Cambridge Asylum for Soldiers' Widows, and was noteworthy for its information on female patrons.[257] Certain qualifications had to be met to be considered a proper soldier's widow. The stipulations were, "for Widows of Soldiers who have served not less than 24 years, and married with leave whilst serving."[258] This report described the place itself, and issued an appeal for further funds. The institution was portrayed as a, "Comfortable Home with large garden; furnished room for each inmate."[259] The need for donations was framed as, "Committee appeal for more subscriptions to meet current expenses."[260]

With the onset of World War I, from August 1914 onward, the tone of the commentary detailing women's involvement in charitable work shifted. Though requests for aid of the type seen above continued to be printed, the focus was now on women's

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[256] Ibid.
[257] "Royal Cambridge Asylum for Soldiers Widows," *Irish Times*, August 26, 1912, 6, accessed February 01, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/0826/Pg006.html
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.

participation in the burgeoning war effort. Both the August and December issues published in 1914 contained editorials of this type. "Irishwomen and War," published on August 11, 1914, and "Women and the War," printed in December, addressed the different types of aid women could give.[261]

The August 11th account was quite lengthy, in contrast to the other writings that dealt with women that were far shorter. The essay spanned a full column and one half, making it by far the longest write-up dealing with women in the newspaper. The primary theme of the piece was that women were obligated to aid the war effort. This obligation arose from a number of sources, each reflecting traditional attitudes toward women and their proper role in society.

Women aided the war effort by keeping a positive attitude as they sent their men off to fight the enemy. The author wrote, "Very many of them [the soldiers] walked along with brave, smiling women—mothers, wives, and sweethearts who want to be with them till the last possible moment."[262] Despite their obvious affection, the women discussed in this item were willing to make sacrifices for the war effort. From the beginning of the war, editorials connected women's participation in the war effort to their relationships with men. Additional links to Irishmen could be seen in the following phrases, "for her country's defenders…those who…were defending Irish freedom and Irish homes…These men have left families behind them…. Hundreds were married…From others the army has taken a son or a brother."[263] Irishwomen and Irishmen were linked in a host of ways

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[261] "Irishwomen and War," *Irish Times,* August 11, 1914, 4, accessed February 10, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1914/0811/Pg004.html;
"Women and the War," *Irish Times,* December 3, 1914, 8, accessed February 10, 2017. https://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1914/1203/Pg008.html.
[262] "Irishwomen and War," *Irish Times,* August 11, 1914, 4, accessed February 10, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1914/0811/Pg004.html.
[263] Ibid.

in the above samples. The editorial courted female participation in relief efforts in two ways, it highlighted the cultural heritage of the soldiers and affirmed their ties to women. These soldiers were Irish and by fighting they defended Ireland. That was an ironic stance to take, given the paper's concern over nationalism. These men were all fathers, brothers, husbands and sons, who deserved the loyalty of their women. Women with personal ties to the war were assumed to have a natural interest in aiding its soldiers.

Editorials did not only appeal to women's emotions, some appealed to their rationality. The author of "Irishwomen and the War" declared, "We take it for granted that every educated woman in Ireland wants to do good and hard work as long as this war lasts."[264] The writer assumed that women would have this desire, by writing, "We take it for granted." The author "took for granted" that "educated women" had a desire to aid the war effort. The author linked willingness to intelligence, implying that smart women wanted to help the war effort. These women were urged to have, "a clear and business-like understanding," of their obligations. The anonymous author believed that women could have such an understanding and thought that rational women existed. These women had an obligation to use that rationality in support of the war effort.

Women had a moral duty to aid the war effort as well, as indicated by the numerous references to a sense of duty which these women should possess. This sense of duty was intimated in the phrases, "for her country, for her country's defenders, and for those whom they left at home."[265] The writer used the word duty or duties multiple times in the essay, "their duty is to help the fighters….Irishwomen owe a deep debt of gratitude…Here for the well-to-do women of *Dublin* and the rest of Ireland is a great

[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.

field of dutiful, absorbing, and Christian work…women should have a[n] understanding of their duties and opportunities."[266] The war effort was couched in moral terms, it was a, "good…work…and Christian work."[267] These terms further emphasized the idea of a moral imperative. Women had a duty not only to their menfolk but their country. This debt came from the sacrifices made by men, and an obligation to follow in the teachings of Christ.

Women's specific duties varied based upon their social class. Wealthy, noble women were expected to use their money and influence to donate supplies or funds. Middle class women could engage in more hands-on work and the obligation to help extended to lower-class, poorer women. Even women lacking money were thought to have a desire to help the war effort. The wealthy women were informed that, "provision of food, clothing, and other comforts must be made for our sailors and soldiers on the sea, and we must prepare also for the reception of those who may come back to us wounded and disabled."[268] Women with disposable income and a vast social circle would be most able to provide the above aid. Middle class women who wanted a more active role could learn, "ambulance work" and take up "nursing…the sick."[269] That last piece of advice was offered in the event of an invasion. The author was not suggesting that women serve as nurses on the Continent. Poor women desired to help but they needed guidance, the author assumed that they would participate, as reflected in the statement, "Many ladies have written to us asking, 'what can we do?' 'We cannot give much money,' they say, 'but we can turn our hands to some sort of relief work if you will only tell us what to do

[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Ibid.

and how to do it.'"[270] These lower-class women shared a desire to aid the war effort that was appreciated as reflected in the use of the term 'ladies.' The implied helplessness reflected the gender and class biases of the author. These women needed to be told what to do and how, being that they were incapable of figuring these things out for themselves.

The author considered various relief agencies that existed to aid soldier's families then turned to other ways that women might help. The multitude of suggestions were no doubt included by virtue of the following sentiment, "No woman will be able to find an excuse for idleness in the fact that she cannot give money, and cannot sew, and is too old to visit or do ambulance work."[271] The author seemed concerned that women were seeking "excuses for idleness."[272] The writer's decision to use the word "excuses" suggested more than a concern on the author's part. The pejorative word indicated that any woman who did not find some means of contributing was deliberately refusing to perform her duty. The author offered suggestions to combat this possibility. These ranged from "domestic management" within the home, to "work in the fields [and] unskilled duty in the public departments."[273] Even those too poor to really help could, "at least offer…the gift of sympathy."[274] The author attempted to persuade "athletic and independent women," by describing them as "strong" and "young", and suggesting that they could, "work in the fields" or help out by serving "unskilled duty in the public departments."[275] Everyone from housewives to "strong young women," could and should do their part.

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[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Ibid

The account, "Women and the War," published in December 1914 outlined changes and consistent trends.[276] The report by the Council of the Women's National Health Association was a reproduction taken from a conference held in Dublin. The Women's National Health Association was formed in 1907 by Lady Aberdeen. The group existed to involve women in awareness campaigns and attempts to solve various health crises, particularly those affecting children.[277] Mrs. A Rushton served as secretary, and there was a push to involve "other ladies willing to serve on the council…and ladies and gentlemen willing to serve as annual subscribers or to give donations for preliminary organizing expenses."[278] By 1914, the N.H.A. had grown to the point that it could hold a conference, and publish reports of the sessions. These panels focused on women's involvement in a variety of war related causes. Women were involved with the Red Cross and they helped the families of enlisted men. They worked with "soldiers in training," and with "disabled soldiers."[279] Lady Aberdeen opened the conference, and her remarks served as the basis for the feature. She, "expressed pleasure at the reports of the various First Aid Classes and Ambulance Classes, which had been held in connection with many of their branches and organizations throughout the country."[280] These classes were taught by "ladies," and evidently prepared their students for a possible invasion, as seen from the following statement, "The special object of those classes was to qualify those who attended them to join voluntary aid assignments to take charge of a special portion of the work in the event of war breaking out in the home territory—that was in case of

[276] The National Women's Health Association," *Irish Times*, February 11, 1907, 7, accessed February 10, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1907/0211/Pg007.html.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid.
[279] "Women and the War," *Irish Times*, December 3, 1914, 8, accessed February 10, 2017. https://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1914/1203/Pg008.html.
[280] Ibid.

invasion."[281] Invasion seemed a real possibility as far as Lady Aberdeen and the other ladies were concerned. Women were permitted and encouraged to both teach and take these classes.

Lady Aberdeen's remarks repeated sentiments found in the commentary discussed earlier on women and the war. The editorial from August 1914 couched women's involvement with war relief in domestic terms. They were encouraged to do a variety of activities, from darning socks to tending to the wounded.[282] By December, women were thought capable of assisting in the event of a possible invasion. The threat posed by World War I had impacted attitudes toward women. An ideal woman could now provide aid should Ireland be invaded. Women could contribute monetarily, and the N.H.A. conference discussed the funds raised in support of soldiers' and sailors' families. Some members of the aristocracy allotted their homes to be used for the care of the wounded.[283] This proved the assertion that charity work was expected to come from the upper classes.[284] Women were expected to continue to care for children even while helping to win the war, and a portion of the report reflected this. It addressed the funding of "Babies Clubs, Medical Clinics for young children, and Maternity Clinics," located throughout Ireland.[285] The precise nature of these institutions was not given, but the discussion of them at a conference dominated by issues pertaining to the war suggested that these groups were intended to benefit women who had family fighting overseas. Its inclusion

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[281] Ibid.
[282] "Irishwomen and the War," *Irish Times,* August 11, 1914, 4, accessed February 10, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1914/0811/Pg004.html.
[283] Christine E. Hallett, *Veiled Warriors: Allied Nurses of the First World War*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 60.
[284] "Irishwomen and the War," *Irish Times,* August 11, 1914, 4.
[285] Ibid.

linked the continued association of women with children and motherhood. These two groups received the care provided by these associations.

The above works delineated the clear links between women and charity. There was a growing push for all women to assist in whatever way they could, and this was presented as both an obligation and a natural inclination on the part of sensible, religious women. Women from all social classes should want to take part, motivated by a sense of patriotism and a desire to aid their male family members. The advice given was tailored in such a way that it included everyone from members of the aristocracy to the destitute, so that all women were aware of the expectations placed upon them.

Letters to the Editor: Model Women Offering Their Experiences

Letters to the editor written by women were a rare occurrence in the newspaper. Only one verifiable example existed from the samples used in this chapter.[286] A possible explanation for this lack could be the popularity of pennames. These aliases rendered the writers' gender undeterminable. Some examples included, "Tenant Purchaser, An Old Opera Goer [and] R. W. Cleary."[287] The example that existed still revealed much about the qualities possessed by the ideal woman. It came from a letter discussing tariff reform. The letter was signed by Katherine H. Fairholme.[288] Fairholme discussed tariff reform versus free trade, she argued that she should be taken seriously by reason of her gender.

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[286] Kathleen H. Fairholme, "On Tariff Reform," *Irish Times,* January 3, 1910, 7, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0103/Pg007.html.
[287] Tenant Purchaser, "January 1st, 1910," *Irish Times*, January 3, 1910, 7, accessed May 29, 2017. https://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0103/Pg007.html;
An Old Opera Goer, "Puccini in Dublin," *Irish Times,* January 3, 1910, 7, accessed May 29, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0103/Pg007.html;
R. W. Cleary, "A Warning To Dog-Owners," *Irish Times,* January 3, 1910, 7, accessed May 29, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0103/Pg007.html.
[288] Ibid.

Fairholme wrote, "Sir, will you let a woman…. say something about bread? It should be a woman's provenance and her best duty, but man has taken it from her, to the immeasurable loss of both."[289] The letter told a fictional story about a woman who bought a field and used it to grow wheat, and several times the woman received help. The aid sometimes came from men but the women's help proved more effective. The story's savior was a woman, and she received help from her aunts. One aunt explained that the poor had to buy Indian corn rather than oatmeal as the latter was too expensive. The other brought home grain from a field in England to feed her pet shrew mouse. The latter gave the woman in the story the idea for her own wheat field.[290] The heroine received help from a vicar who approved of free trade, but only if practiced universally. He opposed implementing the plan in England alone. The other male help came in the form of laborers, "the tall, spare, long-armed handsome race that was dying out already."[291] The unnamed heroine ultimately saved herself and the workers under her care. Fairholme wrote, "These two subjects [free trade and poor relief], so intermittently interwoven, never ceased to puzzle her. In time, she solved them for herself."[292] The woman bought a field, hired workers and used her grandfather's mill to cheaply produce bread that could then be sold at a reasonable rate that brought a profit. Fairholme concluded that, "If a penniless woman of middle age was able, in the teeth of opposition, to do this, it is possible to grow wheat in this country, and make bread, with no waste but the chaff and the straw."[293] This assertion harkened back to the claim made at the beginning of the letter, when Fairholme referenced bread as women's "provenance" and spoke to the harm

[289] Ibid.
[290] Ibid.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Ibid.

done when men took it from women. This letter portrayed another way a woman could be virtuous, by providing for her workers and her country.

The previous sections served to illuminate the *Irish Times*'s typification of the ideal woman. The examples given establish the qualities believed to be inherent in such a person, but these characteristics varied by social standing. There were appropriate occupations and activities for the model woman as well, and these, too, reflected class biases. The underlying traits were consistent, a virtuous woman cared about her family, she was concerned for her children, and her servants, she was thrifty, and she used her womanly wisdom to benefit those around her. A lower-class ideal woman was a servant, she was dedicated, practiced good hygiene and abstained from alcohol. An ideal woman was involved with charitable leagues, these included schools for intellectually disabled children and the mentally ill. During World War I, this involvement took the form of endorsement of the war effort. An ideal woman involved herself with relief efforts regardless of social class or financial means.

The *Irish Times* did not merely concern itself with representing the ideal woman, it also addressed that woman's opposite. These examples communicated the qualities and activities women should avoid. This following section considered samples drawn from three specific groups. Each group consigned an aspect of the dissolute woman archetype found within the newspaper to the individuals within that category. Female criminals, suffragettes and nationalist women facing trial following the Easter Rising comprised the examples for this section. Each of these women possessed a trait believed to be inherent in the reprobate woman. The female criminals discussed below were not hardworking women, as thievery was a common crime of which they were accused. They did not care

for their children as crimes involving abuse and neglect of children were commonly reported. The suffragettes often behaved in ways which went against traditional ideas of proper female behavior. The nationalist women were a double-edged sword. They combined radicalized womanhood with radicalized Irish nationalism. These women threatened not only traditional ideas about women's proper place, but raised the specter of Home Rule as well.

Murderers, Thieves and Alcoholics: Women in the Courts

Reports from a variety of criminal court cases constituted the samples for this section. These cases come from the *Irish Times'* third and fourth pages. The reports included testimony given at the trial, the facts of the case, and the verdict if known. Women featured prominently in these cases, they were often the victims, and usually they were involved in various domestic disputes, seduction, or breech of promise cases. Women could also be the perpetrators, their crimes usually involved children, with neglect and infanticide being the most common. Women also committed assault and theft, as shown from the following samples, drawn from the 1910 to 1916 issues of the paper. These cases demonstrated how the *Irish Times* portrayed female criminals.

The first instance came from the December 6, 1910, issue of the *Irish Times* and involved two women accused of burglary. Petty theft comprised the most frequent type of crime reported by the paper involving women. The two accused, Ellen Nolan and Bridget Moate, were charged with, "having burglariously (*sic*) entered the dwellinghouse of Mr. J. A. Smith…and stealing two cushion covers, an old silver knife, a cigar case, a silver

matchbox and other articles."[294] A second charge was levied against them, that they had "the silver matchbox in their possession," and were aware that it was "stolen."[295] The women's social class was not given, but the information provided pointed to a lower-class background. The defendants were referred to without titles, and were referred to by their own first and last names. This showed that they were not a part of the aristocracy, and were unmarried, as married women during this time commonly referred to themselves using their husband's first name, preceded by the abbreviation Mrs., as in Mrs. John O'Malley. The absence of this convention suggested that these two were single and likely lower-class. The report noted that "they were undefended," an observation that also indicated lower-class status.[296] The two women were found guilty and both sentenced to varying terms of hard labor, "Moate, having a bad record, was sentenced to 12 months with hard labour…and Nolan to two months with hard labour."[297] Moate received a longer sentence than Nolan due to her "bad record."[298] The report on the court case was brief, to the point, and offered little sympathy to the perpetrators. They were lower-class women who had violated the norms for proper behavior.

Another case of theft was heard just one day later, and reported on December 7, 1910. That case involved one Margaret Foster and provided more information. Miss Foster "had been employed as a maid in the nurses' department of the City of Dublin hospital and had pleaded guilty to the serious offense of making away wholesale with

[294] "Burglary," *Irish Times,* December 6, 1910, 5, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/1206/Pg005.html.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.

blankets and linen which she had the means of stealing."[299] The report stated, "It was a serious offense and had been committed many times, but there was nothing against her up to this. He must impose a sentence which would prevent other servants from similar courses of dishonesty. He would sentence her to be imprisoned for six months with hard labour from the date of her arrest."[300] Many possibilities existed for labeling the offense as "serious."[301] It was committed by a woman. The goods stolen came from a hospital, a place meant as a haven for the vulnerable. She was a domestic servant, someone meant to embody the characteristics of the ideal lower-class woman. Servants by the very nature of their employment had unrestricted access to their employer's valuables. A servant who took advantage of this position was a serious threat. The nature of the offense, coupled with her employment as a servant persuaded the judge to impose a harsh sentence. The servants in the domestic ads section were perceived to be shining examples of virtuous women. Foster served as a perfect example of a reprobate woman by showing the consequences which would befall servants who followed her example.

In the next case, reported December 7, 1912, the accused was charged with murdering "her infant child."[302] Margaret Bernstein was convicted of manslaughter and sentenced, though the sentence was not reported. There were interesting differences between this case and the other two. The defendant in this case was represented by a court appointed attorney. The accused was in a relationship with a Martin Bernstein. The exact nature of their relationship was not known to the court, but they shared the same

[299] "Theft," *Irish Times,* December 7, 1910, 5, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/1207/Pg005.html.
[300] Ibid.
[301] Ibid.
[302] "Ulster Mother Charged With Manslaughter," *Irish Times,* December 7, 1912, 5, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/1207/Pg005.html.

last name, and were assumed to be cohabitating, though possibly unmarried.[303] This case differed from the other two in that it received more coverage and the report provided more information. The report included the arguments made by both the prosecution and the defense and depicted attitudes toward women who harmed their children. Both the prosecution and the defense showed sympathy for the accused. The prosecution maintained that, "He did not know the past history of the young woman, but, he thought when they had heard the evidence, they would come to the conclusion that there was some tragedy, some great wrong, lying at the back of her life."[304] For a woman to go to such terrible lengths, something extraordinarily awful must have happened to her in the past. The defense argued that the woman was covering for Martin Bernstein. Witnesses testified under cross-examination by the defense that Margaret Bernstein appeared to be under the effects of alcohol. The prosecution admitted that Margaret Bernstein had initially accused Martin Bernstein of murder, but blamed the accusation on jealousy over Martin's involvement with another woman. The physician, in describing marks found on the body, testified that, "the marks on the child might have been caused after death by a woman clinging to the child in an agony of despair…[they] might have been caused by a struggle for the possession of a child between a woman clinging to it and a man trying to pull it from her."[305] The descriptions of the defendant were indicative, in that both lawyers could not conceive of a woman purposefully harming her child, and as a result they assigned different motives to her. The prosecution claimed that she was "mad with jealousy" or had suffered some tragedy, while the defense alleged that she was intoxicated and covering for her partner. For the Victorians and Edwardians, the idea of

[303] Ibid.
[304] Ibid.
[305] Ibid.

woman was so intrinsically linked to the idea of motherhood that separating them required the type of reasoning seen above. The woman was not exonerated but she was somehow less guilty. She was a victim, either of her own emotions or of a man's cunning.[306]

Another case involved a "travelling ballad singer's wife" who "went into the workhouse in Clonmel, and took her child into bed with her, and next morning the child was dead, having been overlaid or smothered during the night."[307] The cause of death might have been accidental but the court did not believe this, and the woman was sentenced to three months with hard labour. She had a record of similar offenses, as evidenced in the report, which claimed that, "the prisoner had been previously sentenced to one month for cruelty to a child, and to four months' for neglecting and causing the death of a child. Another child had died of the measles, and another was in an industrial school."[308] The brevity of the sentence denoted that perhaps the jury felt compassion for the woman and wished to reflect this in a light sentence.

Other cases followed a different pattern, as the women involved were usually the spouses of service men. The neglect of their children was tied to an overconsumption of

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[306] Ibid. A different sort of dehumanization takes place in the coverage of the Crozier case, an infamous case of child abuse, neglect, and murder, which was covered in *Irish Times* from October through December, and in the *Weekly Irish Times* during the same time frame. In that case, the woman is presented in an almost inhuman light, characterized as a criminal mastermind, who holds her two living children in her sway, rendering them too terrified to testify, and has stripped her husband of his apparently manly courage and thereby won his silence as well. The discrepancy in characterization is reflected in their sentencing. Mr. Crozier received five years penal servitude, while his wife received twelve. In this case, in order to reconcile the idea of woman equaling motherhood with a woman who so blatantly flouted that notion, the press stripped the accused woman of her femininity completely. For two instances, see, "Youth's Death in County Fermanagh," *Irish Times*, October 7, 1912, 5, accessed May 29, 2017. https://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/1007/Pg005.html; "Inquest on John Noel Crozier," *Irish Times*, October 21, 1912, 5, accessed May 29, 2017. https://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/1021/Pg005.html.

[307] "Charge of Neglecting a Child," *Irish Times*, December 22, 1910, 9, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/1222/Pg009.html.

[308] Ibid.

alcohol and even in cases where the spouse was not a member of the armed forces, drink was commonly implicated. These women, who came from the lower classes, were not able to look after their children because they lacked the sense to manage their money.[309] The irresponsibility of these women was borne out in an item written on the problem and published on October 7, 1915. Entitled, "Separation Allowances," it outlined the typical scenario as follows, "We have recorded several cases of late in which women, drawing substantial allowances, have spent the money in drink, and have been convicted of gross neglect of their children."[310] The proper course of action, according to the author, was, "to have the separation allowances administered in trust for the benefit of the women and their children. In cases where the woman abuses the allowance without making herself amenable to the law, efforts may be made to transfer the administration of the money to a competent trustee."[311] Instead of offering the woman help with financial management and her alcohol addiction, the courts merely appointed someone to manage both the woman and her finances, as she was seen as being incapable of handling her problems. The absence of the husband, who would normally oversee such matters, doubtless led to the belief that a woman who had trouble managing her money needed someone else to do it for her.

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[309] Ibid; "Abuse of Separation Allowances," *Irish Times,* October 7, 1915, 6, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1915/1007/Pg006.html;
"Abuse of Separation Allowances," *Irish Times*, December 30, 1915, 2, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1915/1230/Pg002.html;
"Neglect of Children," *Irish Times,* January 1 1916, 8, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/wit/1916/0101/Pg008.html;
"Neglect of Children," *Irish Times,* November 18, 1911, 4, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1911/1118/Pg004.html;
"Neglect of Children," *Irish Times,* September 19, 1915, 1, accessed February 20, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1915/0919/Pg001.html.

[310] "Separation Allowances," *Irish Times,* October 7, 1915, 4, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1915/1007/Pg004.html.

[311] Ibid.

Women of the working classes faced a double bias. Besides being held to the same rigid gender ideals as their upper and middle-class sisters, additionally these women faced the stigma associated with being members of the lower class. These stereotypes were reflected in the types of crimes for which working class women were tried. In cases of theft, harsh sentences were imposed as a deterrent, while comparably light sentences were given in cases involving children. These communicated society's views on women and motherhood. Women were supposed to be natural mothers, and when they failed, they received sympathy, in view of this failure being blamed on either a past tragedy or other extenuating circumstances.

Hysterical Women: Suffragettes and Suffrage

Women's suffrage was a frequent topic in the pages of this newspaper. Accounts of suffrage activities cast the movement in a negative light and offered the idea only conditional support. The women involved with the movement received the same treatment. Sometimes they received tentative approval but often they were vilified.[312] The paper only covered the exploits of English suffragettes, despite the concurrent protests in Ireland. Though t reasons behind this omission were not apparent, indications were that the paper perhaps had a desire to reinforce the Anglo identity of both the newspaper and

[312] There are reports from the Irish Women's Franchise and Local Government Association which were published by the newspaper. See, "Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association," *Irish Times,* January 14, 1911, 5, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1911/0114/Pg005.html;
"The Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association," *Irish Times,* May 10, 1913, 8, accessed February 12, 2017. .http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1913/0510/Pg008.html.
There was also a surprisingly positive report of a procession in London, which included delegates from Dublin.
See "Women and the Franchise," *Irish Times,* June 20, 1910, 7, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0620/Pg007.html.
For the most part, women's suffrage was not taken seriously in the newspapers and suffragettes were routinely mocked. Even the above piece's grandiosity of descriptions could be interpreted in an almost satirical light.

its readers. The editors might not have wanted to admit that these same events were happening within Ireland as well. Despite the Anglo-centric focus, these works still provided evidence for the papers' perception of suffrage and suffragettes.[313]

In 1909, items dealing with women's suffrage activities began to appear with more frequency and continued to appear throughout the period under consideration. Despite the increase in frequency, the overall number of articles remained small, and often several works would appear in one issue while other editions contained no reference to suffrage. This pattern repeated numerous times and influenced the sample size. A number of the features discussed below came from the same issue of the newspaper. The first group came from the issue printed on August 5, 1909. The following three reports served as samples. They were, "Gladstone and the Suffragettes," "More Suffragette Hunger Strikers," and "Suffragettes Charged With Assault in Jail."[314] These three commentaries, written in a terse style, embodied the common way suffragettes were written about in the *Irish Times*. "More Suffragette Hunger Strikers" discussed two women, Mrs. Leigh and Mrs. Baker, and their release from prison. The two were "sentenced respectively to two months and a fortnight's imprisonment on Saturday," for

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[313] There were a few exceptions to this. See, "The Irish Women's Franchise League," *Irish Times,* May 7, 1913, 7, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1913/0507/Pg007.html;
"Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association," *Irish Times,* January 14, 1911, 5, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1911/0114/Pg005.html;
"The Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association," *Irish Times,* May 10, 1913., 8, accessed February 12, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1913/0510/Pg008.html. "War On The Government," *Irish Times,* January 29, 1913, 7, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1913/0129/Pg007.html.
In every case, though, the reports were supplied by the organization itself, and the paper merely published them.

[314] "Gladstone and the Suffragettes," *Irish Times*, August 5, 1909, 6 accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1909/0805/Pg006.html;
"More Suffragette Hunger Strikers," *Irish Times*, August 5, 1909, 5, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1909/0805/Pg005.html;
"Suffragettes Charged With Assault In Jail," *Irish Times,* August 5, 1909, 5, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1909/0805/Pg005.html.

their involvement in "a demonstration outside…Lloyd George's Limehouse Meeting."[315] The two women had spent the term of their arrest "engaged in a hunger-strike."[316] The anonymous reporter inquired after the condition of the women and noted, "Mr. Pethwick Lawrence [stated] last night that both women appeared very emaciated."[317] The commentary focused on English suffragettes as opposed to their Irish counterparts and both the prison and its occupants were located in England, as was the cause for their initial arrest.[318]

"Suffragettes Charged With Assault In Jail" was written in a more tongue-in-cheek style than the first and reported on another court case involving English suffragettes. Two women who were identified as, "Miss Theresa Garnett…and Mrs. Dove Wilcox," were charged with injuring female prison wardens.[319] One was fined and one was sentenced to a longer term of imprisonment. The sarcastic tone was evidenced in the author's description of the charges. The piece ran, "Two Suffragettes were charged at North London yesterday with smashing wardresses [female prison guards] at Holloway Prison while undergoing imprisonment."[320] This was a reference to suffragettes' habit of smashing windows. These attacks were part of a plan to "set at defiance the discipline and regulation of the jail…[as] a protest against being kept in the second division."[321] Suffragettes considered themselves political prisoners, but were not treated as such when they were arrested. There was a reason given, but no real attempt at understanding the

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[315] "More Suffragette Hunger Strikers," *Irish Times*, August 5, 1909, 5, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1909/0805/Pg005.html.
[316] Ibid.
[317] Ibid.
[318] For more discussion on the press boycott of Irish suffrage activities, see, Louise Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote: An Anthology of the Irish Citizen, 1912-1920*, 9.
[319] "Suffragettes Charged With Assault In Jail," *Irish Times,* August 5, 1909, 5, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1909/0805/Pg005.html.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.

motivations behind the actions taken by the suffragettes. The author made light of the entire event. The case merely served as another demonstration of "suffragist silliness", rather than a serious issue.[322]

This tongue-in-cheek style was echoed, "Gladstone and the Suffragettes," published on August 5, 1909, and "Suffragist Silliness" published three years later, on December 4th, 1912.[323] The first report was of a meeting of Parliament in which Home Secretary Herbert Gladstone addressed the question of suffragettes' dissatisfaction with their current status as prisoners at the meeting.[324] There was a push in England as well as in Ireland for suffragettes to be considered political prisoners.[325] This was the source of the protest referenced in the article discussed above. Gladstone's openly dismissive attitude was encouraged by the other members of Parliament, "Mr. Gladstone, replying with regard to the Suffragette complaints, said that while he recognized there was a certain class of offence which might be called political he could not understand why if anyone broke the ordinary law he or she should be immune from the consequences of breaking the law. (Hear)."[326] Gladstone was aware of the suffragists' argument, but chose to dismiss their claims, as he clearly viewed these women as ordinary lawbreakers. Characterizing them this way weakened the women's tactics and the force of their argument. The use of "(Hear)" in the text indicated that a Member of Parliament had

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[322] "Suffragist Silliness," *Irish Times,* December 3, 1912, 4, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/1203/Pg004.html.
[323] Ibid; "Gladstone and the Suffragettes," *Irish Times*, August 5, 1909, 6, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1909/0805/Pg006.html.
[324] Ian Machin, "Herbert Gladstone (Viscount Gladstone), 1854-1930: Liberal History," Liberal History, May 20, 2012, accessed June 01, 2017, http://www.liberalhistory.org.uk/history/gladstone-herbert-viscount-gladstone/.
[325] "Gladstone and the Suffragettes," *Irish Times*, August 5, 1909, 6. *The Irish Citizen*, in addressing suffrage prisoners, puts forth a similar argument.
See "Current Comment," *Irish Citizen* August 29, 1912, 1;
[326] "Gladstone and the Suffragettes," *Irish Times*, August 5, 1909, 6.

spoken the word aloud to convey agreement with Gladstone's remarks.[327] Laughter and cheers likewise demonstrated approval, and Gladstone proclaimed, "When a Court sentence a prisoner to a particular division, the Home Secretary would, in his opinion, be acting beyond and outside his constitutional function if he attempted to override that decision of the Court." The other M.P.s responded with "(Laughter)" according to the report.[328] Support was shown at Gladstone's remarks concerning a fellow Member of Parliament, when he explained, "If Mr. Snowden would consent to go to Holloway, [a British prison] he (Mr. Gladstone) would be glad to give him ample opportunity of disproving every single one of these baseless allegations. (Cheers.)"[329] The approval of this statement indicated that it comprised a veiled threat to imprison Mr. Snowden. Gladstone dismissed the claims brought forth by the suffragettes as "baseless," and insinuated that they were easily disproved. Addressing the condition of the prison cells, Gladstone went on to claim that, "They were special cells in which disorderly prisoners were placed, so that they could not smash windows. Before the Suffragettes were placed in them, they were personally inspected by the Secretary of the Prison Commission."[330] The function of the windowless cells may have been intended as a further mockery of the suffragettes. The cells may have housed other violent prisoners as well, but their association with suffragettes was telling. Given the overall tone of the piece, the association was intentional. Gladstone played up the stereotype of dissatisfied women who capriciously changed their minds. The report went on to state, "When a number of ladies were sent to the first division some years ago, they protested having such

[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.
[330] Ibid.

privileged treatment, and asked to be treated like other prisoners, and now that they were being sent to the second division, they were still complaining. (Laughter.)"[331] The derision in these remarks was apparent, as Gladstone dismissed their claims of poor conditions outright, and implied that attempts to satisfy these women had failed because they were simply behaving as fickle women. Gladstone and the other Members of Parliament believed that these women were not to be taken seriously. The men dealing with these women deserved sympathy rather than the women themselves. The final lines of the report bore this out, with the author characterizing Gladstone as, "the right hon. gentleman, who had always been most considerate in listening to complaints regarding the Suffragettes. (Hear, hear.)"[332] The Members of Parliament saw Gladstone as a longsuffering gentleman, graciously putting up with the ridiculousness of these women.

This trend of dismissing suffragette claims arose in other instances. A brief report on possible prison abuse entitled "Treatment of Suffragettes," touched on an investigation into the practice of forced feeding. [333] The report ran as follows, "Birmingham Visiting Justices yesterday reported with reference to the recent imprisonment of Suffragettes, that an inquiry was held and six women attended. All of them…had no complaint to make against any officials, but each protested against being forcibly fed."[334] Their complaints were discounted, and the report concluded that forcible feeding was not inhumane, by affirming, "The Committee was satisfied that, in connection with the forcible feeding, the medical officers and all concerned acted in the most humane manner, and showed the

[331] Ibid.
[332] Ibid.
[333] "Treatment of Suffragettes," *Irish Times*, January 6, 1910, 5. Accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0106/Pg005.html.
[334] Ibid.

prisoners every consideration."[335] The committee dismissed the suffragettes' concerns, and the piece presented forced feeding as the proper course of action. Those who were responsible for it were said to have "acted in the most humane manner, and shown the prisoners every consideration."[336] "Every consideration" did not extend to listening to the suffragettes. The editorial insinuated that the men involved with the situation knew better than the women, and the author inferred that the men acted with the utmost patience. According to the *Irish Times*, the suffragettes, as usual, did not know what was actually good for them.

Another case of unreliable suffragettes came from a short report published in the December 6th, 1912, issue of the paper and titled "The Suffragettes and Mr. Lloyd George." It recounted a humorous mix-up with disastrous consequences.[337] The incident happened in Aberdeen, shortly before Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George left the area, where he was engaged in a speaking tour.[338] The report ran, "A woman…was arrested just before the departure of the train; she mistook a Baptist minister for the Chancellor, and assaulted him with a dogwhip, and upbraided him for trying to disguise himself."[339] The woman steadfastly denied having made the mistake, and the report went on to say that, "At the Police Office, she refused to acknowledge she was mistaken, and indignantly protested, 'Do you think I don't know Lloyd George?'"[340] The woman's fate was left unclear, but that was not the point, the intention was to further

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[335] Ibid.
[336] Ibid.
[337] "'Suffragettes' and Mr. Lloyd George," *Irish Times,* December 2, 1912, 6, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/1202/Pg006.html
[338] "Mr. Lloyd George in Scotland," *Irish Times,* December 2, 1912, 6, accessed June 07, 2017; M. Williams, *Crisis and Consensus in British Politics: From Bagehot to Blair*, (London: McMillen Press, LTD, 2000), 34.
[339] Ibid
[340] Ibid.

discredit the suffragettes. The report characterized these women as overwrought and prone to violence and misidentification, they were too stubborn to admit their own mistakes.

"Suffragist Silliness" took the tongue-in-cheek style of the previous three reports and applied it to a recounting of a case of vandalism committed by a group of unnamed Irish suffragettes in Dublin.[341] This was one of the few instances that Irish suffragettes were mentioned, and the author made a series of comparisons between that incident and a fictitious account involving a group of young boys. This tactic exposed another way of viewing these women, presenting them as immature and foolish females old enough to know better. The comparison began, "In a well-known picture, John Leach depicts the consternation of…Mr. Briggs on finding that his…gate has been decorated with rude signs by the small boys of the neighborhood. Certain Dublin householders must have experienced somewhat similar sensations on Sunday last."[342] The vandals targeted "hall doors" and "embellished [them with] …designs which hardly added to their decorum."[343] The perpetrators were identified as, "certain women."[344] They were accused of having, "been busy during the small hours of the morning with white paint, and had inscribed the well-known 'Votes for Women' upon several doors."[345] The author was willing to excuse antics committed by children, but grown women should know better, as the following comparison established, "The artistic efforts were not the work of small boys, to whom much may be forgiven, but of advocates for the cause of women's suffrage."[346] "Much

[341] "Suffragist Silliness," *Irish Times,* December 3, 1912, 4, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/1203/Pg004.html.
[342] Ibid.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid.

may be forgiven" of "small boys" but women who engaged in such actions apparently deserved the ridicule which would be the end result of their vandalism. The author implied throughout the work that these and similar antics would be the downfall of women's suffrage. Their "pranks" included vandalizing pillar-boxes and ruining letters by "dropping open bottles of varnish into pillar-boxes."[347] These tactics were compared unfavorably once again to children's antics, and the children were far more pardonable.[348] The author explained that, "They were like the practical jokes of schoolgirls, except that the latter were usually of a more humorous nature. And, like practical jokes, they may do serious harm to innocent people."[349] The vandalism was perhaps more tolerable when their targets were the wealthy, but these acts were less forgivable when the targets were ordinary citizens. The author maintained that, "Now they have resorted to a plan which may destroy…. the property of poor men and women to whom the loss of money means the loss of food."[350] The hijinks of children were understandable and forgivable whether they were "small boys" or "schoolgirls." The "pranks of" grown women engaging in militant protests were neither understandable nor forgivable. The piece characterized the suffragettes as being responsible for the ridiculing of their own movement. The author related, "Now they [the suffragettes] seem to be making a deliberate effort to appear ridiculous and it will be their own fault if 'suffragette' replaces the policeman as the buffoon of the harlequinade."[351] The possibility of serious harm to someone's livelihood

[347] Ibid. A pillar-box is a free-standing mail box.
[348] Ibid.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Ibid. Another case of such tampering was reported in, "Pillar Box Outrages," *Irish Times*, December 2, 1912, 6, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1912/1202/Pg006.html.
[351] "Suffragist Silliness," *Irish Times,* December 3, 1912, 4.

may have been motivating the author, and there was no sympathy to be had for the suffragettes.

By portraying these women satirically as silly, overgrown children who were wildly out of control, the authors blamed the women for the downfall of the suffrage movement. They were the "few hysterical women," that the author of an untitled work on the women's suffrage question claimed to oppose. [352] The accounts given above remained as the only depictions of suffragettes discussed in the paper. The writing style used illuminated the *Times*'s position on the issue. The paper only presented negative depictions of suffragettes and relied upon the stereotypes discussed above. The *Times's* offering of these samples alone purported that all suffragettes behaved like the women described within the newspaper. The *Irish Times*, much like the Prime Minister Mr. Asquith, did not truly countenance women's suffrage.[353]

The Terror of Home Rule: Female Nationalists and the Easter Rising

The *Irish Times* painted Irish nationalism and Irish nationalist women in a negative light as well. Prior to 1916, Irish women were only mentioned sporadically, in the examples previously given. As the events of Easter Week, 1916 unfolded, the *Irish Times* had to reckon with the women who participated in the uprising. The paper used this opportunity to soundly condemn the rebels. The editors singled women out, using them as the subject of headlines that dealt with the Easter Rising. The paper did not

[352] "No Title," *Irish Times,* January 24, 1910, 6, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1910/0124/Pg006.htm.
[353] "Franchise Bill," *Irish Times*, January 28, 1913, 5, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1913/0128/Pg005.html;
"Women's Suffrage Bill," *Irish Times*, May 7, 1913, 7, accessed February 13, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1913/0507/Pg007.html.

contain much in the way of detailed coverage of the women or their activities. The *Times* likely featured the women in headlines as a means of drawing in readers because women being arrested for participation in an armed uprising was surely noteworthy.

The choices of words used in the pieces illustrated how the paper viewed these women. The writers used the terms 'ladies' and 'women,' to refer to the females mentioned within its pages. The paper applied the term "women" to these nationalist women. Editors referred to nurses as "ladies" regardless of social class.[354] An item on nurses began, "the rising (sic) had afforded ladies who had learned how to render first aid to the wounded an admirable opportunity of rendering their skill."[355] In a "Special Report," a column dedicated to covering the aftermath of the Easter Rising, the author referred to the female nationalists as "women taken prisoners (*sic*)," and in "Male and Female Prisoners Hooted," these women were characterized as "female prisoners."[356]

The author of a second report, entitled, "The Irish Women Prisoners," referred to these women as both "women prisoners" and "ladies."[357] The shift appeared to indicate some sympathy with the prisoners, as this concern likely prompted the word choice. The report ran, "Mr. Herbert Samuel informed Mr. Lynch (for Mr. Byrne) that he was unable at the present time to release either of the two Irish women prisoners who remained interred. Mr. T. H. Healy—Will he give the house some idea of what these ladies have

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[354] "Special Extra, The Trial of The Rebels, The Case of Women Prisoners," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html; "Services of Nurses," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html.

[355] "Services of Nurses," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html.

[356] "Special Extra, The Trial of The Rebels, The Case of Women Prisoners," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html; "Male and Female Prisoners Hooted," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 2, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html. "Hooted" here means booed or jeered.

[357] "Irish Women Prisoners," *Irish Times* November 22, 1916, 5, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/1122/Pg005.html.

done to justify this long imprisonment of over six months?"[358] The shift to the term "ladies" accompanied an emphasis on their "long imprisonment of over six months."[359] The author suggested that this imprisonment was unfounded.[360] This was evidenced by the question posed, "Will he give the house some idea of what these ladies have done," as well as the insistence that there was a need "to justify this long imprisonment."[361]

The account of a group who went to tend to some neglected animals made a similar distinction.[362] The article explained that the party encountered several Irish nationalist groups, composed of both men and women, who the author always portrayed as hostile. They threatened the occupants of the car during one encounter. The piece styled the women as "Two ladies…who volunteered to go to the succor of a number of horses," while the rebels were said to be, "A large crowd of women and boys."[363] Even the headline, "Exciting Adventure of Two Ladies," exemplified the difference.

The distinction represented different views of women. The paper rewarded women who lived up to the ideal standard by calling them "ladies." These were women who aided the wounded and made use of their first aid training. These model women could receive praise as well for seeing to the wellbeing of innocent animals. The *Times* denigrated women who deviated from the standard, those involved with the Rising were merely women, or even females, terms that conveyed the dishonorable nature of these women's actions. [364] Two other references to female prisoners bore out the above

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[358] Ibid.
[359] Ibid.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid.
[362] "Exciting Adventure of Two Ladies," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html.
[363] Ibid.
[364] "Special Extra, The Trial of The Rebels, The Case of Women Prisoners," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html;

conclusion, both references had nothing to do with the events surrounding the Rising. In the column titled, "Provincial Press," printed on October 17, 1916, the author made the following statement, "the number of female committals had increased…owing to lack of accommodation, women prisoners had to be sent from Belfast to Londonderry."[365] The author of the "Dublin and District" column, published on December 1, 1916, likewise referred to "female prisoners."[366] This column mentioned, "The object of this mission is the reclamation of released female prisoners."[367] Ordinary prisoners were referred to as women, not ladies in both instances. It was possible that this was the reason behind the word choice discussed above.

The *Irish Times* dealt with nationalist women as a group. References using this tactic appeared nine times from May to December 1916, with the majority being published in May and the two main accounts dealing with them, the "Special Extra" of May 2, 1916, and its follow-up reports being very brief. They mentioned the women in passing and provided little information on their trials. Women's participation in an armed insurrection baffled both the writers and those involved with their trials.

The "Special Extra" of May 2nd described them in this manner, "The cases of the women taken prisoners (*sic*) were under consideration. The work of dealing with these trials is one of great magnitude that is being proceeded with all dispatch."[368] The follow-up report noted, "The case of women prisoners is under consideration. All dispatch will

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"Services of Nurses," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html.

[365] "Provincial Paragraphs," *Irish Times,* October 17, 1916, 8, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/1017/Pg008.html.

[366] "Dublin and the Districts," *Irish Times*, December 1, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/1201/Pg003.html.

[367] Ibid.

[368] "Special Extra, The Trial of The Rebels, The Case of Women Prisoners," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html.

be used in this big and solemn task."[369] On May 30, 1916 a report of prisoners released, listed women prisoners, under the heading of "Names of sixty-four women prisoners who have been released."[370] The report of July 21, 1916, said simply, "They had now dealt with the cases of 1,200 and 1,300 Irish prisoners, and had recommended for release 860 men and two women."[371] Another report, published on August 1, 1916, ran, "Mr. Byrne asked the Home Secretary whether he had received any resolutions from America requesting the release of the Irish women prisoners now detained at Lewes Prison without trial."[372] A compilation received from the *Weekly Irish Times,* a purported Sinn Fein Handbook's index, listed "women prisoners, 38, 80," in its topics covered.[373] In "Male and Female Prisoners Hooted," published on May 2, 1916, they were referred to as "female prisoners."[374] The account explained, "Most of the prisoners were taken into Kilmainham Jail, under strong escort, and the crowd which witnessed their arrival indulged in booing as they passed through the gates, the female prisoners, of which there was a very large number, being subjected to very hostile demonstrations."[375] The women were singled out for worse treatment than the men because the crowd was more appalled by the behavior of these women than they were by the behavior of the men.

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[369] "The Arms Act," *Irish Times,* May 3, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0503/Pg003.html.
[370] "Release of Rebellion Prisoners," *Irish Times*, May 30, 1916, 6, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0530/Pg006.html.
[371] "862 Irish Prisoners Released," *The Irish Time,* July 21, 1916, 4, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0721/Pg004.html.
[372] "Irish Women Prisoners," *Irish Times*, August 1, 1916, 5, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0801/Pg005.html.
[373] "Sinn Fein Handbook," *Irish Times,* October 17, 1916, 9, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/1017/Pg009.html.
[374] "Male and Female Prisoners Hooted," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 2, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html
[375] "Male and Female Prisoners Hooted," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 2, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html

The *Irish Times* treated the women of the Easter Rising as a singular group. The majority mentioned as individuals were on prisoner lists. There was some concern for their welfare as evidenced by the use of the term "ladies" in an earlier article. The newspaper gave the impression that these women were seen as oddities whose cases were worthy of consideration, but not worthy of individual study. It was likely that the paper saw them as so far removed from the concept of both virtuous and reprobate women that the writers did not know what to do with them. They made little attempt to offer comments or commentary.

Countess Markievicz was the exception. The paper referred to her by name ten times from May to December 1916, with most of the commentary published in May. She seemed to be singled out as a representative for the other women involved in the events. Her status as a noble or her own charismatic nature contributed to her garnering so much attention. The discussion of Markievicz tended to encompass two forms. Some of the reports focused on her surrender and status as a prisoner and mentioned her in passing. Other pieces discussed her and the other women involved and highlighted her uniqueness.

The writers emphasized Countess Markievicz's prisoner status most often. She was mentioned in a report entitled, "Official Report, The Unconditional Surrender," which observed, "It is further reported that up to the present 707 prisoners have been taken. Included among these is Countess Markievicz."[376] The report referenced earlier on the absence of American inquiries into Irish female prisoners mentioned Markievicz separately, "has the Government received any request from the American Government

[376] "Special Reports, Unconditional Surrender, Reports from Viscount French," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html.

with regard to Countess Markievicz……Will the Home Secretary give a guarantee that the Countess Markievicz will not be transferred from Dublin without notice?"[377] Her surrender was referenced as, "In the St. Steven's Green area, Countess Markievicz and her band surrendered and were taken to the Castle."[378]

Others highlighted her uniqueness, as the following comment, published on May 26, 1916, demonstrated. In it the author remarked, "It is a serious state of affairs to have the peace of the city endangered by a gang of roughs with rifles and bayonets at large at that time of night, with a female like the Countess Markievicz in charge."[379] Three other reports credited her with an important role in the Rising. One credited her with the creation of a letter referencing a planned rebellion in the summer, while another attributed to her the creation of a false circular from Dublin Castle.[380] The third claimed that she used her Boy Scout troop as a cover for training rebels.[381]

A fuller account of her surrender illustrated the press's fascination with her. The report was reprinted from the *Daily Mail* on May 2, 1916 under the heading, "Countess Markievicz Surrenders."[382] It was described as a "graphic depiction," a term that typically indicated content of a violent or shocking nature, but this article was neither violent nor

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[377] "Irish Women Prisoners," *Irish Times*, August 1, 1916, 5, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0801/Pg005.html.
[378] "The Irish Rebellion," *Irish Times,* July 22, 1916, 8, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0722/Pg008.html.
[379] "Rebellion Inquiry," *Irish Times,* May 26, 1916, 7, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0526/Pg007.html.
[380] Ibid and "Inquiry into the Rebellion," *Irish Times*, May 26, 1916, 5, accessed February 14, 2016. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0526/Pg005.html.
The circular, thought to be from Dublin Castle, contained orders to arrest members of Sinn Fein. It was actually printed at Liberty Hall, by someone affiliated with the Citizen Army, and was used to provoke the uprising. See "The Arms Ship and the Bogus Circular," July 4, 1916, accessed June 07, 2017. https://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0704/Pg006.html.
[381] "Inquiry into the Sinn Fein Rebellion," *Irish Times,* May 27, 1916, 5, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0527/Pg005.html.
[382] Countess Markievicz Surrenders," *Irish Times,* May 2, 1916, 3, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0502/Pg003.html.

shocking.[383] It contained many details about the Countess's attire and her behavior.[384] The descriptions of her reflected the sensational nature of her position. The report noted that she "was in charge of the rebels," and that she, "left the building at their head."[385] It stated, "The Countess…. was dressed entirely in green, including green shoes. She walked up to the officer, and, saluting, took out her revolver, which she kissed affectionately and then handed up."[386] In a book review, the paper represented her as an artist, saying "the book… is 'decorated' by the Countess Markievicz, sister of the author, who displays all the wild imagination which we might expect from her stormy career."[387] In "How The Rebels Worked," the author wrote that, "the caretakers' rooms were reserved as bedrooms for the female invaders. It was here that Countess Markievicz slept, and she and the others seemed to have a partiality for chocolates and many other similar articles; many broken packages of sweets being left behind."[388]

Markievicz's activities should have put her into the category of a reprobate woman. The paper's fascination with her almost elevated her to the status of an honorable woman. The paper intended the coverage she received to vilify her. The most common characterizations of her depicted her as a dangerous criminal. The treatment of de Markievicz by the paper should have served in a similar way to the female criminals discussed earlier by acting as a deterrent. The mere existence of the extensive coverage suggested an ambiguity as far as Markievicz is concerned. That ambiguity likewise existed in other papers' coverage of other topics.

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[383] Ibid.
[384] Ibid.
[385] Ibid.
[386] Ibid.
[387] "Irish Poets," *Irish Times,* October 28, 1916, 7, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/1028/Pg007.html.
[388] "How Sinn Fein Worked," *Irish Times*, May 12, 1916, 5, accessed February 14, 2017. http://www.irishtimes.com/newspaper/archive/1916/0512/Pg005.html.

Conclusion

The *Irish Times* presented a prototype of the ideal and reprobate woman that drew upon Victorian and Edwardian stereotypes. The newspaper presented the virtuous woman as a middle or upper class wife and mother, who was involved with charity work, or as a lower-class single woman employed as a domestic. The dissolute woman was anyone who strayed from that pattern, and could be a criminal, suffragette, or a nationalist. These two versions of womanhood were presented through the advertizements, court cases, Letters to the Editor, columns, and reports of meetings of the English Parliament. These mediums revealed the desired and discouraged qualities of Victorian and Edwardian Irish women. The advertisements, letters to the editor, and specific columns discussed above presented the traits of the ideal woman, whetehr she was upper or lower-class. The court cases and reports of the activities of both suffragettes and female nationalists enscribed the characteristics of the reprobate Victorian and Edwardian Irish woman. Taken together, these samples demonstrate the *Irish Times's* portrayal of the stereotypical virtuous and dissolute woman.

The next chapter demonstrates one way that women sought to circumvent this narrow vision of what constituted virtuous and reprobate behavior. The female editor of *Bean Na hEireann* and its contributors did this by creating their own visions of ideal and dissolute women. For Irish nationalists, a model woman was someone who was devoted to the nationalist movement above all others. In trying to escape the original archetypes they were forced into, these women simply created and perpetuated archetypes of their own.

CHAPTER III

MANAEDS AND VIRAGOES, MAIDENS AND MATRONS: THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN *BEAN NA HEIREANN*

This chapter explicates the representation of women in *Bean Na hEireann* through the lens of the paper's central conflict, the juxtaposition of nationalism and feminism. *Bean Na hEireann* was in print from 1908 to 1911 and was an instrument of the radical Catholic nationalist movement. Due to its association with Sinn Fein, this paper conformed to the viewpoint of that group, and exhibited how the advanced nationalist press characterized women. The newspaper was edited by Helena Molony, who in many ways personified the ideal woman described within this chapter. Helena Maloney belonged to Inghinidhe Na hEireann, and served as a secretary for James Connolly. An interest in the intersection of labour and nationalism led her to become a member of the Irish Women's Workers' Union, where she was active in labor organizing until her death.[389]

[389] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*, 188.

Her concern for the working class led her to attempt the creation of a union for domestic servants, and she was also involved in the unionization of nurses. Both acts horrified the *Irish Times*.[390] Molony's activism was also reflected in the pages of *Bean Na hEireann*. Within the paper, she and the other female contributors exhibited their version of the ideal woman.

From the accounts discussed below, several themes emerge. *Bean Na hEireann* was a decidedly nationalist paper. As such, it opposed any cause that would hinder Irish nationalism and for many women, this included suffrage. The opposition to suffrage took the form of three main arguments. Suffrage arguments shifted the focus away from Irish nationalism, they implied that Irish men were not trustworthy, and they necessitated cooperation with the English. After reviewing these arguments, many contributors to *Bean Na hEireann* attempted to provide alternatives to suffrage, by showing the myriad ways in which Irish women could have an influence in Ireland. A composite picture emerged of the ideal Irish woman, for whom nationalism took top priority.[391]

From their manners to their fashions, the emblematic nationalist woman shunned anything and everything English. She could be compassionate toward English suffragettes and English women, as long as they kept out of Ireland. The real Irish nationalist felt that she had a moral obligation to help her country. This obligation arose

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[390] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland 1870-1970*, 200.

[391] Scholars, such as Louise Ryan and Karen Steele, have written on the feminist rhetoric contained within the newspaper. They have made much of hidden nationalist symbolism believed to be contained within writings on gardening. Other scholars have focused on a content analysis of the paper, cataloging the specific articles which discussed certain topics. These included the representation of Ireland within the paper and the feminist rhetoric employed to justify women's place in the nationalist movement.
See Louise Ryan, *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation;*
Karen Steel, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival*;
Karen Steel, "Rocking the Cradle, Rocking the System: The Cultural Representations of Femininity in 20th Century Ireland,";
Brittany Columbus, "Bean na h-Éireann: Feminism and Nationalism in an Irish Journal, 1908-1911," and the introduction for a discussion of this.

from the historical examples of Irish women who used their influence to help the Irish nation. Women's inherent moral superiority to men made them especially suited for public life. Some contended that women should take part in public life due to an inborn right, and expressed concerns about possible negative implications resulting from gender divisions. Most held to the Victorian ideas about women.

Despite this emphasis on Victorian ideals, some writers had embraced the characteristics of the "New Woman" discussed earlier in this study's Introduction. The term "New Woman" did not appear within the newspaper itself, instead the traits attributed to her were linked to writings about the "bachelor girl." As with everything in *Bean Na hEireann*, those who promoted these traits advocated their adoption only insofar as these characteristics could be used in the furtherance of Irish nationalism. For the writers of *Bean Na hEireann*, the ideal Irish nationalist, where she was able, entered into business and administrative positions. She looked after the welfare of children, and she promoted Irish industries. The virtuous woman cultivated an image of herself as an independent, capable, self-sufficient person. Endorsing Irish culture, and helping to create an Irish identity, were areas in which an honorable Irish nationalist could excel. For all these notions of modernity, the meritorious Irish nationalist woman could be quite traditional, often employing fashion choices to show her patriotism.

The coupling of a traditional mindset with more modern notions was reflected in the Irish nationalist stance on education for women. The ideal Irish nationalist woman looked after the welfare of her younger sisters by helping them to learn comradery, nationalistic ideals and good fashion and housekeeping skills. By garnering these skills, the future Irish nationalist woman would be in a better position to influence those around

her for the cause. The upstanding Irish nationalist woman could also take part in higher education, as she was encouraged to do so in order that the country would not continue to be dominated by English ideas in universities.

Bean Na hEireann was the organ of Inghinidhe Na hEireann, a staunchly Irish nationalist organization founded by Maud Gonne. Gonne was involved in a number of political protests, with two of the most infamous being her response to the death of Pope Leo XIII and her opposition to the Boer War. Due to the upcoming visit of the King and Queen, "there could be no official mourning in Ireland," for the pope.[392] The profusion of Union Jacks, the English flag, took the place of any symbols of mourning. To show her mourning for Pope Leo XIII, Maud Gonne hung a black petticoat from a broom handle. An altercation with the police quickly ensued. Several women from Inghinidhe na hEireann came to Maud's defense, along with many men. Everyone involved recognized the significance of the event. The black petticoat hung beside the Union Jacks that adorned all the other houses. Despite the controversy, Gonne ultimately won and the flag remained.[393]

Opposing recruitment by the British Army comprised another battle for the Inghinidhe na hEireann. The organization campaigned by using speeches, writing for newspapers and publishing leaflets. They attested that the Irish should back the Boers, rather than the British. Those Irish soldiers already engaged in the conflict should attack the British members within their ranks, in a show of solidarity for the Boers.[394] The Boer War became the focus of anti-enlistment sympathies because the Irish saw the Boers as

[392] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 63.
[393] Ibid.
[394] Terence Denman, "'The Red Livery of Shame': The Campaign against Army Recruitment in Ireland, 1899-1914," 212-214.

struggling for their independence against the oppressive British Empire. Many in Ireland related to this cause and willingly ignored its racist origins. The war originated as a conflict between Dutch colonizers and indigenous Africans, with the British intervening on behalf of the exploited Africans.[395]

Divisions existed within Inghinidhe na hEireann. Some favored separation from male-dominated political parties that refused to campaign for women's enfranchisement. Others approved of combining their forces with the members of the nationalism movement. Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington advocated separation. She avowed that women should be educated so that they could attain equal political consideration with men.[396] Skeffington discussed her views in a response, published in *Bean Na hEireann*, to a charge brought against the Women's Suffragist League. She alleged that the League was not properly educating women for a life in politics. This failure meant that women did not deserve to have the vote.[397] Skeffington maintained that Irish women should not endorse any political party, Sinn Fein or any other that did not back women's suffrage as well as national independence for Ireland.[398] Meanwhile, Constance Markievicz contended that Irish women must place nationalism as their top priority. She stated, "I would ask every Nationalist woman to pause before she joined a Suffrage Society or a Franchise League that did not include in their Programme the Freedom of their Nation…May this aspiration

[395] Ibid.
[396] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Reply to Some Critics," in *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1910, 3-4, in *Irish Feminisms 1810-1930*, ed. Mary S. Pierse (London: Rutledge, 2010), 3: 316-317.
[397] John Brennan, "Ought Irishwomen to Have Political Equality With Men?" *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1910, 9-10, in *Irish Feminisms 1810-1930*, ed. Mary S. Pierse (London: Rutledge, 2010), 3: 314-315.
[398] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Sinn Fein and Irishwomen," *Bean Na hEireann*, November 1909, 5-6, in *Irish Feminisms 1810-1930*, ed. Mary S. Pierse (London: Rutledge, 2010), 1: 281-282.

towards life and freedom among the women of Ireland bring forth a Joan of Arc to free our nation!"[399]

The argument between suffrage and nationalism continued throughout the pages of *Bean Na hEireann*. Inghinidhe Na hEireann managed to maintain nationalistic goals by using traditional gender roles. The organization stressed education and care for children, thereby succeeding in keeping Inghinidhe Na hEireann firmly within the proper bounds of society.[400] The group simply fulfilled a role that was natural to women. They helped with the education and relief of children and in so doing furthered the nationalist cause.[401] The women writers of *Bean Na hEireann* appealed to Victorian stereotypes of women, using them to advance the Irish independence movement. The arguments put forth by both *Bean Na hEireann*, and, to a lesser extent, the *Irish Citizen*, relied upon traditional views of women.

Bean Na hEireann employed those stereotypes in surprising ways. The women writers went further than merely defending traditional gender roles. They incorporated them into both their arguments against suffrage and arguments for nationalism. These women used the archetypal virtuous woman to further the cause of nationalism. Rather than urging that an ideal woman should learn to keep house, cook, and dress properly, the skills that made one a representative woman, the women of *Bean Na hEireann* argued that a virtuous woman should use those skills in the furtherance of nationalism and so was a commendable nationalist. Being an ideal nationalist in turn made her an honorable woman. For the women of *Bean Na hEireann*, nationalism ultimately prevailed. The

[399] Constance Marciewicz, "Women, Ideals and the Nation: A Lecture Delivered to the Students' National Literary Society, Dublin," by Constance de Marciewicz, Dublin: Inghinidhe Na hEireann, 1909, 4, 16 in *Irish Feminisms* 1810-1930, ed. Mary S. Pierse (London: Rutledge, 2010), 1: 286, 298.
[400] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 44-45.
[401] Ibid, 87.

paper presented its nationalistic stance in terms designed to appeal to its female readership. These arguments also appealed to male nationalists. Given the tenuous position of many women within the nationalist movement, that may have been the goal all along.

Suffrage or Nationalism—Which Made One a Paradigmatic Woman?

Though *Bean Na hEireann* and the women who edited and wrote for it were concerned about women's issues, their affiliation with Sinn Fein meant that national identity would always supersede their gender identity. They depicted women in a variety of complex and contradictory ways. They seemed to cater to traditional attitudes about women, and tried to portray women in a non-threatening light. These writers accentuated fashion, homemaking and Irish nationalism. They would renounce issues such as suffrage, when those issues conflicted with the image they sought to present. They and their fellow Sinn Feiners opposed anything English, and were hostile to any group that was willing to ally itself to the English in order to achieve its goals.

The female nationalists advocated for all women to have a greater role in society and their refusal to sanction suffrage came not from a desire to see women relegated to hearth and home, but they saw the suffragists as allied with the English, against the Irish, and refused to defend them. The items reviewed in the following pages expound upon these points.

The seeming contradiction between supporting women and opposing the movement to enfranchise them was seen in two key themes that emerged throughout the paper, the avocation of Irish nationalism and simultaneous renunciation of the Irish

women's suffrage movement. For the editor of *Bean Na hEireann*, a commendable Irish woman was Irish first and a woman second. Encouragement of Irish nationalism overrode campaigning for suffrage. This section details the ways in which suffrage and the concerns of suffragettes were portrayed in the newspaper. The items used in this section were primarily editorials that were written in response to letters sent to the newspaper. These examples presented the various arguments against suffrage, and the alternatives presented. They exemplified *Bean Na hEireann's* embodiment of reprobate women through their discussion of the women's suffrage movement. Arguments against suffrage consisted of three main premises. One argument stated that the vote was not actually useful as it was presently granted and so suffrage should not be endorsed. Another believed that women should trust in Irish men to give them the franchise when the time came. Others held that suffragettes had foolish reasons for wanting the vote. The most common argument against suffrage was that women's enfranchisement involved cooperation with England. These works situated the suffragettes in a very negative light and indicated the paper's opposition to the movement. These women were accused of being more concerned about England than Ireland. Authors depicted suffragettes in passive aggressive terms that characterized them as frivolous or uneducated and uninformed. In one editorial, the author said that the suffragette contributors could not be bothered to read the rules. Another said that anyone who desired suffrage was only interested in having the vote since men did, rather than desiring the vote for its own sake.

The first argument against suffrage concerned the usefulness of the vote. This can be seen in "Editorial Notes," which was published in the February 1909 issue.[402] Despite

[402] Helena Molony, "Editorial Notes," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 1, O'Hegarty G15, Spencer Library (Special Collections), University of Kansas.

an extended male franchise, merely having the vote had done little to affect Ireland positively.[403] This was seen in the phrase, "During the past century, the trade, agriculture, and population of Ireland had gone steadily backwards, while Franchise became more and more extended."[404] Having the vote itself would not help women just as it had not helped men. The author stated that, "Our représentatives—Unionist or Nationalist—have not been able to save Ireland."[405] The editor used this remark to show her audience that the vote itself had not helped either party to benefit Ireland.[406] The author reasoned that the vote alone would not help Irishwomen or the feminist cause. She demonstrated this rhetorically by stating, "In consideration of these facts, do we Irishwomen really want the Parliamentary vote or would the Feminist Cause be advanced by it?"[407] If the vote alone could not help Nationalists or Unionists, then merely having the vote would not help women.

Another argument against suffrage concerned the motivations of suffragettes. The author of "Editorial Notes" stated that, "M.G.... denies that the main plank in their agitation was to obtain the vote for themselves, but asserted that their object was to obtain the vote on the same terms as it was, or may be granted to, men."[408] This desire to have the vote in the same way that men did was understood by the editor to indicate, "That this was an unworthy and humiliating position for them to take up."[409] The editor seemed to think that reprobate women wanted the vote "simply because men have it."[410] This argument implicitly compared these women to children desiring a toy in the possession of

[403] Ibid.
[404] Ibid.
[405] Ibid.
[406] Ibid.
[407] Ibid.
[408] "To Our Sisters," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 1.
[409] Ibid.
[410] Ibid.

another child. These women were apparently not motivated by a desire to use the vote in a meaningful way. A model woman would not hold such a position.

Irish women had no need to advocate for suffrage, once Ireland had won its independence, Irish men would simply give them a role in the government. According to the author of "To Our Critics," published in December 1908, "when we get our own [parliament] over here, we believe the Irishmen would not only give women equal rights of voting, but also **equal rights of election**. [emphasis in original]"[411] Once Ireland became an independent country, Irish men would give women not just the vote but the right to be elected as well. To be a proper woman, one should wait for Irish independence, and trust in Irish men to do the right thing.

This idea was likewise echoed in, "Editorial Notes."[412] The rhetoric used by the author illustrated a fascinating counterargument to a common suffragette allegation. A typical argument for women's suffrage declared that women were morally superior to men and more capable of making decisions and so deserved the vote.[413] The author took another position, characterizing Irish men as loving "freedom and [having a] sense of justice."[414] These qualities, the editor said, would compel men to "give to women a voice and a place in the government of their community."[415] While acknowledging that the argument must be "put logically and forcibly before [them]," the editor remained

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[411]Helena Molony, "To Our Critics," *Bean Na hEireann* December 1908, 1, O'Hegarty G15, Spencer Library (Special Collections), University of Kansas.
[412] Helena Molony, "Editorial Notes," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 1.
[413] See Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Duty of Suffragettes," *Irish Citizen*, August 15, 1914, 101, for a typical example of this argument. "To Our Critics," makes the claim that women were as capable as men—and in some ways more capable—but does not quite blame the entire gender for the failings of corporate men, as Bennet does in her comments.
[414] Helena Molony, "Editorial Notes," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 1.
[415] Ibid.

confident that Irish men would rise to the challenge.[416] As the other author noted in the commentary discussed above, a model woman trusted that Irish men would eventually make good on the enfranchisement of women.

The idea of electing women to public office was portrayed as something Irish men would endorse. This suggestion emerged in "To Our Critics," where the author noted, "Why should women vote for men? Get the men to vote for the women. There were many civic posts for which they were eligible. Let the women come forward and prove their capacity, which we believe exists, and was only obscured by inexperience."[417] To prove the capability of women, she supplied an example, advocating the hypothetical election of a female mayor.[418] The author maintained that there were a number of qualified women capable of holding the position, "We have women among us who have active experience in municipal affairs."[419] The editor shifted the responsibility from the men onto the women. They must "prove themselves" and "get the men to vote for [them]."[420] According to the author of "To Our Sisters," once Ireland gained its independence, the men would eventually grant women's enfranchisement.[421] This could only happen if, "We Irishwomen must learn to throw off our present difficulties and assume our natural position in Irish life and men would soon have to frankly admit that it was only by working hand in hand that we can hope to make Ireland free."[422] By "working hand in hand," and "making Ireland free," Irish women would have

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[416] Ibid.
[417] Helena Molony, "To Our Critics," *Bean Na hEireann* December 1908, 1.
[418] Ibid. Though the author asserted that this would be legal, later commentary revealed that this was not the case. See Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Letter to Madame," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 11
[419] Helena Molony, "To Our Critics," *Bean Na hEireann* December 1908, 1
[420] Ibid.
[421] "To Our Sisters," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 1.
[422] Ibid.

demonstrated their worthiness to Irish men, and the men would grant them the vote as a reward.

According to the editor and contributors, in order to be a virtuous woman, one must ignore the arguments of suffragettes that intended to divide men from women. One must support Irish men and Irish nationalism. Irish nationalism would enable not only Ireland's independence, but women's enfranchisement as well. Women's enfranchisement would come about as a direct result of the decency of Irish men, and in recognition of the help given by women to the Irish nationalist cause. These Irish men, the argument ran, would not only allow women to vote, but they would even elect women to office. While the authors acknowledged that some persuasion might be necessary, the virtuous Irish woman used Irish nationalism as a means of eventually obtaining the vote.

The fourth and final argument against suffrage provided further evidence of the paper's stance on nationalism. Irish women should not condone suffrage, advocating suffrage involved supporting England. All three essays that dealt with suffrage, "To Our Critics," "Editorial Notes, "and "To Our Sisters," made this argument.[423] In each case, the author presented their opposition to England on political grounds. The first reference in "To Our Critics," ran, "In the first place, as Sinn Feiners, we object very much to Irishwomen's asking for permission to vote for an English Parliament."[424] The honorable woman was assumed to be a member of Sinn Fein and as such, she rejected anything which involved England. This association of suffrage with England could be seen in the editor's characterization of their critics, "The critic calls herself 'An Irish Suffragette,' which means that she wants to help the English women to get the right to vote for the

[423] Helena Molony, "To Our Critics," *Bean Na hEireann* December 1908, 1; "To Our Sisters," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 1; Helena Molony, "Editorial Notes," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 1.
[424]Helena Molony, "To Our Critics," *Bean Na hEireann* December 1908, 1

English Parliament, which, as we have said before, was no business for the women of Ireland."[425] Though the author of the critique identified herself as Irish, the editor discounted that identification in favor of one which suited her argument.[426] She associated the women's suffrage movement with England, and characterized her unnamed critic as someone who "wants to help the English women to get the right to vote for the English Parliament."[427] In the mind of the editor, anyone who was for women's suffrage was for the English.[428] The editor went on to remind her readers that such a desire, "was no business for the women of Ireland."[429] Again, the author was foregrounding her own definitions of Irishness, and using that to exclude any contributions with which she did not agree.[430] In the author's mind, a woman who condoned the suffrage movement was not truly Irish no matter what she said. A reprobate woman pretended to care about Irish women, when in actuality her real concern lay with helping the English. The critic was said to be "in exile."[431] The editor assumed that any Irish woman within England was not there voluntarily, but had been banished there. This sentiment reflected Sinn Fein's disdain for all things English. The editorial stressed the importance placed by the editor of *Bean Na hEireann* upon national unity as opposed to gender identity. This can be seen in the assumption that any help for women's suffrage would come at the expense of Ireland.[432] According to the editor votes for women "send men and money to Westminster," rather than leaving both at home in Ireland.[433] By articulating the

[425] Ibid.
[426] Ibid.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid.
[430] Ibid.
[431] Ibid.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid.

importance of nationalism over gender, the author underscored support for Irish nationalism as opposed to championing women's suffrage.[434]

The author of "Editorial Notes," did advocate endorsement of English suffragists, but opposed any suffrage activities in Ireland, stating, "They have all our sympathy. They have spent time and energy and risked liberty, and suffered hardships and indignities unspeakable. They were in their own country fighting for their rights."[435] For this author, concern for their fellow Englishwomen was allowed since their activities and suffering occurred in their own country. The author went on to write that, "their cause was not ours. The rights of Irishwomen were in Ireland, and must be won in Ireland, not in England or any foreign country."[436] The editor was not upholding women's identity as women, but their identity as Irish women. They must look to their own country to provide them with rights. To be a virtuous Irishwoman, one could apparently have some pity for the English suffragettes, as long as one did not maintain their cause as one's own. Establishing Irish independence would ultimately lead to women's enfranchisement.

English suffragettes were sometimes portrayed in a positive light, and other times not, but Irish suffragettes were routinely portrayed negatively. Consider the ways in which "To Our Critics" wrote about its suffragette opponents.[437] The author began by describing the female critics as "the few women-critics, who were not satisfied, thought we had not taken a *brave enough position*, and some of them, we believe, were displeased because we had said we were not 'Suffragettes' but only two of them put their

[434] Ibid.
[435] Helena Molony., "Editorial Notes," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 1.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Helena Molony, "To Our Critics." *Bean Na hEireann* December 1908, 1

displeasure on paper, and to them only can we reply."[438] The female critics were, first, according to the author, "few."[439] This implied that most women agreed with both the newspaper and its stance.[440] These female critics were likely suffragettes, and their arguments centered around the supposed cowardliness of the paper's editor. These critics took issue with the editor's stance that "the women of Ireland do not ask for votes."[441] From the onset, the female critics of *Bean Na hEireann* were painted as antagonistic. These suffragettes were interested only in a single cause, the enfranchisement of Irish women, and this branded them as reprobate women. [442] They accused the newspaper editor of cowardliness, and faulted the paper for not promoting suffrage itself.

Another example concerned the response given to a specific critic. The woman who signed herself Caitlin Ni Sionmain's original remarks were published in the November issue of *Sinn Fein*. As quoted in the piece, "'If Irishwomen do not take advantage of the present wave of sympathy for their (*sic*) [editor's addition] cause, they were likely to be left in the cold in the event of a Woman's Franchise Bill being passed in England, or, if Ireland obtain any measure of self-government.'"[443] Ni Sionmain highlighted the assumed gender solidarity among Irish women. She used the terms Irish and women to describe them and went on to suggest sympathy within Ireland for the suffrage movement.[444] Ni Sionmain maintained that an ideal woman encouraged suffrage within Ireland. Dissolute women did not, and were to be blamed for any failure of

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[438] Ibid.
[439] Ibid.
[440] Ibid.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Ibid.
[443] Caitlin Ni-Sionmain, "Untitled," *Sinn Fein*, November 1908, in Helena Molony, "To Our Critics," *Bean Na hEireann*, December 1908, 1, O'Hegarty G15, Spencer Library (Special Collections), University of Kansas. The addition of (*sic*) was made by *Bean Na hEireann*'s editor and will be addressed below.
[444] Ibid.

women's suffrage. This can be seen in the author's insinuation that a failure on the part of some Irish women to push for the vote would result in a loss for all Irish women, regardless of national affiliation.[445] Her reference to the possibility of both a Woman's Franchise Bill passing in England, or Ireland gaining some self-government, doubtless was intended to appeal to both unionist women and nationalist women.[446] A model woman, according to this author, was someone who placed her fellow women above her allegiance to a political ideology.

The same was not true for the author of "To Our Critics," who seemed determined to paint Ni Sionmain in an unfavorable light.[447] An important point to observe was the addition of the note "(*sic*)," [editor's addition] added by the editor when quoting the work.[448] That term was typically used to indicate an error in the original source. Its inclusion here suggested that *Bean Na hEireann's* editor asserted that promoting Irish suffrage was not universal among Irishwomen, despite Ni Sionmain's statements. By calling into question that belief, the editor implicitly questioned the other assertions.

The author of "To Our Critics" then responded to the remarks made by a second, unidentified author, written about in patronizing terms meant to discredit both the sender and her arguments. The account likewise inferred the supposed political leanings of the sender. Though the editor called this critic "our most formidable," this was written in a sarcastic tone.[449] The imposing nature of the criticism came not from any argument the author may have made but resulted from the sheer volume of the submission itself, as it

[445] Ibid.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Helena Molony, "To Our Critics." *Bean Na hEireann* December 1908, 1
[448] Ibid.
[449] Ibid.

was "five pages long." [450] The submission was not only lengthy, it was written on "foolscap.", a type of poor quality paper.[451] This description could be taken as a play on words, perhaps a dig on the editor's part at the writer herself. The editor inferred that the author either failed to read or follow the submission guidelines, noting that she did not provide them with her name.[452] This was likely included to discredit their critic. She could not even be bothered to follow the proper guidelines and so her argument was not worth considering.

This commentary connected advocating women's suffrage to siding with England. The response likewise confronted the demands of the "Irish Suffragette."[453] While for the most part condemned by the author, in the concluding paragraph, the editor did lend some small bit of credence to the suffragist's criticism, but even this seemed to be intended as an insult:

> But she may be right when she says, 'No feeble-minded, cowardly-hearted, faltering woman had ever given a great man to the world,' and perhaps neither have the viragoes. Let us avoid being classed with either of those unpleasant specimens of womanity (*sic*) and let us think about giving the world great women as well as great men. It needs them both.[454]

The editor seemed to be using the critic's own words against her with the addition of "viragoes" to an unpleasant list of insults. "Viragoe" is an archaic term for harridan or shrew.[455] According to the editors of *Bean Na hEireann*, one was only a proper Irishwoman if one advanced Irish independence above all else.[456]

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[450] Ibid.
[451] Ibid.
[452] Ibid.
[453] Ibid.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid.

Reprehensible Irish women not only aided the English by seeking women's suffrage, but they also adopted the attitudes and fashion sense of the English, to the ruination of their homes, and their country. In the "Woman of the House" column published in February 1909, the author laid the blame for Ireland's ills at the feet of the English.[457] She described the ruination of Irish morals, characterized by either miserliness or wasteful extravagance.[458] This degradation in morality occurred amid the chaos surrounding the "enforced union with England,"[459] This confusion resulted in a tremendous population loss for Ireland and the deterioration of Irish culture.[460]

Following the "enforced union with England," the wealthier classes in Irish society fell prey to English influence. This took the form of "a mincing way of speaking," which "was introduced into our schools," as well as "their vulgar ideal of being rich enough to do nothing useful in this life."[461] It was not only English attitudes and spending habits that were criticized, but all things English, from their clothing style to their furniture and household items, were vilified. This castigation resulted from the abandonment of Irish made goods and decorating styles in favor of English ones.[462] For this author, a reprobate Irish woman copied the manners, fashion, and decorating styles, of the English.[463]

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[457] "Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 2, O'Hegarty G15, Spencer Library (Special Collections), University of Kansas.
[458] Ibid.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Ibid.
[461] Ibid.
[462] Ibid.
[463] Ibid.

The author of "An Irishwoman's Duty," Lasairfiona, likewise echoed concern over English influence.[464] She equated a bad home environment with the influence of England and once again blamed Irish women for allowing the degradation, "It has long been a reproach to Irishwomen of this generation that they are, to a very great extent, out of touch with the tradition of Irish Nationalism, and are…strangers in their own land."[465] The reasons for this were "the circumstances of the time."[466] Lasairfiona blamed the environment in which these Irish women were raised, characterizing it as "colorless" or "anti-national," terms intended to provoke her readers.[467] Her statement, "Irish home life had ceased to be distinctive," likewise indicated this.[468]

She equated attempts at borrowing from English style with a host of negative attributes, each intended to persuade her readers not to imitate English women. The writer called these attempts, "servile, imitative, inglorious," and assured her readers that "the foreign standard of happiness" was really "ostentatious discomfort."[469] The author thought people had exchanged their Irish identity and nationalism for a pseudo-English identity that was dishonorable and worthless. She conveyed to her readers not only her personal feelings on the matter but the feelings they should have as well through the use of negative descriptions. She was convinced that dissolute Irish women brought about the current state of affairs with their copied English styles and their discouragement of Irish nationalism.

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[464] Lasairfiona, "An Irishwomen's Duty," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 10, O'Hegarty G15, Spencer Library (Special Collections), University of Kansas.
[465] Ibid.
[466] Ibid.
[467] Ibid.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Ibid.

English fashion once again came under fire in Cesara's, "How Irishwomen should dress."[470] It criticized everything from the style of clothing to its production. The clothes were unattractive, poorly made, and did not last long. Produced in England by poorly paid workers laboring in dangerous, unsanitary conditions, these garments were then imported into Ireland. Due to the unsanitary conditions in which they were produced, the clothes themselves often carried a host of diseases that were then brought into the country.[471] For Cesara and the female readers of *Bean Na hEireann*, the inference was clear, clothing was poorly made and working conditions were hazardous in England, but the same would not be true in Ireland.[472] Any Irish woman who purchased such garments was directly responsible for the continued exploitation of English workers and the destruction of Irish manufacture. Dissolute Irish women not only encouraged English manufacturing by purchasing the clothes, but these reprobates equally contributed to the unhealthy, dangerous conditions for the workers and apparently cared little for their own health or the health of their families.

The works exemplified a key point regarding arguments made within *Bean Na hEireann*. These arguments reflected the political identity of the women involved. These women employed nationalist rhetoric rather than suffragette rhetoric in keeping with their attempts to endorse nationalism over suffrage. As Sinn Feiners, they blamed England for Ireland's current troubles, anything and everything wrong in Ireland, from fashion to furniture, could be traced back to the English. Even English laws were castigated, with Cesara highlighting the various laws that prohibited Irish manufacture, and the author of

[470] Cesara, "How Irish Women Should Dress," *Bean Na hEireann*, December 1908, 11, O'Hegarty G15, Spencer Library (Special Collections), University of Kansas.
[471] Ibid.
[472] Ibid.

"Editorial Notes," noting the discrepancies in the enforcement of laws in England and Ireland.[473]

The editor and contributors blamed Irish women to some extent as well. They characterized women, especially the suffragettes, as being susceptible to manipulation by the English. The writers criticized these women for following English fashion trends, manners and decorative styles. Irish suffragettes were blamed for the decline in Irish nationalism. Nationalism was held to be the solution for the problems facing Ireland and its women. For the editor and contributors of *Bean Na hEireann*, reprobate women championed women's suffrage and the English.

Alternatives to Suffrage—Irish Women within the Pages of *Bean Na hEireann*

According to the women of *Bean Na hEireann*, an ideal woman was the exact opposite of the reprobate woman. This emblematic figure was an Irish nationalist and as such she concluded that an independent Ireland would be the solution to the country's multiple problems. This was reflected in the following passage from "To our Sisters."[474] The author assured her readers that the newspaper was concerned about women, writing,

> The Bean Na hEireann wants to make in this first month of the new year a Proclamation, that she never intends to shirk any difficult problem, or subtle issue, and would always be at least brave enough to speak on the side of Ireland and Ireland's women against the whole world, if need be. We were glad to know such fearless Irishwomen still exist, small though their numbers be in proportion to the great unthinking majority. Our raison d'etre was to awaken Irishwomen to their responsibilities and long neglected duties.[475]

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[473] Cesara, "How Irish Women Should Dress," *Bean Na hEireann*, December 1908, 11, Helena Molony, "Editorial Notes," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 1.
[474] "To Our Sisters," *Bean Na hEireann* January 1909, 1
[475] "To Our Sisters," *Bean Na hEireann* January 1909, 1, This support is also echoed in "Editorial Notes." See Helena Molony., "Editorial Notes," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 1.

These "responsibilities and…duties" entailed the ideal woman using her gifts for the betterment of her country.[476] This woman was an independent figure who favored Irish manufacture and cared for children. The ideal Irish woman promoted and encouraged Irish culture and the Irish identity. The model woman could have and should have a role in the administrative affairs of the country, and assumed that once Ireland had its independence, her fellow men would grant her a role in the government.

An ideal Irish nationalist woman did acknowledge Ireland's many economic and social problems, primarily the poverty and alcoholism that resulted from chronic unemployment. Appealing to women's moral superiority, the author of "To Our Sisters" was convinced that women were better qualified to handle these issues than their male counterparts.[477] That solution lay not with seeking votes for women, or outside help from the English government, as the suffragettes maintained, but with assisting the growing industrialization occurring in Dublin and Belfast. This would simultaneously alleviate the problems detailed in the report, and also help to solve the growing class tensions. [478] The author highlighted the role played by wealthy women, reiterating their responsibility for addressing the workers' concerns, by urging them to use their wealth to aid Irish manufacture. For the women writers of *Bean Na hEireann,* a paradigmatic woman could be a member of the upper class, and she should use her influence to help her fellow women.

Helena Molony in "Editorial Notes," likewise linked the concept of an ideal woman to adherence to a particular brand of Irish nationalism that was advocated by

[476] Ibid.
[477] "To Our Sisters," *Bean Na hEireann* January 1909, 1
[478] Ibid.

members of Sinn Fein.[479] Molony insisted that a proper Irish woman viewed Irish independence as a solution to the problems facing women. Illustrating Sinn Fein's position on opposing the English and advancing Irish self-sufficiency, Molony urged her readers not to look to England, but instead to "first set their own house in order."[480] To further highlight how nationalists also concerned themselves with women's affairs, Molony examined the issue of the presence of women within nationalist and unionist organizations.[481] The two associations that she referenced in a positive light, "the Gaelic Association and the Sinn Fein Organisation," were coincidentally some of the more radical nationalist groups.[482] By depicting these two groups favorably, and highlighting their support for women, Molony was implicitly urging the suffragettes among her readership to back radical Irish nationalism.[483] For the women of Sinn Fein, an ideal woman helped her fellow women by adopting the self-sufficiency outlined above.

Irish women had a duty, grounded in historical precedent and rooted in Victorian ideas of womanhood, to advance the interests of their nation. This argument was made explicitly in, Lasiarfiona's "An Irishwoman's Duty," and Cesara's "How Irishwomen Should Dress." These two columns linked women's virtuousness to their love of Irish culture and fashion. An ideal woman drew upon precedents from the past to aid the current struggle for Irish independence. Lasairfiona formed an argument for historical tradition to urge her readers to maintain Irish culture. She contended that it was common in the past for Irishwomen to be the guardians of their culture, particularly in times of persecution, writing that these women "were not the least among our patriots. Language,

[479] Helena Molony, "Editorial Notes," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 1.
[480] Ibid.
[481] Ibid.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Ibid.

customs, traditions, all that made for national solidarity, all that served to stir the people to remembrance of their common kinship, were safeguarded by Irishwomen."[484] By calling upon examples from Ireland's past, the author intended to urge her readers to imitate them. Following her establishment of historical precedent, she moved into an appeal for conserving culture on the basis of nationalism, "We of this generation, if we were worthy of our race, must do our share toward regaining it… It necessitates the dissemination of the knowledge of Ireland, her language, history and characteristics."[485] This piece accentuated the juxtaposition between honorable and dishonorable women. The author made the argument that Irishwomen of that time should aspire to be like Irishwomen of the past, writing, "Let us, Irishwomen, be inspired…and we would take our place in the world no less worthily than the rest."[486] In the author's mind, an Irishwoman was "worthy" and respectable only if she proved herself to be so by putting the needs of her nation above herself. Cesara likewise appealed to historical tradition, though her intent differed from Lasairfiona's. Cesara wanted to urge her readers to adopt a more obviously Irish style of dress, one rooted in the fashions of the past. In, "How Irishwomen Should Dress," she noted the precedent established by Irishwomen throughout history. Cesara also waxed poetic about the styles and types of clothes they wore, describing them as possessing, "elegance of colour and texture, and…hand embroideries."[487] This was particularly evident during the 1400s, when these women were renowned for both their virtue and their beauty. Through language that invoked an idealized past, the author attempted to create a model of a woman who possessed all the

[484] Lasairfiona, "An Irishwomen's Duty," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 10.
[485] Ibid.
[486] Ibid.
[487] Cesara, "How Women Should Dress," *Bean Na hEireann*, December 1908, 11.

virtues and attributes to which her readers should aspire. This was made apparent from the author's statement, "This was the high ideal of Irish woman-hood we have before us, let us all do our best to attain it."[488] Though the ideal might be "high," it was nevertheless worthy. These women had a long line of shining representatives who had done so before them. Motivated by a sense of obligation to their country, these Irishwomen could be worthy successors to the women of the past by using their style of dress to promote Irish nationalism.

The writers of *Bean Na hEireann* appealed to traditional Victorian stereotypes about women in advancing their arguments. For these women, the ideal female used her inherent moral superiority over men to claim for herself a place in public life, as the following examples articulated. These works not only validated how these women writers personified themselves, but the editorials also found that women drew upon Victorian standards of femininity as a way to condone their involvement in public life. Both Helena Molony's, "To Our Critics" and the unsigned author's "To Our Sisters" advanced this theory, though the second work took a more nuanced approach to the question of female superiority.[489]

Molony emphasized women's moral superiority by comparing them with men in "To Our Critics."[490] Molony highlighted the differences between women and men, believing that these differences lent credence to the demand that women should take a greater role in public life.[491] Molony reasoned that women's presence in business and administration would ameliorate the negative influence of men. She insisted that women

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[488] Ibid.
[489] Helena Molony, "To Our Critics." *Bean Na hEireann,* December 1908, 1;
"To Our Sisters," *Bean Na hEireann* January 1909, 1
[490] Helena Molony, "To Our Critics." *Bean Na hEireann,* December 1908, 1
[491] Ibid.

were far more adept at seeing to the business at hand, and less concerned with posturing.[492] These women would not become enmeshed in party politics, an ironic stance to take considering the primacy given to Sinn Fein's beliefs seen within the paper. Molony also asserted that women were better behaved than men at these meetings, "One had only to read the accounts of the urban and other council meetings in the entertaining pages of the *Dublin Observer* to see **how absurdly men behave** [emphasis in original] when they meet to settle their local affairs—quite as absurdly as they do at Westminster, and in proportion just as wastefully."[493] A model woman would never be so foolish.

The author of "To Our Sisters," illustrated a more refined argument.[494] This author did make a case for women's superiority, but explained that too strong a reliance on this point was detrimental to Irish nationalism. The author did allow that in some ways women were superior to men, explaining that, "The chief fault we find with men was that they talk very big and do very little, and we would like to foster amongst Irishwomen a desire to work."[495] Irish men, so the author seemed to imply, were perfectly willing to talk about a thing, and far less willing to work to fix it. Irish women, according to the writer, had "a desire to work," which needed only a slight nudge.[496] Doubtless the editorial in question was intended to supply that nudge. A respectable woman did not flout her superiority, but instead assisted her male colleagues. This was necessary for, "There were too few Irish hearts aflame with pure and **conscious love** [emphasis in original] of Mother Eire to have them divided by such an unnatural barrier."[497] Once

[492] Ibid.
[493] Ibid.
[494] "To Our Sisters," *Bean Na hEireann* January 1909, 1
[495] Ibid.
[496] Ibid.
[497] Ibid.

again, the prominence of nationalism was underscored. A decent woman avoided gender based antagonism by virtue of the fact that it hurt the cause of Irish nationalism. Throughout the piece, the comparison of men and women was more complicated than it might first appear. While the author largely rejected assumptions of female superiority, she did maintain that men could, at times, benefit from an adoption of typically feminine traits, writing, "We think that men would be the better for a little of woman's usefulness and spirituality."[498] The author seemed to say that women were both more useful and more spiritual than men, and consequently their involvement in public life would be beneficial to them. This was seen in the statement, "and we look for the advent of women into public life for a loftier idealism and a purer atmosphere."[499] Women brought these benefits by their very presence.

The author was not solely relying on stereotypes of women to advance her claims, but she also alleged that women had a "natural position in Irish life."[500] The writer was advancing two arguments in defense of women taking part in public life, one was based upon women's qualities, while the other centered on a concept of women having a "natural" place there.[501] According to the author, by "working hand in hand," and "making Ireland free," Irishwomen would have secured their place as equal participants in society.[502]

These two features demonstrated how the Victorian attitudes regarding women and their moral superiority were employed as arguments within the paper to motivate women. This motivation was intended to push them to seek a more public role. For the

[498] Ibid.
[499] Ibid.
[500] Ibid.
[501] Ibid.
[502] Ibid.

women of Sinn Fein, being a virtuous woman often meant taking an active part in Irish public life. Women could serve in other areas besides administration or business. Chiefly, they could serve as the guardians of Irish culture, they could help Irish nationalist men, and they could support Irish manufacturing. They could epitomize the spirit of Sinn Fein by being self-sufficient, and by prioritizing Irish nationalism above all else.

A third argument for Irishwomen's involvement in political life concerned their role as guardians of children. The ideal woman possessed maternal instincts, and she could and should be involved in the administration of government. This assertion was found in "Christmas Thoughts on Feminism," written by Maedb.[503] The author commented,

> If women had their share in the administration of affairs, no child would go starving to school—no woman, no mother, could endure the thought of it; and even if the expense of government had to be reduced, big official salaries cut down to do it, the children would be fed; for were not we women the guardians of the future.[504]

Here, women's participation in government was linked to a belief that they were more suited to look out for the needs of children than men would be. This was due to their roles as mothers. The author linked the two concepts, writing, "no woman, no mother," almost as if the two terms were synonymous. A righteous woman was a mother, and because of her natural maternal instincts, was capable of taking part in governmental affairs involving children. The author assumed that all women possessed maternal instincts, even if they did not have children. This assumption likewise implied that these instincts made one a good woman who was concerned about the welfare of children. If one was not concerned about children, one was not a true woman, or a true mother.

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[503] Maedb, "Christmas Thoughts on Feminism," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 10.
[504] Ibid.

Virtuous Irish women did more than passively condone nationalism and influence Irish men. They took a more practical approach to the furtherance of Irish nationalism by taking a more active role in public life. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the author of "To Our Critics" advocated for women's involvement in civic administration.[505] This argument exceeded the demands made by the suffragettes.[506] Rather than advocating for suffrage alone, the editor argued that women should aim beyond the ballot box.[507] Likely this was an attempt on their part to evidence the inferiority of the single-issue platform advocated by some suffragists. If the suffragist critics were going to declare that the newspaper was at fault for not promoting suffrage, the editor seemed to be arguing that the suffragists were at fault for not encouraging women to look beyond securing the vote.[508] An ideal woman was not only involved in administrative affairs but she was also involved in business. The author explained, "The women of Ireland should come more into the field of business,"[509] implying that, while some already had, there was certainly a demand for more. The editor was going above the desires of most suffragettes. Not only should Irish women seek to enter politics, they should seek to enter the business world as well.

An ideal Irish nationalist woman supported Irish infrastructure and manufacturing. This reflected the Sinn Fein policy of self-sufficiency, as that movement sought to create an Ireland wholly free of English influence. This virtue was seen in a variety of editorials. The first of which, "The Woman of the House," spanned two issues,

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[505] Helena Molony, "To Our Critics." *Bean Na hEireann,* December 1908, 1
[506] Ibid.
[507] Ibid.
[508] The editors of the *Irish Citizen* were aware of this point. A number of their articles addressed the need for women to have careers in male dominated fields.
[509] Helena Molony, "To Our Critics," *Bean Na hEireann,* December 1908, 1.

the December 1908 issue and the February 1909 issue.[510] These items typified young women as single, modern, and in need of advice. The editors' desire to advance both their nationalist beliefs and their endorsement of modern women could be seen within these accounts. Though the term "New Woman" was not found in the paper, the descriptions of the "bachelor girl" clearly indicate that this figure was a type of "New Woman." The women of *Bean Na hEireann* situated this figure in a positive light, but their acceptance of her was filtered through the lens of Irish nationalism. The "bachelor girl" was not accepted merely for being a New Woman, but for using that status in the furtherance of Irish independence.

To begin, "The Woman of the House" worked to create the image of the prototypical single girl. [511] To do this, the writer of the column contrasted this young woman with an older, married woman. The married woman was referred to as a "matron," a term which typically denoted both age and experience.[512] This continued for the remainder of the description, the "matron [had] of course, found out ways and means of making home interesting if not comfortable."[513]

The unmarried girl, in contrast, was described, as a "bachelor," a term typically reserved for unmarried men.[514] She was additionally identified as a "girl," a term which usually indicated youth and inexperience.[515] To show the woman's unmarried state, the author waxed poetic about her future husband, describing him as, "that possible He, whose heart and will she was to command, along with his home and all the worldly goods

[510] "The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann,* December 1908, 2-3; The Woman With A House, "The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 2-3.
[511] "The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann,* December 1908, 2-3.
[512] Ibid., 2.
[513] Ibid.
[514] Ibid.
[515] Ibid.

with which he would *promise* [emphasis in original] to endow her."[516] Although the author assumed that the "bachelor girl" would eventually become a "matron," for the time being her unmarried status was acceptable, as signaled by the number of positive attributes that were applied to her. These signified that one could be a proper woman if one was unmarried. The single woman was single by choice, and rather than being unhappily single, she thrived.[517] She was independent and attractive, as evidenced by the use of the word "slender". The ideal single woman was gainfully employed, with a variety of possible careers.[518] This broad list of occupations lent credence to the notion that the editors of *Bean Na hEireann* presented the ideal woman as one who was modern, employed, and a nationalist.[519]

Both "Women of the House" columns clarified that the ideal single woman was a proud supporter of Irish nationalism, a point that was also made in "Household Hints."[520] All three focused on the importance of the Irish identity, but only the first section of "The Woman of the House," and "Household Hints," contained specific references to women.[521] Consider the following quotes, taken from the first document:

> the fair white cloth, of Irish linen of course…the two windows, hung with white Irish muslin....At one side was a small tray of beaten copper from the Cork metal workers….Creamery butter on a little scallop; shell of Belleek china…the wooden breadplatter (*sic*), illustrated with a Gaelic mottoe (*sic*)…the loaf was of Sinn Fein Bread.[522]

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[516] Ibid.
[517] Ibid.
[518] Ibid.
[519] Ibid.
[520]"The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann*, December 1908, 2-3; Woman With The House, "The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 2-3;
"The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 2-3; "Household Hints," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 2-3.
[521] "The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann*, December 1908, 1 and "Household Hints," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 2-3.
[522] "The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann,* December 1908, 2.

A virtuous single woman made sure to furnish her home and stock her larder only with goods made or grown in Ireland. The author, assuming that her readers either were or desired to be proper Irish women, took pains to instruct them in how to achieve this. As proper Irish women, they would foster all things Irish, and purchase only goods made within Ireland.

A virtuous Irish woman was ingenious, as shown in the "Household Hints" column, likewise written by an anonymous author.[523] This piece affirmed Irishness and the cleverness of Irish women, once such example concerned wallpaper. Besides involving a trying and troublesome task, this author asserted that wallpaper was not produced within Ireland. The solution, distemper, a type of paint, was both easier to use and made in Ireland [524] The proper Irish girl was creative, artistic, and resourceful. She only used, purchased, or created Irish themed goods made from Irish materials.[525] The writer even went so far as to describe this ingenuity as, "mother-wit", as if to cement it as a trait inherent in females.[526] Bolstering Irish manufacture was elucidated in the second "Woman of the House" column.[527]

Following the author's castigation of adopting English fashions and decorating habits she offered a solution to the problem by urging her readers to decorate their homes with Irish made furniture. The author explained that in London among the Irish living there, "by degrees it became the fashion to hunt in old furniture shops for the beautiful tables and chairs, and other articles 'got rid of' by our foolish parents '"[528] According to

[523] "Household Hints," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 2-3.
[524] "Household Hints," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 2.
[525] Ibid.
[526] Ibid.
[527] Woman With The House, "The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 2-3
[528] Ibid.

the author, the Irish were beginning to see the importance of sustaining Irish manufacture over English. This realization extended even to those Irish dwelling in enemy territory. Lest readers be concerned that only the Irish abroad were attempting to correct the mistakes made by "our foolish parents," the author was quick to note that Dublin, too, soon adopted the fashion decorating their homes with Irish produced furniture. For the author, this was more than just the latest trend in furniture shopping. For her, it had a much deeper meaning. She wrote that this trend "we hope, had now roots deeper down and touching the stratum of nationalism, which alone can nourish and bring forth good art."[529] The comparison of this fashion to a tree whose roots were in nationalism and so produced "good art" might be an implicit reference to the various Biblical passages that used similar imagery. These passages compared a Christian practicing virtue with a tree producing good fruit. Given Ireland's religious climate, the comparison would be an apt one, and likely one that would inspire her readers.

Repeating ideas expressed in the "Woman of the House," column, Cesara argued that a model Irish woman backed Irish workers.[530] By urging her readers to purchase goods produced in Ireland, this kept both revenue and employment at home.[531] Not only would this benefit the Irish laborers, but, more importantly, this practice would benefit Ireland as well. She stated that doing so would, "keep the life and soul of Ireland together."[532] Every aspect of someone's life, from their style of dress to their upkeep of homes and gardens should reflect the Irish influence. This even included having, "our

[529] Ibid.
[530] Woman With The House, "The Woman of the House," *Bean Na hEireann*, February 1909, 2-3; Cesara, "How Irish Women Should Dress," *Bean Na hEireann*, December 1908, 11.
[531] Cesara, "How Irish Women Should Dress," *Bean Na hEireann*, December 1908, 11.
[532] Ibid.

water barrels painted green every year."[533] The author added that, "This would only be done by every one of us buying our own goods, made by our own brothers and sisters; helping them as they help us."[534]

The advertisements section likewise promoted the view that by purchasing goods produced in Ireland, the ideal Irish woman used her economic role to further Irish nationalism. Business owners who placed their advertisements in the newspaper were aware of its audience and so appealed to the nationalistic sentiments of their readers when promoting their goods and services. Several of the ads were written in Gaelic as well as English. These included the "McGuiness & Co: Drapers, High-class Milliners and Ladies' Outfitters," a "Grocer and Purveyor" whose name was only rendered in Gaelic, an ad for "St. Edna's School" for Catholic Boys, and an ad for a fruit seller named "W.L. Cole."[535] Even ads solely written in English highlighted the Irishness of their goods. An ad for "Hopkins and Hopkins" jewelry foregrounded their, "Irish art [and] Jewelry," while the "Irish Art Companions" declared, "We sell Irish Goods Only," the ad for" J. Kirby and Company" proclaimed themselves as, "Genuine Limerick Lace Manufacturers," and the ad for "Kilkenny Woodworkers" stated, "Made in Ireland."[536] An ad for "Milroy Bros.," read, "Help to keep Irish Markets for Irish Goods by buying Irish Sweets," "Dublin Woollen Company" described their fabrics as "Irish Fern," "Elliott's Irish Poplin" touted the local origin of their poplins, and "A. Yeoman's and

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[533] Ibid.
[534] Ibid.
[535] "Ads," *Bean Na hEireann,* December 1908, 12;
"Ad for St. Edna's School," *Bean Na hEireann,* January 1909, 4;
"Elliott's Irish Poplin," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 2; "Milroy Bros ad," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 2.
[536] "Hopkins and Hopkins Ad," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 7;
"Irish Art Companions Ad," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 2;
"J. Kirby & Co. Ad," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 11; Anon, "The Kilkenny Woodworkers Ad," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 1.

Company" advertised their, "Irish-made Furs [that contained an] Irish Trade-mark on each Article."[537] From the above sample, the accent on Ireland was apparent. The advertisers were aware that the readers of *Bean Na hEireann* were Irishwomen who espoused the cause of Irish nationalism, and this was the aspect highlighted in these ads.

Irish women could be virtuous by getting an education, or through having a job in one of the helping professions. Lasairfiona advocated this in "Irishwomen's Duty," writing, "As…teachers they have the sacred charge of forming young minds committed to them. As housekeepers they have the expenditure of Ireland's income, and they should see that it was expended to Ireland's benefit."[538] By affirming these groups, Lasairfiona showed that all women had a part to play in helping Ireland, and that these women in particular were suited to help because of their professions. A woman was considered good, regardless of her social status, as long as she worked to benefit Ireland.

This idea was expressed in an editorial entitled, "Inghinidhe Na hEireann," written by Mary A. McLaren, and published in the December 1910 issue of the paper. This editorial noted the ways in which both *Bean Na hEireann* and the ideals of Inghinidhe na hEireann might be spread throughout Ireland. The importance of this was, not surprisingly, linked to Irish nationalism. McLaren typified both herself and all the other members of Inghinidhe as, "units of an enslaved nation," as if to remind her readers about what their real goals should be.[539] While their name means Daughters of Ireland in Gaelic, McLaren considered her ethnic identity of greater importance than her gender.

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[537] Anon, "Elliott's Irish Poplin," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 2;
"Milroy Bros ad," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 2;
"Dublin Woolen Co. Ad," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 6.
[538] Lasairfiona, "An Irishwomen's Duty," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 1909, 10, accesed June 26, 2017. ttp://hdl.handle.net/10599/10464.
[539] Mary A. McLaren, "Inghinidhe Na hEireann," *Bean Na hEireann*, December 1910, 14.

For McLaren, a model Irish woman or girl should strive to be tidy in her appearance, and to use that to influence those around her. She wrote, "The neater the girl appeared the greater her influence on her brothers and friends, and if a member of Inghinidhe, this increased influence would be on Ireland's side."[540] A model Irish woman used her influence for the betterment of the nation, rather than cultivating skills to better herself. This notion of influence was likewise seen in McLaren's discussion of the groups themselves. Arguing that branches should be formed, wherein girls would teach one another useful skills, McLaren linked the benefits for the girls themselves to benefits for the nation. She stated, "apart from its national work it would foster a spirit of comradeship and furnish amusement, both of which were often badly wanted in country districts."[541] This in turn would lead to the promotion of education and the encouragement "to serve their country and shun its enemies," as well as teaching them practical skills.[542] An upright Irish girl sought to get an education, just as a model Irish woman sought to teach, so that future generations of girls would value their ethnic identity over their identity as women. Fostering a spirit of nationalism, rather than focusing on other concerns such as suffrage, was reflected in the other skills the girls were to learn. They were focused on, "methods of doing ordinary household work…learning to serve an ordinary tea attractively…putting on one's dress so as to make it look neat…keeping one's teeth clean and white."[543] While these skills were doubtless both useful and necessary, the underlying theme was the cultivation of greater influence. According to McLaren, "the neater and cleaner our homes were kept the more

[540] Ibid.
[541] Ibid.
[542] Ibid.
[543] Ibid.

all— girls and boys— would become attached to them and hence would be slower to leave them."[544] While she acknowledged that, "This may seem trifling, when looked at from a national standpoint," she insisted that, "it all had a direct bearing on the welfare of the nation."[545] If one wanted to be a proper Irish girl, one should be attractive and clean, and concerned with practical matters of home and family. By focusing on these things, these girls would grow into women who would be able to influence others to endorse Irish nationalism.

Finally, the importance of women educating both themselves and girls was extended into higher education as well. Some contributors must have felt that women could do more to benefit Ireland than learning to lay a proper tea or dress themselves. For the writer of 'Irishwomen and the University," women were urged to take part in education, particularly higher education, as a way of benefiting Ireland and combatting English influence.[546] According to the author, a responsible Irish woman did not trust in men to settle educational questions. The issue at the center of this report concerned the character of newly formed universities in Ireland, and whether they should prioritize an Irish identity or an English one.[547] The author stated, "Let the women of Ireland not leave this question to the bishops or educational experts; nor indeed should they leave it to the men to settle. They have an equal interest with the men, and they must insist on having an equal voice in the settlement of the question."[548] This demand for greater female involvement was not due to any argument over whether women should be educated but it

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[544] Ibid.
[545] Ibid.
[546] "Irishwomen and the University," *Bean Na hEireann*, January 4, 1909, in, *Irish Feminisms* ed., Mary S. Pearse, (New York: Routledge, 2010).
[547] Brendan Walsh, *The Pedagogy of Protest: The Educational Thought and Work of Patrick H. Pearse* (Oxford, England: Peter Lang, 2007), 179-180.
[548] Ibid.

was merely another way for Irish women to serve their country. In this case, they might serve it by promoting a national style of education, which would prevent, "a fatal period of Anglicization."[549] The author argued that, not only should women be involved, but, without their involvement, Ireland may well be doomed. They stated, "It would be far more fatal if the women of Ireland were found wanting."[550] Success was assured, "If the women of Ireland would definitely take up this position…prepared to carry it out logically and without swerving…the outlook would be much brighter."[551] Without the help of Irish women, the university question would likely be settled in favor of the unionists. With the help of Irish women, the university question would have a stronger chance of being settled in favor of the nationalists than if the men alone fought for it.

Conclusion

The women of *Bean Na hEireann* sought to circummvent the restrictions placed upon them by the Victorian and Edwardian Irish society. To create a place for themselves within the braoder Irish nationalist movement, these women writers ascribed to a particular set of characteristics, as demonstrated by their newspaper. An ideal Irish woman nationalist prioritized a specific form of Irish nationalism, one that prioritized a fully Irish identity and disavowed anything English. A dissolute woman supported the English, by campaigning for women's suffrage and purchasing goods made in England. The newspaper itself reflected this model, in its advertisements, Letters to the Editor, and columns, by highlighting the supposed superiority of the Irish culture, fashion, language

[549] Ibid.
[550] Ibid.
[551] Ibid.

and manufacturing. Through these samples, the female editor and writers demonstrated the ideal female prototype, and her counterpart.

The paradigm presented above was far different from the one portrayed in the *Irish Citizen*, the newspaper examined in Chapter four. For the women of the *Irish Citizen*, it was suffrage, not nationalism that should take precedence. An exemplary Irish woman was a suffragette first, and judged political issues on their relation to suffrage. While *Bean Na hEireann* linked every women's issue back to nationalism, the women of the *Irish Citizen* tied every issue to suffrage. The women of *Bean Na hEireann* asserted a reprobate woman championed suffrage over nationalism. [552] The women of the *Irish Citizen* believed exactly the opposite.

[552] There were a few positive depictions of suffrage in *Bean Na hEireann*. One was a piece on suffrage written by Hanna Sheehy Skeffington and published in the January 1909 issue. The other was a letter, in the Correspondence section of the February 1909 issue, from a woman who considered herself both a Sinn Feiner and a suffragette. In that letter, she attempted to reconcile the two ideologies, and asked for help from the newspaper in doing so. For that woman, no inherent conflict existed between the two, though she did seem to desire a means of prioritizing them. However, for the most part, the above hostility still predominated.

CHAPTER IV

WINDOW SMASHERS, WAR PROTESTERS, AND OCCASIONAL NATIONALISTS: THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN THE *IRISH CITIZEN*

The *Irish Citizen,* in print from 1912 to 1920, served as the organ of the women's suffrage movement. In this role it was determinedly nondenominational, and there was little reference to religion or religious discussions seen in the paper.[553] This absence reflected the policy of many suffrage organizations during that time, who attempted to leave religion out of the quest for the vote.[554] One of the paper's editors, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, provided a good example of the dichotomy covered in this chapter. She clarified how women often attempted to circumvent the stereotypes placed upon them. Skeffington went to a proper Catholic school, was taught by nuns, married, and had a child. She epitomized the ideals discussed in the earlier chapters, and seemed the very representative of an ideal woman. Yet Skeffington was far more complex than the above description would suggest.

[553] Religious imagery was employed, and there were at times references to religious figures contained within the articles, but there was no attempt to push either Protestantism or Catholicism onto the readers.
[554] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland*, 37.

She wrote extensively, publishing a commentary on nationalism and suffrage in *Bean Na hEireann* and founded her own paper, the *Irish Citizen*. Her husband "took Hanna's surname" and together they created the Irish Women's Franchise League, backed the Irish nationalist movement in later years and actively opposed World War I.[555] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, along with Maloney and others, expressed and challenged the stereotype of the ideal woman. The paper itself grew out of the need for a propaganda platform, and as such, the *Irish Citizen* advanced the cause of women's suffrage.

The editors of the *Irish Citizen* and its contributors prioritized their gender identity over their national identity. Their attitudes toward militancy or non-militancy, their opposition to World War I, and their response to Home Rule all sustained this assertion. Though tactics might divide them, the newspaper itself sought to present a united front. Militant or non-militant, backing of suffrage was key. A proper Irish suffragette could engage in and write about whatever tactics she chose, as long as her goal was the enfranchisement of women.

An ideal Irish woman assisted the suffrage movement seeing the enfranchisement of women as the solution to the problems facing all women everywhere. Only through obtaining the vote could women hope to advance other causes, both political and social. This can be seen in the debates surrounding condoning the First World War. For the Irish suffragettes, the war should be opposed for several reasons. The war was not sanctioned by women, it led to oppression, and it weakened the suffrage cause. The arguments surrounding World War One likewise reflected the persistence of Victorian attitudes toward men and women. Male-led governments were blamed for the war, but they were not truly culpable as long as they could not help their own natures. They needed the

[555] Ibid.

guiding hand of women for women would never have led the world into war in the first place. True peace could be achieved only by granting women the vote. Enfranchising women would enable their moral superiority to influence the government. The war must be boycotted until men saw reason and enfranchised the women.

Any movement that threatened the solidarity of women should not be endorsed. Irish nationalism was one such movement. This stance was reflected in two key ways. The refusal to comment on Home Rule except as it impacted women delineated suffragette's hostility toward Irish nationalism. The growing commendation of more radical Irish nationalist movements after 1916 signified the shift in the paper's stance. This endorsement was tempered with caution. The latter Irish nationalists were also suffragists who made the enfranchisement of women part of their nationalist goals and so they received approval from the *Irish Citizen*. Other Irish nationalists refused to take a stance, or were hostile to the cause of Irishwomen's suffrage. These received condemnation due to their stance on suffrage. A model Irish woman could champion both nationalism and suffrage, but only if the nationalist movement called for women's enfranchisement. Suffrage took precedence over any other movement.

The emphasis on suffrage over all else also influenced the paper's presentation of groups of women. Both the *Irish Times* and *Bean Na hEireann* referenced single women and married women separately, and included limited commentary on the "bachelor girl," the type of "New Woman" referenced in the previous two chapters. This figure did not appear within the pages of the *Irish Citizen*, inasmuch as the paper intended itself to appeal to all women. Though the terms "bachelor girl" and "New Woman" were not used within the paper, the more militant suffragists espoused views in keeping with the "New

Woman," while the non-militant suffragists were representative of a more traditional view of women.

The *Irish Citizen* remained the polar opposite of the *Irish Times*. For the *Irish Citizen*, the ideal woman was far more complex than the stereotype perpetuated in the *Irish Times.* She advocated suffrage, and left the decision of tactics up to the individual. A proper suffragette deplored war and violence, and used her influence to attempt to bring an end to such practices. The ideal woman concluded that she was morally superior to men, and saw that moral superiority as a duty to be acted upon. She emphasized suffrage over any other cause, and only approved of other causes that factored women's suffrage into their goals.

The ideal Irish suffragette condoned a variety of tactics. Gaining the vote for women was the end goal, not the methods one employed. The *Irish Citizen* published columns that prescribed both militancy and non-militancy, and took pains not to prioritize one strategy over the other. Some focused on militant tactics, and the justifications for them, while others covered non-militant tactics, and the reasons one might advance those. There was never an attempt made to prioritize one strategy over the other. The *Irish Citizen* sought to create a sense of unity among readers by stressing the importance of the cause over the methods used to achieve it.

The paper explained their position on militancy in a column published on June 29th, 1912.[556] "The Irish Citizen and Militancy," was a response to concerns raised by a correspondent that, "The Irish Citizen was to become an organ of militancy."[557] The author of the letter, defined as, "A lady, prominent in one of the Irish Women's Suffrage

[556] "The Irish Citizen and Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, June 29, 1912, 44, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
[557] Ibid.

Societies," declared that she would withdraw her allegiance to the paper should the *Irish Citizen* become an instrument for the militant movement. Rather than assure her, the writer of "The Irish Citizen and Militancy," instead laid out, in plain terms, the paper's stance on the matter. The *Irish Citizen* "was…the organ of militancy, and of non-militancy…. It was the organ of both, in that its pages were open to the fullest and fairest possible record of the woman suffrage movement in Ireland."[558] The editors of *The Irish Citizen* intended for the paper to publish both sides of the issue, so that it might be, "the fullest and fairest possible record of the woman suffrage movement in Ireland."[559] This was an admirable goal, and it was an area in which the paper largely succeeded.

Militancy and the *Irish Citizen*

To be a proper suffragette one could adopt militant tactics, as seen in a series of articles published on June 22nd. These pieces stressed the reasons behind militant suffrage tactics. In, "On the Press and Militancy," the author based her argument on the ways in which the press had characterized the militant movement.[560] The newspapers appeared to "condemn militancy, [but] the Irish Press, like that of England, gives it more subtle encouragement to proceed."[561] This, "more subtle encouragement," took the form of a blanket refusal to cover any suffrage actions aside from militant ones. The author observed that a prominent suffragette meeting was only reported by the *Irish Citizen*, while window-breaking received considerably more attention. The author wrote, "But let eight women break a few panes of glass and columns were given in all the papers to this

[558] Ibid.
[559] Ibid.
[560] "On The Press and Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 2. MF7097 r. 116
[561] Ibid

action and its consequences. Plainly the press believes that deeds, not words, are what appeal to the Irish public."[562] According to this author, the only way to receive the attention of the newspapers and the Irish public was by committing acts of vandalism.

The Irish press had not only committed a sin of omission, but one of commission, as well. In an effort to draw in more readers the papers frequently employed sensationalist tactics, "several papers assured their readers, without a shadow of foundation, that the window smashers of last week 'drove about the city' on their errand, and it was specifically stated that a cab was employed by a particular pair of ladies to reach their objective."[563] While this did not actually occur, the veracity of the story, according to the author, seemed of little value to the Irish press.

The author alleged that the press likewise did not cover pillar box painting, "on the other hand, no paper alluded to the very effective painting of pillar boxes throughout Dublin with the words "Votes for Irishwomen," which may still be seen in some quarters standing out in clear white lettering on the red background."[564] This statement was included as a way of reinforcing the author's main point. Militancy was a viable tactic considering that it attracted the attention of the press and the public, but it must be the right kind of militancy. Painting slogans on pillar boxes did not garner the right kind of attention. Breaking windows did. The author condemned the other Irish newspapers, not the militant suffragettes. While it was apparent that the author wished the Irish public were more receptive to "words" as opposed to "deeds," in view of the fact that they were not, deeds must be employed. She blamed the press, not the militants themselves, for the violent tactics. The press not only refused to report on non-militant activities but these

[562] Ibid.
[563] Ibid.
[564] Ibid.

newspapers exaggerated their reports of militant protests, describing only the most sensational forms of militancy. This claim was authenticated by an examination of the *Irish Times.*

Militant suffrage tactics were useful owing to their necessity. The author of "The Inevitable," concerning eight women who broke windows in Dublin, disclosed the motives succinctly, "it was a truism of that history that no enfranchised class had ever been able to force its emancipation except by the use of a certain amount, more or less, of violence."[565] Violence was necessary as long as these women lacked the franchise. These authors held that the ineffectiveness of constitutional means justified violence as the only option. A virtuous woman endorsed violence perpetuated by her fellow women. This practice frequently drew criticism, opposition to women's participation in violent acts stemmed from long-held Victorian beliefs concerning the behavior and actions of women. The Victorians considered the ideal woman to be gentle and nonthreatening. The author acknowledged that, "Up to the present, the violence used by the women of Great Britain and Ireland had been comparably smaller than what the men used to secure their emancipation."[566] Perhaps this was in response to the hostility these women faced.

This opposition took a number of forms. These ranged from condemnation in the press, as seen in both "Press and Militancy" and a series of statements concerning the *Irish Times*, to opposition by specific groups, in particular Nationalists and Unionists. Writing about the *Irish Times*, the author noted, "We notice with amusement the unctuous expressions of sorrow by the *Irish Times*, and its fear lest these tactics may

[565] "The Inevitable," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 36. MF7097 r. 116
[566] Ibid.

prove fatal to the cause they pretend to forward."[567] Despite that paper's insistence on opposing suffrage, the author commented that the *Irish Times*, "had considerable sympathy with suffrage under certain conditions."[568] The author did not specify these conditions.

She concluded that the newspaper bore some responsibility for the violent protests by refusing to take a stand on, or even cover women's suffrage in any significant manner. The author wrote, "If the *Irish Times* had taken the strong stand it should have taken on the question of Votes for Women on the Home Rule Bill, the militant protest of last week might not have been deemed necessary."[569] The author laid much of the blame for the protest itself on the *Irish Times*. Not only should they have come out in favor of women's suffrage, but they should have taken a "strong stand."[570] By showing such solidarity, they could have persuaded the militants that their actions were unnecessary.

The arguments put forth in "Militant Militancy" by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington echo the claims made in "Press and Militancy," wherein that author focused on the negative ways militants were portrayed in the Irish press.[571] Skeffington uncovered similar findings, writing that even "passive militancy" tactics, such as, "protest by picketing…deputation… 'raids' upon the Sacred Houses...in which the only sufferer was the suffragette herself," were condemned by the press.[572] Even relatively benign actions were too extreme for the traditional press, reflecting their view of women who did not conform to traditional gender roles. When more violent tactics were employed, the same

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[567] Ibid.
[568] Ibid.
[569] Ibid.
[570] Ibid.
[571] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Militant Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, January 4, 1913, 258. MF7097 r. 116; "The Press and Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 2. MF7097 r. 116.
[572] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Militant Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, January 4, 1913, 258.

types of criticisms were raised within the newspapers. This criticism often took the form of colorful insults. Skeffington insisted that, "Then, as now, we were 'maenads,' 'viragoes,' 'termagants,' 'unsexed hooligans' and the rest."[573] These derogatory terms were employed, intending to confirm how far the suffragettes had fallen from the ideal image of the Victorian woman. Virago was an archaic term for a shrew, while maenad conjured up images of sensual nymphs and termagant meant "a harsh tempered or overbearing woman." The language employed meant to paint a picture of an ill-tempered, irrational, woman. The term "unsexed hooligan," was interesting, as it conveyed a sense of androgyny at odds with the gendered images employed above. This term implied that these women were so far removed from the ideal woman that their gender was undeterminable.

This opposition did not stop either passive militancy or the more active militancy espoused by Skeffington and others. Skeffington contended that, opposition aside, women had responded with even greater violence. This response was likely due to frustration at the hostile reaction to milder tactics. If one were to be condemned, one might as well adopt strategies worthy of the condemnation.

The press was not alone in its opposition to militant tactics. The author of "The Press and Militancy" observed that both Nationalists and Unionists, while advancing their own movement's violent tactics, opposed violence by women.[574] The Nationalists viewed, "the smashing of a few panes of glass as if it were an unheard-of and unpardonable outrage," despite their own use of the same tactics. The Unionists, equally ready to resort to violence for their own cause, were just as concerned when female

[573] Ibid.
[574] "The Press and Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 2.

suffragists resorted to such tactics.[575] The double standard for male and female behavior was apparent. Violence was permissible when done for the furtherance of male political goals. These tactics were condemned when women adopted them. Violence was assumed to be a trait of men, not women.

Numerous other justifications were given in an editorial, "Why We Throw Stones At Government Glass-Houses," which contained testimony from "Eight Women Who Did It."[576] Marjorie Hasser, the first woman to give testimony, was a member of the Irish Women's Franchise League. She had gone on a trip to London to procure votes for women, and was arrested numerous times for suffrage agitation. [577] After turning the question of motive back on the questioner, by asking, "Why should I not?" she went on to give her reasons.[578] She said, "I as one of the majority sex [of] this country am allowed no say whatever in the making of the laws that the minority sex force upon us."[579] This denial of her rights, as she defined them, prompted her to action. Approval could be based on a concept of gender equality. Miss Kathleen Houston, another member of the IWFL, went on that trip to London, and she too faced numerous arrests.[580] Miss Houston called for her rights not on the basis of her gender, but on her status as an, "adult human being."[581] Her status as "an Irishwoman," came second, and was relevant only so far as it reflected her current disenfranchised status. This claim underscored a concept of

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[575] Ibid.
[576] Marjorie Hasser, Kathleen Houston, Maude Lloyd, Hilda Webb, Mrs. Palmer, Jane Murphy, Margaret Murphy, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37, MF7097 r. 116.
[577] Marjorie Hasser, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37, MF7097 r. 116.
[578] Ibid.
[579] Ibid.
[580] Kathleen Houston, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37, MF7097 r. 116.
[581] Ibid.

solidarity, and equality, wherein rights were determined based upon one's age and status as a person, rather than upon any distinguishing characteristics.

A good woman deployed militant tactics and doing so evidenced a desire to bring about social change. Miss Houston was, "interested in social reform…and interested in the laws regulating the social life of my country."[582] This interest formed the second reason for her actions. In other words, her concern prompted her to act as she did. A desire to bring about change was a justification for militancy, and one which might be adopted by a virtuous woman. An exemplary Irish woman deemed violence necessary in light of the failure of various suffrage societies to act, or when these groups would act in a way that harmed women. Miss Houston wrote, "The Irish Women's Franchise League failed as an organization to get even a courteous recognition of our constitutional protests."[583] Her concern over a proposed union between Liberals and Nationalists to prevent women from gaining the franchise prompted action:

> Recognizing the possibility of local self-government being extended to this country, and seeing that all indications point to a political combine between the Liberal and Nationalist parties to prevent the granting of any political power to Irishwomen, I, as an Irishwoman, was forced into making some sort of a protest.[584]

This statement, as well as the preceding ones, signaled that Miss Houston was characterizing her protest in terms meant to show her reluctance about her actions. While she was not remorseful, she did seem to convey regret at being compelled to act as she did. She felt she was "forced into making some sort of a protest," due to being let down by both a prominent suffrage organization, and the combined efforts of two large political

[582] Ibid.
[583] Ibid.
[584] Ibid.

groups. Faced with no other option, Miss Houston's "protest took the form of smashing a few panes of glass."[585]

The condition of the paper was such that the remaining five pieces were very difficult to read. Much of the type had faded, leaving entire paragraphs indecipherable. What was readable, however, drew upon themes of governmental tyranny, police brutality, and an overall disregard for women or their abilities. For Miss Maude Lloyd, an artist and member of the IWFL, who had not faced arrest for her activities, the blame lay with the government itself, rather than suffrage associations.[586] She wrote, "Does the Government, including of course the Irish Party, think that the women of Ireland were all cravens, that they should submit to insult after insult? Does it imagine, that because Suffragettes in Ireland have exerted self-control and patience to their utmost limits they have no self-respect?"[587] The obvious answer to these rhetorical questions was, for Miss Lloyd, a resounding no. She seemed to imply that suffragettes "have exerted self-control and patience," so violence, up to this point, had been rare.

It was not just governmental indifference that proved problematic. The government had enacted several policies that caused issues as well, including a proposal to "[create] a new constitution on old, autocratic, one-sex monopoly lines."[588] Lloyd pointed to the government as the motivating force behind her actions. Not only did they expect suffragettes to continue to endure ill-treatment, but they proposed to exclude them from participating in the government in any way under the new constitution currently being drafted. Miss Lloyd blamed the government when, toward the end of her statement,

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[585] Ibid.
[586] Maude Lloyd, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37, MF7097 r. 116.
[587] Ibid.
[588] Ibid.

she laid out her reasons for breaking windows, "the Government had goaded me, as a self-respecting woman, to make my protest against its insolent and tyrannical attitude to my sex in the only possible way at present available to me—the destruction of Government property."[589] Miss Hilda Webb, a member of the IWFL, and frequently arrested for suffrage activities, similarly lay the blame at the feet of the government's proposed constitution, as did Mrs. Palmer. Webb wrote, "The Government proposes to do a great wrong. It was going to establish a new constitution, giving liberty to the men of Ireland and leaving the women in bondage."[590] Like Lloyd, Webb based her actions on concern over the proposed constitution. Since women were excluded, Irishwomen had a duty to oppose it. For Webb, that duty was best expressed through window smashing.[591] Mrs. Palmer shared concern over the constitution. For her, "the broken panes were…a clear and unmistakable sign to the Government that Irishwomen cannot—and dare not—at this stage of the world's progress accept a new constitution for Ireland which arbitrarily denies to the women of the country…the vote."[592] The argument was that women were being threatened with disenfranchisement and they responded with force.

Two other government policies that came under scrutiny, and provided justification for militancy, were the Home Rule Bill, and a proposal to extend the municipal franchise. Prompted by concerns over the exclusion of women from the Home Rule Bill, Miss Margaret Murphy "broke windows."[593] This pointed to the possibility that

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[589] Ibid.
[590] Hilda Webb, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37. MF7097 r. 116.
[591] The remainder of Webb's remarks were indecipherable, due to the faded condition of the newspaper. Only a handful of words are legible, but what was legible bears out the above conclusions.
[592] No biographical information was given for Mrs. Palmer in this article. Mrs. Palmer, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37, MF7097 r. 116.
[593] Miss Margaret Murphy, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37, MF7097 r. 116. No biographical information exists in this article for the Misses Murphy.

Miss Murphy espoused Irish nationalism. Miss Jane Murphy was also motivated by concerns over government policies, in particular a lack of response to her letter from a Member of Parliament and apprehension over municipal elections. Murphy explained that, "I now break windows because Mr. Asquith did not answer my letter asking for the enfranchisement of Irishwomen on a municipal basis as a Government measure."[594] This reason might have seemed childish, some could argue that breaking windows was an extreme reaction to not receiving a response to a letter. Miss Murphy's real concern was the disenfranchisement of women; Asquith's unresponsiveness had not truly provoked her anger. His failure to address the request for, "the enfranchisement of Irishwomen on a municipal basis as a Government measure" drove Murphy's actions.[595] Her request that Irishwomen receive the municipal franchise went ignored, so she responded with violence. This concern was additionally raised by Miss Margaret Murphy, "the Liberal Government have refused to give an answer to the petition forwarded to them by the Mass Meeting, demanding an amendment giving votes to Irishwomen and making the Local Government Registrar the basis of the franchise."[596] Like Jane Murphy, she felt compelled to act by breaking windows to force the government to give a response. For these two women, militant action was the only way to get and keep the government's attention.

From these examples, a common justification for militant suffrage involved, not only the inaction of the government, but particular actions of the government. Women's

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[594] Jane Murphy, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37, MF7097 r. 116.
[595] Ibid.
[596] Margaret Murphy, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37.

exclusion from a proposed new constitution, the Home Rule Bill, and the extension of the municipal franchise, were all used by these women as justifications for their actions. Both the English government and the proposed new Irish government were criticized for failing to adequately address these women's concerns. These women used opposition to Home Rule to justify militancy. This argument revealed one of the ways that nationalism was subsumed by suffrage interests. Irishwomen were placing greater emphasis on their identification as women relative to their identification as Irish. While describing themselves as Irishwomen, their concern was not Ireland's independence, but how that independence would impact women.

The use of nationalist rhetoric to justify militant suffrage actions connected the interweaving of suffrage and nationalism. In an interesting point that raised the possibility of Miss Lloyd's political affiliation, she mentioned that Irish women fared far worse than their English counterparts. Lloyd declared that, "The wrong under which the misrepresentative of this country seek to place their fellow-countrywomen was ten-fold greater than the wrong under which Englishwomen now labour."[597] This argument was interesting for two reasons. First, by comparing Ireland to England, Lloyd was drawing upon arguments addressed in *Bean Na hEireann*, as discussed in Chapter Three of this study. Comparing England and Ireland and pointing out the ways in which England had harmed Ireland was a common thread of nationalist rhetoric. Sinn Fein rhetoric in particular employed this strategy. Secondly, these comments showed Miss Lloyd's affinity with nationalist rhetoric, hinting at the possibility that she was a nationalist as well. Her ability to turn that rhetoric on its head lent further credence to this assumption. The English did not oppress Irish women, Irish men, and not just any Irish men, but Irish

[597] Maude Lloyd, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912. 37.

nationalist men, subjugated women.[598] To be thought worse than their English counterparts likely stung any nationalist reading the paper. This wounding may very well have been Miss Lloyd's intent. She went on to note that the English constitution was, "old, worm-eaten, moribund. It was tottering to its fall."[599] In Ireland no such documents existed, and, "Here is no sacred precedents to be swept aside."[600] Comparing England unfavorably to Ireland was a common nationalist argument, yet Lloyd used it as part of her justification for militancy. Miss Lloyd echoed claims made by Irish nationalist women who encouraged Irish men when she said, "Moreover, it was my honest belief that no thinking man in this country would deny the right of the franchise to his fellow Irishwomen."[601] She again used nationalist rhetoric to bolster the endorsement of suffrage.

For Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, editor of the *Irish Citizen*, the failure of the Irish Party to include women's suffrage on their platform provided another cause for espousing militancy. Skeffington attested that attempts to achieve suffrage through more peaceful means had failed, "breaking point had now been reached in Ireland; constitutionalism had failed to evoke response."[602] The actions of the Irish Party, according to Skeffington, had led to the failure of constitutionalism. The Irish Party, the main proponents of the Home Rule Bill had not listened to the "resolutions, petitions, memorials," that had "gone to Irish members from various Boards, from County Councils, from representative Irishmen."[603] Skeffington pointed out that, in addition to these measures, "deputations

[598] Ibid.
[599] Ibid.
[600] Ibid.
[601] Ibid.
[602] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37, MF7097 r. 116.
[603] Ibid.

have been received by Mr. Redmond and Mr. Birrell; the Lord Mayor of Dublin had presented a petition in favour of Votes for Women at the Bar of the House of Commons."[604] More peaceful means were tried but these efforts were insufficient in light of the fact that "the Conciliation Bill [a proposed suffrage bill] had been killed by the Irish Party in obedience to Mr. Redmond's privately issued instructions."[605] Skeffington explained that such a thing was not new noting that "Suffrage for Irishwomen [was] offered in 1907 by the Government in the Council Bill."[606] That bill was another attempt at achieving both Home Rule and women's suffrage but "suffrage for Irishwomen…had been struck out of the Home Rule Bill," and "the Irish Parliament had been deprived of the power of conceding it for three years."[607] Faced with the Irish Party's continued refusal to act on the demands made of them by Irishwomen, Skeffington explained that these women felt they had no other options. Since "all peaceful methods of agitation [were]…exhausted, the historic and well-tried argument of the stone remains. If reason does not penetrate Government departments, flints would."[608] Skeffington avowed that many viewed militancy, and particularly stone throwing as a necessary last resort, employed only as all other means had been tried. Skeffington noted that Redmond and others were refusing to listen to groups sent to them. This refusal prompted the women to respond in the only other way they knew. They used violence to force the government to take them seriously and honor their requests.

Attributing militant actions to the government and its proposed constitution, and employing a subversion of nationalist rhetoric were not the only ways to justify

[604] Ibid.
[605] Ibid.
[606] Ibid.
[607] Ibid.
[608] Ibid.

militancy. A commendable woman advanced militancy as a response to abuse. Miss Jane Murphy cited police brutality as a justification for militancy. Miss Margaret Murphy included both concern over sweatshops and forced prostitution in her list of reasons why she broke windows. In both cases, the underlying assumption was that women resorted to militancy owing to their own experience as victims of violence, or in order to prevent harm being done to other women. According to Jane Murphy, "In November, I crossed to London on a perfectly lawful and constitutional deputation. I was brutally received by the Whitechapel police, my arm was twisted, and I was flung down, kicked, and otherwise ill-treated. So much for peaceful methods."[609] Murphy proclaimed that she broke windows in London due to the violence she experienced there, "on March 2, 1912, I crossed to London and brought stones, as I was determined to break windows rather than have my body broken again."[610] For Jane Murphy, the earlier violence she encountered at the hands of the Whitechapel police persuaded her that only violence in return would keep her safe.

Skeffington, too, in "Militant Militancy," noted that violence against suffragettes only created more violence.[611] She wrote, "Then, as now, the revival of the ducking stool and other obsolete medieval methods of dealing with feminine rebels was advocated."[612] While these and other "obsolete medieval methods" were never actually tried, that they were suggested was testament to the reaction of the general public toward even the more passive of militants. Skeffington went on to note that these women faced actual persecution, "passive militancy sent thousands to jail and some to death; through it

[609] Jane Murphy, "Why I Broke Windows in Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37.
[610] Ibid.
[611] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Militant Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, January 4, 1913, 258, MF7097 r. 116.
[612] Ibid.

matrons and maidens were subjected to indecent assault; it resulted in forced feedings and nameless brutalities upon militants."[613] Skeffington referenced the worst type of each category in order to emphasize her point to her readers. She referred to "the ducking stool" as the ultimate example of the "obsolete medieval methods" that were suggested, and interpreted the suffering of the suffragettes in the grimmest terms.[614] She characterized the suffragettes as "matrons and maidens," to emphasize the wide range of the age groups involved. These words also expressed the suffrage movement's capacity to draw in both married and single women. [615] Her description of their sufferings included references to "jail…death...indecent assault...forced feedings and nameless brutalities."[616] The use of the terms "indecent assault…and nameless brutalities" hinted at possible sexual assaults and could have been employed due to the sensitive subject matter. For Skeffington, too, the response of the public to these indignities justified militancy, "the public criticized and grew cold. It was terrible, but what could one do?"[617] In response to these threats, Skeffington declared that militant suffrage was the only answer, "step by step women, as was natural, proceeded to greater and greater violence, assaulting the Government through the public it represents, and passing from the breaking of Government glass to interfering with Government services, like the post office and the telephone."[618] This escalation was permissible, according to Skeffington, for passive militancy only resulted in the oppression of the militants and the apathy of the public.

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[613] Ibid.
[614] Ibid.
[615] Ibid.
[616] Ibid.
[617] Ibid.
[618] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Militant Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, January 4, 1913, 258, MF7097 r. 116.

For Miss Margaret Murphy, a desire to end the exploitation of women motivated her to choose militancy. A respectable woman could promote violence as long as it helped other women. Murphy wrote, "I want to put a stop to the sweating of women, which was a…cause of the White Slave Traffic."[619] Murphy desired a political role so that she might bring about social change but since she lacked the vote, she lacked this ability and so turned to violence. This point substantiated the ways in which social issues were used as justification for suffrage. Murphy and others championed women having a greater role in the government so that they would be able to bring about more moral forms of legislation. Their argument primarily centered on Victorian ideas of womanhood that championed women as being inherently more virtuous than their male counterparts. This rhetoric was common both to the period and to the newspaper. Several commentaries drew on this idea, as the following sections demonstrated.

From 1913 to 1915, the arguments outlined previously continued to form the basis of the arguments for militant action. An editorial by Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, published in the January 4th 1913 issue, argued that militant action was justified, "willy-nilly it keeps before the public, in season and out of season, the now literally burning topic 'Votes for Women'"[620] As other women put forth in the previous examples, militancy was a useful tactic since it garnered attention. The more sensational the actions, the more widely women's suffrage was covered in the press. The end result, according to Skeffington, was "Where two or three were gathered together, in tram or train or golf-links or marketplace, the latest 'outrage' comes up for discussion."[621]

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[619] Margaret Murphy, "Why I Broke Windows In Government Glass-Houses," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 37.
[620] Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, "Militant Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, January 4, 1913, 258.
[621] Ibid.

Militancy was effective, and should be advocated by virtuous women. This tactic intimidated the government into acting since "we live under a Liberal Government, run by politicians: accustomed to yield only to 'pressure.'"[622] Given this status, then:

> Desperate diseases need desperate remedies, and if the vote was wrested from Government by methods of terrorism, when five and forty years of sweet and quiet reason produced only seven talked-out or tricked-out suffrage bills, why who can say it wasn't worth a mutilated letter, a cut wire, a Premiere's cracked nerves?[623]

From the above quote, one could see Skeffington's ultimate justification for militancy, the times in which the militants lived necessitated it. The Government had not listened to their appeals, so, they used "terrorism" to compel governmental compliance.[624] The word "terrorism" was laden with unpleasant connotations then and even more so today. Passive militancy had only resulted in the suffering of the women involved. Through the suffering of the public and government officials, suffragettes intended to bring about the enfranchisement of women.

From February 1913 to October 1915, there were eleven other items published on militancy in the *Irish Citizen*. Their arguments were identical to the ones already outlined, the writers expressed two contrasting justifications for militancy, seeing it as either an effective tool that garnered attention, or as the morally proper response to male hostility. Particularly from 1913 onward, female militancy was important as a counterpart to male militancy.

In a letter written in April 1913 in the correspondence section, the writer noted that militancy was necessary because it garnered attention. The correspondent, dubbed,

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[622] Ibid.
[623] Ibid.
[624] Ibid.

"A. M.M.," began by discussing a suggestion given by another correspondent who had contended that "Passive Resistance" might be a better tactic than militancy. A. M.M. initially conceded the point, stating, "Passive Resistance would certainly be the more dignified way of gaining the vote, and also more in accordance with the traditions of women."[625] For A.M.M., and by extension other militants as well, these reasons did not prohibit militancy, since "we should not always walk by tradition; it was also well to let men see we were not bound by tradition."[626] It was important for women to step outside their prescribed roles to achieve their goals. A.M.M. feared that the proposed passive resistance tactics would soon overwhelm their practitioners, "I am afraid that if the tax-paying suffragists adopted this plan, they would soon be swamped very quickly."[627] A. M.M. argued that radical militancy constituted the only way to ensure the suffrage cause was widely known. The author made that point by relating a conversation between the writer and a woman who was not a suffragist. A.M.M. mentioned Anna Hanselm, a renowned suffragette and Quaker. Anna Hanselm was well known in the suffrage movement, but the non-suffragette had never heard of her. A.M.M. concluded that Hanselm was so little known due to her refusal to participate in militant suffrage actions. A.M.M. insisted that without militancy, "Votes for Women would still be, so to speak, quite an academic question."[628]

May Sinclair reiterated this opinion in a letter originally published in *The Daily Mail* and reprinted in *The Irish Citizen*. Sinclair depicted the militants in flowery, almost admiring terms. She declared that their advocacy was responsible for the growing

[625] A.M.M. "Militancy and Passive Resistance," *Irish Citizen*, April 5 1913, 2, MF7097 r. 116.
[626] Ibid.
[627] Ibid.
[628] Ibid.

attention paid to women's suffrage. Sinclair wrote, "Outwardly and visibly, the militant suffragists have not overturned the Government. But inwardly and spiritually they have overturned it."[629] Sinclair went on to discuss the ways that militancy had shaken the government and the government's response to the same. Her letter concluded ambiguously, making her actual position on militancy unclear, "I do not defend militancy any more than I should an eruption of Vesuvius or any other untamable natural force."[630] She urged the government to do all they could against the suffragists, then concluded that force alone would not stop the militants. Sinclair stated, "Let the Government…put down all suffragist meetings, all suffragist literature…prohibit free speech…close all women's schools and colleges…It would only be putting off the evil day."[631] Her reference to "the evil day" was perhaps in jest, though the text did not make that clear, and Sinclair concluded that, "There was only one remedy for the insurrection of the unfranchised—the vote."[632] Though Sinclair may have opposed militancy, she still recognized its merits as a means of achieving the franchise.

Mrs. L.M. Priestly McKraken also professed that militancy was effective, charging men with being the cause of the outpouring of violence. In a series of quotes taken from remarks originally published in a Belfast paper, McKraken set forth her argument by stating that militant suffrage was the fault of men refusing to give women the vote, "sad and deplorable as these suffragist outrages were, let it once and for all be understood that women in adopting such methods were only following a sort of natural law in the political world, a law they neither initiated or approved—men have done both,

[629] Mary Sinclair, "A Distinguished Novelist on Militancy," *Irish Citizen,* May 3 1913, 393, MF7097 r. 116.
[630] Ibid.
[631] Ibid.
[632] Ibid.

as the whole history of reform shows."[633] McKraken's remarks upheld the tendency to transfer blame for militancy to others. Like the pieces analyzed earlier, McKraken's remarks showed that this trend was alive and well in 1913.

This argument was repeated by Margaret Cousins, a co-editor of the *Irish Citizen*, in "The Defensibility of Militancy," published on July 25th, 1914. In it she outlined the reasons behind her backing of militancy.[634] These reasons may be adopted by other militant suffragettes. Women should use militant tactics in view of the fact that their present condition required it. They were "denied by law the status and recognition as human beings in their own right."[635] This "was more than a 'domestic disagreement.' It was an evidence of a condition of slavery."[636] In the above sentence, she lay the groundwork for using militant tactics by employing strong language to describe the position of women. They were "denied by law the status and recognition as human beings."[637] Women were denied personhood, they were not individually considered people and the law did not recognize them as independent legal entities. Their condition was equal to that of slaves. By comparing women to slaves, Cousins implied that women were considered mere objects to be owned, rather than people with their own attitudes and opinions. This emerged from Cousin's discussion of the sexual exploitation of women that she used to provide further justification for militancy. This was evident in her noting "That the laws…enable men to go unpunished after outraging innocent little children…that these same laws can impose as a 'maximum only two years' imprisonment

[633] L. M. Priestly McKraken, "Methods of Violence," *Irish Citizen*, May 3 1913, 394, MF7097 r. 116.
[634] Margaret E. Cousins, "The Defensibility of Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, July 25, 1914, 77, MF7097 r. 116.
[635] Ibid
[636] Ibid.
[637] Ibid.

on 'procurers' caught in trapping innocent victims of the White Slave Traffic."[638] For Cousins these facts demonstrated "that this slavery of women was continued for sinful sex purposes." [639] Both the existence of these conditions and women's inability to remedy them prompted Cousins to embrace militancy. She and other suffragists conceived of militancy as an appropriate response to the challenges faced by women. Cousins contended that violence itself was sometimes necessary by citing a monk's statement concerning murder and self-defense. He "told me that the Church would hold innocent of sin a woman who even killed a man defending her chastity."[640] This was obviously a reflection of religious attitudes towards virtue and its preservation, Cousins' reference to it likewise implied that in some cases violence by women was permissible. Cousins went on to claim that militancy was justifiable for similar reasons, "when the taking of life in such circumstances was permissible, all lesser damage to lifeless stick, stone, or canvas was even less a crime."[641] If it was acceptable for a woman to commit murder to defend herself, then it should be acceptable for a woman to commit petty vandalism to advance women's emancipation. This was reflected in Cousin's statement, "militancy was the struggle of women in defense of the honor and innocence of their sister woman, and the crying necessity for our warfare, and the purity of our motives were their own absolution from any real moral guilt in our attacks."[642] For Cousins and other militants, provocation was necessary owing to the stakes involved. Though militants seemed to only desire the enfranchisement of women, their true goal was ending the oppression of women by men. She thought that the nobility and necessity of this fight rendered the violent tactics

[638] Ibid.
[639] Ibid.
[640] Ibid.
[641] Ibid.
[642] Ibid.

permissible. Cousins went on to outline the various ways that women were negatively impacted by their present status. She mentioned women's having no say over their children's health, well-being, and religious beliefs. Cousins likewise referenced an inability to protect their children from being "incestuously outraged," by their fathers.[643] These realities made the enfranchisement of women necessary and the conditions made militancy defensible. She wrote, "What individual women often dare not do, the suffragettes, with mother-love for the race burning in their hearts, were doing. For over forty years they tried peaceful means of getting justice from their masters, but to no avail. Additional acquiescence would be criminal."[644] Cousins linked women to slaves through her use of the term "masters." She presented the futility of constitutional methods to prove that less violent means were unsuccessful. With no other recourse available to them, the suffragettes turned to militancy.

She connected suffragettes to mothers, by describing their love as, "mother-love."[645] Cousins drew upon traditional views of women as mothers by stressing that all suffragettes were possessed of this "mother-love."[646] This claim implied that all truly virtuous women were likewise possessed of this sentiment.[647] The linkage of motherhood and violent protection of one's young was implicit in the above assertion. Cousins averred that these women were motivated by concern for their fellow women, and so responded to threats with violence.[648]

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[643] Ibid
[644] Ibid.
[645] Ibid.
[646] Ibid.
[647] Ibid.
[648] Ibid.

Cousins thought that militancy was defensible considering that women had no other protectors and she blamed the Catholic Church for failing to do its part. This failure meant that the church was largely responsible for the continuing violence, "if it had done its duty for women earlier they would not have been forced into the arena of public life."[649] Cousins appealed to traditional ideas about women by highlighting their reluctance to step outside the home, she pointed to women's powerlessness in the home in an earlier argument as another reason for militant action. The ideal woman remained at home and exerted her influence there, according to the standard espoused by mainstream Victorian society. Cousins claimed that women's helplessness had forced them to take up violence to ensure that this influence would be protected.

Cousins believed that militancy would only cease once women had the vote. She called upon the Catholic Church to aid in this, "let the Church…[call] on the Government at once to give women the vote equally with men, as the weapon by which necessary reforms in morality, temperance, and wage-earning can be attained."[650] According to Cousins and other militants, in order to stop militancy, women must be granted the vote. They must acquire the vote to ensure the moral well-being of their country. Cousins professed that the cause was so worthwhile it justified employing any means available.

By August 1914, the argument in favor of militancy had shifted, these arguments now incorporated the Great War into their reasoning. In an account published on August 29, 1914, Mrs. L. M. Priestly McKraken examined militancy within the greater context of the war in Europe. She attested that men were hypocrites for condemning female militancy while participating in a far more violent conflict. McKraken's main point

[649] Ibid.
[650] Ibid.

concerned the relationship between militancy and the war. Many suffrage organizations had issued a ban on militant action so that they might better assist the war effort, but McKraken and others acknowledged that this was foolishness. The women ought to have continued their violence, and so won the franchise, but "because women were women…they forget the iniquitous vengeance which a despotic Government, by the inhuman torture of Forcible Feeding and the Cat and Mouse Act, wrecked upon the bodies of their sisters fighting for the freedom and honor of womanhood."[651] Women ought to have continued in their fight but they surrendered their own goals in order to help the men. McKraken proclaimed that women's actions reflected their moral superiority to men. McKraken remained hopeful that change would come, "I have a dream…in which I see the entire army of suffrage women…inflexible, indominable, irresistible, because unanimous. I see…their invincible demand cleaving like a javelin…killing prejudice, destroying apathy, and striking statesmen to their knees."[652] McKraken argued that they would have the victory if women would continue the struggle. Her argument had changed from her earlier refusal to endorse militancy. She now not only encouraged it, but she blamed men for its existence and campaigned for its continuation.

A proper Irish suffragette could permit militancy if all other means had been tried, a claim advanced by. M.K. Connery in, "A Holy War," published in the October 9, 1915 issue.[653] Responding to R. Jacob's critiques of militancy, Connery told her readers that, "In the first place, it was necessary to remember that suffrage agitation had come to a

[651] L. M. Priestly-McKraken, "Shall Suffrage Cease?" *Irish Citizen* August 29, 1914, 117, MF7097 r. 116.
[652] Ibid.
[653] M.K. Connery, "A Holy War," *Irish Citizen*, October 9, 1915, 119, MF7097 r. 116.

pass where argument had failed."[654] Echoing claims made by Cousins and Skeffington, Connery reiterated that suffragettes' patience had not resulted in the franchise. Instead she described how "forty years of dignified earnest endeavor had failed to establish the Woman Question among the questions of practical politics."[655] The suffrage movement "was threatening to expire from sheer inattention."[656] The movement received almost no attention prior to the onset of militancy, the attention they did receive was negative as the movement was not taken seriously. Mockery was a typical reaction, as seen in the following example, "[in] 1907, a debate on the Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons was the signal for ribald laughter and coarse jest."[657] When they were not being mocked, suffragettes were ignored and "the mass of the people were still in complete ignorance of the movement, owing to the organized opposition of the Press."[658] The author of "On The Press and Militancy" likewise professed that the press conspired against the women's suffrage movement.[659] An examination of the *Irish Times* revealed that there was almost no coverage of the suffrage movement in that paper and the coverage that did exist focused primarily on England.

Faced with this dire situation, Connery, Skeffington, Cousins and other militants, urged that the only proper response was violence. Connery alleged that militancy resurrected the suffrage movement and ensured that it was taken seriously. Proponents of militancy "realized…that political reforms nowadays were not to be won in drawing rooms, or by kid-glove methods."[660] Constitutionalism had failed, militancy would

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[654] Ibid.
[655] Ibid.
[656] Ibid.
[657] Ibid.
[658] Ibid.
[659] "On The Press and Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, June 22, 1912, 2.
[660] Ibid.

ultimately secure the vote for women. Connery assured her readers that militants were not, "acting in a wanton, irresponsible spirit."[661] This was a popular accusation leveled against them.[662] Connery and others avowed that, "The militant campaign was deliberately thought out in cold blood, and deliberately acted upon in cold blood."[663] Connery affirmed that militancy would, "make government impossible," so that ultimately women would have the vote.[664] Only by acting upon this policy would women be successful in gaining the franchise.

Offering An Opposing View: Constitutionalism and the *Irish Citizen*

While a model woman could countenance militancy, she was also free to oppose it and that opposition was likewise afforded space in the *Irish Citizen*. Anti-militant arguments tended to run directly counter to those made by militants. These writers affirmed that militancy's espousal of violence rendered it counterproductive. Anti-militants concluded that constitutionalism instead produced results.

"Were Militants Suffragists?" by M. E., corroborated the former point.[665] She found that she could not tolerate militancy in view of the fact that it was unnecessary and militants did not seek to enfranchise all women. M.E. wrote, "On reading 'A Christian Militant's personal opinion…I cannot really believe that she thinks 'one who discloses an inexcusable and appalling ignorance,' 'a dishonest distortion of facts,' 'a blind leader of

[661] Ibid.
[662] R. Jacob, "A Holy War," *Irish Citizen*, October 2 1915, 111, The Center For Research Libraries, MF7097 r. 116;
M.E. "Are Militants Suffragists?" *Irish Citizen*, April 5, 193, 65, MF7097 r. 116.
[663] M.K. Connery, "A Holy War," *Irish Citizen*, October 9, 1915, 119, MF7097 r. 116.
[664] Ibid.
[665] M.E. "Are Militants Suffragists?" *Irish Citizen*, April 5, 1913, 65, MF7097 r. 116.

the blind,' etc., was fit to vote on questions of national importance."[666] The language used by "A Christian Militant" portrayed the hostility that existed at times between the militants and the non-militants. M.E. took no issue with the language itself. She defended the claim that militants intended only to give the vote to those who thought as they did. M.E. deduced that militants could not hold such disparaging views of constitutionalists while simultaneously desiring to see them enfranchised as well. A virtuous woman could oppose militancy because it was unneeded, "I was recently told that 'many people' believe had it not been for militancy, the Liberal women would have never insisted upon the passing into law of the White Slave Traffic Bill."[667] While "many people" might think this, M.E. certainly did not. She adopted a biting, sarcastic tone to get her point across. M.E. avowed, "i.e. that without militancy, an educated body of women, knowing all the facts of this diabolical trade, would have done nothing to put an effective end to it! Therefore, you must worry them into it!"[668] M.E. felt that the argument was both illogical and ridiculous. She attested that women were perfectly capable of making good decisions without being compelled one way or the other.

Militancy's success and usefulness did not make it justifiable. R. Jacob was one proponent of this argument. While M.E. was the main contributor of anti-militancy rhetoric in *The Irish Citizen*, other writers added to the arguments.[669] In R. Jacob's

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[666] Ibid.
[667] Ibid.
[668] Ibid.
[669] See, M.E. "Morals and Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, November 1, 1913, 191, The Center for Research Libraries, MF7097 r. 116;
M.E. "Untitled Correspondence," *Irish Citizen* November 29, 1913, 227, The Center for Research Libraries, MF7097 r. 116;
M.E. Duggan, "Motherhood Versus Militancy Part II," *Irish* Citizen, January 16, 1915, 216, The Center for Research Libraries, MF7097 r. 116.;
M.E's other writings tended to focus on religion and feminism.

remarks on Margaret Cousin's piece, she contended that merely drawing attention to one's cause did not imply anything about the cause itself. Jacob was "willing to admit that, but for the collapse of the English suffrage movement at the beginning of the war, militant methods might have won the vote by now," because "any kind of sustained activity, on the part of disinterested reformers, was almost sure to help their cause, by keeping it constantly scratching the public mind."[670] Despite possible usefulness, Jacob still considered militancy indefensible, "that does not prove that the form of their activity was morally right, or even reasonable, or that some other form might not have worked better…In all forms of militancy, some connection between the action taken and the idea in the mind of the agent…was necessary."[671] Jacob concluded that this connection existed in cases of male militancy, "Strikes and riots and armed insurrections were all often justifiable, and destruction of property may sometimes be so."[672]

Jacob defended militancy so long as only men engaged in it seeing that men only attacked their enemies, while women attacked anyone. Male violence was rational, "the heads that men smash were usually those of their enemies, or of their enemies tools…men destroy regiments…men fire ships, and cities of the enemy."[673] While these actions may at times "be immoral", they made sense.[674] Men were responding to a threat, but the female suffragettes made no distinction. The militant suffragists "smashed not only the windows of their enemies, but those of innocent and irrelevant people…the

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See for example M.E., "Men's Place In The Home," *Irish Citizen,* July 5, 1913, 50, The Center for Research Libraries, MF7097 r. 116.;
M.E., "Women's Place In The World," *Irish Citizen,* August 2, 1913, 84, The Center for Research Libraries, MF7097 r. 116;

[670] R. Jacob, "A Holy War," *Irish Citizen*, October 2, 1915, 111, The Center for Research Libraries, MF7097 r. 116.

[671] Ibid.

[672] Ibid.

[673] Ibid.

[674] Ibid.

letters that suffragettes destroyed were anybody's letters."[675] The militants' habit of targeting anyone made those tactics indefensible "it was a mean and ridiculous way of fighting."[676] Jacob viewed the violence itself as understandable at times. She admitted that, "To my mind, a suffragist would have a more moral and logical justification for firing Asquith's house, when Asquith and all his friends were in it, than for firing an empty house belonging to some person that had never opposed the suffrage movement."[677] Violence against one's actual enemies was excusable, to an extent. Violence against the innocent was not.

The author of "The Faith of An Anti-Militant" held to the same argument.[678] Using "An Anti-Militant" as a pseudonym, this writer attested that militancy was indefensible inasmuch as its violence targeted innocents and created conflict between men and women. The author's opposition to militant violence was rooted in the assumption that militancy was harmful to everyone, not just the innocent. This violence undermined any sense of harmony which might otherwise exist between men and women. The "Anti-Militant" regarded "hurtful violence, even in a good cause, [as] one of the greatest evils in the world."[679] While they did not deny the necessity of women's demand for suffrage, anti-militants maintained that the ends did not justify the means. An upright woman should not permit militancy seeing that it undermined attempts to foster harmony between men and women. The "Anti-Militant" stated, "The whole human family constitutes one organism, so closely joined together than an injury inflicted on one

[675] Ibid.
[676] Ibid.
[677] Ibid.
[678] An Anti-Militant, "The Faith of An Anti-Militant," *Irish Citizen*, July 25, 1914, 77, The Center for Research Libraries, MF7097 r. 116.
[679] Ibid.

member was an injury inflicted on the whole."[680] Militancy harmed one part of the "organism" and was inexcusable, ignorance of this fact had led to excusing the violence and this in turn created conditions fraught with tension. According to the "Anti-Militant," "Canon Hannay says of militant methods that they were 'ethically deplorable but politically necessary.' This explains in a word what men have made of politics."[681]

The author placed the blame for militant action on men, contending that the men knew better, but they chose militancy for the sake of expediency. The author lamented, "They have abandoned themselves time after time to a course of action which they knew to be wrong, but which they persuaded themselves was 'necessary.'"[682] She condemned militancy as a moral failure despite its assumed "necessity." Espousing violence led to, "the wars and riots that have disgraced the world's history…in Ireland we were confronted with the spectacle of two rival armies…careless of the fact that they were preparing to tamper with the most sacred of all things, human life and human joy."[683] Violence led to suffering and could not be justified.

Jacob also argued that violence in service of an ideal would only lead to greater violence. She reasoned, "The freedom of women was more important than my life, but that gives no one the right to murder me as a protest against the Government's denial of liberty to women."[684] This example seemed hyperbolic, but to Jacob this was the only logical outcome of practicing militancy. This outcome was a primary reason for condemning it, since "Mrs. Cousin's system of morality, logically pursued, would open the door to almost any crime, so long as the criminal's motive was disinterested and

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[680] Ibid.
[681] Ibid.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Ibid.
[684] R. Jacob, "A Holy War," *Irish Citizen*, October 2 1915, 111.

pure."[685] Espousing such an ideology meant that, "the desired ends justifies any means, short of murder, and no connection whatever is necessary between the act done and the object in the mind of the doer."[686]

An ideal woman could oppose militancy and still support women, opposing militancy did not mean a refusal to acknowledge the problems women faced. The Anti-Militant writer claimed that opponents of militancy should extend sympathy to everyone, even those who abused women. The Anti-Militant writer stated, "Whatever social system we built up, we have no power to exclude from [it]…a single individual, whether it be a Cabinet Member who abuses women, or a man who assaults a little child, or a procurer who beats an innocent girl until…she yields...to a life of shame."[687] This sympathy should be extended, "we cannot estimate half the causes that have made these people ignorant, brutal, cruel."[688] This line of reasoning avowed that abusive individuals deserved compassion as well, no one could know what had driven them to those behaviors. The above list of individuals was the same list used by Cousins in "The Defensibility of Militancy."[689] Both militants and non-militants employed social factors to further their position. Cousins and other militants demonstrated how violence done to women excused or even necessitated militancy. Anti-militants did not accept violence to women, but neither did they condone violence in the name of women, everyone deserved sympathy and understanding.

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[685] Ibid.
[686] Ibid.
[687] An Anti-Militant, "The Faith of An Anti-Militant," *Irish Citizen*, July 25, 1914, 77.
[688] Ibid.
[689] Margaret E. Cousins, "The Defensibility of Militancy," *Irish Citizen*, July 25, 1914, 77, MF7097 r. 116.

Virtuous women should oppose militancy, the tactics were ineffective and discouraged the granting of women's suffrage. Militant tactics were unsuccessful inasmuch as these strategies targeted the wrong people, "take indecent assaults on girls and children. I do not see how the destruction of a pillar-box calls direct attention to this wrong! Whereas the destruction of the windows of the magistrate who imposes a nominal penalty would probably do so." [690] An ideal woman could permit militancy if the right people were targeted. These tactics should be opposed owing to militancy's targeting of the innocent. This targeting turned the public against the suffragettes, "I am afraid that public opinion was being so stirred up that the militants would bring upon themselves greater suffering."[691] These suffragettes were making the public less inclined to help them instead of making society more sympathetic to them and as a result "militancy does not convert."[692] Advocating militancy led to violence and a loss of public approval, these tactics were useless tools that should be abandoned.

A model woman should oppose militancy because it was degrading to women and instead should seek the franchise on the basis of their moral superiority. The "Anti-Militant" avowed, "Our part was to save their victims from them, and at the same time to annihilate all vindictiveness in our dealing with them, lest by degrading our own souls, we impede the spiritual progress of the whole race."[693] This author held that women were moral guardians and should serve as examples, as "women…have always been…the guardians of this...human relationship; women have nursed [the victims of male violence]

[690] Ibid.
[691] M.E. "Are Militants Suffragists?" *Irish Citizen*, April 5, 193, 65, The Center for Research Libraries, MF7097 r. 116.
[692] Ibid.
[693] An Anti-Militant, "The Faith of An Anti-Militant," *Irish Citizen*, July 25, 1914, 77.

back to life…women have tended the sick."[694] Rather than practicing violence, these women should use their natural tendencies to help and heal for the betterment of all people. Women's inherently feminine traits should form the basis for their enfranchisement, "this ideal was particularly the heritage of womanhood, and its foundation into practical life was the greatest contribution that enfranchised women…would bring to the service of the State."[695] These sentiments designated both an argument against militancy and an argument for enfranchising women. Cousins and other militants argued that violence was necessary to win the vote for women. Women needed enfranchisement to protect themselves from men. The "Anti-Militant" and others pleaded that women should have the vote so that their moral influence could benefit everyone. The "Anti-Militant" assumed women's moral superiority would result in women using the vote to influence less moral men. Women should win the franchise by non-violent means, for "evil cannot be overcome by evil, but only by good."[696]

A virtuous woman could oppose militancy for several reasons, militancy was ineffective, the attention it garnered was negative, and militants' use of violence harmed both innocents and adversaries alike. This resulted in both public hostility and moral decay on the part of the participants. Women were expected to uphold a higher moral standard and when they failed to do so, their failure resulted in calamity for the whole nation. Militant women were reprobate women to those who opposed militancy, they were illogical, participated in a movement that did not yield results and espoused violence. Men could use violence sensibly to target their enemies but women were capricious in their violence, targeting the innocent as well as the guilty. Espousing

[694] Ibid.
[695] Ibid.
[696] Ibid.

militancy degraded women because women were held to a higher standard of behavior, they were expected to behave in ways that reinforced the perception of them as inherently morally superior to men. These women were condemned when they did not match up to the standard. This condemnation was not endorsed by everyone affiliated with the paper, but it was reflected in the accounts of those who opposed militancy.

World War I and Suffrage

From 1914 to 1918, a new concern emerged in the pages of the *Irish Citizen*. Should the ideal suffragette abandon the suffrage movement to assist the war effort? The answer was a resounding no, the prototypical suffragette should continue to campaign for suffrage and oppose the war. The arguments for this opposition centered on several key points. The war was the fault of men, and male government, the war enabled the continued victimization of women. The government had requested women's aid, while simultaneously refusing to enfranchise them. If women had the vote, they would put an end to all war. Achieving this goal required continued opposition to World War I.

A model woman opposed the war in view of the fact that its origins lay in men's violent nature, as proclaimed in "A War On War."[697] Published on August 29, 1914, it was a reprint of a speech by a Madam Thoumaian given at an international Women's Suffrage Alliance meeting. Her remarks centered on women's responses to the war, "'It was not sent from God, this war. It was a man-made war, and it was for women to unmake it.'"[698]

[697] A War On War," *Irish Citizen,* August 29, 1914, 116, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
[698] Ibid.

Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington made an identical claim in "The Duty of Suffragists" by stating "the women of Europe, whose mother-lands were engaged in strife, were all alike in their voteless condition. Like us their hands were clean; they have no responsibility for this war. Like us, they have to pay the price none the less to the uttermost farthing."[699] Skeffington stressed the similarities between Continental women and Irish women through the repetition of the phrase "like us." She accentuated a number of similarities, including the fact that both groups of women had been victimized by the war; women lacked the vote in all countries and no woman could be blamed for the conflict. This emphasis on similarities signified Skeffington wanted her readers to feel kinship with these women. Skeffington made an implicit argument for female superiority by stating that women bore no blame for the conflict. Instead the fault lay with men, "male statesmen, eager to let loose the yelping dogs of war" and "governments, hard pressed at home, and eager to shelve their responsibilities."[700] Skeffington declared that women, "standing for civilisation and progress, lifted a voice of unanimous protest."[701]

Charlotte Perkins Gilman in, "Two Essays On the War," advanced similar claims, noting that, "The men of Europe seem to be doing their worst, at present. By thousands, by millions, they were killing one another."[702] Gilman and others who advanced this view suggested that the men could not help themselves, writing, "Being men, and men alone, they cannot restrain their masculinity. Unbridled masculinity means…gross over-

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[699] Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, "The Duty Of Suffragists," *Irish Citizen*, August 15, 1914, 100, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
[700] Ibid.
[701] Ibid.
[702] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Two Essays On War," *Irish Citizen*, January 16, 1915, 266, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
American novelist Charlotte Perkins Gilman, perhaps best known for *The Yellow Wallpaper*, did not only disparage white men. She also held racist attitudes towards African Americans.
See Lawrence J. Olivier, "W. E. B. Du Bois, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and A Suggestion on the Negro Problem," *American Literary Realism* 48 (Fall 2015), 25-39.

indulgence in food, in drink, in drugs…It was not humanity which had done this [the war]. It was masculinity."[703] Gilman conceived of the war and all its violence as being the direct results of unrestrained male passions. Women were above these passions and so should oppose the war.

An upright woman should oppose the war because it involved the oppression of women by the male-led government. In "The Worst Peril of War," the author enumerated several ways that the war had led to oppression, "war brings with it the destruction of property on a gigantic scale…Human life was sacrificed ruthlessly…the worst peril of war was the overthrow of liberty. War strengthens despotism."[704] This author was most concerned by "the overthrow of liberty," though the other effects of the war were horrible. The author's underscoring of destruction of property may have been aimed at critics of female militancy. The men complained that women destroyed property, but their war led to far greater property damage than any act of militancy had done. The author listed this first among their reasons, indicating a possible sympathy with militancy. The author highlighted the senseless nature of the war through emphasizing loss of life. People were dying and their deaths were being downplayed, "two thousand 'casualties' were lightly dismissed as 'not heavy, when we consider the nature of the operations.' Ultimately, the 'casualties' may reach millions."[705] The author contrasted a tremendously large number with the lackadaisical attitude of those responsible for the deaths. They were dismissed as merely being part and parcel of warfare on this scale. This loss of life comprised a spiritual loss as well, "souls were destroyed as well as bodies; the

[703] Ibid.
[704] "The Worst Peril of War," *Irish Citizen*, August 29, 1914, 116, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
[705] Ibid.

concentration on destruction and massacre throws man back to the power of the brute savage, kills the power of noble and creative thought."[706] The author here was echoing an earlier argument made by Skeffington and the anonymous writer of "War On War."[707] All three writers claimed that war made brutes from men, by allowing for their inherit violence to take over and consume them. The loss of civil liberties comprised the most troubling outcome of the war for this author, "indications, small and great, of the suppression of civil liberty swarm upon us."[708] A host of examples existed but the loss of the municipal franchise most alarmed this author. She explained, "The Government intends to pass a bill postponing the Municipal Elections in England and Wales from November of this year till November of 1915…. To say, arbitrarily, 'you shall not vote,' was to deprive them of their only safeguard against municipal misconduct."[709] Both threat of potential civil mismanagement, and the lack of recourse in the face of it, were serious threats to civil liberties. Motivated by a concern that "an attempt [might be] made to apply in Ireland this measure" the author informed her readers that "it must be strenuously resisted."[710]

Skeffington likewise underscored the war's impact on all women. She referred to the lands involved in the war as "mother-lands."[711] This phrase linked the notion of ones' country to a mother figure and further clarified the association between women and motherhood. Skeffington then went on to describe the horrors of the war, describing how women had "to deliver up the sons they bore in agony, to a bloody death...they have to

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[706] Ibid.
[707] Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, "The Duty Of Suffragists," *Irish Citizen*, August 15, 1914, 100; "A War On War," *The Irish Citizen,* August 29, 1914, 116
[708] "The Worst Peril of War," *Irish Citizen*, August 29, 1914, 116.
[709] Ibid.
[710] Ibid.
[711] Ibid.

face starvation at home for themselves and their children meanwhile; many of them were exposed, with their helpless daughters, to the outrage and lust of a war-maddened soldiery."[712] Women in other lands were not the only victims of the war. As a result of the war, Skeffington focused on the struggles faced by Irishwomen to draw attention to the theme of solidarity and unity expressed throughout the piece. Besides an insistence upon the abandonment of suffrage demands in order to show solidarity with various groups who sustained the war, Skeffington reminded her readers that women were expected to:

> knit 'soft woolen comforters' for the departing soldiers, to replenish their cigarette cases from our pin money, to see to food supplies at home, so that no unseemly riots take place among the starving poor to disturb the progress of affairs, to accompany the troops as Red Cross nurses, helping to patch up the shattered victims of machine guns and torpedoes, to fill the place of reservists and conscripts at a lower wage at home, to till the fields and garner the harvest left by the labourer and contrive the weekly budget on a diminished allowance, so that our service-folk my not have cause to grumble at their dinner, though society totter.[713]

These statements proved that Skeffington wished to announce all the ways in which the war impacted women.

Virtuous women had a duty to oppose the war, as these arguments made evident. This duty came from women's innate qualities that made them superior to men. Echoing the middle-class attitudes common to many suffragettes, these writers reiterated that women were inherently more peaceful than men and so were blameless regarding the war. These characteristics meant women had a duty to end the war. One example of this argument was found in "War On War," referenced earlier.[714] Thoumaian agreed that men

[712] Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, "The Duty Of Suffragists," *Irish Citizen*, August 15, 1914, 100.
[713] Ibid.
[714] "A War Upon War," *The Irish Citizen,* August 29, 1914, 116.

caused the war, but she pointed out that women could end it by banding together, for, "It seems to me, that the point for us all, women of all lands, was not to blame one or other country, but to blame war."[715] Thoumaian shifted the blame from men and placed it on the abstract concept of war. Her shifting of blame was probably an attempt to make her message more appealing to her readers. She reasoned that universal cooperation among women would bring an end to the war. Thoumaian attempted to bridge both the national and gender gap that existed at this time by blaming the war on an abstract idea rather than a particular group or country. She stressed women's shared responsibility for ending the war while downplaying men's responsibility for the war. Skeffington saw suffrage as the only means of halting the violence but Thoumaian countered that notion. She charged that if women expressed their disapproval through nonviolent tactics, this would be sufficient to bring about peace, "we must protest against war…we must say that we women would not allow it to continue…we must, through meetings & etc.…. use our influence, as women, as mothers of humanity, soothing and softening everywhere."[716] Thoumaian advocated tactics that seemed more in accordance with non-militant suffrage tactics. She insisted that women had a certain quality about them, calling it their "influence, as women, as mothers of humanity."[717] Thoumaian was appealing to the traditional middle-class Victorian ideas of womanhood by characterizing all women as mother figures. She appealed to these ideas to suggest that women could end the war merely because they were women. She suggested that women's influence should be used

[715] Ibid.
[716] Ibid.
[717] Ibid.

to, "sooth… [and] soften…everywhere."[718] The implication was that women by their very nature exerted a calming, comforting presence capable of creating lasting change.

Skeffington likewise maintained that women had a role to play in ending the war. She favored a more direct approach, unlike Thoumaian. Skeffington urged women to boycott relief efforts and demand suffrage. Men were to blame for the conflict and enfranchising women ensured against future wars. She began her argument by dispelling the notion that women had any responsibility to aid the war effort, "it was not for us to mitigate by one iota the horrors of war: such attempts, however laudable, were but 'casting snowballs into hell to lower the temperature.'"[719] Though Skeffington did make an attempt to mitigate her criticism by stating that the acts she condemned were "laudable", her overall point remained. These attempts at relief efforts were not the responsibility of women, as Skeffington indicated through the phrase "it was not for us…."[720] She claimed that they were basically useless and defended this point through her use of the phrase, "casting snowballs into hell to lower the temperature."[721] This was a colorful and useful metaphor for the relief such efforts provided when considering the scope of the war and its global impact. Skeffington thought that suffrage was the real solution. She drew attention to women's positive qualities and noted that, "Women were eminently practical: they realize the futility of fiddling with symptoms while the disease rages unchecked."[722] These phrases verified more of the strong language she employed. Skeffington compared the flawed current system to a rampaging disease.

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[718] Ibid.
[719] Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, "The Duty Of Suffragists," *Irish Citizen*, August 15, 1914, 100.
[720] Ibid.
[721] Ibid.
[722] Ibid.

She was even more critical of the male members of government, writing: "if male statesmanship…had nothing better to offer…than a universal shambles, in Heaven's name, let men allow women to lend a hand, not at mopping up the blood, or purifying the stench of the abattoir, but at clearing away the whole rotten system."[723] Women were compared to men, and the men were found wanting, they had only succeeded in creating a "universal shambles."[724] Women had the potential to "clear away the whole rotten system," provided they did not lose sight of the goal.[725] Skeffington's violent and disturbing imagery was likely intended to motivate her readers and drive her point home. Skeffington demonstrated how ultimately fruitless these relief efforts were by describing them as merely "mopping up the blood, or purifying the stench of the abattoir."[726] They concealed the signs of the problem without addressing it.

Skeffington and others believed the real solution was encouraging women's suffrage. Women could only use their influence to end the war if they had the vote and as a result "war must not devastate our ranks.... Our guns must be directed not against the Germans...but against our common enemy--the war-mongering politician, the pledge-breaking Government...all the rest was vanity; it was but pandering to the war fetish."[727] Skeffington demonstrated suffragettes' unity in the face of a common enemy by describing them in militaristic terms. These statements also illustrated where Skeffington believed the real struggle lay. It did not involve a foreign enemy but a government willing to use women while refusing to listen to their petitions. The final sentence drew on religious imagery and used language familiar to many of its readers. Skeffington's

[723] Ibid. An abattoir is another term for a butcher shop.
[724] Ibid.
[725] Ibid.
[726] Ibid.
[727] Ibid., 100-101.

concluding sentence read, "All the rest was vanity...retro Satanus!"[728] "All the rest was vanity" likely referred to a common phrase found throughout the book of Ecclesiastes. Skeffington established the futility of these efforts by linking them to the various "vanities" described in Ecclesiastes. She indirectly compared the government to Satan and implied that suffragettes were engaged in a holy struggle. If they stayed the course, the end result would be "a voice in the councils of the nation in order to avert in future the evils of a Man-run State."[729]

Other works echoed the preeminence of suffrage. The anonymous writer of "The Worst Peril of War" attested that enfranchising women would either end the war or put checks in place.[730] The author described a proposal to enact "Compulsory Military Service," that would require, "every boy, upon reaching the period of manhood [to] be subjected compulsorily to a period of military training."[731] This proposal was to be enacted without consulting the women who would be compelled to give up their male relatives. The author asserted that "To enforce it on… [these women] …without consulting the women who provide the 'food for powder' would be a crime of appalling dimensions. That crime was already in preparation. That was why we must strain every nerve to get Votes For Women Now."[732] Enfranchised women would have a say in conscription, the Parliament, and the municipal elections and could help mediate the horrors of war. The author of "War Upon War," gave Madame Thoumaian's option, noting that she "appeared to hold that stopping the war would get women the vote. We should put it the other way—that women cannot stop the war until they have got the vote,

[728] Ibid.
[729] Ibid.
[730] Ibid.
[731] Ibid.
[732] Ibid.

and that therefore they should, all the more because of this war, concentrate on getting the vote."[733]

Gilman's arguments paralleled those put forth by Skeffington and Thoumaian. She urged female opponents of the war "[to]learn to scorn and condemn all this hideous folly instead of praising it…**to despise soldiers instead of admiring them,** [emphasis in original] if they coldly and finally ostracized men of this destructive type, that would have an effect beyond measurement."[734] Gilman appealed to women to use their persuasive power to bring about an end to the war. Like Thoumaian and Skeffington, Gilman maintained that women had intrinsic qualities which made them morally superior to men. These characteristics meant that "the female was the race-type. These qualities which were so slightingly spoken of as 'feminine' were the true race qualities, that was where they were essentially feminine."[735] These assertions illustrated how Gilman and others reinforced the idealized version of women common to this era. She went on to write, "Surely this mad misery of Europe ought to be a lesson to all women of what comes of leaving the world wholly in the hands of men…masculine government, unmodified by an equal representation of women, had once more proven its piteous limitations."[736] This sentiment reinforced arguments put forth by Skeffington. Only by giving women an equal role in government would future wars be prevented. Women's particular characteristics let them temper the excesses of men, but only if they had the vote.

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[733] "A War Upon War," *Irish Citizen,* August 29, 1914, 116
[734] Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Two Essays On War," *Irish Citizen*, January 16, 1915, 266.
[735] Ibid.
[736] Ibid.

The suffragettes of the *Irish Citizen* maintained that World War One ought not to be assisted out of concern that the war came about due to a government dominated entirely by men who were at the mercy of their natural male passions. These same men used the war to justify the continued oppression of women, and downplayed the horrors of that war. The war continued because men wished it to continue, and they refused to listen to women's protests. The authors reviewed above maintained that opposition to the war was the correct response. An ideal suffragette opposed the war and insisted upon granting women a role in the government. Only by attaining the ability to play a part in governmental decision-making could women hope to put an end to war. Women deserved this role since they possessed qualities that were in direct opposition to men's qualities. The ideal woman was nurturing, compassionate and gentle, whereas men were not. Men needed the civilizing effects of women, and the war served as a primary demonstration of what happened when those civilizing effects were absent.

Nationalism and Suffrage

Just as a proper suffragette did not excuse the war, a model suffragette did not tolerate Irish nationalism. Most Irish nationalists did not call for women's suffrage and so a suffragette could not defend nationalism. Those nationalists that did advocate for women's enfranchisement were lauded for this, but many suffragists perceived a conflict between women's suffrage and Ireland's independence. These women argued for opposing Home Rule. From 1912 to 1915, the topic of Home Rule was mentioned at least sixty times within the pages of the *Irish Citizen*. The writers were primarily concerned with the juxtaposition of suffrage and Home Rule. The proponents of Home Rule

continued to refuse the introduction of a clause in the Home Rule Bill that would grant women the vote. This refusal resulted in the women's suffrage movement continuing to oppose the bill.

Much of the coverage in the *Irish Citizen* shifted to focus on the events surrounding the Easter Rising beginning in 1916. Most of this coverage was positive due to the pronounced involvement of women. Suffrage remained the primary goal, but issues of nationalism begin to emerge more frequently. The *Irish Citizen* attempted to strike a balance between favoring the more radical Irish nationalist movement and insisting upon the enfranchisement of women, particularly during and after 1916.

The writer of "Home Rule For All," published in the June 22, 1912 issue of the paper, illustrated the earlier stance taken regarding Irish nationalism and women.[737] The author posited that the Irish Party had a lengthy history of ignoring and undermining the women's suffrage movement. Ideal women suffragettes should withhold assistance from the Irish Party due to their history of disregarding women. The author stated, "On Friday…Mr. John Dillon, one of the leaders of the Irish Party…rejected a proposal for the exclusion of Ulster from the Home Rule Bill. 'It must be Home Rule for all, or none,' he declared."[738] The author asserted that this same consideration was apparently not extended to women, "we simply deny … that any man had any right to discuss pro or con any proposition which involves the governing and taxing of both the male and female population of a country while one whole sex was denied the only effective means of influencing the governing machine—the vote."[739] The author of this piece and others felt

[737] "Home Rule For All," *Irish Citizen,* June 22, 1912, 36, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
[738] Ibid.
[739] Ibid.

that Irish women should not defend Home Rule because the Irish Party had refused to grant women the franchise. The author went on to argue that, "'Home Rule for All!' means Home Rule for men. The Party that stands for the 'freedom of Ireland' stands also for the political slavery of Irish women."[740] The author believed that the members of the Irish Party had little interest in advancing the cause of women, "we have a dark suspicion that the process of denigration, prophesied by Parnell, [the former leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party] set in when the mantle of that strong man fell on the oleaginous shoulders of the sweetly spoken person who, we were informed, wrote the letter suggesting the suspension of the Ladies' Land League."[741] The author may have been implying a willingness on the part of Mr. Dillon to betray women for his own gains by referencing the demise of the Ladies' Land League. This was evidenced by their assertion that Dillon's arguments on behalf of both Home Rule and Women's Suffrage were merely the empty promise of a skilled politician. The author acknowledged that if the Irish Party wanted help from Irish women, they had to sponsor women's suffrage. "If Mr. Dillon and his confederates have a spark of the chivalry of ancient Ireland in their hearts, they would annihilate all cause for struggle in Ireland by calcimining the same rights for their sisters as for themselves in the Home Rule Bill."[742]

"Back in 1910," printed on June 5, 1915, repeated these claims.[743] The author argued that future Home Rule plans must take into account women's suffrage, using as an example the Home Rule plans for Scotland and Wales. Each had included a section that granted the enfranchisement of women. Those in Ireland who favored Home Rule lacked

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[740] Ibid.
[741] Ibid.
[742] Ibid.
[743] "Back to 1910," *Irish Citizen,* June 5, 1915, 20, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.

any real reason for opposing a similar clause in their own Home Rule Bill, "the one point on which we are concerned is its effects on the adoption of Votes For Women. It would seem that those effects would be for the better."[744] This new plan raised the possibility of women's enfranchisement and deserved support. The author continued, "If the new scheme was to introduce Federalism, superseding the existing Home Rule Bill…then it would be much more difficult…to impose deliberately on Irish women a restriction which Scots and Welshmen would not allow to be imposed on their women."[745] Both Scotland and Wales had deliberately enfranchised their women. The country would be cast in a negative light if Ireland deliberately disenfranchised its women. This would look especially bad given that Wales and Scotland went to great lengths to ensure that their Home Rule bills allowed women to vote. Should this new scheme come to pass, the author urged suffragettes to defend it, "The Federal scheme would be much better for the enfranchisement of Irishwomen…here, then was a new possibility which Irish suffragists must be on the alert to watch and seize."[746]

The tide had shifted by 1916. A woman could now be a virtuous suffragette and adopt some forms of Irish nationalism. This change could be the result of the shift within the Irish independence movement itself. The individuals responsible for the Easter Rising in April were members of James Connolly's Irish Citizen Army, the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers. All three groups welcomed women to some extent. The Irish Volunteers tended to accept their help as auxiliary forces. The Irish Citizen Army championed women's suffrage and the equal participation of men and women.[747]

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[744] Ibid.
[745] "Home Rule For All," *Irish Citizen,* June 22, 1912, 36.
[746] Ibid.
[747] Margaret Ward, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries*, 2-3.

This likely helped to explain the growing sympathy toward militant Irish nationalist women that could be seen in the later issues of the *Irish Citizen*.

"Suffrage Casualties," published in the September 1916 issue, highlighted the link between Irish nationalists and suffrage.[748] Writing about James Connolly and other members of the Irish Citizen Army, the author declared, "The ranks of suffragists have been sadly depleted by the events of Easter Week. The Irish Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers were suffragists almost to a man; the women prominent in the movement were all convinced and practical proponents of the doctrine of equality of the sexes."[749] The author did not praise these individuals for their nationalism but for their stance on women's suffrage. James Connolly was described as "a friend of suffrage," while Padraic Pearse, "gave eloquent testimony to the feminist faith that was in him," and Countess de Marciewicz "would be remembered…for her striking historical articles on 'The Women of '98.'"[750] While the accolades continued throughout the remainder of the report, the point remained the same. The editors of the *Irish Citizen* now embraced the idea of Irish nationalism but filtered their endorsement through a suffrage lens. These individuals were not lauded for fighting for Irish independence, or dying for their country, but they were mourned because they advocated for the enfranchisement of Irish women. They and others were praised for that assistance, but while the *Irish Citizen* might come to approve of Irish nationalism in the following years, its chief purpose would remain the enfranchisement of Irish women. Any other movements must have that as their goal in

[748] "Suffrage Casualties," *Irish Citizen*, September 1916, 228, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
[749] Ibid
[750] Ibid.

order to win the favor of both the paper and Irish suffragists. A model suffragette must put the enfranchisement of women above the independence of her country.

Ads in the *Irish Citizen*

The advertisement section reflected an irony within the paper. The ads that the paper contained reinforced the traditional views of women covered earlier, though one ad did attempt to cater to suffragists. The ads were for articles of clothing, restaurants, grocery stores, and instrument stores. The advertisements for restaurants included an ad for "The Vegetarian Café," and an ad for "The Irish Farm Produce Café."[751] The latter ran, "For Men and Women Who Claim Equally The Rights of Citizenship, Lunch or Tea here and you will be pleased."[752] There were a variety of clothing ads, including an ad for a tailor that ran, "Miss Shanahan, Ladies' Tailor and Costumier," and an ad for "Cahill & Co," that advertised that they were a, "Ladies, Gents, and Children's Outfitters."[753] There were also ads for various grocery stores, including, "Andrews & Co" and "Alex Findlater And Co., LTD,."[754] Other ads included "Piggott & Co., LTD [a musician's shop], George Norton The Monster Stores [an Edwardian Walmart that sold everything from dishes to

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[751] "The Vegetarian Café," *Irish Citizen*, June 8, 1912, 24, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"The Irish Farm Produce Café," *Irish Citizen*, June 8, 1912, 24, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
[752] "The Irish Farm Produce Café," *Irish Citizen*, June 8, 1912, 24.
[753] "Pim Brothers Ad," *Irish Citizen*, April 5, 1913, 367, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"Miss Shanahan Ad," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"Eustice Brothers," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"Rowan & Co Ad," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
[754] "Andrews & Co. Ad," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"Alex Findlater & Co. LTD," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.

home décor] [and an ad for] Brooks & Co., the Fitzwilliam Pharmacy."[755] There were also ads for coal, laundry services, glove makers, printing, boot making and an ad for "Charles Jones, Decorator, Contractor and Electrical Engineer."[756] The number of ads grew from the few printed in 1912 to the many printed in 1914. This growth could indicate a greater concern for women's suffrage on the part of the advertisers featured in the paper.

Conclusion

For the women writers and contributors of the *Irish Citizen*, the enfranchisement of women took precedence over any other issue. This was reflected in the paper's discussion of suffrage tactics, and their response to both World War I and Irish nationalism. The newspaper provided equal space to a coverage of both militancy and non-militancy, enabling its readers to determine for themselves what tactics they would pursue. For the women of the *Irish Citizen*, it was the end result that mattered, rather than the way that result was achieved. The discussion of militancy and non-militancy also

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[755] "Piggott & Co. LTD," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"George Norton the Monster Stores," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.
Walmart is an American discount store specializing in a variety of goods ranging from food and beverages to household items;
"Brooks & Co, the Fitzwilliam Pharmacy Ad," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.

[756] "Andrew S. Clarkin Coal Ad," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"The Metropolitan Laundry Ad," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"J. McKeough Bootmaker Ad," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"Cahill & Company Ad," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116;
"Charles Jones Ad," *Irish Citizen*, July 18, 1914, 72, the Center for Research Libraries Special Collections, MF7097 r. 116.

indicated the paper's portrayal of the "New Woman" figure. The militants were a type of "New Woman," while the non-militants appealed to more traditional notions of femininity to advance their claims and were as a result more representative of the model woman discussed in Chapter Two.

Both World War I and Irish nationalism should be opposed, because both involved the suppression of women. World War I in particular allowed for the continuation of male violence, whereas women's enfranchisement would bring about peace. Irish nationalism was initially opposed, due to the anti-suffrage sentiments of the Irish Party, but after 1916 the paper expressed more sympathy for the movement. This growing support was in response to the willingness of many radical nationalist leaders to include women in their plans for a new Irish state. The paper's ad section reflected the continued influence of Victorian ideals, as many of the ads appealed to traditional notions of female behavior in their advertisements. Though the ads diverged from the overall tone seen elsewhere in the paper, on the whole, the *Irish Citizen* was clearly an instrument of the suffrage movement. It intended to promote the cause of women's suffrage above any other movement, and to accomplish this, it articulated a version of the ideal woman who was herself a suffragette.

CONCLUSION

This study uses discourse analysis to illustrate the representation of women within three Irish newspapers. Each newspaper, the Protestant Unionist *Irish Times*, the Catholic Nationalist *Bean Na hEireann* and the mouthpiece of the women's suffrage movement, the *Irish Citizen,* had their own categories of proper and improper feminine behavior. Employing the method of discourse analysis grants an understanding of how perceptions of women were shaped and strengthened.[757] The three newspapers communicated ideas about virtuous and reprobate women through advertisements, letters to the editor, and specific articles and columns within the papers. The current project makes use of certain words and phrases that indicated specific ideas about feminine behavior. Using women's writings in the women's press and the broader male dominated press, this study analyzes the ways in which women addressed the stereotypes they encountered in their daily lives.

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[757] Sara Dybris McQuaid, "What Difference Does it Make: The Construction of Liminal Plurality in Northern Ireland,";
Andrew Hammond, "The Uses of Balkanism: Representation and Power in British Travel Writing, 1850-1914," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 82 (July, 2004): 601-624;
Thomas Pegelow, "German Jews," "National Jews," "Jewish Volk" or "Racial Jews"? The Constitution and Contestation of "Jewishness" in Newspapers of Nazi Germany, 1933-1938," *Central European History* 35 (2002): 195-221;
Karen Margaret Steele, *Women, Press, and Politics During the Irish Revival*;
Regine Robin, *La Société Française en 1789: Semur-en-Auxois*. Paris 1970, in Peter Schöttler, "Historians and Discourse Analysis," *History Workshop* 27 (Spring, 1989): 42-43.

They did this by creating alternate forms rooted in either a feminist or nationalist ideology.

For the nationalists, the ideal Irish woman endorsed the Irish independence movement, yet the situation within Ireland made this a more complex issue than merely desiring Ireland's freedom. An ideal Irish nationalist woman also subscribed to a particular plan for Irish independence, depending upon the movement in question. Someone who backed the Irish Parliamentary Party believed that Ireland needed its own parliament and upheld Home Rule, whereas an advocate of Sinn Fein believed that Ireland should be culturally, economically, linguistically and politically separate from England. Those who called themselves Socialist Republicans and were members of the Irish Socialist Republican Party desired the creation of a socialist republic within Ireland and sought full equality between men and women. For women's suffragists, the model woman promoted women's suffrage and her fellow women. This too could be complicated by other allegiances, in particular a desire for Irish independence. Because of the variances that existed in the Irish nationalist movement, one could sometimes be both an advocate of women's suffrage and Irish independence, if the type of Irish nationalism one was affiliated with also had as their aim the enfranchisement of women. It was also possible to only countenance women's suffrage, while refusing to encourage Irish nationalism, if the Irish nationalist group one opposed had refused to aid the enfranchisement of women. Both nationalists and suffragists had a concept of the ideal woman, but extenuating circumstances often complicated the dichotomous picture presented. Despite these complexities, the women involved in these causes carved out niches for themselves within these movements. This allowed them to rise above the limits

commonly placed on women by Victorian society. Through their efforts in the nationalist movement, women were influential in helping Ireland win its independence. Their participation in the suffrage movement likewise led to the enfranchisement of women.

The study encompasses four chapters. Chapter One provides an overview of the period, sketching events in Ireland from 1908 to 1916. It introduces the three newspapers, and gives their publication history, layout, and a brief summary of the content found in each paper. The second chapter delineates the *Irish Times*'s take on proper feminine behavior, through an interrogation of several pieces published from 1909 to 1916. Examining advertisements and opinion pieces, this chapter establishes how the *Irish Times* perpetuated traditional ideas about women. The third chapter uses articles from *Bean Na hEireann*, which were published from 1908 to 1910, to show that paper's emphasis on Irish nationalism over campaigning for women's enfranchisement. Chapter Four discusses articles from the *Irish Citizen* that were printed from 1912 to 1916. These pieces revealed the importance placed on espousing women's suffrage by that paper.

Each paper defined the behaviors of virtuous or reprobate women differently, based on a variety of factors. The definitions depended on the social class, political leaning, and religious beliefs of each paper's editors, contributors and readers. Analyzing each paper's representation of women, and taking them together, allows for the creation of a complete picture of society's perception of virtuous and dissolute women. These views remained entrenched in Irish society and thought until well into the late twentieth century.

The groupings employed by each paper contrasted with one another in many ways. Both Protestants and Catholics had a concept of the ideal woman. For Protestants,

a model woman was a chaste, innocent wife and mother. Catholics too shared this concept, but likewise venerated those women who joined holy orders. When political views were taken into account, the divide became sharper. Protestantism came to be identified with maintaining the continued union with England. Catholicism was linked to Irish nationalism. That linkage resulted in the continued influence of the Catholic Church on the workings of the Irish government in post-Independence Ireland.

Both groups' standards differed from those held by women suffragists. The women represented by the *Irish Citizen* advocated support for all women, regardless of religious belief. They renounced any cause that threatened women, including Irish nationalism. In the years following Irish independence, many women continued to work for women's rights, despite the growing opposition to that work within mainstream Irish society.

Studies on women and the press have demonstrated the influence of the press in shaping notions of femininity.[758] In these studies, diverse types of women are analyzed through a variety of mediums ranging from nineteenth century periodicals to late twentieth century women's magazines.[759] The studies all assert that the press was influential in shaping ideas about femininity, by helping to create and reinforce notions of proper and improper feminine behavior.[760]

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[758] Patricia Marks. *Bicycles, Bangs, and Bloomers: the New Woman in the Popular Press*;
Lou Charnon-Deutsch, *Fictions Of The Feminine In The Nineteenth Century Spanish Press*;
David Sachsman and Rushing, S. Kittrell, eds., *Seeking A Voice: Images Of Race and Gender In The Nineteenth Century Press*;
Marjorie Ferguson, *Forever Feminine: Women's Magazines and the Cult of Femininity*;
Judith Knelman, *Twisting in the Wind: The Murderess and The English Press*.
Refer to Introduction for a more detailed analysis of these texts.
[759] Ibid.
[760] Ibid.

That same principle is applied to the three Irish newspapers. Like papers studied elsewhere, these too enabled the perpetuation and challenging of an ideal kind of femininity. The stereotypical sainted wife and mother was found in the *Irish Times*, while both *Bean Na hEireann* and the *Irish Citizen* embodied challenges to that ideal. Both groups sought to subvert that ideal by replacing it with their own definitions of an ideal woman. The ideal proved stronger than the challenges to it and so prevailed.

Despite the failure of women to exert substantial change after 1937, due to the persistence of the concept of proper feminine behavior examined throughout this study, the relevence of a project analyzing the media's role in perpetuating unconscious biases has been clearly demonstrated. The archetype of the Victorian and Edwardian ideal woman, a wife, mother, and homemaker was juxtaposed against the figure of the New Woman, a single, career woman who took on the world by herself. These categories had a tremendous impact on Edwardian Irish society particularly after 1921. The continued emphasis on the housewife and mother archetype by politicians and religious figures allowed for the persistent political and social subjugation of women. Studying how these standards were perpetuated through the media allows for an understanding of why they continued to exist for such a long time. A discussion of these ideals reveals how they impacted women's involvement in the political sphere. After 1937, Irish identity became increasingly linked with maintaining traditional views on society, religion, and the family. This identity was often linked with Catholicism, which in Ireland espoused the Victorian notions considered above. One of the side effects of this was an increased concern over women's participation in activities outside the home, particularly

participation in politics. These stereotypes had a direct influence on the lives of real women, and they are worthy of study.

Margaret Ward, in *Unmanageable Revolutionaries* notes that women involved in the nationalist movement were unable to translate their contributions into a higher status for Irish women.[761] They were usually forced to compromise their own goals in order to participate in the wider movement. These women were only allowed to act in a subordinate role, under the authority of men, or else in circumstances where men were in short supply. When they tried to further their own goals, they were met with fierce resistance that hindered their ability to bring about change for women.[762]

Louise Ryan, in *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying the Nation,* explains that the framework examined above persisted in Irish society up through the 1930s. Ireland itself came to be linked with the concept of chastity, motherhood, and all things female, and any woman who deviated from that was seen as a threat, not only to society, but the very fabric of the country. She argues that working women, flappers, Irish emigrant women and Irish women criminals were especially seen as threatening to the burgeoning Irish state. They were seen this way, according to Ryan, because of the continual emphasis within Ireland upon the ideal woman articulated above.[763]

Though the persistence of this social pattern hampered many women, some were able to rise above it. These women embodied the characteristics of the New Woman described throughout the preceding chapters. Constance de Marciewicz, Helena Molony,

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[761] Inez McCormick, "Out of the Women's Ghetto: *Unmanageable Revolutionaries: Women and Irish Nationalism*" by Margaret Ward *Fortnight*,198 (Oct., 1983): 25.
[762] Ibid.
[763] Louise Ryan, *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation*.

Louie Bennett, and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington were four of the women who managed to exert a tremendous amount of influence during the tumultuous years between 1918 and 1937. Their success embodied the hope shared by many Irish women. Both the Irish women suffragists and the Irish women nationalists believed that Ireland's independence would result in a change of status for its female inhabitants. It was apparent by 1937 that this was not the case. The Victorian ideal of the saintly housewife would persist into the twentieth century, reinforcing and being reinforced by the continuing intermingling of religion and politics. These women's experiences represented the potential that existed during these early years of independence. Their lives also typified the impact these women had on Irish nationalism, feminism, and trade unionism.

Constance de Marciewicz was one of the most influential and infamous figures of the Easter Rising. McCoole notes that, "She was sentenced to death for her part in the Rising, but her sentence was commuted to life imprisonment because she was a woman."[764] Despite the life sentence, the Countess was released in June 1917. She continued to play an active role in Irish politics throughout the rest of her life. She was elected to the House of Commons in 1916, a first for women. Reflecting her loyalty to Irish nationalism, and Sinn Fein in particular, de Marciewicz did not accept the results of the election. In 1918, she was rearrested and interred at Aylesbury in England.[765] From 1919 to 1921, she held the position of Minister of Labour for the newly created Irish parliament, the Dail.[766] Due to her incarceration, she was unable to serve in that role. She did take an active part during the Civil War. The Countess also "took part in the fighting,

[764] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*, 186.
[765] John McGuffin, *Internment* (Tralee, Ireland, 1973), accessed May 25, 2017. http://www.irishresistancebooks.com/internment/internment.htm.
[766] Sinead McCoole, *No Ordinary Women*, 186.

helped to edit the republican newspaper *Eire* from Glasgow, and went on a fundraising trip to the United States."[767]

Unfortunately for the Countess, her familiarity with prisons would continue. She was once again incarcerated in 1923, and during that time, she was "returned as an abstentionist TD for Dublin City South in the general election of 1923."[768] In 1926, de Markievicz resigned from Cuman na mBan. That same year, she joined a new political party, Fianna Fail. A year after joining the party, de Marciewicz, "was elected to the Dail."[769] This time it was death, not prison that prevented her from serving. The Countess, "died on 15 July, 1927, before Fianna Fail entered government."[770]

Helena Molony, editor of *Bean Na hEireann*, likewise continued her activities during the War for Independence and the Civil War. Molony was "a member of the Irish Citizen Army…[and] was part of the City Hall garrison in the 1916 Rising."[771] She was arrested for her participation in the Easter Rising. During her incarceration, she was held first in Kilmainham Jail, then transferred to Aylesbury in England. Released on Christmas day, 1916, Molony remained a staunch republican throughout her life. She spent the following year trying to "facilitate the amalgamation of all the nationalist movements under the banner of Sinn Fein."[772] Molony was heavily involved in the War for Independence, where she "assisted Countess Markievicz in the ministry of Labour…was a courier for Michael Collins and Liam Mellows….[and]served as a District Justice to the republican courts in Rathmines."[773] Her association with Irish

[767] Ibid.
[768] Ibid.
[769] Ibid.
[770] Ibid.
[771] Ibid., 189.
[772] Ibid.
[773] Ibid.

nationalist women's societies was accomplished when "[she] was made an honorary member [of Cuman na mBan] by Lily O'Brien."[774] Molony defied stereotypes of the ideal woman through her extensive participation in politics and public life.

Her concern for the lower-classes, in particular her sympathy with organized labor and socialism, continued throughout her life. Molony served as, "organizing secretary of the Irish Women Workers' Union from 1929 to 1940."[775] She was also "a member of the Dublin Trade Union Council delegation [that] visited Russia in 1929 as a guest of the Soviet trade union movement."[776] This visit to the USSR inspired her to establish the Friends of Soviet Russia. She spoke publicly about the Soviet Union, and helped found "Saor Eire, a short-lived breakaway republican socialist organisation."[777] Molony's concern for the working classes continued, and, "in 1936, she became president of the Irish Trade Union Congress, only the second woman to attain this position."[778]

Molony continued to work for women's rights as well, she assisted the Women's Prisoners' Defence League, and continued her involvement in civil service. Molony "was an urban district councilor for Rathmines and Rathgar in Dublin city."[779] She was equally active in political campaigns, involved with protesting the passage of the Conditions of Employment Bill (1935). This bill was a harbinger of things to come, as it was "brought in by Fianna Fail [and] saw a curtailment of women's rights."[780] Doubtlessly motivated

[774] Ibid.
[775] Ibid.
[776] Ibid.
[777] Ibid.
[778] Ibid.
[779] Ibid.
[780] Ibid.

by the passage of this bill, Molony joined another Mna Na hEireann, a consortium that desired "equal rights and opportunities for women."[781]

Helena Molony lived until 1967, passing away that January. Prior to her death, "ill health forced [her] into early retirement."[782] Her contributions on behalf of women and labor reflected her willingness to defy conventions and traditional standards of feminine behavior. She, along with de Marciewicz, Louie Bennett, and Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, were proof that real women were far more complex than the types into which they were compartmentalized.

Along with her husband Frank, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, co-founder of the *Irish Citizen*, remained a firm proponent of both women's rights and Irish nationalism throughout her life. Though she and her husband took no active part in the fighting that occurred during the Easter Rising, they nevertheless provided aid, and according to McCoole, "she brought food and messages to the different outposts, and Frank tried to set up a citizen's militia to stop looting."[783] This act ultimately led to Frank's death and though the case was convoluted, the facts were that Frank was "arrested by the British authorities and shot on the orders of Captain Bowen-Colthurst."[784] Following her husband's death, Hanna traveled to America, where her lecture tours raised financial and political backing for Ireland's independence.

She remained in America for two years because she was barred from the country by the British government's passing of the Defense of the Realm Act. Skeffington attempted to return to Ireland in 1918, and made it as far as Liverpool before she was

[781] Ibid.
[782] Ibid.
[783] Ibid., 209.
[784] Ibid.

"detained… and imprisoned along with Countess Markievicz, Kathleen Clarke and Maude Gonne MacBride, in Holloway Jail in England."[785] While in prison, Skeffington "went on hunger strike," a strategy familiar to readers of the *Irish Citizen*.[786] Not surprisingly, the tactic worked, and she was soon let go.

Following her arrest, "in September 1918, she joined Sinn Fein. In November, she was appointed to the executive."[787] While this might have been a surprising choice, given Skeffington's previous interactions with the women of that party, she nonetheless seemed to now embrace Irish nationalism. Reflecting her continued commitment to women as well as a growing interest in nationalism, Skeffington "was asked to join Cumann Na mBan, but while she lent support to their activities, she declined membership, disliking their status as auxiliary to the men."[788]

Her involvement with Sinn Fein continued throughout the War for Independence, where she participated in a variety of speaking tours and also served as Sinn Fein's Organizing Secretary. This job entailed "spreading the republican message" through the perpetuation of propaganda.[789] She, like Molony, "was also a judge in the republican courts."[790] It was her "public speeches against the British government" that caused problems. In 1919, Skeffington once again had to "go on the run for a while."[791]

Like the other women mentioned here, Skeffington was elected to a variety of positions. McCoole writes that, "In the local government election in 1920 Hanna was elected to Dublin Corporation, serving on the Technical Education Committee and

[785] Ibid.
[786] Ibid.
[787] Ibid.
[788] Ibid.
[789] Ibid.
[790] Ibid.
[791] Ibid.

chairing the Public Libraries Committee."[792] In additional to serving on these committees, Skeffington was also a teacher. According to McCoole, "she taught French at the Technical Institute in Dun Laogthaire. That year she became involved in the White Cross and was appointed to its executive."[793] Skeffington, too, flouted the conventions of the day when it came to women's participation in politics and public life.

Skeffington was opposed to violence and went on several expeditions, both by herself and with others, in an effort to stop the fighting during the Civil War. The first such effort took place, "in November 1922," and involved both Skeffington and "Linda Kearns and Kathleen Boland."[794] These women "were sent to the United States by Eamon de Valera, to raise funds on behalf of the American Committee of Irish Republican Soldiers and Prisoners' Dependents Fund."[795] Skeffington undertook a solo mission "in September 1923" where she "attended the League of Nations [and] composed a circular calling on the delegates to reject Irish membership."[796]

Skeffington remained active in both politics and journalism throughout the remainder of her life. McCoole writes, "In 1925 [Skeffington] was elected to Dublin City Council."[797] She joined Fianna Fail, becoming "its first executive."[798] Skeffington later resigned as a form of protest against the oath of loyalty to the British monarchy that was maintained by de Valera upon his entry into the Dail. Skeffington embraced more radical republican ideals, serving for a time as assistant editor of *An Phoblacht*, "the newspaper

[792] Ibid., 210.
[793] Ibid.
[794] Ibid.
[795] Ibid.
[796] Ibid.
[797] Ibid.
[798] Ibid.

of the IRA."[799] While serving as secretary to the Friends of Soviet Russia, Skeffington visited Russia in 1930. When she returned to Ireland, she found that *An Phoblacht* had been suppressed by the government and Frank Ryan arrested, leaving her without work. Eventually Skeffington "became editor of the *Republican File*, a republican socialist journal."[800]

Like the other women, Skeffington remained concerned for Irish women, and actively involved in attempts to secure their rights. She "gave continuous support to the Women's Prisoners' Defence League…[and] in 1935 she opposed the Conditions of Employment Bill, aware of how its terms would curb the activities of working women."[801] In 1937, "when the Constitution was passed she became a founder member of the Women's Social and Progressive League, which attempted to alert women to the implications of the anti-woman legislation passing through the Dail."[802] These attempts were mostly unsuccessful and by 1938, the WSPL "failed to gain support in the…General Elections."[803]

Five years later, Hanna once again attempted to rally the women of Ireland. McCoole explains that "at the age of sixty-six, Hanna stood as an independent candidate for Dublin. She hoped that she and the other candidates would form a Women's Party, but all four women failed to get elected."[804] This would be her last foray into politics, as from 1945 until her death in 1946, she was unwell, and "unable to work."[805] On 20 April

[799] Ibid.
[800] Ibid.
[801] Ibid.
[802] Ibid.
[803] Ibid.
[804] Ibid.
[805] Ibid., 211.

1946, she passed away and in an ironic twist, McCoole states that, "the *Irish Times* obituary described her as 'the ablest woman in Ireland.'"[806]

Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington was another woman who rejected traditional Victorian and Edwardian conceptions of women's roles as wife and mother. Her continuous involvement in activism and the press, coupled with her endorsement of nationalism, socialism, and suffrage, contradicted the stereotype of the ideal woman discussed in the preceding chapters. She and the other women, researched here, emphasize that for Irish women, life was not as uncomplicated as that paradigm depicted it to be. These women demonstrated the characteristics seen in the New Women and in doing so, flouted conventional views of what it meant to be a proper woman.

Louie Bennet, who assumed editorship of the *Irish Citizen* following Frank Sheehy-Skeffington's murder in 1916, was another example of a woman who defied conventions. Like Molony, Bennett was concerned about the rights of working women, though she was a pacifist, and a staunch opponent of World War I.[807] Bennett initially opposed "the *Irish Citizen*'s policies [and] had actually withdrawn her subscription…one year previously."[808] Nevertheless, she, along with fellow IWFL member Mary Bourke-Dowling, took over as editors of the paper. From 1916 on, the *Irish Citizen* reflected their influence, with a growing emphasis on "international pacifisms and trade unionism."[809]

Though not directly involved with the Easter Rising, Bennet nonetheless backed Irish nationalism. She seemed to prioritize internationalism and workers' rights, as seen

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[806] Ibid.
[807] Louise Ryan, *Irish Feminism and the Vote: An Anthology of the Irish Citizen Newspaper 1912-1920*, 8-9.
[808] Ibid., 11.
[809] Ibid., 12.

by her articles in the *Irish Citizen*.[810] She remained a staunch defender of women's rights despite her issues with the *Irish Citizen*. Bennett was notable for her protest against the Conditions of Employment Act.[811] Reflecting the attitudes of her day, she was concerned for working women for two reasons. She was alarmed at their numbers compared to their wages but she was equally worried about the impact to the family brought about by the overabundance of women in the workforce.[812] These fears were shared by everyone from Catholics to Protestants, and reflected the continued idealization of married women who stayed at home. These concerns persisted in Ireland throughout the 1930s and beyond.[813]

She continued to encourage women and addressed the impact of future legislation on women for the remainder of her life. In 1935, following the passage of the Conditions of Employment Bill, Bennett and the National Council of Women of Ireland "formed a Standing Committee to monitor all future legislation affecting women."[814] She embraced the growing association between the IRA and trade unionism. Bennett was the only woman to do so, motivated by concern for working women.[815]

Her involvement in the Irish Women's Workers Union continued as well. In 1945, she "organ[ized] a 14-week laundry workers' strike."[816] She remained one of the executives of the IWWU until her retirement in 1955, and the following year, she passed away. Like the other women mentioned here, Bennett epitomized the conflict many women experienced between their lived realities and the ideal to which they were to

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[810] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland 1870-1970*.
[811] Ibid., 206, 267-269.
[812] Ibid., 209.
[813] Ibid., 270. Cullen-Owens even quotes form an *Irish Times* editorial, published in February 1937, which echoed concerns over working woman who continued to work after marriage.
[814] Ibid., 270.
[815] Ibid., 295.
[816] Rosemary Cullen-Owens, "Louie Bennett (1870-1956)," *Irish Times* October 17, 2012. http://www.irishtimes.com/news/louie-bennett-1870-1956-1.553514. Accessed March 24, 2017.

aspire. Bennett seemed at times to uphold the ideal, particularly when she expressed concern over working women's impact on the family. Her willingness to campaign for women's rights, and to champion, in particular, the rights of working women, suggests that she was perhaps not as concerned about that ideal as she sometimes seemed.[817]

Where might the scholarship go from here? There are several topics worthy of further study. Building from the discussion on poor women, one could examine the depictions of impoverished mothers in the press. Louise Ryan discussed Ireland's association with s a sainted mother. [818] A comparison of the ideal mother figure and the reality would be beneficial. This could reveal aspects of the intermingling of religion, culture, and politics that has produced a unique social climate in Ireland that persists into the present. The Magdalene Laundries remain a controversial subject, with most popular perceptions of them being highly negative, but scholarly works on them being positive.[819] Further study could be done on this topic from a variety of angles. One could explore the association of prostitutes with Mary Magdalen herself, and the ways that this linkage reflects Ireland's fascination with female saints. This particular saint was supposedly a fallen woman herself, and thereby embodies the redeeming power of religion. One could explore how the perception of religion itself factored into these reform efforts. Both the women being reformed and those doing the reforming viewed religion as a cleansing agent. An analysis of how this was delineated would be a fascinating area of research.

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[817] Ibid. In a letter to Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, she actually expressed concerns over women's willingness to be subordinate to men. See Louie Bennett, "Bennett to Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington (in folder marked May-September 1916) SSP, NLI MS 22,279 (6), quoted in Rosemary Cullen-Owens, Rosemary Cullen-Owens, *A Social History of Women in Ireland 1870-1970*, 137.
[818] Louise Ryan, *Gender and Identity in the Irish Press, 1922-1937, Embodying The Nation*.
[819] For two divergent points on this, see Frances Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: A Study of the Magdalene Asylums in Ireland* and Maria Luddy, "Prostitution and Rescue Work in Nineteenth Century Ireland," in *Women Surviving: Studies in Irish Women's History in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Maria Luddy and Cliona Murphy.

Many groups and institutions warrant further study. Various women's associations were mentioned in the newspapers, and their coverage could be further studied and analyzed by questioning their role in perpetuating the model of the ideal woman who was involved in charity work. Despite the persistence of the archetypes investigated throughout this study, there were many women who ventured out into the public sphere to serve a host of causes. These organizations reflected this and an investigation of their accounts could yield insight into how their participants justified their involvement. Such a study could also determine how they were perceived by examining if these institutions were assisted more or less because of the association with women and analyzing if the causes they championed, such as the welfare of children, the disabled, and animals, came to take on a gendered connotation because of women's involvement. These questions should be addressed and doing so would reveal more about the relationship between the ideal woman and the complex experiences of real women who were trying to conform to that ideal.

The newspapers contained reports of several court cases that dealt with child abuse. The press's coverage of such cases could be studied through the lens of discourse analysis. Such a study might reveal changing attitudes towards children and their welfare, as well as a continued association of childcare with women. Through using the reports of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, one could get a better sense of society's attitudes towards the protection of these two vulnerable groups. This concern over the welfare of both children and animals could be linked to the perception of women as inherently more

nurturing and charitable and as a result more likely to be involved with these reform movements.

In a similar vein, there were articles discussing concern over vaccines that employed almost identical arguments to modern articles linking vaccinations to autism. The concern over vaccines, and the ways they were described, could be a fruitful and timely study. The anxiety around vaccines reflected another link between women and motherhood, by playing upon mothers' concerns over the wellfare of their children. Many of the ads in the *Irish Times* included ads for schools for children with various disabilities, and group homes for mentally ill adults. These ads, and the reports from the institutions, could provide ample material for a study on the characterization of disability in the press. A concern over children's safety and well-being was also seen in the above ads, and this concern could also be tied into depictions of women and their prescribed roles.

The three newspapers discussed throughout this dissertation also created classifications of masculinity through stereotypes. The portrayal of masculinity, and questions surrounding what made an ideal Irish man could be examined. Issues of race, and racial prejudice, could and should be explored as well. Ireland during this period saw the publication of hundreds of local and national newspapers, and each of these could be used in further research on representation within the media. There remains much that could be explored in these newspapers, and many ways to use those newspapers to arrive at a greater understanding of broader trends within Irish history.

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