



Women's History Association of Ireland

Annual Conference 2022

**'Irish women's and gendered networks and communities from the  
medieval to the modern period'**

Hosted by  
**University of Limerick**  
&  
**Mary Immaculate College**

**Programme of Events**

# Provisional WHAI Conference Schedule

Friday 01 April 2022

**9:15-9:30      Registration/Log In**

**9:30-10:00**      Opening remarks from Dr Liam Chambers, Head of Department of History, Mary Immaculate College and Prof. Diane Urquhart (QUB), President of the Women's History Association of Ireland

**10:00-11:30      Panel 1: Women in the Workplace**

**Chair: Prof Lindsey Earner-Byrne (UCC)**

- Liz Goldthorpe (Independent scholar): 'The early women graduates: national and international networks'
- Elizabeth Bruton (UCD): 'Gender networks and communities of women in engineering in Ireland in the twentieth century'
- Suzanne Jobling (QUB): "'We do not want any special rights just ordinary citizens' rights": Female networks and workplace equality in 1970s Ireland'

**11:45-1:15      Panel 2: Motherhood and Reproductive Rights**

**Chair: Judy Bolger (TCD)**

- Kelly Adamson (DCU): "'Sh\*t mothers'? What diarrhoea and enteritis in wartime Dublin can reveal about the state's attitude to Irish motherhood, 1939-48'
- James Akpu (DCU): 'The Medical Missionaries of Mary and Baby Shows in Southern Nigeria, 1937-1960'
- Cara Delay (College of Charleston): 'Narrating pain and suffering in Irish women's reproductive experiences, 1850-1950'

**1:15-2:30      Lunch**

**2:30-3:30      Keynote: Professor Emeritus Bernadette Whelan (UL), 'The Irish First Lady, 1919-1990: Hidden connections'**

Chair: Dr Kevin O'Sullivan (NUI Galway)

**3:45-5:00      Launch of the Bibliography of Women's History**  
**Chair: Prof Dianne Urquhart (QUB)**  
Minister for Tourism, Culture, Arts, Gaeltacht, Sports and Media, Catherine Martin  
Dr Sarah-Anne Buckley, Head of Department of History, NUI Galway  
Ms Alice Mulhearn (NUI Galway)

**Saturday 02 April 2022**

**9:15-9:30      Registration**

**9:30-11:30      Panel 1: Women, Radicalism and Republicanism**

**Chair: Dr Fionnuala Walsh (UCD)**

- Niamh Coffey (University of Strathclyde and University of Edinburgh): ‘We called ourselves the ‘Irish Ladies’ Distress Committee’: Irish Republican Women in Britain, 1916-1923’
- Hayley Brabazon (St Pat’s DCU): ‘Post Office espionage during the War of Independence’
- Dr Elaine Callinan (Carlow): ‘“A stalwart fighter”: The political life of Jennie Wyse Power, 1917-1936’
- Dr Liz Kyte (UCC): ‘Long distance relationships: Irish women and radicalism, 1900-1945’

**11:40-1:00      Panel 2: Digital and Material Culture**

**Chair: Dr Karol Mullaney-Dignam (UL)**

- Eliza McKee (QUB): ‘Women’s illicit clothing network and the unregulated working-class clothing trade in industrial Ulster: a case study of Wilhelmina Bruce, c. 1880-1919’
- Emma Kelly (Independent scholar): ‘“The Irish element of their work”: The Women’s Industrial Development Association and the promotion of Irish fashion, c. 1932-1942’
- Sharon Healy (MU): ‘Exploring the landscape of Irish women on the web in the 1990s’

**1:00-2:00      Lunch**

**2:00-4:00      Panel 3: History of Women's Football**

**Chair: Dr William Murphy (DCU)**

- Dr Michael Kielty (DBS): 'The *Mapping Irish Football* project'
- Dr Fiona Skillen (Glasgow Caledonian University): 'Rutherglen Ladies F.C. 1927 Tour of Ireland'
- Helena Byrne (Independent scholar): 'Game changer: looking back on the first UEFA competition for women'
- Stephen Bolton (Independent scholar): "'1931 The rise of Molly Seaton": NI Women's Association Football and the reasons for its 1931 renaissance'

**Friday 08 April 2022**

**9:15-9:30      Registration**

**9:30-11:30      Panel 1: Female Religious and Lay Communities**

**Chair: Dr Lorraine Grimes (Maynooth University)**

- Dr Karen Hanrahan (University of Brighton): "'But the saints weren't happy": A life history of former Irish nuns'
- Jane O'Brien (NUI Galway): 'Community and relationship within the Mercy run Industrial School System, 1868-1920'
- Bridget Harrison (National Library of Ireland): 'Confraternities, convents and Catholic spirituality: convent schools and religious networks'
- Dr Deirdre Foley (Oxford University): "'You may think we are too straight laced...": the Catholic Women's Federation, 1937-72'

**11:40-12:40      Panel 2: Diverse Marginalisation**

**Chair: Dr Mary McAuliffe**

- Aoife Cranny Walsh (UCD): 'Title, role and/or institution? How the use of network theory can provide a re-examination of queens in the Irish annals'
- Betty Walsh (Independent scholar): 'All on our own: accounts of single parenting in 1970s and 1980s conservative Ireland'

**12:40-2:00      Lunch**

**2:00-3:00      Keynote: Prof. Lindsey Earner-Byrne (UCC), ‘The Gender Dynamics of Networks in Ireland: Structures of Inclusion and Exclusion’**

Chair: Dr Jennifer Redmond (Maynooth University)

**3:15-5:15      Panel 3: Youth and Popular Culture**

**Chair: Dr Deirdre Foley (Oxford University)**

- Annika Stendebach (Justus-Liebig-Universität Giessen): “‘Like it or not, women in pubs are now an established part of the contemporary scene’: Gendered Power Geometries within pubs in 1960s and 1970s”
- Sharon Phelan (Munster Technological University): ‘The male-female dichotomy in dance during the Colonial Era, the Gaelic Revival and modern times in Ireland’
- Veronica Johnson (Independent scholar): ‘A family network: the O’Mara sisters and the Film Company of Ireland’
- Ciara Molloy (UCD): “‘Handbags at dawn’: Perceptions and performances of gender within the Irish Mod Subculture, 1960s to the Present’

Saturday 09 April 2022

**9:15-9:30      Registration**

**9:30-10:30      Panel 1: Women Writers and Literary Circles**

**Chair: Kristina Decker (UCC)**

- Dr Angela Byrne (Independent scholar): ‘The Chetwood-Wilmot Circle: Reconstructing a Nineteenth-Century Irish and International Women’s Literary Circle’
- Deirdre Brady (UL): “‘Mapping the female literati’: The Irish Women Writers’ Club (1933-1958)’

**10:40-12:00      Panel 2: Transnationalism and the Lived Experience**

**Chair: Prof Bernadette Whelan (UL)**

- Molly Daly (MIC): ‘The influence of the Irish state on the lived experience of women as revealed by the findings of the Commission on Emigration and other populations Problems (1948 – 1951)’
- Dr Ann Marie O’Brien (Independent scholar): ‘The role of the diplomatic spouse and the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs’
- Dr Jyoti Atwal (Jawaharlal Nehru University): ‘Margaret Cousins (1878-1954) and the awakening of Asian womanhood: political visions of an Irish suffragist in India’

**12:00-1:00      Lunch**

**1:00-2:20      Panel 3: LGBTQI+ Rights and Activism**

**Chair: Susie Deegan (QUB)**

- Niamh Scully (UCD): ‘From the Archives: Queer Female Networks and Communities in 1980s Ireland’
- Abigail Parmer (Texas A&M University): ‘Muintir Aerach na hÉireann: The Irish Movement for Gay Liberation in New York’
- Dr Mary McAuliffe (UCD): “‘Having no use at all for men” Same sex relationships among Irish and Irish American women revolutionary and feminist activists’

**2:30-3:50      Panel 4: Female Enterprise and Criminality**

**TBC**

- Gina Marie Guadagnino (New York University), ‘Margaret Leeson and the economics of sex work in the 18th Century Dublin’
- Rachel Newell (QUB): “‘Since I knew her, I’ve never been out of trouble”: Networks of female criminality in Belfast, 1880s-1920’
- Jessica Condrón (Independent scholar): “‘If you would have fought like a man...”: The experience of an Irish female pirate in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Caribbean’

**3:50-4:15      Closing remarks from organisers and Dr David Fleming, Head of Department of History, University of Limerick**

## Participants and Abstracts:

### Keynote Speakers:

**Professor emeritus Bernadette Whelan** taught modern Irish and American history, and women's history in the University of Limerick until her retirement in 2017. She has published books and articles on US-Irish diplomatic relations and women's history. Her most recent publications are *De Valera and Roosevelt. Irish and American Diplomacy in Times of Crisis, 1932-1939* (Cambridge University Press, 2021) and 'A real revolution': Ireland and the Oxford Group/Moral Re-Armament movement, 1933–2001', *Irish Historical Studies*, 45, 168 (November 2021). She is a member of the Royal Irish Academy and co-editor of *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy* published bi-annually by the Royal Irish Academy, Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and the National Archives of Ireland. She is a former President of the Women's History Association of Ireland.

**Professor Lindsey Earner-Byrne** is the Professor of Irish Gender History at the School of History, UCC. She has researched and published on gender, health, poverty and welfare in modern Ireland with a particular focus on mothers, widows and children. Most recently she co-authored a history of Ireland's abortion journey with Professor Diane Urquhart of Queen's University Belfast. She is currently working on a gender history of modern Ireland.

### Friday 1 April

#### Panel 1: Women in the Workplace

**Liz Goldthorpe** is a retired English judge with a long-standing interest in both Irish and women's history. Since discovering a collection of Averill Deverell's personal papers and belongings in Ireland, she has been analysing the wealth of material in preparation for a biography on Averill and her contemporaries. Various stages of this research have been the subject of several articles and lectures in both Ireland and England, including a Spring Discourse lecture for the Irish Legal History Society in Dublin in 2019.

**Abstract:** In November 2021 Ireland celebrated an important centenary: on 1 November 1921 the first Irish women barristers were called to the Bar, Frances Kyle from Belfast and Averil Deverell from Dublin. Both early graduates of Trinity College Dublin after it opened its doors to women in 1904, these two women had seized the professional opportunity offered by the passing

of the Sex Discrimination (Disqualification) Act in 1919. But, fuelled by the experience of suffrage, education and war, such women were not alone in their desire to extend their knowledge and skills beyond mere practice. Just as she was setting out on her long career in 1922, Averil became the first secretary of the newly created Dublin University Women's Association. In England, her first cousin Naomi Constance Wallace who was to be called to the Bar there in late 1922, was a leading member of the British Graduate Women's Association. Some work has been done on the individuals and the separate organisations set up by the early women graduates, but many of the personal, social, professional and cultural links between them remain unexplored. As does the breadth of their initiatives, networks and influence in contributing to the post-war world in Ireland and abroad. The history of suffrage, education and politics are not the only lens through which the achievements of these women can be uncovered and analysed. The stories of leading players give us a partial picture: in the professional expansion in the fields of law and public service facilitated by the 1919 Act lie the histories of women who used their contacts and organisational energy to create a web of postgraduate activity that helped shape their world. Using the early lawyers as a starting point, this paper seeks to open up the links as a rich field for further research.

### **Elizabeth Bruton**

**Abstract:** 1919 marked two important developments, which built upon the opportunities briefly opened up for women in the First World War and which contributed to increased opportunities for women in technical and engineering fields. In June 1919, the Women's Engineering Society (WES) was established and six months later in December 1919 the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919 became law in the UK and Ireland enabling women to join various professions and professional bodies, most notably the legal profession; to be awarded university degrees; and to sit on juries. Founded in the UK with a wide-ranging and international remit, WES was established to inspire and support girls and women to achieve their potential as engineers, applied scientists and technical leaders.

In this paper, I will use case studies of women in engineering in Ireland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries including examples from *the Woman Engineer*, the WES members' journal, to trace important but often unacknowledged role women, individually and collectively, have played in engineering in Ireland. I will examine case studies such as Iris Ashley Cummins, the first female graduate in Engineering at UCC and an international hockey player; German engineer Asta Hampe, who worked on equipment for the Shannon electrification scheme; and Irene C. McDowell, an independent electrical supplier in Finglas in the 1920s to show how gendered



networks and communities of women in engineering in Ireland centred around the Women's Engineering Society provided mutually supportive and collaborative opportunities to women from different social classes and communities in engineering in Ireland.

**Suzanne Jobling** is a History PhD student at Queen's University Belfast. Graduating with a first-class degree in Analytical Science from Dublin City University, she pursued a career in IT consultancy and Business Analysis, working in Dublin, London and Belfast. Suzanne returned to education in 2018, graduating with an MA in History in 2019. As a result of her career and experiences working in IT, Suzanne is fascinated by the history of women in employment. Her research focuses upon the Republic of Ireland and the UK, in the period between 1970 and the early 1990s.

**Abstract:** The 1970s was a decade of transitional change and cultural growth in independent Ireland. Increased engagement with the wider world, as evidenced by Ireland's membership of the EEC, and growing awareness of women's position in society, illustrated by the first Commission on the Status of Women, took place against a backdrop of continuing traditional social values and economic difficulties. The introduction of legislation such as the Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act 1974 and the Employment Equality Act 1977 offered the promise of improving women's earning power and status in the workplace.

Whilst the drive to introduce such legislation ostensibly originated from a male-dominated government, women's groups such as the ICA (Irish Countrywomen's Association) and IHA (Irish Housewife's Association) became prominent voices for change in the preceding years. In 1968, an ad hoc committee (formed by the IHA and Business and Professional Women's clubs) lobbied for the establishment of a commission to consider the role of women in Irish society. Once established, the Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by Thekla Beere and boasting prominent female members such as Sheila Conroy published a report containing equal pay recommendations which was championed by prominent female politicians such as Mary Robinson and Evelyn Owens. This paper will consider the provisions of the 1974 and 1977 acts alongside the female network's instrumental in their introduction. With the onus often on women to actively claim their rights to workplace equality, the pursuit of equal pay claims resulting from the legislation will also be discussed to measure the efficacy of equal employment reforms.

**Panel 2: Motherhood and Reproductive Rights**

**Kelly Adamson** is a second-year PhD student at Dublin City University where she was awarded the Irish Research Council Postgraduate Scholarship in 2021. Her research interests include the development of public health in Ireland in the first half of the twentieth century with a focus on few specific areas. At present, she is working on developments in nutrition, infant mortality, tuberculosis (TB) and the institutionalisation of the mentally ill during the Emergency period. She is particularly interested in discerning the extent to which public health policy reflected the body-politic of the newly independent Irish Free State.

**Abstract:** As defined by the 1937 constitution, the family was the primary fundamental element of Irish life. It was the Irish mother who was charged with full responsibility of household management and child welfare. But what happened when children died suddenly? Diarrhoea and enteritis, a contagious disease caused by a bacterial infection of the stomach, was put down to a decline in breastfeeding and impure milk supply. Showing face in a reluctance of a baby to take feeds, vomiting, diarrhoea and dehydration, it culminated in epidemic proportions during the Emergency period, accounting for 1,176 deaths in 1943, of which, 609 were in Dublin alone. In 1944, the disease was made ‘notifiable’, and in December 1946, an official gastro-enteritis advisory committee coupled with a ‘Control Section’ in Dublin Corporation was established by way of prevention. Official blame was put on what was perceived as ‘deteriorating’ traditional motherhood practices and naturally, corrective action focused for the most part on educating Irish mothers via advice, pamphlets and official publications and an adequate milk supply. This is all necessary, but which Irish mothers were they focusing on? For the most part, diarrhoea and enteritis attacked urban life, with cases among the poorer labouring classes arriving at the forefront. This is not to say that there were no other causes of infant deaths, numbers from congenital debility and pneumonia for the same period often outdone those from diarrhoea and enteritis, but official attention was less. Another poignant wartime reality was that children born in institutions for unmarried mothers were almost four times as likely to die than their legitimate counterparts, but official attention here was also amiss. So lacking that individual causes of deaths here were not even listed in the reports of the Registrar-General. This paper seeks to make sense of what constituted the idyllic Irish mother *vis-a-vis* public health measures in maternal provision at such a crucial time in Ireland’s state-building project.

**James Akpu** is an Irish Research Council (IRC) Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholar in the School of History and Geography at Dublin City University in Ireland. He is currently completing a PhD in History under the supervision of Dr Daithi O’Corrain entitled “Irish

Missionary Enterprise in Nigeria, 1885-1975". Born in Kano, Nigeria, James obtained his B.A and M.A in History degrees with distinction from the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, winning prizes for the best student at both levels.

**Abstract:** This paper explores how the Medical Missionaries of Mary (MMM) attempted to influence public opinion on hospitals, hygiene, nutrition, Western midwifery, babyhood, and motherhood in Southern Nigeria by using Baby Shows as means of missionary propaganda. Baby shows were competitions in which mothers displayed their babies, especially babies born at the Mission hospitals, to the community. The best-looking baby was selected, and the mother and the baby received prizes. The shows were formulated to teach the "ideal" care for babies and included aspects such as diet, psychology and the responsibilities of mothers. Baby Shows also provided a glimpse into consumer culture given the preference of the MMM for Irish and British products. Popular brands or products, such as ABS Mixture, ABC Mixture, Ashton (teething powder), Avoca clothings, Lifebuoy (soap), Mentholatum (body cream) and nappies were often on display as against local herbs, medicines, and nappies. The MMM Baby Shows generated much community interest in the work of the mission hospitals and became a popular propaganda tool to influence public attitudes towards maternal and child health, the practices of traditional midwives, obstetricians, or their grandmothers and the fight against infant mortality. Representation of "black babies" and Nigerian women in print propaganda of the Mission Society - *The Medical Missionary of Mary* - had transnational and global outlook. This paper argues that Baby Shows was selected as a site for the modernisation of African motherhood and childhood. Drawing on archival and published sources in Ireland, Britain, and Nigeria, this paper will show how maternal and child health was romanticised through narratives of modernity, Western-styled culture, identity, Western midwifery, race, consumerism, and agency.

**Cara Delay** is a Professor of History at the College of Charleston, holds degrees from Boston College and Brandeis University. Her research analyses women, gender, and culture in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Ireland, with a particular focus on the history of reproduction, pregnancy, and childbirth. Her award-winning body of scholarship includes more than 30 scholarly journal articles and chapters. She is also author of *Women, Reform, and Resistance in Ireland, 1850-1950* (Palgrave), *Irish Women and the Creation of Modern Catholicism, 1850-1950* (Manchester), and *Birth Control: What Everyone Needs to Know* (Oxford). In addition to a Fulbright Scholar fellowship, she has received a Carol Gold Best Article Award (Council for Women in History), an AAUW

fellowship, and a Donnelly Foundation Award. At the College of Charleston, she teaches courses on women's history and the history of birth and bodies.

**Abstract:** From the 2012 death of Savita Halappanavar to the controversial 2021 report on the mother-and-baby homes, public scandals surrounding reproduction have dominated headlines in Ireland in recent decades. These examples underscore trauma, pain, and death, which commentators generally link to a distinctly Irish, postcolonial history of misogyny—a long-standing regulation of women's bodies that continues to cast a shadow today. Little is known, however, about Irish women's actual embodied experiences of reproduction in the past, and particularly overlooked is an analysis of how women felt, thought about, managed, and communicated about reproductive fear, suffering, and pain.

This paper, which examines pregnancy, labour, and birth from 1850 to 1950, hopes to shed light on women's experiences and thoughts, exploring not only their actual pain and suffering but also how they attempted to express pain, manage it, or even make meaning out of it. It examines preparations for the expected pain of labour, pain relief measures, and, most importantly, women's descriptions of and expressions of pain. Women's narratives suggest that they interpreted pain and suffering in complex ways. Moreover, despite the pervasive silence that surrounded sexuality and childbirth in Irish history, women attempted to give voice to their experiences and emotions. This research recognizes that pain and suffering provide insight into not just the individual but the community as well. For example, descriptions of childbirth pain reveal how women responded to each other, talked to each other, or supported each other during labour and birth. Through recognizing each other's pain, they created and upheld a sense community. This paper hopes to delve deeper into Irish women's embodied experiences and their "interior worlds" in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as to shed light on what Olwen Hufton has called the "collective drama" of birth in the past.

## Saturday 2 April

### Panel 1: Women, Radicalism and Republicanism

**Niamh Coffey** is a third year PhD student, jointly supervised by the University of Strathclyde and University of Edinburgh. Her research primarily focuses on Irish women's political and cultural activities in Dundee with a transnational and gendered focus. She is particularly interested in Irish women's involvement in nationalism across the diaspora, and in 2020 she was one of the recipients of the British Association of Irish Studies' Postgraduate Bursary Award.

**Abstract:** The years 1916 to 1923 witnessed the mobilisation of Britain's Irish population in the fight for independence, as Britain became a central location for gun running, sabotage, and other clandestine activities by republican groups. Much of the work that has been produced on this topic has focused on male dominated IRA companies, and therefore has neglected the efforts of Irish women in Britain during this period. However, the online publication of the Military Service Pensions Collection has highlighted that republican women in Britain did not act as mere auxiliaries to their male counterparts but participated in activities which blurred the boundaries between the 'male' IRA and 'female' Cumann na mBan. This paper uses these applications to analyse the networks of republican women in Britain during this period, arguing that their activities were reflective of a changing society where women were increasingly viewed as political citizens, as highlighted through the partial emancipation of women in 1918 and their inclusion as equal citizens in the 1916 Proclamation of the Irish Republic. Although some nineteenth century gendered assumptions prevailed, republican women were able to use them to their advantage; for instance, by posing as distress committees for the relief of Irish civilians, or as concerned visitors of republican prisoners, in order to conceal their clandestine activities. The applications also demonstrate the strength of the connections between the various Irish female communities in Britain and serve to underline the fact that the fight for independence did not stop short of Ireland's shores.

**Hayley Brabazon** is currently a first-year PhD candidate from DCU. Her research is primarily concerned with gender and the legacy of the Irish Revolution in an independent Ireland. The manner in which revolutionary women negotiated limited rights and opportunities in the public sphere, as well as the physical, psychological, and financial fallouts of the revolutionary era, are central to her research.

**Abstract:** Female Intelligence operatives became crucial to the Irish Volunteers in the lead up to and during the War of Independence. These women were hidden in plain sight across Ireland in RIC barracks, domestic servants, shopkeepers, typists in Dublin Castle, and post office clerks. Postal workers were a vital link to the republican intelligence network, particularly outside of Dublin. Telegrams, letters, and 'cyphers' all passed through the hands of women who were employed in Post Offices across Ireland. These women would make notes of police and military phone calls, open and decode messages and copy telegrams critical to the republican cause. Their work informed the volunteers of sensitive military operations, government planning, and the

general movements of the British army across the 36 counties. As a result of this critical work, Republicans could forestall enemy roundups and movements. Female Postal workers were often the key to the success of the intelligence system and even the success of some Brigades during this period. However, postal espionage was extremely perilous work for the women involved. Women risked being targeted by British forces, raided, searched, and even arrested. Post Office clerks Mary Bridget Twomey and May Bourke, in Bandon and Kilfinane post offices, were engaged directly with the Volunteers in their county. Using the Military Service Pension Collection and supporting documentation, this paper will examine postal espionage during the War of Independence and the women behind it. Through the lens of Mary Bridget Twomey and May Bourke, this paper will consider the importance of postal espionage to the IRA between 1919 and 1921 and its influence on Republican activities during this period.

**Elaine Callinan** obtained her PhD in Trinity College Dublin and is a lecture in Modern Irish History at Carlow College, St. Patrick's. She is the author of *Electioneering and Propaganda in Ireland 1917-21: Votes, violence and victory* (Dublin 2020).

**Abstract:** The overall aim of this paper is to investigate the political life of Jennie Wyse Power in the post-1916 period beginning with the 1917-18 by-elections and 1918 general election. During the Sinn Féin Convention of 1917 she spoke out strongly on the rights of women in the organisation. In 1918 Constance Markievicz was elected for the Dublin, St. Patrick's Ward with the assistance of Wyse Power and other members of Cumann na mBan, the Irish Women's Franchise League and the Irish Women's workers Union who had campaigned vigorously for her. During this election campaign Wyse Power was also appointed Financial Director for North-East Ulster in November 1918. Two years later she was elected as a member of Dublin Corporation in the 1920 Local Government elections.

She was the only leading member of Cumann na mBan to support the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty and subsequently was involved in the creation of Cumann na Saoirse in March 1922 to aid in the establishment of the new state. This paper will analyse the contributions of Wyse Power during elections of this era and her subsequent treaty stance. It will also focus on her time in Cumann na nGaedheal, and her appointment as one of only four women to the Senate in December 1922. An assessment of her opinions on matters that affected women in this era such as: the Civil Service Regulation (Amendment) Bill of 1925, the Juries Bill 1927 and the Illegitimate Children's Bill will be conducted.

**Liz Kyte** is a freelance Irish women's historian, feminist activist and writer. Liz teaches on the UCC MA Women's Studies on the history of Irish feminism, is a committee member of the Women's History Association of Ireland and member of the Irish Labour History Society. Liz is currently working on publishing her doctoral thesis on the history of Irish women and radicalism as a monograph. She is a co-founder of We Care Collective ([www.wecarecollective.ie](http://www.wecarecollective.ie)), a campaigning and support group for mothers and carers of children with additional needs. Liz kyte's website; [www.redkyte.ie](http://www.redkyte.ie), connects her academic work and activism through her personal writing on the lived experience of mothering additional needs, the need for a more care-centric economy and a advancing a politics of interdependence for Ireland.

**Abstract:** Emerging approaches to radical histories increasingly focus on the life stories and transnationalism of activists to provide more diverse and multi-dimensional understandings of the history of social movements. Using a life story approach to interweave the personal and political lives of Irish female activists in early twentieth radicalism, this paper will explore the significance of transnational socialist feminist networks to the construction of these women's political identification with radicalism and their ability to translate private conviction into public activism.

Sheila Rowbotham has described a 'broadening' form of feminism by the turn of the twentieth century to include class and anti-imperialist concerns, and these new feminist 'intellectual trails' can be traced through the internationalism of Irish radical women; their relationships, ideas and shared strategies all provide compelling evidence of the highly gendered nature of Irish radicalism viewed through the activist experiences of Irish women.

Feminists acted as the human links between the Irish women's, labour and nationalist movements and were able to create gender inclusive spaces at the intersections of these social movements. The women's own informal feminist alliances, both in Ireland and beyond, were of significance in inspiring, advancing and maintaining their activism within radicalism. These networks were crucial in the face of an increasingly hostile social and political climate towards women's participation in public life in Ireland, the rise of authoritarian, highly patriarchal regimes internationally during the interwar period and an ambivalence towards women's position in the Soviet communism affiliated radical groups.

With the rise of populism on both the right and left and a global pandemic of male violence against women, this paper seeks to understand what enduring historic networks, ideas and strategies might be necessary for today's Irish female activists to find gender inclusive spaces in radicalism.

## Panel 2: Digital and Material Culture

**Eliza McKee** is an AHRC-funded PhD candidate at Queen's University, Belfast. She is currently completing her PhD thesis examining non-elite clothing acquisition in post-Famine Ireland. She holds a B.A. in Modern History and an M.A. in Irish History from Queen's University, Belfast and an M.A. in Archives and Records Management from the University of Liverpool. Her research interests include non-elite clothing traditions, the clothing of the poor, clothing acquisition, and the use of folklore sources in dress history. She has published in the peer-reviewed journals, *The Journal of Dress History* and *Archives and Records*.

**Abstract:** This paper will investigate illicit clothing networks operated by women and used by working-class people in industrial Ulster to acquire stolen clothing cheaply. Ulster's industries provided particular opportunities for clothing theft and for the distribution and exchange of illicitly obtained apparel. Illicit clothing networks flourished in Belfast, particularly among women neighbours, friends, family, and co-workers owing to the large number of industrial workplaces, particularly textile mills and clothing factories, which were ideal locations for stolen clothing to be sold on to working-class people. The population of the city provided a large number of potential working-class customers for stolen clothes. Furthermore, community networks were very important in the illicit clothing trade, and Belfast's distinct working-class communities and residential districts enabled illicit clothing networks of 'prough', to flourish. Clothing acquisition through these networks was part of female working-class reciprocity, community aid and class cooperation within neighbourhoods.

Utilisation of illicit clothing networks was a vital clothing practice amongst the working class, yet the largely hidden world of these illegitimate and unregulated trade networks has been neglected in Irish dress, gender, social and economic history. This paper will utilise court cases to assess the use of illicit clothing networks by poor women, showing how clothing moved through the unregulated economy amongst networks of social equals. It will briefly outline the various crimes through which clothing could be obtained. Then the paper will explore how stolen clothing was dispersed by women in the illicit market; how working-class consumers used the networks; the



types of clothing acquired through illicit networks; and the motivations for using the illicit clothing trade.

**Emma Kelly** is a graduate of the Design History and Material Culture MA where she completed her studies in 2020. Her thesis, 'The Grafton Outfitter: Slyne and Co, 1885-1937', explores the first 52 years of Slyne and Co, a ladies outfitter based on Dublin's Grafton Street. She is also a graduate of the Fashion and Dress History BA at the University of Brighton. Her research interest centre on female-led fashion establishments in Ireland, fashion in the Irish print media, and the promotion of Irish fashion in the 20th century.

**Abstract:** The Women's Industrial Development Association (WIDA) was founded in the early 1930s. It described itself as the national voice of the consumer, an active agent for the sale and purchase of Irish made goods."<sup>1</sup> The association created a series of handbooks, a means of educating Irish consumers on how they could buy Irish, largely focusing on day-to-day goods for the home. Though not alone in taking up the mantle of promoting Irish goods during the century, the WIDA offers a fascinating case study of a multi-faceted, female-led organisation in Free State Ireland.

This paper will discuss the work done by the association, its foundation and membership, and its work in the promotion of Irish fashion in the 1930s, exploring the origins of fashion shows, their prevalence in Ireland and the use of such events by the association and other groups, delving into the promotion of Irish fashion into the 20th century.

This paper will call upon the association's pamphlets and booklets from the period, as well as accounts of the association's events from the Irish print media.

**Sharon Healy** is a 4th year PhD Candidate and GOIPG Irish Research Council scholar in Digital Humanities at Maynooth University. Her research focuses on bridging the gap between the creation of web archives and the use of the archived web for current and future research. Sharon holds a BA (Hons) in Cultural Studies (DkIT), an MA in Digital Humanities (MU), and a PG Diploma in Historical Archives (MU). Contact: [schealy.ire@gmail.com](mailto:schealy.ire@gmail.com); Tweet: @ScHealyire.

**Abstract:** Since its invention in the early 1990s, the World Wide Web (the web) has become a major resource for researchers, as well as society in general. Yet it is a transient

medium: information is in constant flux with content removal and updates, and the omnipresent ‘page not found’ error. As the early web materialised, concerns about the ephemeral nature of the web also emerged (Brown, 2006: 3-4). From the mid-1990s national libraries and cultural heritage organisations, such as the National Library of Australia, the Royal Library of Sweden, and the Internet Archive soon realised the need to preserve information and content on the web; and the development of web crawlers gave rise to the technology for web archiving (Webster, 2017: 177-178; Schneider, Foot and Wouters, 2009: 206-207).

In recent years, web archives have become a valuable resource to study national and international web histories (Brugger and Milligan, 2019). However, to date, literature related to research on the past Irish web is difficult to find. Moreover, minimal research has been conducted regarding ‘Women on the Web’ in Ireland, with the exception of Helen Farrell’s gender-related internet directory published in 1998. In this presentation, I will explore the landscape of Irish women on the web in the 1990s, by examining resources provided by Farrell (1998) and combining this with testimonies from early female webmasters. For example, one of the first Irish tourism websites, can be traced to Kinsale.ie, which was created by Imogen Bertin in 1995. To end, I will offer some insights for the potential of using web archives to study histories related to gender activities on the past Irish web.

### Panel 3: History of Women’s Football

**Michael KIELTY** is an academic and researcher specialising in research into association football, pre-codified football in Ireland. He has published and presented most recently on early Irish soccer pioneers in the USA from the 1870s to 1920s.

**Abstract:** In 2019, The *Mapping Irish Football* project called on the crowd to share any newspaper references they may have come across of women and any code of football prior to and including 1973. It was hoped that this project would start a conversation amongst researchers interested in Irish sports to do more to document the history and development of women’s football. Women’s football of any code only started to become popular in Ireland from the mid 1960’s onwards, but very little was known of what went before.

By collaborating through this public form, we have started to piece together the knowledge that exists within the research community and identify where the gaps in our knowledge lie. After the online nomination form closed, the data was deposited with News collections at the British

Library. The data was published in 2021 as an open-source data set that can now be accessed by anyone interested in women's football history.

This presentation will give an overview of how this project came about, a summary of the data collected so far, highlighting role of Irish women in football, and the next steps in the project.

**Fiona Skillen** is a senior lecturer in History in the Department of Social Sciences, in the School for Business and Society at Glasgow Caledonian University. Her research interests concern modern history, in particular aspects of sport, gender and popular culture. She is particularly interested in women's sport during the late 19th and 20th centuries and has published extensively in this area. She regularly contributes to radio and television programmes on the history of sport, including the award-winning Radio 4 series *Sport and the British* and as a regular guest on STV's *People's History Show* series. She is a former Chair of British Society of Sport History, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and an editor of the *International Journal of the History of Sport*.

**Abstract:** Rutherglen Ladies F.C was the preeminent football team in interwar Scotland. Founded in 1921, when many other teams were disbanding as a result of increasing hostility to women's football from official organisations, the team became the most significant one to play in Scotland during the 1920s. They were also ground-breaking in that they toured to Ireland, firstly in 1927 and again in 1928, on both occasions a team made up of Irish players returned to with the Rutherglen side and toured in Scotland. Research by myself and Steve Bolton suggests that this was the first tour of its kind. This paper will explore the development of Rutherglen F.C and the significance of their Irish tour.

**Helena Byrne** is an independent researcher whose research focuses on the history of women's football in Ireland. She has also documented the early history of the indoor football leagues in County Louth that were phenomenally popular in the late 1960s and early 1970s. These leagues were the gateway that led to the development of contemporary women's soccer and Gaelic football teams in the region.

**Abstract:** This summer England will host the UEFA Women's EURO 2022. Originally it was scheduled for 2021 but covid affected the qualification schedule and like many other major sporting events it was pushed back. 2021 was also 100 years since the Football Association tried to dismantle the strong networks of women's football by implementing a ban on women playing on affiliated grounds.

There are many milestones to be celebrated with this edition of the competition. From an Irish perspective, Northern Ireland have qualified for the competition for the first time. 2022 also marks forty years since UEFA organised its first competition for international teams. Demand for tickets for this year's competition has exceeded expectations. This reflects the growing popularity of the sport. However, very little has been published on the early years of the competition.

In 1971 UEFA members voted to recognise women's football and its members were directed to take control of the organisation of women's football. However, despite this positive position it took a further eleven years of campaigning before UEFA formally organised a competitive competition for women's international football teams. Even then the governing bodies were unsure if a competition was going to go ahead in 1982 and if they would be able to afford to participate without any substantial investment from UEFA. This presentation looks back on how the first competition was organised as well as the challenges faced with a focus on the teams from Britain and Ireland.

**Stephen Bolton** has written a number of articles about women's football history for the Playing Pasts website and the University of Wolverhampton Football and War blog. He has recently co-authored an article about the history of interwar Scottish Women's football with Dr Fiona Skillen of Glasgow Caledonian University. The Scottish Football Museum at Hampden Park, Glasgow has just opened an entire gallery dedicated to women's football co-curated by Stephen and Dr Fiona Skillen. The gallery features Rutherglen Ladies F.C. and Molly Seaton. The Royal Irish Academy has invited him to contribute the biographical entry for Molly Seaton.

**Abstract:** Outline of context: Famous historical women's teams such as the Dick Kerr Ladies, Manchester Corinthians and Femina Sport of Paris are beginning to be studied in some detail. An overlooked and important part of the history of female participation in football is the startling rise of women's football in and around Belfast in 1931 and 1932. Its relatively swift demise is also poorly understood.

Core themes/ argument: High profile women's football historically has needed the goodwill and support of powerful men. (Some would argue that this is still the case today.) This argument is particularly stark in early 1930s Belfast and I will aim to explore this issue.

Methodology: I have an extensive library of research documentation from this period which includes research in libraries in Northern Ireland. I have also put together a picture of this period from detailed study of online newspaper archives of the time.

Significance: Molly Seaton was the greatest Irish woman footballer of that period and arguably the greatest British and Irish woman footballer. I think that it is worth sharing insight into how she was able to achieve this status apart from just being a talented footballer.

## Friday 8 April

### Panel 1: Female Religious and Lay Communities

**Karen Hanrahan** is a Senior Lecturer in Education at the University of Brighton. Her doctoral work is located at the interface between a number of disciplines (life history and life writing, sociology, narrative psychology and Irish Studies) and draws on narrative and life history methodologies to explore the lives of former Irish nuns. Her research is concerned with representations of the past and how ethical memory can challenge the imposing ideologies of the present. Other research interests include the role of reflective practice in professional becoming and transformative learning in Higher Education.

**Abstract:** Women religious (nuns) occupy a contentious place within Irish collective memory. Nuns were responsible for historical injustices, colluding in oppressive master narratives circulated by the dyad of Church and State. In 1950s Ireland, however, religious life offered an alternative model of womanhood outside marriage and motherhood, providing opportunities for professionalism and playing a key role in advancing female education. Little research exists which explores the voices of Irish nuns and their personal experience of religious life. Rarer still are testimonies from former Irish women religious, particularly those who entered religious life pre-Vatican II (1962-65). Based on doctoral work in progress, this interdisciplinary project adopts a life history approach to explore the lives of former Irish nuns, one of whom is my mother. In addition to the ethical imperatives for carrying out the research, there is, therefore, a strong autobiographical impulse driving the work as I seek to locate myself in the wider frame of my life history. My research considers the various individual and social factors which led the women to enter a convent in Ireland in the 1950s when they were just 16 years old, what religious life was like for them, and how they navigated the transgressive act of leaving the convent decades later. I explore how the women, who are now in their eighties, subsequently make sense of and narrate these events, and how this former self has become subsumed into their life story, shaping the

overall configuration of their narrative identity. I argue that the women's stories help illuminate an area of Irish social history, speaking to a broader body of literature relating to historical institutional oppression in Ireland and contributing to the way in which Irish remembrance culture is performed and ethical memory invoked.

**Jane O'Brien** is a fourth year PhD History Candidate at NUI Galway and is a recipient of the Galway Doctoral Scholarship under the supervision of Dr. Sarah-Anne Buckley. Her research topic is The Experience of the Mercy run Irish Industrial School System from 1868 to 1936. She previously completed a Masters in Local History at the University of Limerick and has published two articles from this work. She also runs a historical walking tour company.

**Abstract:** The Catholic order of the Sisters of Mercy was the most prominent administrator of industrial schools for girls in Ireland, and at the height of the system in 1898 they operated over thirty schools. The State documentary requirements for these institutions, which are stored within the Mercy convent archives, are a rich source for the study of the female communities that made up these industrial schools and allow unprecedented access to the workings of daily life within such institutional regimes. The many multifaceted and complex relationships and social contacts that existed within these communities had enormous implications for the lived experience of the schools. Threaded through the sources is evidence of the nature of care and control within the schools, the community and companionship that could exist between inmates, and the religious and societal networks that existed with the wider community. The revelations of abuse towards children in Ireland's industrial school system in the twentieth century has meant that such institutions are frequently viewed through a negative lens of trauma and oppression. However, this paper explores the culture and perception of these communities within the context of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and allows us to examine both the child and the religious orders that lay at the heart of its operation from below, and in ways that can help to illuminate our understanding of the system and its evolution.

**Bridget Harrison** is a research student at the National Library of Ireland. Her current research investigates the connections between the Irish landlord class and Catholic charity. She completed her Ph.D. at Queen's University Belfast in 2020, with a thesis entitled 'Roman Catholic women religious in Ireland, 1849-1907: Self representations and public perceptions.'

**Abstract:** Pious associations were a major part of Catholic life throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Colm Lennon's 2012 book, *Confraternities and sodalities in Ireland: charity, devotion and sociability* highlighted the central role these institutions played in parish life. However, the essays largely neglected the interior life of these sodalities failed to analyse the effect they had on personal pieties. Similarly, historians have shown increasing interest in the role of women religious in nineteenth century society, particularly in the field of education. While authors such as Deirdre Raftery have established the impact of convent education on female lay Catholic culture, little research has been done on the sodalities and confraternities which convent school students often participated in.

This paper aims to bridge the gap between these growing areas in religious research. Focusing on the second half of the nineteenth century, it will examine how religious congregations used sodalities to form networks between convents and the lay world. Using convent annals and sodality record books as its primary source base, this paper will examine how congregations-maintained contact with past students and how these sodality members conceptualised their ties to their school and the congregation which ran it. It will also note how these pious associations helped to shape women and girls' interior spirituality, advancing Lennon's work on sodality's outward manifestations of faith.

This paper will advance current research on women's networks, by examining the role of sodalities and confraternities in constructing female spirituality and building connections with religious congregations. It will therefore contribute to the study of Catholic pious associations, Irish Catholicism and female spirituality.

**Deirdre Foley** is a historian of modern Ireland with a particular interest in birth control, maternity care, female associational culture and the legal status of women in 20th century Ireland. She has a PhD in History from Dublin City University, and previously studied at Trinity College Dublin (MPhil) and University College Dublin (BA). Her most recent article for *Social History* explores the legal and cultural history of the 'marriage bar' in independent Ireland. As the current Roy Foster Irish Government Research Fellow at Hertford College, University of Oxford, she is in the process of revising her doctoral thesis, entitled "'Women are Citizens': Women's groups and the Commission on the Status of Women in Ireland, c. 1967-1979", into a monograph which will investigate, in a wider sense, the changing legal and social status of women in Ireland.

**Abstract:** The Catholic Women's Federation (CWF) does not feature frequently in the historiography of female associational culture in Ireland, but it had quite a large and robust membership for many years, which was made up primarily of graduates from prominent Catholic girls' secondary schools, such as the Dominican and Holy Faith schools. Founded in 1937, the CWF's objectives were 'the promotion and fostering of Catholic action particularly in the sphere of family and of education', and 'varied voluntary social activities and social services throughout the country.' Professor Mary Hayden was an early member, as she was President of the Dominican Union until her death in 1942.

Some of the Federation's activities included the organisation of 'Working-girls Clubs [sic]' in Dublin, where cooking, sewing, singing and dancing were taught'. These clubs, primarily in inner-city areas, had approximately 400 members in 1939. The CWF applied unsuccessfully to become a nominating body for the cultural and educational panel of the Seanad in 1938, and again in 1954. The applications to the Seanad were made on the basis that the CWF was an ideal representative body for women in the home. They also gave evidence 'on the rights of homemakers' to the Commission on Vocational Organisation (CVO) in 1942 and enacted various public and private campaigns relating to the persecution of Catholics abroad, the performance of perceived 'indecent' plays at the Olympia and the advertisement of swimwear by Irish manufacturers. This paper situates the CWF within the wider community of women's groups during this period, placing their activities and views in context. It is argued that considering their preoccupation with vocationalism and censorship, the CWF can be considered as a crucial part of the wider Irish Catholic action movement as well as the female associational community in Ireland.

## Panel 2: Diverse Marginalism

**Aoife Cranny-Walsh** is a current PhD student in the UCD School of History under the supervision of Dr Elva Johnston and will be submitting my PhD in January 2022. I am looking at the role and representation of Irish queens in early medieval Ireland, bringing together historical and literary sources on this topic for the first time. My research also aims to identify the disparity between Irish and contemporary Frankish and English queenship, for the first time placing Irish queens in a European context.

**Abstract:** The early Irish annals are a source that provides the fullest body of references to historical queens. The importance of the annals as a source is in the frequency and contexts in which queens are mentioned as this is crucial because they are one of the few sources which are



contemporary with the people that they mention. This paper will incorporate the use of social network theory to portray the extent to which queens played a role in society and how visible it was. The use of networks will also aid in establishing a queen's role and importance in political marriage alliances and how central their position was as a result, arguing that political and marriage alliances tells us more about the social realities of these women. Due to their elevated status the role of queens in marriages goes further as these marriages can also facilitate a political agenda in the form of an alliance between kingdoms. When we think of marriage alliances it is usually the political ramifications which are at the forefront and the woman can become an afterthought. Instead, when looked at from the position of the woman she plays a significant role in the alliance which is usually overlooked. Network theory will provide a dynamic picture of the totality of a woman's relationship which also incorporates generational links. We do not see this in standard genealogies or narratives where the focus is usually on a man. It allows us to think about the community of relationships created by marriage and the impact of political marriage alliances on both familial and dynastic alliances. Having established the status and place of queens in society the paper will then address whether the sources allow us to think of queenship as forming a distinct institution and / or title or role.

**Betty Walsh** is an Independent Historian whose research interests include women and gendered social history. Betty holds an M.A in Gender Culture and Society from the University of Limerick. She is currently conducting research on forgotten female performers in Ireland. Betty was the founding member of the Limerick Branch of Gingerbread.

**Abstract:** The proposed paper will examine the work of Gingerbread, an association for one parent families established in Dublin, Ireland in the late 1970's early 1980's. Branches were later formed in Limerick and Cork towards the end of the 1980's. The Organisation was modelled on the self-help group set up in London in 1970 by Tess Fothergill when she became a single parent after the breakup of her marriage.

Tess had approached her Local Council for help regarding accommodation and when she realised there was none forthcoming, she wrote a letter to *The Sunday Times* detailing her predicament and received an overwhelming response from other single parents and from this Gingerbread was born. The name Gingerbread was chosen because 'Ginger' meant gingering up support or getting help from the Authorities and 'Bread' signified the money and resources families needed to survive.

The association was established to provide a network of supports for both women and men raising children on their own.

Ireland of the 1970's and 1980's was a deeply conservative country that did not recognize families which were not constructed within societal norms. The model created by Tess Fothergill provided single parent families with the confidence to fully participate in Irish society. The paper will examine how the association helped Lone Parents deal with the many stigmas attached to being a one parent family in the conservative Ireland of the 1980s.

### Panel 3: Youth and Popular Culture

**Annika Stendebach** is a PhD Candidate at International Graduate Centre for the Study of Culture at the University of Giessen, Germany. She has fallen in love with the Irish culture and history while studying a year at NUIG and has since worked on the student movement in 1960s Ireland and on the Irish Teddy Boys. Her current research project also reflects that interest and focuses on the spatial dimension of youth and their social spaces in 1960s and 1970s Ireland.

**Abstract:** Due to a “lack of dedicated teenage spaces,” the dance hall had for a long time been “the only place where boy-meets-girl” in Ireland. In the late 1960s, however, some people seemed to “have grown out of dancing” and thus were in need of new locations to meet and to be entertained. As if to fill the void and accompanied by an increased interest in ballads and folk music, “the pubs are gradually becoming meeting places.” There were some pitfalls attached to pubs becoming leisure space for youths, though. On the one hand, concerns were voiced that pubs were “not the proper environment for young people.” On the other hand, up until the early 1960s, it was “quite unusual to see women in pubs.” So what changed in this decade to question the supremacy of “an exclusively male pub culture”? Some accounts report after all that at least in certain establishments females were merely granted access “on sufferance,” and especially in more rural areas, young women themselves seemed to have certain reservations about entering and being seen in such venues. So how accessible were pubs really to young women in 1960s and 1970s Ireland and how much space where they allowed to take up? Carole Holohan argues that “the entry of women into pubs signified an evolution in the socialising habits of young people”, so I will take a closer look at which role was played by the pub as a space in creating social relations between males and females.

**Sharon Phelan** has lectured in Dance and Cultural Theory at graduate and post-graduate levels in the Munster Technological University for over twenty years. She has also performed professionally with *Siamsa Tíre*, the National Folk Theatre of Ireland, as National Facilitator in Dance with the Department of Education and as Artistic Director of the 'Ionad Culturtha' (cultural centre) in Ballyvourney, County Cork. Sharon has delivered and published internationally on dance, and she has written an academic book titled: 'Dance in Ireland: Steps, Stages and Stories'. Current areas of interest include supervision of arts research at masters and at doctoral levels and the use of distance learning in the teaching of dance in third level. She is also writing another book, which will focus on dance in Ireland during the colonial era.

**Abstract:** This paper will explore the male-female dichotomy in Irish dance during three eras in Ireland's history. Initially, it focuses on dance during the Colonial Era. Then, male dance masters dominated Irish dance. They travelled from place to place with male fiddlers and their pupils were mainly male. They patronized female dancers and they used dance to assert their masculinity through movement style and choreography.

Then, the paper explores the male-female dichotomy during the Gaelic Revival. Chauvinism remained visible in many contexts. Firstly, it was palpable in the negative attitudes of clergy towards female dancers. It was also evident at Gaelic League *céilithe*, where male dancers adopted a dominant role, on and off, the dance floor. Finally, male dominion was promoted at *feiseanna*, when female dancers donned costumes, which exuded subservience, through their domestic and 'girly' undertones.

Finally, the paper addresses the male-female dichotomy in Irish dance today. While female dancers have become more forceful, male dominance remains visible. On one level, female dancers occupy roles as choreographers, dance teachers and judges. However, on another level, female attire at *feiseanna* remains 'girly', group dances remain male-led and male Irish dancers, usually play the leading roles, and adopt more powerful personas, in the modern stage productions.

**Veronica Johnson** is an early and silent film historian. A former Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences (IRCHSS) awardee, she is currently working on a history of the Film Company of Ireland (1916-1920), Ireland's first significant fiction film company. She has published on the role of women in this company in the *Alphaville*, *the Journal of Screen Media* and in

RTÉ's Brainstorm forum. In 2022 she will host a workshop on researching cinema in the First World War, funded by the International Association for Media and History.

**Abstract:** Ellen (Nell) and Mary O'Mara were daughters of Stephen and Ellen O'Mara of Limerick. Their parents were wealthy owners of a thriving bacon company with international connections. Stephen was former Lord Mayor of Limerick and a Parnellite MP. The sisters grew up in a family that was wealthy, established and well connected politically. In 1910 Nell O'Mara married James Sullivan an Irish-American lawyer and returned with him to America where he became Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in the Dominican Republic. In 1916 they returned to Ireland and established the Film Company of Ireland with Henry Fitzgibbon. This company made over thirty films until its demise in 1920. Nell was involved in the day-to-day running of the company from the start and in 1917 she rescued the company from bankruptcy and in doing so became the legal owner of the company, making her the first Irish female owner of a film company. This financial intervention was one of many she made in a difficult year for the fledgling company. In March of that year her sister Mary Rynne (nee O'Mara) made a significant financial contribution to the company also.

This paper looks at the family network of the O'Mara women, sisters Nell and Mary and their mother Ellen. Making extensive use of the Rynne Family Archive at the National University of Ireland, Galway, contemporary newspapers, magazines and trade journals it looks at Nell's role in the Film Company of Ireland and how that role was supported and influenced by her mother and sister.

**Ciara Molloy** is a PhD candidate in the Institute of Criminology, Sutherland School of Law, University College Dublin. She is an Irish Research Council Government of Ireland Postgraduate Scholar, and formerly a UCD School of Law Doctoral Scholar. Her current research focuses on the intersection of crime and culture in twentieth-century Ireland.

**Abstract:** Drawing primarily on semi-structured interviews conducted with members of the Irish Mod subculture, this paper examines the variable and nuanced role of gender in shaping subcultural perceptions and performances from the 1960s to the present day. The paper first explores the negative portrayals of beat clubs (Mod music venues) as dens of iniquity in mid-1960s Ireland, with females in particular depicted by the press as potential victims of sexual immorality within these clubs. It argues that this moral panic over beat clubs was deliberately engineered by

ballroom proprietors for financial reasons, which indicates the weaponization of gender for commercial gain. Second, the paper considers convergences and divergences of subcultural experience during the Mod revival of the 1980s. It argues that while the origins and nature of involvement varied between male and female Mods, the Mod mentality (premised on a strong work ethic, obsessiveness, confidence and attention to detail) transcended gender boundaries and constituted a shared subcultural experience. The third section focuses on the performance of masculinity within the 1980s Mod subculture. It argues that this period witnessed the paradoxical creation of an exclusive, hegemonic masculinity which was simultaneously perceived as effeminate. These dynamics served to reify undercurrents of violence within the subculture. The final section traces the evolution of gender roles from the 1980s to the present day. It contends that such an evolution was influenced by changes both exogenous and endogenous to the Mod subculture, and that the emergence of a mature Mod mentality premised on the concept of 'digging deep' has heralded greater levels of gender-inclusivity. Overall, this paper reiterates the need for gender to be included as part of an intersectional framework when analysing the origins, nature of and reactions to subcultures over time.

## Saturday 9 April

### Panel 1: Women Writers and Literary Circles

**Angela Byrne:** is a historian of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, focusing on the experiences of migrants and women. She is Research Associate at Ulster University and Editorial Assistant at the Royal Irish Academy and has previously held research and lecturing positions at the University of Greenwich, University of Toronto, NUI Maynooth, and EPIC The Irish Emigration Museum. She has published widely and is currently completing her fourth book, *Irish Encounters with Russia, 1690–1914*.

**Abstract:** This paper introduces a previously unidentified coterie of late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Irish writing and travelling women that included some well-known literary figures and radicals. At the core of the circle were two Cork families, the Chetwoods and the Wilmot's, whose regional and international connections emphasize circle's importance in the nineteenth-century Irish literary scene. These connections include the writer and political radical Margaret King, Lady Mount Cashell; Maria Edgeworth; Sarah Curran, best-known as the fiancée of United Irishman Robert Emmet, but remembered by her friends as a poet and musician; and the artist and memoirist Caroline Hamilton (Tighe). There was also a significant international

dimension to the circle, with connections reaching across Ireland and the UK (most notably Serena Holroyd), to France (most notably Helen Maria Williams) and as far as Russia. Two generations of Wilmot women formed deep friendships with Princess Ekaterina Romanovna Dashkova, one of the most significant women in eighteenth-century European public life. The circle left a wealth of published and unpublished travel writing, correspondence, commonplace books, poetry, prose, fiction and non-fiction – and the first edition and English-language translation of the memoirs of Princess Dashkova, a text of enduring historical significance. This paper reconstructs the circle's membership before focusing on patterns of manuscript circulation to demonstrate how a shared written culture substituted the salon as a meeting place and exchange of ideas, with members of the circle participating in collaborative activities like producing friendship albums, transcribing each other's letters and original compositions, and sharing texts.

**Deirdre Brady's** research focuses on Irish female writers and intellectual networks of the mid-twentieth century. Her recent monograph entitled *Literary Coteries and the Irish Women Writers' Club (1933-1958)* is published by the Liverpool University (2021). Other publications include a biography of 'The Gayfield Press' published in MAPP, the digital Modernist Archives Publishing Project (2020); and journal articles including 'Writers and the International Spirit: Irish P.E.N. in the Post-war Years', published in *The New Hibernia Review* (2017): 'The Road to Cuzco: An Irish woman writers' journey to the 'navel of the world' published in *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* (2018), and 'Modernist Presses and the Gayfield Press' published in *Bibliologica* (2014). More recent publications include a book review of 'Irish Women Writers at the turn of the 20th Century: Alternative Histories, New Narratives', by Kathryn Laing & Sinéad Mooney (eds) reviewed in *Estudios Irlandeses*. She has published several articles for *The Irish Times* and is currently teaching at the University of Limerick and Mary Immaculate, Thurles.

**Abstract:** Alan Reeves illustration of 'Dublin Culture' in 1940 famously depicts a literary scene centring around the pubs and eateries of Dublin's city centre and featuring a cohort of mainly male authors and artists. These social spaces form the contexts from which ideas are exchanged and adapted and collaborations formed. Yet, a feminist view of this period, reveals a more complicated and inclusive artistic space, one which locates women authors as significant actors in the cultural marketplace. This paper draws on new archival research which challenges received narratives of a homosocial literary landscape. It offers a visual map of the meeting places of an engaged female literati, and the affiliations, nationally and internationally, which supported their creative endeavours. These networks served to keep writers in contact with new ideas, literary conventions,

and fashions as well as providing legitimate networks through which they published and marketed their books. Specifically, this paper will examine the influence of female writers and activists involved in the Women Writers' Club (1933-1958). This radical and progressive coterie of professional women writers included in its membership list, notable writers, poets, and playwrights such as Kate O'Brien, Elizabeth Bowen, Blanaid Salkeld, Temple Lane, Teresa Deevy and Patricia Lynch, as well as political activists such as Rosamond Jacob, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, and Dorothy Macardle. By visually charting the public spaces of this interrelated community of artists and writers, it is possible to gain new perspectives into the complex web of communities that constituted literary culture of the period.

## Panel 2: Transnationalism and the Lived Experience

**Molly Daly** is a lecturer in Education in Mary Immaculate College, St. Patrick's Campus in Thurles. Her research interests include history and sociology of education and inclusive education; of particular interest is 19th century history and its influence on contemporary life and education.

**Abstract:** Ireland in the 1950s was a small isolated agrarian country with a primarily rural population with only two fifths of the population living in towns of 1,500. Still influenced by its colonial past Ireland's political and cultural leaders endeavoured to keep the Irish nation socially and culturally pure and free from protestant and capitalist influences that were emanating from Britain and America. As the rest of the world surged forward economically in the 1950s Ireland stagnated in the conservative and impoverished idyll envisioned by the above. For the 17% of the population who left Ireland in the 1950s this was not the vision or idyll either for their country or themselves. After the general election of 1948, the first inter-party government (1948-1951) led by John. A. Costelloe was faced with tackling the insurmountable problem of Irish emigration. Instituted in March 1948 the government appointed the Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems to investigate various aspects of Ireland's population, but in practice it concentrated almost exclusively on emigration. The Commission sat until 1954, met 115 times and attempted to address the underlying economic, social and psychological reasons for emigration. The report of the Commission which was published in 1954 as well as addressing the pervasive problem of emigration provides a rich insight into the status of women in Ireland during this period. Excluded from many aspects of public life, single and married women occupied a subordinate position within society with marriage premised on upholding the authority of the man as head of the family. Using a desk-based study this paper will investigate the findings of the

Commission and from this perspective will examine the role of the state in the construction of female lives and its influence on their lived experiences during this period.

**Ann Marie O'Brien** graduated in 2017 from the University of Limerick with a Ph.D. in history which was funded by the Irish Research Council. She has published nationally and internationally on women and Irish diplomacy and her book, *The Ideal diplomat? Women and Irish foreign affairs, 1946-90* was published by Four Courts Press in 2020.

**Abstract:** Mainstream historiography has rendered diplomatic partners invisible, incorporated into the 'private' sphere in which diplomacy, supposedly, does not penetrate. In fact, within diplomatic discourse the private is public; literally in the sense of embassies incorporating the residential home of the ambassador and his/her family, and figuratively, as the diplomatic partner and family are symbols of their native country, representing its values, ideology and culture.

Up to the 1970s the Irish diplomatic spouse was always a wife, with diplomacy developing globally as a male sphere. In the early years of Irish foreign policy wives did not feature in official discourse, with few diplomats making reference to their partners. Nevertheless, there was an expectation by Irish officialdom that wives would support their diplomat husbands, both in his role at home and abroad. The support role that wives, and later husbands, provided to their diplomat spouse was largely invisible, taking the form of a caretaker role, household management, and indeed childcare. In 1979 the Irish Family Affairs Spouses Association (later to be renamed the Irish Foreign Affairs Family Association (IFAFA)) was established as a support group for wives to improve living conditions for diplomatic families. The increase in diplomatic husbands from the 1970s and the establishment of IFAFA changed the make-up of the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs. This paper, based on information held within the official Foreign Affairs files and through conversations and interviews with diplomatic spouses, will chart this time of change in Irish diplomatic history. The exploration of historical and contemporary sources will provide a picture of the evolutionary nature of the diplomatic spouse's role in Irish foreign affairs and explore the challenges that the diplomatic world places on spouses and their families; it will 'make visible what has hitherto been unseen'.

**Jyoti Atwal** is Associate Professor at Centre for Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India & Adjunct Professor at Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Limerick, Ireland (2017-2022). She



specialises in gender history of India in the colonial and post-colonial contexts. She is working on a biography of Margaret Cousins (1878 – 1954). She has recently edited a book with Eunan O’Halpin titled, *India, Ireland and Anti-Imperial Struggle: Remembering the Connaught Rangers Mutiny, 1920* (New Delhi: Aakar Books, 2021 funded by the Embassy of Ireland, New Delhi). Her other publications include an edited volume on *Gender and Violence in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives: Situating India* (London: Routledge, 2020). She has authored *Real and Imagined Widows: Gender Relations in Colonial North India* (New Delhi: Primus Books, 2016). She has been a Visiting Fellow at various universities across the globe. She is on the editorial board of *Women’s History Review*.

**Abstract:** This paper seeks to look at the feminist ideas of Margaret Elizabeth Cousins (born as Greta Gillespie) 1878-1954 in India. Born in Boyle, Co Roscommon, Greta was a co - founder of the Irish Women’s Franchise League in Ireland. She moved to India in 1915 with her husband James Cousins. In just two years after her arrival in India, Greta became part of the Indian women’s socio-economic-political reform. She showed commitment to voting rights campaign for women and most significantly led Gandhian campaigns for Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience movement against the British rule in the years between 1920-1939. Her Tullamore jail experience in 1913 acted as a precursor to her politics of protest in colonial India. Almost 20 years later, for participating in the Gandhian programme of protest against the Ordinances which choked expression of the people of India, Greta was sentenced to one year of imprisonment at Vellore Women’s jail.

In July 1917, based on this very agenda for model, a new formal body emerged – called *Women’s Indian Association*. This was a society of 70 women with Greta as its Honorary Secretary and Annie Besant as its President. In this endeavour, Greta received plenty of support from the local educated elite men and women. On request from certain prominent sections of the Indian women she drafted the demand for voting rights for Indian women. This draft was presented to the Montague Chelmsford delegation. The result was quite disappointing as Southborough Franchise Committee did not recommend extension of the suffrage rights to women. However, in the long run, the Bill had an impact on the colonial state and the right to vote for Indian women (based on property qualifications) was systematically granted between 1920 and 1930.

This paper will discuss Greta’s relationship with Indian women leaders such as Kamladevi Chattopadhyay and Sarojini Naidu. She conceptualised a special role for not just Indian women but women of the East in her book ‘The Awakening of Asian Womanhood’. Written in 1922, the

book discusses in detail courtroom scenes discussing India women's voting rights bill which was presented before Southborough Committee.

### Panel 3: LGBTQI+ Rights and Activism

**Niamh Scully** is an undergraduate student in University College Dublin in her final year of a BA Humanities in Classics, English and History. Her research interests are in the lives of queer women in Ireland in the late twentieth century, specifically in their role in activism and community building. She is currently working with her supervisor Dr. Fionnuala Walsh on her undergraduate dissertation entitled, 'Queer Women in Modern Ireland: The Visibility of Queer Women in Irish Activism from the 1970s to the 1990s'.

**Abstract:** Irish queer historical scholarship is still in its infancy and is mainly concerned with the lives of gay men and their lives, with the experience of queer women being largely overshadowed. The criminalisation of homosexuality and the influence of the Catholic Church on the politics surrounding sexual morality in Ireland forced communities underground for many years with queer women's groups only being recorded in the mid-1970s and not gaining any prominence until the 1980s. The Irish Queer Archive and the Cork LGBT+ Archive hold an abundance of primary sources from these groups including pamphlets, newsletters and personal articles. These primary sources have been collected and archived but remain largely unused in recording the history of this community and producing scholarship. Queer women were involved in major social movements during this time period from the Sexual Liberation Movement to the AIDS crisis in Ireland, but many queer women presented only as feminists instead of by their sexuality, contrary to gay men, due to the stigma around identifying as a queer woman in Ireland. My research hopes to shed light on their communities and the vital role they played in these social movements by using primary materials from their own networks. In my proposed paper I will present evidence from the archives of queer women's community and activism groups including Cork Lesbian Line and LIL (Liberation for Irish Lesbians). It will highlight their existence and the invaluable work they did for their community in providing a space to exist, socialise and advocate for themselves.

**Abigail Parmer** is an early-career historian in the United States. She is currently working to finish her master's degree with Texas A&M University - Commerce and from there aims to eventually complete a doctorate. She studies Irish nationalism and identity as it exists within Ireland as well as its transnational form for migrants.

**Abstract:** Home to the Stonewall Uprising of 1969 and the first Gay Pride Parade in the following year, New York City is an epicentre of queer culture. New York's large population of Irish immigrants played a significant, though often understated, role in seeking better conditions and representation for the LGBTQ+ population of the United States. The Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization (ILGO) began forming in the late 1980s and became fully realized as the Lavender and Green Alliance in 1994. This paper demonstrates the role of Irish immigrants and early-generation Irish Americans as advocates for the larger LGBTQ+ community through the ILGO and Lavender and Green Alliance as well as earlier activism. In tracing their role, and particularly the role of women within these organizations, the paper seeks an understanding of the unique challenges faced by these activists through the lens of intersectional feminism and transfeminism. The paper engages with newspaper articles, photographs, videos, interviews, televised news reports, and memoirs to gather recorded data on any noticeable engagement with LGBTQ+ community issues from the two aforementioned organizations and other notable outside Irish engagement. The paper is primarily concerned with activist networks in the latter decades of the twentieth century, but also acknowledges major contributions in the earlier part of the century as well as engagement and milestones of the twenty-first century. The role of both cisgender and transgender women in such activism and contributions is given a focal point but the role of Irish activists within America of all gender identities is acknowledged.

**Mary McAuliffe** is a historian and Director of the Gender Studies Programme at UCD. Her latest publications include as co-editor with Miriam Haughton and Emilie Pine, *Legacies of the Magdalen Laundries; Commemoration, Gender, and the Postcolonial Carceral State* (Manchester University Press, 2021) and as sole author, *Margaret Skinnider; a biography* (UCD Press, 2020). She was also co-editor of *Sexual Politics in Modern Ireland* and is writing on Kilkenny and the Revolution for the Four Courts Press 'The Irish Revolution, 1912–23' County series. She is currently a co-editor of *Saothar; the Journal of the Irish Labour History Society*. She is working on a major research project on gendered and sexual violence during the Irish revolutionary period, 1919-1923, to be published in 2022. She is a past President of the Women's History Association of Ireland (and remains on the executive), is on the advisory board of the Irish Association of Professional Historians (IAPH). She is currently a member of the NXF Board (The National Lesbian and Gay Federation of Ireland) and a member of the Humanities Institute, UCD.

**Abstract:** Tracing the activist, friendship and kinship networks of the suffrage and nationalist women (and men) of early twentieth century Ireland is rightly framed as an integral part of the

political and revolutionary histories of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This world of ‘student societies, theatre groups, feminist collectives, volunteer militias, Irish language groups’ were, as Roy Foster wrote, in his 2016 book, *Vivid Faces*, ‘linked together by youth, radicalism, subversive activism, enthusiasm and love’. While the world Foster evokes is one dominated by youthful, romantic heterosexual passions, there is no doubt, as with British first wave feminist histories of sapphists and suffragettes, that there were spaces in this radicalism for women who made their lives, political and personal, with other women. Using feminist history methodologies to trace these female networks and partnerships of love and demonstrating the implications for radical political and revolutionary activism implicit in these relationships is important to developing a deeper, more nuanced understanding of first wave feminist, revolutionary women’s and queer histories in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Ireland and America.

In this paper I will look at the ‘political and personal’ female networks who were active in the feminist, nationalist and socialist movements in Ireland and among Irish American women activists in America, 1900-1923. I will explore the evidence that several of the leading female activists of this period were in same sex relationships, relationships which were sometimes recognised and accepted among their wider political circles. The emotional, sexual and political lives of these women, and their networks, were intertwined, complex, radical and influential. How much, or not, their sexuality informed their activism and politics demands further investigations into this under-examined facet of women’s suffrage and revolutionary histories.

#### Panel 4: Female Enterprise and Criminality

**Gina Marie Guadagnino** is an MA candidate in Irish Studies at New York University where her studies focus on women in Ireland and the Irish diaspora. She holds an undergraduate degree from NYU in English with a minor in Irish Studies, and an MFA from the New School. Her debut novel, a work of historical fiction about the Irish immigrant community entitled *The Parting Glass*, was published by Simon & Schuster in March of 2019. She has previously published several short stories that centre on the experiences of Irish women in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as an essay about the intersection of her scholarship with her fiction in the anthology *Being New York, Being Irish*.

**Abstract:** In 1797, Mrs. Margaret Leeson, aka Peg Plunkett, published the third volume of her salacious memoirs, chronicling her life as a celebrity madame and brothelkeeper in Dublin. While Leeson’s account is intended as a titillating tell-all – and, indeed, serves this purpose admirably –

it also proves to be a comprehensive record of the economics of elite sex work in 18th century Dublin. Throughout her memoir, Leeson lists the most successful sex workers and brothelkeepers of the period, providing a comprehensive account of their finances, material holdings, and real estate assets. Moreover, she includes, wherever possible, references to her compatriots' keepers and patrons, referencing their own professions, allowing the reader insights into the financial standing of Irish men of various industries, and their corresponding abilities to pay for sex.

In this paper, I will mine Margaret Leeson's memoirs for all references to financial compensation women received for sex work. In so doing, I will cross-list their compensation with the names and professions of their clients and attempt to draw inferences regarding the amount of money men in various positions were able to spend on sex work. I will also factor in the value of gifts, clothing, alcohol, and real estate wherever these items are listed. Finally, I will compare the financial status of various successful women working in the upper tier of the pleasure trade with that of their various keepers and clients in an effort to draw some useful conclusions about the economic power of sex work in 18th century Dublin.

**Rachel Newell** is a second year PhD researcher at Queen's University Belfast, funded by the Northern Bridge Consortium. Her PhD considers female criminality and society in the six North-Eastern counties of Ulster between the 1880s and 1930s. It investigates the daily lives of ordinary women through their interactions with crime and the criminal justice system. More broadly, Rachel is interested in the history of crime, gender history and the history of sexuality, particularly in Ireland.

**Abstract:** Wilhelmina Bruce was first brought before the courts in 1888, charged with stealing goods from Henrietta Hamilton by means of a trick. A dealer in Belfast who operated a shop on the Shankhill Road, Bruce would typically show up at the house of a relatively wealthy woman and ask to buy any old clothes she might have to sell. She would then, for a diverse number of reasons, be unable to pay and promise to bring money when she was collecting the rest of the goods she had agreed to buy. She would not return. Bruce was still committing the same signature brand of criminality by 1927, at the age of seventy-five. This paper will use Bruce as a case study to discuss networks of female criminality in Belfast. It will outline the different networks which Bruce used: family, friends and neighbours alongside her long-term working relationship with a 'notorious thief' Rachel English. Bruce did not always use categorically criminal networks but often the typical female networks of a working-class woman. She was not solely a criminal, she was also a mother,

an aunt, a neighbour, and a businesswoman and these roles influenced how and why she committed the crimes that she did. Using the relatively large number of charges against Bruce between 1888 and 1927, this paper will situate her particular brand of criminality within the context of the wider female and criminal networks of not only contemporary Belfast but also within the Irish and British contexts more broadly.

**Jessica Condron** graduated from the National University of Ireland, Maynooth in October 2020 with a B. A. International in European Studies, having specialised in European History, Politics and French. She has just recently completed an M. Phil. in International History at Trinity College Dublin, during which she produced a dissertation on the role of European women in the colonisation of West Africa in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, for which she received a distinction. Her research interests include transnational and social history, most notably in examining European colonialism and the historic and contemporary effects it has borne on European, settler and Indigenous societies. She is currently interested in exploring experiences of migration, particularly narratives of Irish diaspora and European women emigrants from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the early-20<sup>th</sup> Century.

**Abstract:** *“If you would have fought like a man...”: The experience of an Irish female pirate in the 18th Century Caribbean*, attempts to examine the life of infamous Cork native and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Caribbean pirate, Anne Bonny. The author has taken an interdisciplinary approach to this project, investigating Bonny’s relationship with both her gender and her nationality, exploring her experience as a woman in the male dominated network of Caribbean piracy, and as a member of the Irish diaspora in a region and profession, where the Irish held an arguably undesirable reputation. While there is a growing body of scholarship addressing the relationship between the Irish diaspora and the Caribbean in the early-modern period, less light has been shed on the unique experiences of Irish women in the region, a theme which likewise afflicts the historiography of piracy. As such, this essay aims to contribute to tackling these historiographical gaps, employing the surviving primary sources available on Bonny in doing so, including the transcript of her trial, and what is mentioned of her in the work of contemporary author Captain Charles Johnson, whose writings are credited with being responsible for our modern perceptions of piracy. From this examination, it can be surmised that female pirates, at least in the case of Bonny, could prove themselves to be just as fierce and successful as their male counterparts and could, though cases appear uncommon, be accepted among pirate crews, indicating perhaps that within this deviant subculture, value was placed in skill and bravery, rather than birth right, or even gender, as was the case in the established social order of the Atlantic World. Additionally, this essay suggests that the reputation fostered by

the Irish in the Caribbean, in both lower and upper social spheres, may have led members of the Irish diaspora, including Bonny herself, to have strategically identified as English to avoid its consequence, or perhaps, that one of Ireland's most celebrate pirates, did not herself identify as Irish.