Feminism, Gender & Partition
by Dr Margaret Ward

The partition of Ireland and the events that took place during this highly contested and deeply traumatic period in Irish life have always been presented through a male lens. What women thought, how they acted, how they were impacted, is rarely considered. Newsreel footage of those elected to the first parliament of Northern Ireland reveals the existence of two women. Are they elected MPs? Their presence is never explained. The Ulster Women's Unionist Council (UWUC), with 200,000 members, was the largest female organisation in Ireland at this time. What relevance did they have? A few years previously the Proclamation of 1916 that had signalled the start of the Easter Rising had appealed to Irish men and Irish women equally, promising the vote to women and equal rights and opportunities to all. Suffragette Hanna Sheehy Skeffington had declared it was 'the first time in history that men fighting for freedom voluntarily include women' and nationalist women struggled hard to ensure that their male comrades carried out the pledge made by their dead leaders. In the period before the Treaty was negotiated Constance Markievicz and Mary McSwiney both asked to be considered as delegates to the peace negotiations. They were rejected. Irish men talked to British men without any input from women.

We cannot make the assumption that the views of unionist and nationalist women were exact mirrors of their male counterparts. Gender impacted upon the efforts of women to achieve agency and women often had concerns that were not shared or acknowledged by men. While we have to accept that many women remained uninterested in participation in political or public life, our understanding of our history is incomplete if it does not also include the determined efforts of feminists, of all political persuasions, working to ensure that despite the uncertainties surrounding the constitutional future of the country, women's voices would be heard.

Early feminists

As an historian I have researched and written about the activities of women in Ireland over the past one hundred years, bringing to light their protests against their exclusion from public and political life and the ways in which they have challenged the impact of laws preventing them from making choices regarding their personal lives. What is abundantly clear is that feminists have always thought in all-Ireland terms, because the common enemy has been patriarchy, the male control of all institutions

and the suppression of women's voices. As Louise Ryan has said of suffragists in the early twentieth century, 'they not only attacked politicians, nationalist as well as unionist, but also the judiciary, employers and the Church.' [1] Suffragists campaigned together for women's right to vote and to be considered citizens in the new Ireland that was being planned and campaigned for in the decades before the outbreak of the First World War. In 1912, when women discovered that they would not be included in a home rule bill to give limited self-government to Ireland, unionist and nationalist joined together to voice their anger that Irish men could contemplate the exclusion of women's voices and insights. If there was to be home rule they did not one that was only for men.

Feminism was not monolithic, but women were united in their understanding that possession of the vote was the first step in the process of creating a different, more just society, one that would include the needs of women and children, particularly those affected by violence and sexual abuse. Although women had recently won the right to enter higher education, professions other than teaching remained closed to them. The legal system was all-male. Women could not enter the legal profession, although they could obtain a degree in law. There were no female police officers, and women were barred from sitting on juries. Children had no one to speak for them in court. The perpetrators of incest, sexual assault and domestic abuse were often let off by judges who identified or sympathised with the men. The suffragettes set up a 'Watching the Courts' committee to monitor the courts and report back on proceedings, which were publicized in their paper the Irish Citizen. Women from all over the island fought for women's right to enter the professions, for equal pay, decent homes, childcare, against imposition of a censorship that prevented them from accessing contraception. As a member of the Irish Women's Reform League wrote, 'women factory inspectors, women law makers, women police, women on the jury, women lawyers, women everywhere, that is the need of our country.'[2] In all of this, they challenged men, providing evidence to show that men were not capable of ruling in the interests of all. John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party and Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster Unionists, were both strongly anti-suffrage in their views. Women had few allies in the political parties in Westminster.

The impact of war

1914 and war saw the disintegration of Irish feminism. Republicans used the war to assert Irish sovereignty in the Easter Rising. Unionists used it as an opportunity to cement their position within the United Kingdom by supporting the British government's war effort. Irish Party nationalists thought supporting war would help to win Home Rule and they encouraged Irish men to enlist. Some suffragists took an anti-war position while others supported the British war effort. Many nationalist women, some from suffrage groups, joined Cumann na mBan, the nationalist women's organisation, supporting the Irish Volunteers. The Easter Rising of 1916, followed by the Sinn Féin victory in the 1918 election made it clear that a home rule parliament within the British empire would no longer be accepted by the majority of the Irish people as the solution to the 'Irish Question'. Dáil Eireann was formed as an independent Irish parliament. It was declared an illegal assembly by the British and an increasingly violent war was pursued by both sides until the Truce of July 1921.

For Ulster unionist women, the fight for the vote had not been one in which they were involved. Members of the UWUC, led by an aristocratic élite, were told explicitly not to raise the issue of the franchise. Their priority was to defeat home rule and to support their male leaders in this crusade. Participation in the world of politics was not seen as a concern for women. Preservation of the home was their priority and the influence of the Catholic Church, particularly its ruling that children of mixed marriages should all be brought up as Catholics, formed a central part of their resistance:

If our homes are not sacred from the priest under the existing laws, what can we expect from a priest-governed Ireland…Home was a woman's first consideration…in the event of Home Rule being granted, the sanctity and happiness of home life in Ulster would be permanently destroyed.[3]

Women and elections

In the historic election of 1918, when women over thirty won the right to vote and to stand for election, Sinn Féin was the only political party in Ireland to put forward female candidates. Constance Markievicz in Dublin

hoped that she could make her St Patrick's constituency a rallying centre for women while in the unionist stronghold of East Belfast Winifred Carney issued an electoral manifesto calling for a worker's republic 'in which no idle rich class shall exploit men and women and children and grow fat and wealthy upon the sweat and blood and labour of the working class.' More women wanted to stand for election, but the two chosen were women who had distinguished themselves in their participation in the Rising. Both were also outspoken supporters of women's suffrage.

The UWUC did not demand female candidates. After enfranchisement they had been able to successfully challenge their male counterparts to provide them with representation on the Ulster Unionist Council, but they took the position that the parliamentary arena was one for the men. Their role was to ensure that women voted for unionist candidates as the best way to defeat any home rule measure and they worked hard to ensure that women over thirty were on the electoral roll. Their view was that they would rather remain under the Union, but if that was not possible, they would do the best they could. The eventual imposition of partition, creating a six-county parliament in the historic province of Ulster, was a British government solution to the Ulster unionist refusal to participate in a parliament in which they would be a minority.

Local government elections took place in 1920, despite the war conditions that now existed throughout Ireland. Women had continued to organise, holding classes for speakers and lessons in the proportional representation voting system, and a number from a variety of different organisations stood for election with a total of forty two being elected. In the pages of the Irish Citizen feminists raised issues like housing, playgrounds for children, improving the rate of infant mortality, cooked meals in schools and municipal nurseries. At least eight of the women elected in Dublin and its surrounds had been active suffragists. Although fewer women stood for election in the north three women were returned for the unionists: Florence Clarke in the Shankill, Julia McMordie in Pottinger and Mrs Kydd in Coleraine, while two nationalists, Florence O'Sullivan and Margaret Morris, were successful in Derry.

By 1921 there were six women, all members of Cumann na mBan, in the 2nd Dáil Eireann while two unionist women, Dehra Parker and Julia McMordie, were elected to the first parliament in the newly created

Northern Ireland. Little attention was paid to this historic moment in terms of the election of the two unionist women. The British feminist paper The Woman's Leader, in covering the election result, commented that Craig had remarked condescendingly that they expected assistance from the women MPs 'in minor matters, such as Poor Law'.[4] There was no mention of this victory for women when four hundred women who had worked for the return of candidates for the Cromac Division of South Belfast were presented with medals by Lady Craig, and a resolution passed, 'That we wish to assure our PM Sir James Craig of our willingness to help and support him in whatever he sees fit to do for the welfare of our beloved Ulster and the Empire.'[5]

Women and the N.I. Parliament

Parliament was an all-unionist institution as nationalists did not take their seats until 1925. With Ulster unionists determined to ensure that they held onto power by all means possible, law and order considerations dominated in the early years. Julia McMordie's maiden speech concerned the lack of women in the police force as only two out of three thousand police officers were female. Her other parliamentary concerns were welfare, education, and unemployment. Isolated within parliament, she did not seek re-election in 1925 and returned to local government, her focus on such issues as the need for sanatoriums for tubercular children, and specially trained teachers for disabled children.[6] Parker sat in the House of Commons for thirty five years and was the only woman to sit in the Northern Ireland Cabinet. She was strongly unionist and socially conservative. While a 'formidable operator', analysis of her parliamentary career concluded with the summary that she 'did not respond to the political grievances of nationalists…Neither did she contribute to any feminist agenda in the house.' [7]

In 1927, after nationalists had taken their seats in parliament, Joe Devlin introduced a bill to give women over 21 the vote. It would have put northern women on an equal footing with their southern sisters, who had been given full voting rights in the Free State Constitution of 1922 after female deputies had argued strongly the previous year that women over twenty one should have been given the right to vote before a referendum was held on the Treaty. Parker argued that twenty five should be the qualifying age, on the grounds that she had not been interested in political issues before reaching that age.[8] Even though she

herself was an MP, her preference was for women to be involved only at local government level, arguing 'it is possible for her to combine her public with her private duties…Local government work …is absolutely interwoven with the root and fibre of home life.'[9]

The Impact of Partition

Partition had come as a dreadful blow to many. Ulster Unionist women had wanted the province of Ulster to remain intact and they wanted to remain within the union of the United Kingdom. A separate parliament in Northern Ireland had not been a unionist demand. Women from the three excluded Ulster counties of Monaghan, Cavan and Donegal resigned from the UWUC in protest at what they considered to be their abandonment. Cumann na mBan rejected the Treaty by an overwhelming majority at their Convention in February 1922. The Ulster delegates declared that they could not support partition. In response to being told that the army of occupation was leaving Ireland one woman retorted that it was not, it was simply moving to the north.[10]

Cumann na mBan women had given valiant service to the nationalist fight in the north, transporting arms, providing safe houses, tending to the wounded, organising communication networks, scouting out locations for operations, and much more. Real commitment was needed in a situation where they were vastly outnumbered and isolated. Sinn Féin in County Antrim formed less than 1% of population in 1921, surrounded by their unionist neighbours and with the majority of nationalists continuing to support the Irish Party, which now barely existed in the rest of Ireland. Membership of Belfast Cumann na mBan was no more than 150 at the height of the conflict. Applications for war service pensions made by former members of Cumann na mBan reveal lives of poverty and ill-health by many of the women who had taken an active role in the fight against the British presence, only to have faced imprisonment and loss of employment. Even in the 1930s women wrote that they felt themselves still to be suspects and often lived in fear of reprisal. [11]

Northern women experienced the agony and bitterness of a communal conflict that left hundreds dead, the majority from the nationalist population. In the House of Commons in August 1920 Joe Devlin had described the experiences of northern nationalists as 'a story of weeping

women, hungry children, homeless in England, homeless in Ireland.' In just under two years between July 1920 and June 1922, seventy-eight women died in violent incidents directly accruing from the political situation in Belfast. Maud Gonne, one of the women in Dublin who came to the support of the those fleeing from the horrors of the pogrom, wrote that 'every train from the North brought wild-eyed refugees, women half-demented and children sick with terror. They had nowhere to go.' [12] On 5th October 1922, a Catholic woman, Mary Sherlock, went to buy food for her family's dinner. As she queued in a butcher's shop on the Newtownards Road in east Belfast, a gunman walked up behind her and shot her in the head. She was the 498th person to be killed but she was the final fatality of the pogrom.[13]

There were other women, from all communities, whose houses were invaded by men from crown forces, republican and loyalist groups, taken out to have their hair shorn with scissors, shears and penknives, or worse, subjected to sexual abuse. The Irish Citizen referred to a 'war on women' in relation to these years of terror taking place on both sides of the border. How can one explain occurrences like Lisburn Road grocery shop assistant Carrie Briggs accosted by men who placed three bags of potatoes on top of her, gagged her mouth and cut off her hair before taking £5 from the till?[14] Susan McCormick, housekeeper of Edward McSorley, a Catholic GP from Donegall Pass, who was seriously burned after men called at the house and poured inflammable liquid over her?[15] Other instances were more clearly sectarian, punishing women by hair cutting when their menfolk were not at home, such as Lily Stitt, the sister of a Special Constable and Orange Order member, held up by revolvers, her hair cut off and the house robbed while she was 'insensible' having fainted from the ordeal,[16] and a young girl in Newry forced into a car by armed men to have her head shorn off for the crime of 'keeping company' with a police constable.[17] Republican women suffered too. Eileen O'Doherty, a Cumann na mBan member from Dromore, County Tyrone, was shot in both legs by B Specials while standing at the front door of her grocery shop. Her injuries were so severe she spent a year in hospital and was forced to leave Cumann na mBan as she was unfit for active service.[18]

Partition acted as a means of separating women. There was a second 'Flight of the Earls' as the northern state consolidated.[19] Those who could have given political leadership to the nationalist minority were interned

or forced to leave, with an estimated 50,000 people from varying backgrounds reckoned to have left the six county area. Most are anonymous but we know of a number of women whose presence in the north was greatly missed in the ensuing years. Roisin Walsh, from a farming family in Clogher, with a glittering academic career, including a postgraduate diploma from Cambridge, taught in Germany before 1914 and then taught in St Mary's College, also joining the Belfast branch of Cumann na mBan. Forced through intimidation into leaving Belfast in 1919 she returned home and after the local government election of 1920 became the first female rates collector for Tyrone County Council. When the Unionist government decreed that all public employees had to take an oath of allegiance Roisin and her family moved to Dublin. There she became the first Dublin City Librarian, combining an illustrious public career with a life-long commitment to feminism and republicanism.[20] Lillian Metge, the Lisburn suffragette best known for her involvement in the attempt to blow up Lisburn cathedral also found the north a difficult place. While not a nationalist she maintained a close friendship with Hanna Sheehy Skeffington and eventually moved to Dublin. From the labour movement Ellen Gordon, who had worked with Winifred Carney for the Irish textile Workers Union and whose husband, Jim Grimley, would become a labour councillor in Belfast, said that they finally left 'after pogroms and bad times in Belfast.'[21] There were many others and women in the north were the poorer for their loss. At the same time numbers of Protestants, concerned for their future in the new Irish Free State, came north. When the prospect of partition was first raised in 1914 James Connolly had predicted a 'carnival of reaction both North and South' which would 'set back the wheels of progress…and paralyse all advanced movements.' In 1921 the creation of two states in the small geographical unit of Ireland was to lead to impoverishment and to the consolidation of the powers of the Catholic and Protestant churches.

When the Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom met in Dublin in 1926, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington tried to explain to delegates the 'crazy patchwork frontier' that divided north and south of the country. This 'arbitrary frontier, settled without consulting the Irish people, either through a referendum or any other way in which a people can be consulted directly' was an 'artificial frontier, presented to us by Britain as an fait accompli and in whose making the people had no voice.'[22] She had personal experience of the reality that served to cut her off from her dead husband's family living in Downpatrick, Belfast and

Dungannon. In 1926 she was served with an exclusion order banning her from entering Northern Ireland. In 1933 she publicly defied her exclusion by crossing the border to speak in Newry on behalf of two republican women imprisoned in Armagh jail for having protested against a royal visit to Belfast. She was arrested and given a one month jail sentence for have dared to defy the orders of the Unionist government, declaring with defiance at her trial, 'I recognise no partition. I recognize it is no crime to be in my own country. I would be ashamed of my own name and my murdered husband's name if I did. I believe the time will come when partition is as dead as Queen Anne.'[23] In 1913 she and her husband Frank had both spoken on suffrage at an openair meeting in Belfast's Ormeau Park. Partition prevented such acts of solidarity between women north and south.

The exclusion of women

The six women in Dáil Eireann had been vociferous opponents of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. Their opposition and Cumann na mBan's involvement in the ensuing civil war (in which at least 400 women were imprisoned by their former comrades) had huge repercussions in the newly established Free State. During the war of independence some had been appointed as judges in the underground republican courts, but now women were condemned as 'furies', blamed for stoking up hatred and, by 1924, excluded from sitting on juries. They would soon be excluded from parts of the labour force and told their primary function was to work within the home. The 1930's saw other gains made by women slowly unravel. The marriage bar removed many from the workplace while the conservative ideology of the period prevented the younger generation from developing as political activists.[24] Church-based organisations such as the Legion of Mary and the Women's Missionary Association of the Presbyterian Church were the kind of avenues open to northern women who wanted some involvement in civic life. Feminism seemed to be a movement of older women. Few women sat in the Dáil or in Stormont. Countess Markievicz had been Minister for Labour in 1919-22. It would be another 58 years before Maire Geoghegan-Quinn would be appointed Minister for the Gaeltacht as the second woman to sit in an Irish cabinet. In Stormont, Dehra Parker was the only woman to ever achieve this rank and only ten women ever succeeded in winning election to the NI Parliament. It would take the second wave of feminism in the late 1960s before Irish women came together again in a political movement to challenge such exclusions.

Second Wave Feminism

The realities of life north and south were very different in the 1970s and onwards. The civil rights movement of the 1960s had been initiated by working class women protesting against the appalling housing conditions they were forced to endure by a Stormont regime that had instituted a system of blatant discrimination against Catholics. The Unionist edifice was beginning to crack. But by the 1970s there was war and huge controversy amongst feminists regarding attitudes towards republican women prisoners. The south was so dominated by the Catholic church that women's personal lives seemed even more oppressed than our own as we had British legislation that overrode some of the worst tendencies of conservative Unionism. Yet the vibrancy of the feminists in the WLM and later Irish Women United helped to change southern society. There had been the contraceptive train to the north; the Irish government was forced eventually to make changes to access to contraception and cross border activity increased. Some of us from Belfast spent an afternoon handing out condoms in Dundalk, in solidarity with women still prevented by the Irish state from controlling their fertility. There was a very fraught all-island anti-imperialist women's conference that ended in uproar – there was one step forward, sometimes two steps back.

In 1974 I had helped to organize a women's film weekend in Queen's Film Theatre that became an all-Ireland event as students from Dublin travelled to take part. The Sunday afternoon was an occasion I will never forget as after the film we had a discussion in which we shared information regarding the reality of our lives. As we were students, availability of contraception was a key issue, so too was the extent of church interference in women's lives. At that time abortion was barely discussed, other than to acknowledge the reality of back street abortion. The lack of a national health service in the south was something that surprised many.

As time went on, so did the tentative efforts at coming together. Community-based women from nationalist and unionist areas began to organise and to begin cross-border visits, greatly increased with the support of peace funding. It was highly significant that when President Mary Robinson came to Northern Ireland, the first Irish President to do so, her first visit was to a women's centre in the loyalist part of Belfast's

Donegall Road. Equally significant was the reaction of the local paramilitaries, who attempted to burn down the centre in reprisal.

Women and the peace process

Women had initiated several unsuccessful attempts at peace making over the years but when peace talks began, women from different political backgrounds began to question the continued exclusion of women from political life and the consequences of all-male talks. When politicians from different sides refused to engage in dialogue with one another, women came together. There was enough knowledge of the failures of the past for many to determine that failure could not be allowed to occur again. Republican women organized around Clar na mBan, an agenda for women, and women from many diverse perspectives gathered in a women's coalition that would eventually win seats at the peace table and, later, representation in the first N.I. Assembly, prompting political parties to put forward more women candidates in order to ensure that they did not lose votes.

As the peace process developed, as Irish people south of the border voted for marriage equality and repeal of the 8th amendment which had declared the right to abortion to be unconstitutional, the argument that the south was too conservative, too much in thrall to the Catholic church could no longer hold sway. Instead, southern feminists declared 'the north is next' and repaid the commitment of northern feminists to their struggle by coming north and participating in the movement to achieve reproductive justice for women. On both sides of the border a new generation committed to change emerged, revitalizing and challenging moribund political systems, desperate for a society based upon social and economic justice.

After one hundred years, with women in elected positions, but still not in sufficient numbers, we know from experience that it is only women who raise the importance of issues related to the home, women's lives and the welfare of children. The exclusion of women from public and political life north and south has had huge consequences for the development of both states, symbolised most painfully by the bitter truth emerging regarding the treatment of women and children in the so-called 'mother and baby' homes.

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Towards a new Ireland

How do we acknowledge the imposition of partition and the anniversary of the creation of the Northern Ireland state? The knowledge that this occurred together with terrible sectarian violence and pogroms against Catholics and the defeat of feminist hopes challenges us when we attempt to create the conditions for calm reflection and constructive discussion. Discussion on the future of the island of Ireland cannot be postponed. If handled sensitively, the decade of centenaries can provide an opportunity for discussion about a past that no one wants to see replicated.

The development of citizen's assemblies in the Republic as a mechanism to consider difficult issues has been revolutionary in impact. Without the deliberations of those citizens, the 8th Amendment to the constitution would not have been repealed, paving the way for the legalisation of abortion. In June 2021 the Citizen's Assembly on Gender Equality recommended that the controversial clause on women's place being in the home should be replaced by a recognition of the value of care within the home and the wider community, and called for a radical programme of reform, including quotas in political and public life to redress the underrepresentation of women.

While our politicians still cannot agree and some refuse to implement reforms that have been agreed in principle, it can be difficult to retain optimism for the future. Yet our history shows us that the people can be far ahead of politicians in their understanding of the importance of dialogue and social progress. To date, only those within political parties have been able to set the agenda. We need to extend our horizons, and place faith in the common sense of our people. Already there are numerous initiatives based around the desire for a Shared Ireland. The formation of a Citizen's Assembly with participants drawn from across the island of Ireland could be tasked with beginning the process of examining key issues that need to be addressed concerning a shared Ireland for the future. It is a vital first step for a changed constitutional future. These deliberations have to come before any border poll, empowering people to be knowledgeable and informed about the issues.

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It can be an exciting time to be thinking about futures. After one hundred years of enforced partition, the possibility of a different, shared future does not seem that far away.

[1]Louise Ryan, 'Nationalism and Feminism: the complex relationship between the suffragist and independence movements in Ireland', in Linda Connolly (ed.) Women and the Irish Revolution (Dublin: 2020), p.27.
[2]Irish Citizen, 9 August 1913.
[3]Diane Urquhart, Women in Ulster Politics, 1890-1940 (Dublin: 2000), p.58.
[4]The Woman's Leader, 27 May 1921, with thanks to the blog 'Women and the Northern Ireland Election' on Creative Centenaries website for this reference.
[5]Belfast Newsletter, 13 October 1921.
[6]Maedbh McNamara and Paschal Mooney, Women in Parliament: Ireland: 1918-2000 (Dublin: 2000), p.223; see also www.acenturyofwomen.com for entry on McMordie.
[7]Ibid., p. 222. See also Paul Ward, 'Fur-Coat Unionism: Dame Dehra Parker (1882-1963) in Unionism in the United Kingdom, 1918-1974 (London:2005), pp. 162-181 and Diane Urquhart, Women in Ulster Politics, 1890-1940 (Dublin: 2000), pp. 182-198.
[8]Dehra Parker from Northern Ireland House of Commons Debates Hansard (1927), in The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing, Vol. 5 Irish Women's Writings and Traditions, pp.363-365.
[9]Ibid., p. 361.
[10]
[11]Margaret Ward, 'Gendered Memories and Cumann na mBan 1917-1922' in Linda Connolly (ed.), Women and the Irish Revolution (Dublin: 2020), pp. 47-67.,
[12]Maud Gonne MacBride 'The Real Case Against Partition', The Capuchin Annual 1943.
[13]Kieran Glennon, 'The Dead of the Belfast Pogrom – Counting the Cost of the Revolutionary Period 1920-1922, 27 October 2020, theirishstory.com, referencing Freeman's Journal 10 October 1922.
[14]Belfast Newsletter, 18 March 1921
[15]Irish Times, 22 October 1922
[16]Irish Times, 4 March 1921.
[17]Belfast Newsletter, 21 January 1921.
[18]Eileen O'Doherty, Military Service Pensions Collection, MSP34REF9256, Bureau of Military Archives, Dublin.
[19]This was the evocative phrase used by the late Maurice Hayes when launching James Quinn and Patrick Maume (eds.) Ulster Political Lives1886-1921 (Dublin:2016), Belfast, 17 November 2016.

[20]Evelyn Conway and Deirdre Ellis-King, 'Roisin Walsh', Missing Persons in the Dictionary of Irish Biography, DIB online, Royal Irish Academy.
[21]Helga Woggon (ed.), Ellen Grimley (Nellie Gordon) – Reminiscences of Her Work With James Connolly in Belfast, Studies in Irish Labour History 7, 2000.
[22]Margaret Ward, Fearless Woman, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, Feminism and the Irish Revolution (Dublin: 2019), p.219.
[23]Ibid., pp.366-367.
[24]See Catriona Beaumont, 'After the Vote: Women, Citizenship and the Campaign for Gender Equality in the Irish Free State (1922-1943), in Louise Ryan and Margaret Ward (eds), Irish Women and the Vote: Becoming Citizens (Dublin, 2007) (new edition 2018), pp. 231-249; Maryann Gialanella Valiulis, The Making of Inequality: Women, Power, and Gender Ideology in the Irish Free State, 1922-1937 (Dublin, 2019).