Negotiating Femininity and Nation in Three Plays of the Irish National Theatre Movement

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Abstract: *One common locus for the Irish dramatic tradition has proved to be the almost obsessive preoccupation of finding the proper formulae and images through which national identity can be projected. Due to Ireland 's vexed colonial past, and the ensuing nationalist decolonization politics, the Irish theatrical scene has often been marred by the interplay of diverse ideologies aimed at defining an authentic Irish identity, which have also subsumed representations of femininity, symbolically merging womanhood and nation within the collective mentality. Through the broad lens of cultural studies, but focusing the angle in keeping with feminist and reception theories, the paper aims to investigated the dramatic productions of the Irish theatrical movement prior to the foundation of the Abbey Theatre, in order to highlight the close interconnection between cultural image and its scenic projection. The chosen corpus of plays includes three key texts in this tradition (W. B. Yeats's The Countess Cathleen and Cathleen ni Houlihan, and J. M. Synge's In the Shadow of the Glen), which allows us to underscore the dynamics of the relationship between the three participants in the theatrical act – subject matter, author and audience –, and demonstrate how the representations of femininity and nation are negotiated by the latter on the pre-Abbey Irish stage.*

Key words: *Irish theatre, identity, cultural representation, gender roles, reception*

Preliminaries

In her introduction to a collection of essays suggestively entitled *Women in Irish Drama: A Century of Authorship and Representation*, the Irish drama and feminist scholar Melissa Sihra asserts that:

> Throughout the course of the twentieth century, theatre in Ireland has been a highly charged and controversial space of cultural enactment regarding notions of woman and gender. Since Augusta Gregory's and W. B. Yeats's 1902 drama *Kathleen ni Houlihan* it is important to interrogate the signification of 'woman' as idealized trope of nation and to look at the ways in which the work of later Irish dramatists either contests or perpetuates this legacy. The social and cultural position of woman has historically been one of symbolic centrality and subjective disavowal as both colonial ideology and nationalist movements promoted feminized concepts of the nation, while subordinating women in everyday life … [1]

This conveniently summarises the first premise that informs the present paper. In the same order of ideas, it can be further added that, if the colonial discourse is based on a binary model of thought predicated upon the basic opposition established between self and other, in terms of gender, the colonial project has often been metaphorically constructed as the attempt "of the *male* colonizer to subdue and penetrate the *female* territory of the colonized people"[2]. Very often, the western imagination has translated the conquered territories of India or Africa, for example, into images of exotic women, "seductive, seducible, and ultimately at the mercy of the masculine forces competing for domination over them"[3]. In response to this colonial feminization, the colonized have attempted to "produce a reverse discourse of overdetermined masculity"[4], in which the land becomes a "mother forced into penury by foreign invaders"[5], requiring her sons to fight the oppressors in order to restore her former possessions. Ireland, though placed in the paradoxical position of being at once Western and a colony, has not escaped being culturally cast as "other" and "female" in both colonial and countercolonial contexts. As such, in the principal discourses of Irish nationalism, the two main feminine figurations for Ireland were: the *Spéar-bhean* (literally meaning a 'sky-woman'), a beautiful maiden queen in search for a redeemer for her occupied nation, or as the *Sean Bhean Bocht* (the 'Poor Old Woman), a sorrowful mother summoning her sons to protect and defend her homestead. As can be seen from the above, nationalism itself remains a gendered world, tributary to the patriarchal system in which it operates. Woman is turned into

a national abstraction, defined and utilized by men for the ideological naturalization of their countercolonial agenda, which serves a further function: namely of containing and neutering the female agency. Discussing the use of the feminine trope of Ireland in the writings of the Irish Revivalists, Joseph Valente has suggested that though their texts try to avoid the gendering imposed by British colonialism, what they ultimately achieve is to reinforce another set of gender stereotypes from an internal Irish origin [6].

It is this latter aspect that provides an introduction to the second premise on which the paper is based, namely that according to which Irish writers (in general) and playwrights (in specific terms) are noted for their obsessive engagement with the issue of national self-representation and authenticity. Nicholas Grene introduces his study on *The Politics of Irish Drama* in the following words:

> As long as there has been a distinct Irish drama it has been so closely bound up with national politics that the one has often been considered more or less a reflection of the other. […] The Irish national theatre movement was an integral part of the broader cultural nationalism of the turn of the century which sought to create for a long-colonised Ireland its own national identity. [7]

Nevertheless, the same author further draws our attention to the fact that one should be aware of the dangers of equating what can be labeled as "the politics of Irish drama" with the "theatrical mimesis of the national narrative", because what one has to deal with is "a complex act of negotiation which is the image of Ireland on stage," involving thus "a three way set of relationships between subject, playwright and audience." [8]

The Irish national theatre movement

The story of the foundation of the Irish national theatre movement is by now a well-documented and familiar one. Stemming from the upsurge of nationalistic fervour characterising Ireland during the last decades of the 19th century, it was one of the many forms of cultural nationalism that vied for power after the political collapse of Parnell and his death in 1891 had shifted the ground on which the cause of Irish independence was to be fought from the parliamentary arena to the cultural one. Among the most active intellectuals and artists associated with the Irish cultural revival, William Butler Yeats was to become the seminal figure, associated with the foundation of the Irish Literary Society in London (1891), the Dublin-based National Literary Society (1897), and, finally, the Irish Literary Theatre (1899), conceived as a writer's theatre, meant to provide an alternative to Dublin's popular stage by reflecting the literary and artistic developments of the day, such as the models offered by André Antoine's Théâtre Libre in Paris, or J. T. Grein's Independent Theatre Society in London did. In 1901, due to lack of funding, this project ended, but a year later the Irish National Dramatic Company (1902) took over its role, the latter merging with the Irish National Theatre Society, founded in 1903. and which, in its turn, gave way to the Abbey Theatre, also known as the National Theatre of Ireland, officially opened on 27 December 1904 in Dublin.

Nevertheless, the odyssey culminating in the creation of the National Theatre included a series of performances that were to become not only cultural events of the decade, but were also to demonstrate the opposing literary and theatrical strains which had their bearing on the future Abbey Theatre. Moreover, these performances act as proof of the Irish stage acting as a terrain of negotiation over the meaning of the plays and their "*articulation of the people-nation*" [9]. In their representation of what Benedict Anderson has referred to as the "imagined community" of the nation [10], they are further illustrative of the controversial re-enactment of femininity and its cultural roles, a process which was to involve not only the playwrights' visions and personal inclinations but also politics and cultural nationalism. Taking 1899 and 1903 as convenient points of departure and, respectively, destination,

Yeats's *The Countess Cathleen* and *Cathleen ni Houlihan,* as well as John Millington Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen* provide our focus of interest for their productions may be taken as exemplary for the charged relationship of Irish theatre and national politics in the complex act of negotiation between playwright, subject and audience over the representation of femininity and the nation on stage.

The Countess Cathleen

William Butler Yeats's *The Countess Cathleen* was first staged by the Irish Literary Theatre on the 8th May in the Antient Concert Rooms in Dublin. The play was based on a story, *The Countess Kathleen O'Shea*, he had collected and included in his *Fairy and Folk Tales of Irish Peasantry* (1888) which had seemed suitable at the time to be the subject of a poetic drama [11]. The simple plot, set in a mythical Ireland, hinges on the morality play theme of self-sacrifice. The Countess, finding out that the peasants in her lands are selling their souls to two demons for money and food during a famine, decides to save them by bargaining her own soul, pure and much more precious, in spite of the pleas of her old nurse, and those of the young bard, Aleel. The devils accept and the peasants are redeemed, but after the sudden death of the countess, an angel appears to announce that she too is saved, because God looks on the motive not on the deed.

In its author's reading the play was "symbolic: the two demons … are the world … the Countess herself is a soul" [12], while literature itself is the expression of "universal truths" [13]. But behind this aesthetic argument, the text provides grounds to more ideologically laden readings. The first one is in Yeats's preferred Celticist note, considering the playwright trying to "spiritualise the patriotism and drama" [14] of Ireland by highlighting the power of the pure soul (Celtic) to transcend the snares of materialism (Saxon). This is the obvious conclusion to the encounter between the Irish Countess, the embodiment of Celtic spirituality and the demons, strangers to the land, who are suggestively transformed in the play from the supernatural villains into a pair of Merchants, operating on the principles of free trade, and coming from the East, a geographical location which embraces the English imperial centre. Nevertheless, such a representation that links femininity (Cathleen) with the nation (Celtic) remains tributary to late nineteenth century imperialist representations of Ireland, which typically drew upon Matthew Arnold's construction of the Celt as sensible, exalted and thus "peculiarly disposed to feel the spell of the feminine idiosyncrasy"[15], figuring thus Ireland "within the frame of Victorian ideals of the domestic feminine"[16].

Moreover, Yeats can be considered to make recourse to the Protestant myth of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and vindicating its idyll of the social harmony between the (Protestant) landlord and the (Catholic) peasant. In accordance to the ethical scheme of the play, its chief virtue is generosity, "a quality most accessible to the rich [while] [t]he main virtue to which the poor may aspire is gratitude – as in the one blameless peasant character, Maire, who shows exaggerated respect and thankfulness to the Countess, then dies of starvation" [17]. In accordance to this, the Countess herself witnesses a transformation from a human benefactor, as she appears in the first act, when, having entered by accident the peasant cottage of a starving family she offers them her charity down to her last coin, to a supernatural donor at the end of the play when she has made the supreme sacrifice for the sake of the peasants, who all but one have proved unable to resist the deceits of the demons.

This image of the nation where Celticist spirituality became the corollary of Ascendancy supremacy caused an uproar among audiences. The controversy over the play had actually begun before its production, with the publishing of F. Hugh O'Donnell's pamphlet, *Souls for Gold*, in which Yeats was accused of depicting the peasantry of Ireland as a "sordid tribe of black devil-worshippers" [18], while "the demented female, Countess Cathleen, who exhibits her affection for the soul-selling and soup-buying Irish

people by selling her own soul to supply them with more gold and soup … is rewarded for her blasphemous apostacy by Mr. W. B. Yeats, dramatist and theologian, by being straightway transmigrated to heaven"[19]. Cardinal Archbishop Logue, representing institutional Catholicism, further assailed the play instructing the faithful to shun the heretical play, for "an Irish Catholic audience which could patiently sit out such a play must have sadly degenerated, both in religion and patriotism" [20]. Thirty-three members of the Royal University, including the important future radical nationalists Francis Sheehy-Skeffington and Thomas Kettle, signed a letter objecting to the play which demeaned the Irish peasants by portraying them as irreligious and immoral [21], for the small cast featured a peasant who stole, a woman bent on fornication, and one iconoclast who destroyed a shrine of the Virgin Mary after struggling with his wife, all of which were perceived as clear attacks on the Catholic Nationalism's ideal of the Irish peasant and Irish womanhood.

Cathleen ni Houlihan

Written in collaboration with Lady Augusta Gregory, Yeats's *Cathleen ni Houlihan* was performed for the first time by the Irish National Dramatic Company on 2nd April 1902. In a note dated 1903 Yeats describes the dream which inspired his idea for the play, later scripted into text largely by Gregory:

> … a dream almost as distinct as a vision, of a cottage where there was well-being and firelight and talk of a marriage, and into the midst of that cottage there came an old woman in a long cloak. She was Ireland itself, that Cathleen ni Houlihan for whom so many songs have been sung … and for whose sake so many have gone to their death. I thought if I could write this out as a little play I could make others see my dream as I had seen it. [22]

The resulting play was located with naturalist precision during 1798, the time of the historical French landing at Killala, which signalled the beginning of the United Irishmen Rebellion, takingplace in the cottage of the Gillane family where their eldest son, Michael, is about to be married the next day. Its simple plot introduces an old woman, who arrives at their cottage. Taken for a beggar at first, she starts talking of the four green fields that have been taken from her and the sacrifices young men have made for her across the ages, becoming thus a supernatural figure embodying the ideals of martyrdom and national liberty, so that Michael decides to forsake his family and bride in order to go and fight for Ireland. The old woman is seen leaving, but she is changed into a young girl, with "the walk of a queen". [23]

As Adrian Frazier has argued, seen as "a miracle play, in realistic dialogue, about a major political issue that drives men to deeds", *Cathleen ni Houlihan* fulfilled the aesthetic and political demands set out by the Irish National Dramatic Company [24]. Its impact was certainly increased by the ideological significance carried over by the performance of Maud Gonne, a revolutionary feminist [25], in the leading role, described by those present at the event "as the very personification of the figure she portrayed on stage" [26], leaping thus into public consciousness as a secular myth legitimating the republican struggle for independence. Connor Cruise O'Brien cites admirers of the play who testify to its importance in becoming an inspirational text for nationalists and creating recruits for the 1916 rebellion [27], and the political meaning generated by the play made Stephen Gwyn wonder "whether such plays should be produced unless one was prepared for the people to go out and shoot or be shot" [28]. As Nicholas Grene proves, this meaning worked surprisingly even with the most moderate in their political convictions, as Shaw's reaction to the 1909 London performance of the play records: "When I see that play I feel it might lead a man to do something foolish." [29].

Nevertheless, the power of the play derived not only from its immediate and direct political message, but mainly because it "drew upon an archetype in Gaelic and nationalist tradition: that of Ireland imagined as the *sean-bhean bhocht,* an idealised persona of the land who suffers historic wrongs and requires the sacrifice of a few in each generation in the hope that the recurring heroic failures to eject the invader will finally prove successful. The transformation of the "poor old woman" into the youthful *spear-bhean* (sky-woman), one rendition of a pre-Christian goddess, Eire, the "queen" of Irish sovereignty may be thus seen to have accomplished "an act of translation, whereby emblems and figures out of the Irish cultural memory were carried over and given immediate and shocking relevance [30].

In the Shadow of the Glen

Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen* was a further acid test of Yeats's commitment to the independence of art in the theatre. Staged by the Irish National Theatre Society on 8th October 1903, the play introduces us to the characters who live in the shadow of the long dark Wicklow glen of the title. They are Nora Burke, her much older husband, Dan Burke, and a younger sheepfarmer, Michael Dara, neighbour to the two. At the beginning of the play the husband lies in bed, apparently dead, and Nora lets a passing tramp in, to be the first guest at the old man's wake. Her evocation of the grim environment of wind and rain functions as the dramatic externalisation of her relationship to Dan: "Maybe cold would be no sign of death with the like of him, for he was cold, every day since I knew him, - and every night, stranger" [31]. Driven into marriage by economic necessity, the cost of security has proved too high: childless, she is at an age when time seems cruelly inexorable and her own life a waste. Yearning for warmth – which she describes in explicitly sexual terms, - it is implied that she has found some satisfaction with the now dead Patch Darcy, a great wild shepherd who used to visit her, and has similar intentions with Michael Dara. The latter has turned up just in time to make plans for his marriage with Nora, but solely in view of the material advantages secured by the dead man's money and pasture. The audience is allowed to contrast Nora's needs and despair with Michael's inadequacy and lack of understanding, but, because the woman remains largely unaware of these discrepancies, it is left to the action of the play to bring them to her full perception. When old Burke suddenly rises from the bed and ejects Nora from the house for the infidelities brought home to him while masquerading as a corpse, self-preservation becomes Michael's priority, losing interest in the woman once she has lost her pastures. It is the Tramp, who, in the meantime, has come to empathise with Nora, who stands up to her and, in a lyrical final speech, offers her the promise of a new life in which, by his side, she can enjoy the freedom and vitality of the open road. As Nora leaves with the Tramp, the community (represented in microcosm by Dan Burke and Michael Dara) settle back into the security of their former existence, congratulating each other over a glass of whiskey.

As Cairns and Richards remark, in its acknowledgement and even celebration of female desire the play collided with the nationalist trope of Ireland as "Woman" and "Mother" which necessitated that the purity of that image be maintained beyond the physicality suggestive of other darker demands and drives [32]. Moreover, focusing on a patriarchal community in which sexuality was regulated and subordinated to economic necessity, *In the Shadow of a Glen* was engaging with the codes of the idealised rural Catholic Ireland, which were far from vindicated by Nora's revolutionary exit, in an assertion of the sensual and free female individual. Of course, at another level, by making a heroine of a rebellious wife and naming her Nora, the play had an obvious Ibsenite thrust which Yeats did not fail to see [33].

All in all, the play caused furore in the press as well as in the ranks of the theatre itself. Maud Gonne walked out in protest on the first night of the play and resigned her position as

vice-president of the Society. Her example was followed by Dudley Diggs, a leading actor with the company, and his wife, Maire Quinn, one of the leading actresses who left the Society [34]. The idea that a young wife would leave her elderly husband was considered by the *Daily Independent* as "nothing more or less than a farcical libel on the character of the average, decently reared Irish peasant woman" [35]. In the pages of *The United Irishman*, Arthur Griffith mounted a damaging attack on the play accusing Synge of using a story from a "decadent Roman source", namely the Widow of Ephesus tale found in Petronius and Boccacio, in which a young widow hard upon the death of her husband takes a soldier for a lover [36]. Yeats, committed to Synge's rescue, counterattacked pointing out as source a folk version of the tale borrowed from the Aran storyteller Pat Dirane, in which the motif of the husband's feigned death to test his wife's faithfulness is present, but which ends in adultery and murder. As Frazier remarks, "the question of the plot's derivation was crucial, because Irish folklore was universally accepted as the incorrigible record of the national genius" [37].

Instead of conclusions

In 1904, when the Abbey Theatre opened, Yeats's response to the struggle over the authority and ownership of the national images came as follows:

> Our friends have already told us, writers for the Theatre in Abbey Street, that we have no right to the name, some because we do not write in Irish, and others because we do not plead the National cause in our plays, as if we were writers for the news papers. I have not asked my fellow-workers what they mean by the words National literature, but though I have no great love for definitions, I would define it in some such way as this: It is the work of writers who are moulded by influences which are moulding their country, and who write out of so deep a life that they are accepted there in the end. [38]

As if to further ground his statement, in the first bill of the Abbey Theatre *In the Shadow of the Glen* featured alongside *Cathleen ni Houlihan* – two contesting images of womanhood and nation, juxtaposing thus their relative positioning on the margins or centre of the nationalistic project.

Nevertheless, as if unimpressed by Yeats's argument, Griffith published the same year in the pages of his *The United Irishman* a one-act play (which he may have written himself) entitled *In a Real Wicklow Glen* [39]. This play is entirely consonant with the ethos of rural Ireland: patriarchal, puritanical and house-proud. The "nationalist" Norah is exemplary. Though forced by economic necessity to reject a poor lover and accept an elderly but more wealthy husband, ten years after the event when the young man returns and pleads the wife for a kiss, Norah rejects his advances as an insult to her married status and swears that he shall never see her face again. Morality is thus the prerequisite of maintaining the purity of Irish womanhood enforced not only by the codes of behaviour evolved by rural Ireland, but also by the Catholic ethos, the other major component of the identity of the class which was the bedrock of the nationalist movement. As Cains and Richards sum up:

> Dedication to the nationalist cause involved commitment also to a complex matrix of supportive interpellations which constituted a unified ideological discourse. The potential for disruption of the nationalist movement, however allowed no deviation from the totality of that matrix whose cement was Catholicism – the very proof of Ireland's purity and the sanctity of the nationalist cause. As in the case of Yeats's *The Countess Cathleen*, to transgress those values was to risk being vilified as one who denigrated Ireland and, by implication, supported her continued subjugation.[40]

Needless to say that it was the latter matrix that was to win the battle in the cultural contest heralded on the newly-established Abbey theatre, soon to be taken over by a play marked by realism and focus on the contemporary rural world in the form of the Irish peasant drama

Notes

[1] See "Introduction. Figures at a window" in Mellisa Sihra (ed.), *Women in Irish Drama: A Century of Authorship and Representation* with a foreword by Marina Carr, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, p. 1.
[2] Peter Flynn, film review of *Some Mother's Son* in *Bright Lights Film Journal*, Issue 29 (Fall 2000), available at http://www.brightlightsfilm.com/29/somemothersson1.html (accessed 25.08.2010)
[3] Susan B. Taylor, **"**Irish Odalisques and Other Seductive Figures: Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh***"**, available at http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/containment/taylor/taylor.html (accessed 30.09.2004).
[4] Brendan Flemming, "Re-Gendering the Nation: Representations of Ireland and the Figure of the New Woman in George Moore's *A Drama in Muslim* and George Meredith's *Diana of the Crossways*" in BELLS, edited by Mireia Aragay and Jacqueline A. Hurtley, Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, 1999, p. 41.
[5] Peter Flynn, op. cit.
[6] see Joseph Valente, **"**The Myth of Sovereignty: Gender in the Literature of Irish Nationalism" in *ELH* 61(1994), pp. 193-4.
[7] Nicolas Green, "Introduction" to *The Politics of Irish Drama: Plays in context from Boucicault to Friel*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999 [reprint. 2002], p. 1.
[8] Ibid.
[9] a term favoured by David Cairns and Shaun Richards. See *Writing Ireland: Colonialism, Nationalism and Culture*, Manchester, Manchester U.P., 1988, p.59.
[10]In his *Imagined Communities* (2nd edition, London and New York: Verso, 1991) Anderson defines nationalism as the capacity for imagining a whole community of individuals as sharing similar attitudes, ideas, practices of life, creating thus the idea of the nation as a binding unity.
[11] see A. Norman Jeffares, **"**Introduction**"** to W.B. Yeats, *Selected Plays*, London and Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1964, p. 2.
[12] Quoted in David Cairns and Shaun Richards, op. cit., p. 72.
[13] Quoted in Adrian Frazier, *Behind the Scenes: Yeats, Horniman and the Struggle for the Abbey Theatre*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990, p. 13.
[14] Robert Hogan and James Kilroy, *The Irish Literary Theatre 1899-1901*, Dublin, Dolmen Press; Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1975, p. 51.
[15] Quoted in David Cairns and Shaun Richards, op. cit., p. 48.
[16] Brendan Flemming, op. cit., p. 41.
[17]Adrian Frazier, op. cit., p. 10.
[18] Quoted in Robert Welch, *The Abbey Theatre, 1899-1999: Form and Pressure*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 1999, p. 6.
[19] David Cairns and Shaun Richards, op. cit., p. 73.
[20] Robert Hogan and James Kilroy, op. cit., p. 43.
[21] See Philip Edwards, *Threshold of a Nation: A Study in English and Irish Drama*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 200.
[22] W. B. Yeats, *Selected Plays*, op. cit., pp.273-274.
[23] Ibid., p. 256.
[24] Adrian Frazier, op.. cit., p. 58.
[25] Gonne was the leader of the patriotic women's organisation *Inghinidhe na hEireann* ("Daughters of Ireland"), which had set off as the women section of a dissident nationalist group of the Gaelic League, *Cuman na nGael*, founded by Arthur Griffith. Apart from organising the activities and the theatrical productions of the organisation, Gonne was also an active writer, publishing frequently in *The United Irishman.* While living in France, her involvement in the Irish liberation cause there led her to edit and publish a French newsletter, *L'Irlande Libre*.
[26] In Christopher Murray, *Twentieth-century Irish Drama*: *Mirror Up to Nation*, Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 2000, p. 21.
[27] Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Ancestral Voices: Religion and Nationalism in Ireland*, Dublin. Poolberg, 1994, p. 63.
[28] In Nicholas Grene, op. cit., p.69
[29] Ibid., p. 70.
[30] Robert Welch, op. cit., p. 16
[31] John Millington Synge, *Plays, Poems and Prose*, London, Dent, 1958, p. 4.
[32] David Cairns and Shaun Richards, op. cit., p. 77
[33] In a letter to John Quinn, Yeats wrote that the fight for Synge would in future be like that "over the first realistic plays of Ibsen". Quoted in Christopher Murray, op. cit., p. 77.
[34] See Brenna Katz Clarke, *The Emergence of the Irish Peasant Play at the Abbey Theatre*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, UMI Research Papers, 1982, p. 160.

[35] Elizabeth Coxhead, *Lady Gregory: A Literary Portrait*, London, Secker and Warburg Ltd., 1966, p. 68.
[36] Brenna Katz Clarke, op. cit., p. 161.
[37] Adrian Frazier, op. cit., p. 83.
[38] Quoted in Philip Edwards, op. cit., p. 211
[39] Robert Hogan and James Kilroy, *The Modern Irish Drama: A Documentary History*, Vol.2: *Laying the Foundations 1902-1904*, Dublin, Dolmen Press, 1976, p. 145.
[40] David Cairns and Shaun Richards, op. cit., p. 79.

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