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'Women in policing in Ireland, 1915-78; with particular reference to the Royal Irish Constabulary, Dublin Metropolitan Police, and An Garda Síochána'

Submitted in fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2015

John Johnston-Kehoe

IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL
An Chomhairle um Thaighde in Éirinn

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Summary

This thesis is a thematic historical study of the employment of women on full-time police duty in pre-independent and independent Ireland. It is the product of independent, academic research, conducted under the supervision of members of the Centre for Contemporary Irish History, Trinity College, Dublin, in which full editorial autonomy has been retained by the researcher. This thesis is based on empirical historical research of original materials and published sources, as outlined in the bibliography. The research has been predominantly based on documentary materials, but has also included a number of interviews by the researcher which have been summarised in the bibliography, also informed the research.

The thesis presents a pioneering examination of the female police role: the origin and development of that role during the First World War and Irish revolution; the continuation of sub-formal, small scale practice in Dublin under independent government; and the experience of formalized female policing beyond Dublin under the Garda Act, 1958. The thesis is structured on a largely chronological basis, as outlined in the chapter headings, but some chronological overlap occurs owing to the attention accorded to the activist campaign for female police in Chapter Three, and the treatment of the 1950s in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. Female membership of the police from 1959 to 1978 is treated in Chapter 6.

The thesis argues that although Ireland was in the vanguard of a voluntary female police initiative during the First World War, policing was consolidated on exclusively male terms by the Free State government. However, official negation of female policing belied significant sub-formal practice in Dublin, since a small number of sub-formal policewomen continued to be employed on police duty there. A feminist campaign for a regularized, expanded female police role was sustained from 1930. While some senior officers and Justice officials supported the concept, it was not favoured by the Minister for Justice. Wider lobbying by the activists contributed significantly to stimulate political interest in the matter particularly in Dublin, during the period of the Fifteenth Dáil (1954-57). A pivotal figure in the government of the Sixteenth Dáil, Seán Lemass, was centrally involved in the decision by to provide for female membership of the Garda, announced in May 1958. The incorporation of women as members of the Garda proceeded gradually, but remained numerically slight. Women operated on an effectively segregated basis but the female police did not have the status of an operational unit. The expansion of female recruitment in the latter 1970s coincided with the implementation of an equality agenda and the introduction of gender integration in the Garda.

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to my supervisors, Dr Anne Dolan and Professor Eunan O'Halpin, for their inspiration, encouragement, and advice. I am also grateful to Dr Martine Cuypers and to Dr Joseph Clarke of the School of Histories and Humanities.

I wish to thank the Irish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences, now the Irish Research Council, for their investment in the research for this thesis and its supervision.

Special thanks are due to those who made material in their possession available for this research and shared their memories with me: Mrs Mary Barrins, Mr Noel Harnett, Mr Michael Musgrave, Mr Michael Colohan, Mrs Carmel Brohoon, Ms Maura O'Looney, Mr Tom Woulfe, Mr Paddy Terry, and Mr John Henderson. I wish to thank the Centre for Contemporary Irish History, Trinity College; the Women's Studies Seminar, University College Dublin; the Women's History Association of Ireland; and the Irish Labour History Society, to whom aspects of this research were presented.

I wish to express my gratitude to the staff of the National Archives, particulary Mr Ken Robinson, Mr Christy Allen, and Mr Gregory O'Connor; Trinity College Library, particulary Ms Maria Ryan, Mr Seán Hughes, Mr Christoph Schmidt-Supprian; the staff of the National Library of Ireland; Noelle Dowling at Dublin Diocesan Archives; the Representative Church Body Library; and Dublin City Council Library and Archive. I wish to thank An Garda Síochána, particularly former Garda Archivists, Inspector Patrick McGee (retired) and Sergeant Paul Maher. I wish to thank the Police Service of Northern Ireland, for facilitating my research at the P.S.N.I. Museum at Police Headquarters, Brooklyn, Belfast.

I have acknowledged the help of a number of scholars at relevant points in this thesis, and I owe thanks to many others for their collegiality, advice, and encouragement.

This research was made possible by the love and generosity of my parents, Anne and John Johnston-Kehoe.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

AGO: Attorney-General's Office

BMH: Bureau of Military History

CnanG: Cumann na nGaedhael (Committee of the gaels), later Fine Gael

CnaT: Clann na Talmhain (Community of the land)

CSOCR: Chief Secretary's Office Correspondence Register

CSORP: Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers

DDA: Dublin Diocesan Archives

DJ: Department of Justice

DT: Department of the Taoiseach

FG: Fine Gael

FF: Fianna Fáil

GA: Garda Archive & Museum

ICA: Irish Countrywomen's Association

IGPC: Irish Girls Protection Crusade

IHA: Irish Housewives Association

IWCLGA: Irish Women Citizens and Local Government Association

IWSLGA: Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association

IDC: Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry into An Garda Síochána, 1950-51.

JCWSSW: Joint Committee of Women's Societies and Social Workers

Lab: Labour Party

PSNIA.: Police Service of Northern Ireland Archive

TD: Teachta Dála, a member of the Dáil, the primary legislative assembly and the lower house of Oireachtas Éireann.

Note on terminology

'The Garda': to refer to the official institution, An Garda Síochána [Guardians of the peace].

Garda/garda: to refer to an individual member of An Garda Síochána of basic rank up to 10 June 1958; a male member of basic rank from that date up to 10 December 1990, and all members of basic rank from that date onwards.[1]

gardaí : plural of the above term

The prefix, 'Detective', was applied to the rank of members of the Garda who were permanently assigned to detective duties, to produce: Detective Garda, up to Detective Chief Superintendent.

That may have been the origin for the convention to use the prefix 'ban'/'bean' when referring to female members of the Garda. There was wide variation in the spelling and construction that was used. An effort has been made in this text to standardise the spelling, as below, but variations that occurred in original material have not been normalised according to the scheme applied in the main text.

Bean Garda [woman garda]: an individual female member of basic rank, June 1958-December 1990.

Ban Ghardaí [women garda]: the plural of the above term. The spelling of both words is altered in the plural.

The variation in spelling persisted as the prefix was applied to higher ranks, up to superintendent in 1989. Generally, this involved a hybrid linguistic construct, as usually the rank was rendered in English, such as Inspector, or Assistant Commissioner, but the Gaeilge prefix was applied to produce: Bean Sergeant, Bean Inspector, Bean Superintendent.

The first Bean Superintendent was appointed in 1989, the year before the prefix convention was discontinued.

The female prefix was officially discontinued in December 1990.

Like the rendering of the official title of the force in Gaeilge the use of the Gaeilge prefix 'bean' and 'ban' was a significant cultural and historical marker, and so it has been retained here, in motley forms.

[1] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, 404, 1481 (5 Feb. 1991).

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Introduction

'We arrested the two girls, took the wallet from them and informed the injured party, Ms E__ B___, 'Clonmore', Bray, of the matter and of the fact that we were policewomen. She became very excited, demanded her wallet back, and gave us the impression that she believed we were the thieves, or accomplices, rather than Policewomen.' This account of an intervention in April 1958 on Dublin's main street ended: 'As we had no means of identification, we had great difficulty in proving that we were acting *bona fide*, and but for the timely arrival of Garda Murphy from Store Street station the position would have been very embarrassing.'[1] The victim's indignation and confusion was understandable. The lack of identification of the two women may be attributed to the sub-formal basis of their police employment as Garda Women Assistants. Officially, policewomen did not exist in independent Ireland at this time. However, plainclothes policewomen had been a continuous feature of policing in Dublin since 1917. 'Policewomen Barrins and Musgrave', whose 'good duty' in this incident was commended by the Deputy Commissioner, were among the last of a group of twelve women to have been employed in that role.[2]

This scene of 1958 is an apt moment of departure for this thesis: a thematic historical study of the employment of women on full-time police duty in pre-independent and independent Ireland. The incident is suggestive of the remarkable, sometimes dramatic, and largely unknown female police past. There was probably a strategic aspect to the timing of the report quoted above, since in the following month, May 1958, a Bill was introduced to provide for women to be 'deemed to be members' of the police force, revising the previous definition of the force as a body of 'officers and men'.[3] This thesis regards 'women in policing' as full-time female employees of police forces who were engaged whole-time in the fulfilment of police work. That conceptualization includes women in policing in the period before female membership of the police was sanctioned, along with female members of the police from 1959. The non-membership status of these sub-formal policewomen will be shown to have belied their fulfilment of police duties. These included escort duty, attendance at the Dublin District Children's Court, and plainclothes patrol, all of which they performed on a consistent

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[1] Mrs Mary Barrins & Mrs Josephine Musgrave to Det. Inspector Garvey, Garda Síochána, College Station, Apr. 1958 (GA: Women Police box, B.880/58)

[2] Deputy Commissioner, Garda Síochána to Superintendent 'C' District, 18 Apr. 1958 (Private Collection, Barrins Papers).

[3] Police Forces Amalgamation Act, 1925 (No. 7 of 1925) as amended by Garda Act, 1958 (No. 14 of 1958).

and continuous basis. The thesis will also present evidence of their occasional performance of other duties, such as covert investigation and obtaining statements from victims. In addition, the women also acted as probation officers, mainly of juvenile probationers, at the direction of the Dublin District Children's Court. The women had a medial role, since they regularly approximated the role of a policeman, but were also required to perform rotational relief duty for the police 'matron' at the Bridewell, a domestic rather than a police role. While these women were not considered to be *in* the police for technical and employment purposes, they were emphatically *of* the police, and asserted and were accorded status as such in discharging police duties.

This thesis presents a pioneering investigation of the operational actualities of female policing both before and after the admission of women to membership of the police. The holistic treatment of this theme has required its pursuit with respect to the *Garda Síochána* (Guardians of the Peace), the single, national police of independent Ireland since 1925; and three predecessor police forces with which women served: the Dublin Metropolitan Police (D.M.P.), the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.), and the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.) of nationalist government of the early 1920s. The first female entrants to full-time police work were employed by the D.M.P., the police of Dublin city, which recruited at least eight women as full-time police employees between 1917 and 1920, six of whom remained in service by 1920. The R.I.C., a gendarmerie that policed the remainder of the country, also employed two women in Belfast in a similar capacity from November 1917. In the course of the Anglo-Irish War of Independence (1919-21), the police authorities procured fifty members of a private female security agency, the Women's Auxiliary Service (W.A.S.), to serve with the R.I.C., the principal combatant of the colonial counter-insurgency. A Criminal Investigation Department was established by the provisional nationalist government in 1921, originally under military control but later transferred to the control of the new nationalist Ministry of Home Affairs. At least three women were employed in operational roles in this agency before it was dissolved in 1923.

Few works offer more than a cursory treatment of the subject of female policing as it will be addressed in this thesis. Those works comprise Maria Luddy's brief treatment of the Irish Women Patrols in her study of prostitution in Ireland, R.M. Douglas's discussion of the W.A.S.'s Anglo-Irish War mission in his monograph about that organisation, and a brief discussion of

female police history in Vicky Conway's recent history of the Garda.[4] Conway's treatment of the subject has included some points not previously mentioned, but her account is very limited due to the broad nature of her monograph, and her interest in accountability and political policing.[5] Conway wrote that she decided not to include more than one female among a total of forty-two interviewees on the basis that do so 'would distort the findings, and it was determined that for the period in question this was in fact representative'.[6]

This thesis presents a study which uses press reports to form a profile of their occupational role and status. It will examine the pervasive implications of the female police occupation in relation to marriage and retirement, and in relation to the disproportionate public prominence of Ban Ghardaí. With relatively more women in policing during that period, the thesis assesses their participation in policing juvenile crime, drug crime, and prostitution; and their role in the Garda response to instances of sexual crime against women. A rounded profile of the work of Ban Ghardaí is formed by a case study of the experience of female policing in Cork in the 1960s and early 1970s. In addition to quotidian policing, this study will also attend to how the involvement of Ban Ghardaí in the response to violent political crime. The thesis studies how integration of male and female members was interpreted and applied by the force, and offers a detailed treatment of how equal pay for policewomen was attained that corrects factual inaccuracies in previous references to this process.

This thesis will substantially develop understanding of the most documented aspect of this theme: feminist interest in the establishment of female police.[7] The campaign for women police in Ireland was much longer than the comparable campaign in the U.K., and was contested on relatively higher stakes, given the more centralized basis of the Irish police, and the direct nature of political control of the Irish police by government.[8] The dominant organisation in the first phase of the campaign for women police in Ireland was the Irish Women Patrols, formed in 1915 as an off-shoot of a wider, largely voluntary scheme,

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[4] Maria Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish society, 1800-1940* (Cambridge, 2007), pp 174-6; Ray M. Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps: the British Voluntary Women Police, 1914-1940* (Westport, Conn., 1999), pp 75-9; Vicky Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland: a history of an Garda Síochána* (London, 2014), pp 82-4.

[5] Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland*, pp 82-4.

[6] Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland*, pp 221-2.

[7] Caitríona Beaumont, 'Women, citizenship and Catholicism in the Irish Free State, 1922-48' in *Women's History Review* Vol. 6, No. 4, pp 56-85; Piece in the book by Cullen Owens etc. Chris Shepard, 'A liberalisation of Irish social policy? Women's organisations and the campaign for women police in Ireland, 1915-57' in *Irish Historical Studies* xxxvi, 144 (Nov. 2009), pp 564-80.

[8] John Carrier, *The campaign for the employment of Women as police officers* (Aldershot, 1988).

promoted by the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland.[9] Philippa Levine's influential article about this early phase of the campaign for women police illustrated that feminism and suffragism were not the only animating impulses of a 'women police' movement.[10] Levine did note the vigour of the Dublin branch. This thesis will expand on this minor aspect of Levine's work. It will suggest that Maria Luddy's brief treatment of the Irish Women Patrols has under-estimated the feminist credentials of the organisation. Luddy wrote that the Patrols evinced 'class if not feminist solidarity' and that that 'their attention focused on working-class girls and women'.[11] She considered that the Patrols were too few 'to make any real impact' and that their achievement had been 'to raise the public profile of suffragist women'.[12] Carmel Quinlan noted the influence of the progenitor of the Irish Women Patrols, Anna Haslam, in the employment of women by the D.M.P.[13] This thesis will re-assess the civil society campaign for an official female police role through archival study of police practice and administration, and greater attention to the membership of the Patrols, including its non-élite component comprised of wage-earning women.

Chris Shepard's 2009 article about the 'Campaign for women police' connected the activities of the Women Patrols to subsequent lobbying campaigns by women's organisations.[14] The main contribution of Shepard's article was to reveal the rivalry of a Catholic women's organisation, the Catholic Women's Federation, towards the prime mover of the campaign: the Joint Committee of Women's Societies and Social Workers (J.C.W.S.S.W.). Shepard was ambivalent as to the extent to which the introduction of the Garda Bill, 1958, might be attributed to the campaign. He wrote that a 'change in opinion' had occurred 'in tandem with the campaigning of women activists'. The study of the feminist campaign presented in this thesis has drawn on central archival records of that campaign: the internal records of the J.C.W.S.S.W., held at the National Archives, Dublin. This thesis will reveal how this campaign coloured official policy on women in policing years prior to the Garda Act, 1958, and will refer to a sensational episode of the mid-1950s as a crucial proximate factor in the decision to admit women to the Garda. This

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[9] Maria Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish society, 1800-1940* (Cambridge, 2007), pp 174-6; Carmel Quinlan, *Genteel Revolutionaries: Anna and Thomas Haslam and the Irish women's movement* (Cork, 2002), pp 178-83.

[10] Philippa Levine, '"Walking the streets in a way no decent woman should": women police in World War I' in *Journal of Modern History*, lxvi (1994) pp 34-78.

[11] Luddy, *Prostitution*, pp 174-6.

[12] Luddy, *Prostitution*, p. 176.

[13] Quinlan, *Genteel Revolutionaries*, p. 180.

[14] Shepard, 'Campaign for women police'; see also Caitríona Beaumont: 'Women & the politics of equality: the Irish women's movement, 1930-1943' in Maryann Gialanella Valiulis & Mary O'Dowd (eds), *Women & Irish history. Essays in honour of Margaret MacCurtain* (Dublin, 1997) pp 179-80.

treatment will also attend to the role of the police in the alteration of policy on this issue through attention to material at Garda Archives and simple statistical analysis of significant aspects of police organisation and resources. It doing so it will develop significantly on Vicky Conway's rather tentative observation that 'the 1950s and 1960s' was a 'more complex' period than suggested by presentation of them as 'quiet, peaceful times for Irish policing where the sole concerns were pay and conditions'. [15] Shepard's article did not significantly advance on the vague, tentative terms of the question posed in its title, as to whether the Garda Act, 1958, constituted 'a liberalisation of Irish social policy?' The empirical study of the first twenty years of female membership of the Garda, 1958-78, will allow for an appraisal of Shepard's 'liberalisation' theory.

Police forces had a highly significant role in mediating the relationship between the state and the individual during the period studied in this thesis. This holds in the first instance through the occupational lives and relations of individual police personnel, and, in the second instance, through the myriad relationships mediated by the police between the state and the policed population. As with other forces in other jurisdictions, the police in independent Ireland were, and remained, an institution of central importance to practical and symbolic state-building.[16] A report about Garda training, published in 1985, averred that 'The history of the Garda Síochána is the history of the Irish people, since the origins and developments of the Garda Síochána are inseparably bound to the evolutionary process of the State as a whole'.[17] As will later be discussed, the history of the Garda has been suffused by this statist perspective which has reflected the interests of its authors: police 'insiders' and legal analysts. Exclusive direct control of the police by central government was retained as the cardinal principle of police management by the nationalist government. The foundational legislation of the police lent theoretical autonomy to the Garda Commissioner, but provided for the actual retention of substantial control by government through its power of appointment of the Commissioner, and by its retention of financial control of the Garda by the Department of Justice. The Garda was responsible for a broad range of police functions, including the policing of political subversion. The police have acted as 'a general factotum of state', according to Dermot Walsh, with regard to the wide range of their official duties beyond law enforcement.[18]

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[15] Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland*, p. 97.
[16] Ian Loader and Aogán Mulcahy, *Policing and the condition of England: memory, politics and culture* (Oxford, 2003), p. 46.
[17] *Report on probationer training, Garda Training Committee* (Dublin, 1987), p. 21.
[18] Walsh, *Irish Police*, p. 172.

The thesis is not directly concerned with developments in Northern Ireland, but it will refer to developments there as they relate to the treatment of developments in the southern state. [19] The history of female policing in the Royal Ulster Constabulary (R.U.C.), the police force of Northern Ireland (1922-2001), has been the subject of a commemorative history by Margaret Cameron, and has featured in Louise Jackson's recent study of women in policing in the United Kingdom. No specific legislation was required in Northern Ireland for the admission of women as members of the R.U.C. in 1943. The Government of Northern Ireland decided that the appointment of women to the R.U.C. was provided for under the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919, which allowed for the terms of the Constabulary (Ireland) Act, 1836, to be taken to include women.[20]

Sources

Research concerned with police history, particularly with regard to operational history, may be expected to pose particular challenges of sources. Although the National Archives 'does not receive from the Garda Síochána the archives and records envisaged by the National Archives Act, 1986,' the archives of Government departments of Justice and of the *Taoiseach* (Prime Minister) held at the National Archives, include a great deal of material about police administration and management.[21] A small number of files of substantial relevance to this research were identified among these records. These official sources are mainly concerned with institutional and administrative aspects. While no commission of inquiry was convened in independent Ireland specifically to consider the issue of women in policing, two state inquires considered the proposal in detail, in 1930-31 and in 1950-51; and a commission of inquiry 1968-70 concerned with Garda pay and conditions included evidence about female members.[22]

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[19] John D. Brewer, 'Hercules, Hippolyte and the Amazons - or Policewomen in the RUC' in *British Journal of Sociology*, xlii, 2, Jun. 1991, pp 231-47; Margaret Cameron, *Women in Green: a history of the Royal Ulster Constabulary's policewomen: Golden Jubilee 1943* (Belfast, 1992); Louise Ainsley Jackson, *Women police: gender, welfare and surveillance in the twentieth century* (Manchester, 2006).

[20] Dunbar, Ministry of Home Affairs (Northern Ireland) to Connolly, Department of Justice, 2 Feb. 1955 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).

[21] *Commission of Investigation into the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of 1974, Final Report, March 2007*, p. 175.

[22] *Report of the Committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Acts (1880-85), and Juvenile Prostitution* (1931), N.A.I., 90/4/4 (hereafter *Carrigan Report*); *Report of Committee of Inquiry into Garda Síochána* (1951) N.A.I., DT s7989c/2 (hereafter *Deegan Report*); *Report on Remuneration and Conditions of Service, Report on the Garda Síochána* (Dublin, 1970) (hereafter *Conroy Report*).

Contrary to perception of it as 'one of the most secretive police forces in the Western world', the Garda was of singular assistance in facilitating access to archival material for the purpose of the research.[23] A large file box of archival material was made available at the Garda Archive & Museum, Dublin Castle, in response to a written request to consult any available material of relevance to this research.[24] The Garda Archive is a small, private facility managed by a member of the force designated as the Garda Archivist. The Archive operates a cautious admission policy, as noted by Vicky Conway. [25] Some of the material consulted there dated from before the establishment of the Garda and spanned the period up to the early 1980s.

Police periodicals and autobiographical writing have been used as a source for researching the attitude of the police towards women in policing, and to acquire a sense of the historical occupational culture of the Irish police. According to Malcolm Young, 'the cartoons in the police magazines provide clear insights into the structural form and social beliefs of the police'.[26] Representations of female police were prevalent in original cartoons published in the Irish police periodical, the *Garda Review*, during the 1950s and 1960s. It has been remarked that women in policing were 'envisaged and depicted long before any policewomen were actually recruited or deployed'.[27] Police periodical cartons, produced by policemen or by close relatives of policemen, will be analysed as 'indicators of institutional reality', as suggested by Young.[28] The majority of autobiographical writing referred to in this thesis is the work of retired members of the Garda, which includes more than twelve published books and a radio typescript.[29] Most of these works are memoirs concerned with the period from 1940 to 1980, and one is an autobiographical novel set in the 1940s. Little direct reference to female

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[23] Vicky Conway and Dermot P.J. Walsh, 'Current developments in police governance and accountability in Ireland' in *Crime, Law, and Social Change*, lv (2011), p. 254.

[24] *Irish Times*, 10 Sept. 1987 [editorial] 'The unarmed ideal'; and *Irish Times*, 25 Jun. 1996, 'On show'; A door to the past opens', *Garda Review*, Vol.25 No.8 (Sep.-Oct. 1997), pp 12-13.

[25] Conway's description of the Garda Archive as 'a public library' is inaccurate.

[26] Malcolm Young, *An Inside Job. Policing and Police Culture in Britain* (Oxford, 1991), p. 236.

[27] Jennifer Brown and Frances Heidensohn, *Gender and Policing: Comparative Perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2000), p. 149.

[28] Young, *An Inside Job*, p. 236.

[29] Muiris Ó Súilleabháin, *Twenty years a-growing* (New York, 1933); Éamon Ó Faoláin, 'Cnaipí Airgid: Leathnaigh as dialainn ghárda' [Brass buttons: pages from a Garda's diary] 1952, (Hardiman Library, N.U.I.G., G33); Pádraig Ua Maoileoin, *De réir uimhreacha* (Dublin, 1969); Gerald Murphy, *Copper mandarin: A memoir* (London, 1984); John Courtney, *It was murder* (Dublin, 1996); Páid Ó Súilleabháin, *Ag coimeád na síochána* [Keeping the Peace] (Dublin, 1995); Tim Leahy, *Memoirs of a Garda Superintendent* (Kilrush, 1996); Dan Devitt, *Never bet: A Garda remembers and reflects* (Dublin, 1997); Tim Doyle, *Peaks and valleys: the ups and downs of a young Garda* (Dublin, 1997), and *Get up them steps* (Dublin, 2001); Gerry O'Carroll, *The sheriff : a detective's story* (Edinburgh, 2006); Jim Ryan, *A sporting beat: the story of a sports-mad Garda* (Cork, 2007); Joe Dunleavy, *A tour of duty* (Limerick, 2008).

membership of the force occurs in any of the accounts, which is a significant omission in some cases. Only one published police memoir by a woman exists, a 'warts and all' account of a troubled police career from 1992 to 2005 that falls outside the period of this study.[30]

Two principal innovations were made in the acquisition of source material for researching this thesis. Firstly, this thesis has drawn on court records to investigate the female police role, and to a lesser extent, instances in which the absence of female police participation is significant. The use of court records was inspired by the work of a number of modern Irish historians who have used court records to examine women's interactions with the justice system, mainly as defendants.[31] Court records offer a basis to examine in detail instances in which the police fulfilled their investigative and prosecutorial roles. A significant consideration in this work was the likelihood that records of court proceedings would under-state the actual role of women in policing, particularly with regard to the decades of sub-formal, unofficial female policing.[32] Gaps in the series and vagaries of the printed catalogue constitute problems, but court records have provided a valuable source of data about operational policing. The absence of the Minute Books of the Dublin District Court was a significant limitation.[33] Notwithstanding these limitations and difficulties, several references to policewomen and to Ban Ghardaí were found in the records. Newspaper archives constituted an important source of reportage from the Dublin District Court, particularly *Dublin Evening Mail* reports about the Children's Court. The records of Cork District court offer a uniquely consistent series of records for an urban area during this period, and were complemented by a parallel reading of regional Cork newspapers the *Cork Examiner* and the *Evening Echo*, for selected years. This detailed use of court records will contribute significantly to the independent assessment formed of the range and nature of

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[30] Mary T. O'Connor, *On the beat: a woman's life in the Garda Síochána* (Dublin, 2005).

[31] R.S. Rose, 'An outline of fertility control, focusing on the element of abortion in the Republic of Ireland to 1976' (Ph.D Thesis, University of Stockholm, 1976); Sandra Larmour [m. McAvoy], 'Aspects of the state and female sexuality in the Irish Free State, 1922-1949' (Ph.D. Thesis, University College, Cork, 1998); Clíona Rattigan, '"Shocking revelations": private lives made public during the course of infanticide trials in Ireland 1922-49', pp104-123 in Sarah O'Connor and Christopher Shepard (eds), *Women, social and cultural change in Ireland: dissenting Voices?* (Newcastle, 2008); '"Crimes of passion of the worst character": Abortion cases and gender in Ireland, 1925-1950' in Maryann Valiulis, (ed.), *Gender and power in Irish history* (Dublin 2009), pp115-39; Clíona Rattigan, '"Dark spots" in Irish society: unmarried motherhood, crime and prosecution in Ireland, 1900-1950' (PhD thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2008); Sarah-Anne Buckley, '"In the Eyes of the Law": Class, gender and violent crime in Ireland, 1922-45' (Ph.D Thesis, University College, Cork, 2010); Diarmaid Ferriter, *Occasions of Sin: Sex and Society in Modern Ireland* (London, 2009), pp 7-9, 110-17, 217-24.

[32] Barbara Weinberger, *The best police in the world: an oral history of English policing from the 1930s to the 1960s* (Aldershot, 1995), p. 95.

[33] *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee to establish the facts of State involvement with the Magdalen Laundries* (Dublin, 2013) [hereafter *Magdalen Laundries Report*] p. 205.

duties performed by Ban Ghardaí, beyond summary descriptions of general duties offered in administrative sources.

Secondly, through direct personal contact, interviews were conducted with a number of historical witnesses and access to relevant material in private family collections was obtained. Interview-based research has been widely-used in academic research into the police, including some histories of policing in Britain and Northern Ireland.[34] Vicky Conway's recent history of the Garda drew heavily on her interviews with forty-two retired members, more than a quarter of whom declined to be recorded. Conway perceived 'some degree of denial present in many interviews'.[35] The Royal Ulster Constabulary and its successor force, the Police Service of Northern Ireland, have required that researchers contractually relinquish editorial control, ownership of copyright, and control of dissemination, to the Chief Constable as a pre-condition for police authorisation of research.[36] This requirement has applied to research based on interviews with retired police personnel, as described by Mary Gethins in her recent study.[37]

The direct solicitation of information and material was selectively pursued in the research for this thesis as a methodology to allow for the acquisition of historical data regarding the police careers of women whose employment on full-time police duties had pre-dated the statutory admission of women as official members of the Garda in 1958. The existence and police service of these women had been under-represented in archival records, even allowing for their small number, and had been unmentioned in histories of the force and virtually elided from institutional police memory. Oral history fieldwork was not extensively pursued in the research of the subsequent period of official female membership of the Garda (from 1959 onwards) due to the quality and extent of available archival material, and due to time constraints. It will be seen in this thesis that the archival material drawn on in the course of the work is sufficient for the construction of the authoritative analytical account offered here. A number of contemporary newspaper feature articles featured direct quotations attributed to Ban Ghardaí, some of which were anonymously attributed. A high degree of participation by

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[34] Tom Cockcroft, 'Using oral history to investigate police culture' in *Qualitative Research*, v (2005), pp 365-84; Mike Brogden, *On the Mersey Beat: Policing Liverpool between the Wars* (Oxford, 1991); Barbara Weinberger, *The best police in the world: an oral history of English policing from the 1930s to the 1960s* (Aldershot, 1995); John D. Brewer, *The Royal Irish Constabulary: an oral history* (Belfast, 1990).

[35] Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland*, pp 223, 225.

[36] Aogán Mulcahy, 'Policing History: The official discourse and organizational memory of the Royal Ulster Constabulary' in *British Journal of Criminology*, xl (2000), p. 72.

[37] Mary Gethins, *Catholic police officers in Northern Ireland: Voices out of silence* (Manchester, 2011), p. 43.

the first group of Ban Ghardaí was a feature of the official commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the first admission of women to the Garda in 2009, and brief reflections of some former Ban Ghardaí on their careers were included in media coverage of these events.

Prescribed oral history practice, in which the use of interview content and the conditions of third-party access are agreed in writing between interviewer-researcher and interviewee, such as the work of Barbara Weinberger and Louise Jackson, has not been applied in this thesis due to the unwillingness of interviewees to participate in recorded interviews.[38] The interviewees listed in the bibliography of this thesis were happy to be interviewed for the purpose of this research on terms that did not allow for the audio recording of the conversations. Sensitivity has been exercised with regard to the non-use of sensitive identifying information related to individuals that featured in some archival material, such as the names of young children under escort or the names of victims of sexual crime. This has been informed by editorial discretion rather than any conditions imposed by archivists or private collectors who have facilitated the research.

Direct contact with the families of former police personnel emulated Elizabeth Malcolm's solicitation of memories from the descendants of members of the Royal Irish Constabulary.[39] Contact was made with a former policewoman, Garda Woman Assistant Mrs Mary Agnes Barrins, through her son Michael, who was a retired Det. Garda Sgt and a member of the Garda Historical Society. Mrs Barrins made her work log and personal papers available for this research.[40] The children of two of Barrins's deceased former colleagues, Garda Woman Assistants Mrs Teresa Harnett and Mrs Josephine Musgrave, were contacted through direct research. Michael Musgrave, Mrs Rita Clarke (née Musgrave), and Noel Harnett, shared family memories and generously granted access to material which included work notebooks, photographs, and personal papers. Contact was also made with the descendants of four of the first generation of Dublin policewomen who entered police employment between 1917 and 1920. A personal referral by police historian Jim Herlihy facilitated contact with the grand-nephew of Dublin Metropolitan Police Woman Patrol, Ms Brigid English. Archival references to the name and address of others provided a basis from which the descendants of three other Dublin Metropolitan Police Women Patrols (Mrs Mary O'Neill, Mrs Gertrude Rutland, Ms

[38] Barbara Weinberger Police Interviews, British Library Sound Archive, 1995; and Women Police Collection, Women's Library, London, 2006.
[39] Elizabeth Malcolm, *The Irish Policeman 1822-1922: A life* (Dublin, 2006), pp 222-45.
[40] Both Michael 'Junior' Barrins and his mother, Mrs Mary Agnes Barrins, are since deceased.

Elizabeth Watters) were contacted. Two of these families held original official photograph identification passes of their forebear, reproduced with their permission in this thesis.

This introduction will present a preliminary discussion of the theme of women in policing as it will be applied in this thesis. It will then turn to consider the Irish case as that to which this theme will be applied. The application of the theme to the Irish case is discussed with reference to three important sub-genres of contemporary Irish history to which the thesis bears relation. These are: police history, new social history, and the history of feminist activism. The final section of the introduction outlines and explains the structure adopted in the presentation of this thesis. This section also identifies the main sources that have informed the research on a chapter-by-chapter basis.

II: Theme

Female participation in policing is significant given the strongly gendered nature of policing as an occupation. Policing has been understood as among *the* archetypal male occupations, throughout the period of study of this thesis. 'Few occupations have been as fully defined as "masculine" or resistant to the integration of women as policing.'[41] Barbara Weinberger has observed that: 'Above all, policing relied and rested on the exercise of authority and the expectation of submission to that authority; and authority was the attribute of the masculine *par excellence*.'[42] 'The police world remains aggressively a man's world, notwithstanding equal opportunities legislation,' Robert Reiner has written.[43] Reiner characterized the 'traditional police world' as 'one of old-fashioned machismo'.[44] Malcolm Young described the position of 'women in the police' as one of 'structural marginality'.[45] The concept of women in policing ran counter to a social conventions and a sharply-drawn occupational identity, such that criminal justice authorities did not countenance the revision of male terms on which the police were legislatively defined until 1943, in the case of Northern Ireland, and 1959, in the case of independent Ireland.

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[41] Susan Ehrlich Martin and Nancy C. Jurik, *Doing Justice, Doing Gender: Women in Legal and Criminal Justice Occupations* (2nd ed., London, 2007), p. 67.
[42] Weinberger, *Best police in the world*, p. 89.
[43] Robert Reiner, *The politics of the police* [4th ed.] (Oxford, 2010), p. 138.
[44] Reiner, *Politics of the Police*, p. 128.
[45] Malcolm Young, *An Inside Job. Policing and police culture in Britain* (Oxford, 1991), p. 191.

The history of female policing has acquired wider interest and increased political significance due to a pronounced increase in the presence and profile of women in the Garda in the 21st Century. A survey of policewomen in the United Kingdom and Ireland in the mid-1990s, found that Garda respondents were 'the least likely to complain of sexual harassment or gender discrimination'.[46] Since that research, female membership of the force more than doubled as a proportion of total membership between 1999 and 2009, by which year women comprised over 22 per cent of the Garda.[47] Not only has a substantial expansion occurred, but over the same period a small number of women have attained promotion to very senior rank in the Garda. Catherine Clancy was the first woman appointed to chief superintendent rank on her appointment in 1998, and was also the first woman appointed to assistant commissioner rank in 2003.[48]At time of submission of this thesis, Deputy Commissioner (Operations), Noirín O'Sullivan, was Acting Commissioner, and she was appointed as Garda Commissioner later in 2014.[49]

A strategic political dimension to the prominence of women in the Garda is suggested by the manner in which roles with a substantial public-political profile have been associated with the elevation of women to senior Garda ranks. Such roles include the management of the Garda's Community Relations section and the regional management of the Donegal Division during the period in which serious misconduct in that Division was the subject of a statutory tribunal of inquiry. The appointment of women in policing to positions of political significance has also been a feature of the police oversight bodies established in 2006: the Garda Síochána Inspectorate, and the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission.[50] The first Chief Inspector of the Garda Síochána Inspectorate was Kathleen O'Toole, and women were appointed to Deputy Chief Inspector positions in 2006 (Gwen Boniface) and 2012 (Heather Baily).[51] Since its inception in 2006, Carmel Foley has been one of three members of the Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission.[52] 'The production of police history is deeply implicated in broader

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[46] Jennifer Brown, 'Discriminatory Experiences of Women Police. A comparison of officers serving in England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland' in *International Journal of the Sociology of Law*, 28, p. 106.

[47]Appendix to Goretti Sheridan, 'Does Gender Impact on Career Progression in the Garda Síochána?' (M.Sc. Thesis, Dublin Institute of Technology, 2009).

[48]*Garda Review*, Sept. 2003, p. 7.

[49]Garda Website, www.garda.ie/management (accessed Dec. 2013).

[50] Vicky Conway and Dermot P.J. Walsh, 'Current developments in police governance and accountability in Ireland' in *Crime, Law and Social Change*, lv, .2-3, pp 241-57.

[51]Garda Síochána Inspectorate website, www.gsinp.ie (accessed Dec. 2013).

[52] Garda Síochána Ombudsman Commission website, www.gardaombudsman.ie (accessed Dec. 2013).

debates over police legitimacy,' Aogán Mulcahy has asserted of police forces generally.[53] This thesis will offer an authoritative and comprehensive account of women in policing in Ireland, not subject to institutional imperatives.

Application of the theme of women in policing in this thesis has been informed by the work of Louise Jackson and Barbara Weinberger, and that of criminologist Frances Heidensohn.[54] Weinberger and Jackson have posited important revisions and alternative interpretations to Heidensohn's work. It is proposed here to outline briefly the most significant aspects of this scholarship. Heidensohn provided a comparative analysis of women in policing in Britain and the U.S.A. that included a significant historical dimension. Heidensohn's work was partially based on published material but interviews with policewomen formed the major element of her research. Heidensohn observed 'notable parallels' in the national histories of women in policing in the U.S.A. and in Britain: 'Women organized and campaigned in the U.S.A. and England for women police, women themselves sought office. For much of the twentieth century, women were a tiny minority of officers in both nations, confined to specialist roles, and this was, on the whole, what the campaigning pioneers had sought.'[55] Heidensohn proposed a periodisation of the history of women in policing as one of 'broadly two stages: the first from the 1900s to the 1970s was a phase of specialism and protective activities, in the second women became integrated into ordinary police work'.[56] Heidensohn further sub-divided that first stage, 'from the 1900s to the 1970s' into four phases: '1. Moral reform, rescue and matrons (1840-1910/15); 2: Specialists and pioneers (1910/15 - 30); 3: Latency and depression (1930-45); 4: Informal expansion (1945-70).'[57]

Louise Jackson presented a history of the experience in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.[58] Jackson's research was based on archival material, autobiographical writing, cartoon imagery, and a programme of oral history interviews with retired policewomen. Jackson revised Heidensohn's scheme of periodisation with regard to the UK

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[53] Aogán Mulcahy, 'Policing History: The official discourse and organizational memory of the Royal Ulster Constabulary' in *British Journal of Criminology*, xl (2000) p. 69.

[54] Frances Heidensohn, *Women in control?: the role of women in law enforcement* (Oxford, 1992); Jennifer Brown and Frances Heidensohn, *Gender and policing: comparative perspectives* (Basingstoke, 2000); Frances Heidensohn, *Sexual politics and social control* (Buckingham, 2000); Louise A. Jackson, *Women Police: gender, welfare and surveillance in the twentieth century* (Manchester, 2006); Barbara Weinberger, *The best police in the world. An oral history of English policing from the 1930s to the 1960s* (Aldershot, 1995).

[55] Heidensohn, *Women in control*, p. 29.

[56] Ibid., p.229

[57] Ibid., p. 40.

[58] Jackson, *Women Police*.

case. Jackson wrote that 'far from being a "latency" period' as had been suggested, the inter-war years were a period in which a number of influential female officers built 'a solid foundation upon which to capitalize when war broke out'.[59] In a second revision of Heidensohn's periodisation, Jackson diminished the significance of organizational integration in the 1970s in Britain. Her study suggested that the formal integration of women in UK policing had been effectively pre-empted by operational developments in many forces during the 1960s, with the dispersal of policewomen from city stations and women's departments to smaller, peripheral stations.[60]

Policing in a number of English forces was the subject of Barbara Weinberger's book, but the extent and significance of her work on the theme of women in policing merits consideration here. Weinberger remarked on the implications of reliance on serving police personnel as a subject group for historical research of female police experience. She pointed to the likely effect of subsequent and current police membership on their view of the past.[61] Where Heidensohn and Jackson accentuated how women occupied a position of expertise in some spheres of policing during the middle-third of the century, Weinberger posited 'a less positive but probably more realistic view' that 'the specialist and separate position of women police in the latency period was the only way in which they could have functioned without too much hostility and hindrance from their male colleagues'.[62] She suggested that female police association with 'specialisms' may be interpreted as 'a sign of women's weakness within the male-dominated bastion of police work, and not one of strength – however great their expertise'.[63]

Female entry to policing has been noted to have involved an innovation in occupational terms, rather than merely the entry of women to a previously male occupation. Frances Heidensohn remarked that: 'While women had joined the conventional police agencies and sought police powers, there developed, certainly initially, a very distinctive phenomenon that one might call, were it not so clumsy a term, 'policewomaning'.[64] Brown and Heidensohn suggested that the 'pioneers of policing for women 'had invented 'a new form of social control'.[65] Jackson wrote that: 'among women's occupations, it was only in policing (and after 1949 in the military) that

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[59] Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 41.
[60] Ibid., p. 201.
[61] Weinberger, *Best police in the world*, p. 99.
[62] Ibid., p. 102.
[63] Ibid., p. 102.
[64] Heidensohn, *Women in control*, p. 229.
[65] Brown and Heidensohn, *Gender and policing*, p. 153.

arguments about gender difference - which were crucial in gaining initial recognition and admittance - were institutionalized internally through a separate career structure: the 'force within the force'.[66]

(III) The theme and Irish history

Given the absence of any sustained treatment of the theme of women in Irish policing, this thesis is situated in a historiographical space between areas, or sub-genres, of modern Irish history. A discussion of those sub-genres and their relation to this thesis is offered here as a means of priming the reader to the thesis that is to follow. The first of those is the history of policing; the second is a new social history, interested in institutional mechanisms of control and regulation; and the third is the history of feminist activism in Ireland. The negligible treatment of female policing in the south of Ireland may be largely explained with reference to material facts such as their slight number, ambivalent police status, and the discreet and conventionally low-status nature of the main duties that were assigned to them. Women in policing constituted a marginal and anomalous subject group, ill-fitted to comprehensive treatment within orthodox genres.

Sub-genre (a): police history

The historiography of twentieth century Irish policing is heavily concerned with the political aspect of policing, and, with respect to the Garda histories, is itself a rather politicized literature.[67] It mainly comprises studies of the paramilitary colonial police during the Anglo-Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), histories of the first decades of the Garda (1920s-c.1960), and journalistic and legalistic treatments of particular policing controversies since the mid-1970.[68] These works make scant reference to the matter of female policing or its

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[66] Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 201.

[67] A survey of Irish police historiography is offered in Elizabeth Malcolm, *The Irish policeman 1822-1922: A life*, (Dublin, 2006) pp 25-35.

[68] Richard Bennett, *The Black and Tans* (1975); Ernest McCall, *The Auxiliaries: Tudor's toughs* (Newtonards, 2010); D.M. Leeson, *The Black and Tans: British police and auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920-1921* (Oxford, 2011); Joe Joyce and Peter Murtagh, *Blind justice* (Dublin, 1984); Gene Kerrigan, *Round up the usual suspects: Nicky Kelly & the Cosgrave Coalition* (Dublin, 1984); Barry O'Halloran, *Lost Innocence: The inside story of the Kerry babies mystery* (Dublin, 1985); Tom Inglis, *Truth, power and lies: Irish society and the case of the Kerry babies* (Dublin, 2003); Gerard Colleran & Michael O'Regan, *Dark secrets* (Kerry, 1985); Nell McCafferty, *A woman to blame. The Kerry babies case* (Dublin, 1985); Vicky Conway, *The blue wall of silence: the Morris Tribunal and police accountability in Ireland* (Dublin, 2010); Denis J. O'Kelly, *Salute to the Gardaí. A story of struggle and achievement* (Dublin, 1958); Séamus Breathnach, *The Irish Police – from earliest times to the present day* (Dublin, 1974); John D.

particularities. Up to very recently, histories of the Garda were swathed in occupational ties to the force and were in a traditional, generally celebratory vein, exemplified by the dominant work in the field by Conor Brady.[69] Brady's argument as to the distinctiveness of the Garda from the R.I.C. underlined features of discontinuity with the R.I.C. that had been emphasised by the nationalist state and nationalist police leadership, particularly General Eoin O'Duffy, Garda Commissioner 1922-1933, and Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Justice. Brady attributed acceptance of Garda legitimacy to: greater discretion in non-prosecution; the unarmed identity of the Garda; and the Garda's espousal of the Gaelic language and Gaelic sports.[70] It was through participation in and promotion of Gaelic sports that the Garda are reputed in Brady's memorable phrase, to have 'played their way into the hearts of the people'.[71] Brady's interpretation is not fully reconciled with his detailed exposition of important technical and structural continuities between the Garda and its colonial predecessor with the colonial system.[72]

Brady's account of broad public acceptance of the legitimacy of the Garda has been generally unchallenged since it was presented in the 1970s.[73] The legal scholarship of Dermot Walsh, centrally concerned with considerations of police accountability, suggested some shortcomings to the statist nature of Brady's work. The 'best of both worlds' was how Brady described the position of the Free State Government under the structure of police management that it established. [74] The deleterious implications of this system were suggested by Dermot Walsh, where Brady's phrase rings hollow:

> In many respects this dysfunction between the constitutional theory of police independence and the practice of government control gives the government the best of both worlds. It can rely on its de facto authority to ensure that the [sic] its policing priorities are put into practice when the need arises. Equally, however, it can appeal to the doctrine of police independence to disclaim

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Brewer, 'The Republic of Ireland' in John D. Brewer, Adrian Guelke, Ian Hume, Edward Moxon-Browne and Rick Wilford (eds), *The Police, Public Order and the State* (2nd ed., Basingstoke, 1996) pp 85-107; Liam McNiffe, *A history of the Garda Síochána : a social history of the force 1922-52, with an overview for the years 1952-97* (Dublin, 1997); Gregory Allen, *The Garda Síochána : policing independent Ireland 1922-82* (Dublin, 1999); Conor Brady, *Guardians of the Peace* (2nd ed., Dublin, 2000).

[69] O'Kelly, *Salute*; Breathnach, *Irish Police*; McNiffe, *History of the Garda*; Allen, *The Garda*; Brady, *Guardians*.

[70] Brady's comment as to differences of religion and nationality between the population and senior RIC officers are supported by Fergus Campbell, 'The social composition of the senior officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary, 1881-1911' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvi, 144 (Nov.2009), p. 531.

[71] Brady, *Guardians*, p. 117.

[72] Brady Thesis, Chapter 8.

[73] A rare counter-interpretation is suggested by Johnny Connolly, 'Policing Ireland: Past, present and future', in Paul O'Mahony (ed.), *Criminal Justice in Ireland* (Dublin, 2002), pp 327-36.

[74] Brady Thesis, Chap. 8, p. 8.

> political responsibility for policing policies and practices which provoke public concern.[75]

Walsh cautiously distinguished between the interests of the State and the interests of police efficacy. The service of the Garda as 'the general factotum of central government and, perhaps, of society,' was, in Walsh's view, 'not necessarily in the best interests of the force itself or of the policing service which it provides.'[76] Walsh suggested that parliament had failed to fulfil its potential as 'a police accountability mechanism', and perceived there to be a parliamentary 'convention that the Commissioner, Garda management, specific Garda policies or operations should not be criticized directly.'[77] Walsh suggested that parliamentary 'timidity in these matters' was partly related to 'access to information'.[78]

Vicky Conway's recent study constituted a partial departure from the vein of celebratory nationalist, statist police history.[79] This was evident from her interest in police mis-conduct controversies in the 1970s and in the 2000s. The departure is only partial and belated, however, due to an acknowledged reliance on existent 'excellent histories' of the period up to 1960, leavened by use of newspaper archives.[80] The reliance of socio-legal scholars on traditional, statist accounts, is problematic, as it tends to sustain those orthodoxies, and to sustain a rather one-dimensional impression of the past as a closed-off and sharply differentiated period. An appreciation of the shortcomings of existent histories, and the continued reliance upon them by socio-legal scholars demonstrates that further historical study of the Garda, such as that conducted for this thesis, is necessary, in order that a more rounded and more sophisticated historical understanding of the police past may develop.

Sub-genre (b): new social history

The new social history of contemporary Ireland is relevant to this thesis on account of its interest in women's formal interactions with the criminal justice system and its exposure of police shortcomings related to the traditional sphere of women in policing. The first of those themes has emerged from academic scholarship concerned with the control and regulation of women and children through legal processes. Much of this work has been based on studies of

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[75] Walsh, *Irish police,* p. 139.
[76] Ibid., p. 172.
[77] Ibid., p. 402.
[78] Ibid., p. 404.
[79] Vicky Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland. A history of An Garda Síochána* (Oxford, 2014).
[80] Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland*, pp 5, 219.

particular crimes: prostitution, infanticide, and abortion; and broader studies of social policy and society.[81] A feature of the work of scholars in this field has been the use of court records as a major source on women's interactions with the justice system.[82] Policewomen have not figured in these studies, which have been primarily concerned with defendants and witnesses. This thesis will present an account of the role of a small number of women within the criminal justice apparatus, and, will consider their role in relation to other female criminal justice actors.

Contemporary Irish social history has been dominated in recent years by a series of State historical inquiries. The treatment of young women and children in industrial and reformatory schools was the subject of a major historical inquiry, the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, and the role of the State in the administration and regulation of Magdalen Laundries was the subject of an inquiry by an inter-departmental committee. [83] The responses to allegations of sexual abuse by priests of three Catholic dioceses was the subject of reports with respect to the dioceses of: Ferns (1962-2002); Dublin (mainly 1975-2004, but with some reference to earlier allegations); and Cloyne (1996-2009).[84] These reports referred to Garda engagement with children and young women, a sphere of police activity associated in many countries with policewomen since the First World War era. A notable feature of these reports was the conspicuous absence of policewomen. These reports have prompted significant

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[81] Sandra Ruth Larmour, 'Aspects of the state and female sexuality in the Irish Free State, 1922-1949' (Ph.D Thesis, National University of Ireland, Cork, 1988); Sandra McAvoy, 'Before Cadden: Abortion in Mid-Twentieth Century Ireland', in Keogh, O'Shea & Quinlan, *Ireland: the lost decade in the 1950s* (Dublin 2004), pp147-163; Clíona Rattigan, *'What else could I do?' : single mothers and infanticide, Ireland 1900-1950* (Dublin, 2012); Moira Maguire, *Precarious childhood in post-independence Ireland* (Manchester, 2009).

[82] R.S. Rose, 'An outline of fertility control, focusing on the element of abortion in the Republic of Ireland to 1976' (Ph.D Thesis, University of Stockholm, 1976); Sandra Larmour [m. McAvoy], 'Aspects of the State and Female Sexuality in the Irish Free State, 1922-1949' (Ph.D. Thesis, University College, Cork, 1998); Clíona Rattigan, '"Shocking revelations": private lives made public during the course of infanticide trials in Ireland 1922-49', pp104-123 in Sarah O'Connor& Christopher Shepard (eds), *Women, social and cultural change in Ireland: Dissenting Voices?* (Newcastle, 2008); '"Crimes of passion of the worst character": Abortion cases and gender in Ireland, 1925-1950' in Maryann Valiulis, (ed.), *Gender and power in Irish History* (Dublin 2009), pp115-39; Clíona Rattigan, '"Dark spots" in Irish society: unmarried motherhood, crime and prosecution in Ireland, 1900-1950' (PhD thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2008)Sarah-Anne Buckley, '"In the Eyes of the Law": Class, gender and violent crime in Ireland, 1922-45' (Ph.D Thesis, University College, Cork, 2010).

[83] *Commission of Inquiry into Child Abuse Report* (Vols. i-v, Dublin, 2009) [henceforth *C.I.C.A. Report*]; *Commission of Investigation Report into the Catholic Archdiocese of Dublin* (Dublin, 2009) [Murphy Report]; *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee to establish the facts of State involvement with the Magdalen Laundries* (Dublin, 2013) [Magdalen Laundries Report].

[84] *The Ferns Report* (Dublin, 2005); *Murphy Report* (Dublin, 2009). Commission of Investigation, *Report into the Catholic Diocese of Cloyne* (Dublin, 2010) [hereafter *Cloyne Report*]. For clarity: Frank Murphy chaired the Ferns Inquiry (Ferns Report); Yvonne Murphy chaired the investigation into the Archdiocese of Dublin (*Murphy Report*), and the investigation with respect to the diocese of Cloyne (*Cloyne Report*).

criticism of 'the State' due to its role in the exposure of children to mistreatment and abuse, a role in which the Garda were prominent as prosecutors of juvenile crime, escorts of juveniles committed to residential institutions, putative ostensible 'guardians' of the vulnerable, and as actual and putative criminal investigators.[85] The C.I.C.A. reported that:

> Professionals and others including Government Inspectors, Gardaí, general practitioners, and teachers had a role in relation to various aspects of children's welfare while they were in schools and institutions.[...] Witnesses commented that while many of those people were aware that life for children in the schools and institutions was difficult they failed to take action to protect them.[86]

In her *Policing in Twentieth Century Ireland*, Vicky Conway noted that: 'It was the gardaí who delivered children, young people and pregnant women to the schools where abuse was systematic'.[87] Conway proceeded to refer to the Garda as 'the gateway to the system to which they were consigned due to poverty or criminal offending' and asserted that: 'gardaí witnessed first-hand the conditions in these schools and did nothing.'[88] This thesis will examine the role of policewomen in the committal and conveyance of children to residential institutions. The slight number of policewomen, and their subaltern status up to 1959, is suggestive of the perceived low importance attached to this sphere of work by the criminal justice authorities.

These official histories were undoubtedly injurious to the historical reputation of the Garda in significant respects, despite the generally individualized nature of explicit criticisms of the police. It had been suggested by one criminologist as early as 1996 that the Garda had 'colluded in a process of diverting sexual abuse cases from the criminal justice system, thereby burying them and screening them from the public scrutiny they deserve'.[89] The Garda Síochána issued an apology for historical shortcomings in relation to child sexual abuse, and the Garda Síochána Inspectorate published a report in 2010, *Responding to Child Sexual Abuse*.[90] 'An Garda Síochána has informed the [Ferns] Inquiry that they are not in a position generally to conduct an investigation on the basis of rumour or suspicion' or 'an allegation or rumour

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[85] Lindsey Earner-Byrne, 'Child Sexual Abuse, History, and the Pursuit of Blame in Modern Ireland' in Kate Holmes & Stuart Ward (eds.), *Exhuming Passions: The Pressure of the Past in Ireland and Australia* (Dublin, 2011) p. 67; Anthony Keating, 'Marlborough House: A case study of neglect' in *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, xciii, 371 (Autumn 2004), p. 334.
[86] *C.I.C.A. Report*, Executive Summary, p. 17.
[87] Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland*, p. 170.
[88] Ibid., p. 170.
[89] Paul O'Mahony, *Criminal Chaos: Seven Crises in Irish criminal justice* (Dublin, 1996), p. 157.
[90] Garda Síochána Inspectorate, *Responding to child sexual abuse* (Dublin, 2010) addressed shortcomings raised in the the Ferns, Ryan, and Murphy Reports.

unsubstantiated by a formal complaint'.[91] The Ferns Report noted 'the reluctance of victims, whether children or adults, to report abuse to statutory authorities', and referred to a need that Garda investigators 'be trained in how to interview children appropriately and be able to provide a child friendly environment for this to take place.'[92] The *Ferns Report* found that 'Before 1990 there appears to have been reluctance on the part of individual Gardaí to investigate properly some cases of child sexual abuse that came to their attention,' stated the Ferns Report. Both the Ferns and the Murphy reports identified the phase between an initial report or allegation to the Garda and the lodgement of a formal complaint as crucial to the police response. The Ferns Inquiry expressed 'the view that where a complaint of sexual abuse is made by females, particularly in the case of sexual abuse of a minor, then at least one member of the investigation team should be female.'[93]

The apparent absence of policewomen from these reports, involving as they did areas of policing with which women in policing were strongly associated in other jurisdictions, underscores the imperative that the participation and performance of women in policing in Ireland and the management of female policing be examined. Policewomen are scarcely mentioned in these official accounts of the relationship of the State to industrial schools, reformatories, and Magdalen Laundries, and are conspicuously absent from accounts of the Garda response to cases of reported sexual crime up to the 1990s. If policewomen did exist, albeit in small numbers, what were they doing? It may be remarked that the apparent absence of policewomen suggested by these reports bears manifest relation to the policing challenges described in the reports such as non-reporting by victims and reluctance by victims to present a formal complaint. Direct involvement in soliciting a formal statement for the purpose of prosecution was a major aspect of the work of women in policing, as noted in studies of other police forces, such as the London Metropolitan Police. [94]

Sub-genre (c): history of feminist activism

Feminist activism during the period from the establishment of a nationalist state up to the Second World War, has received a good deal of historical consideration.[95] Treatment of the

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[91] *Ferns Report*, p. 253.

[92] Ibid., p. 264. The Report added: 'Specialist child protection units in Northern Ireland are highly regarded and considered essential by police and social services, and could provide a useful model for implementation in the Republic.'

[93] Ibid., p. 234.

[94] Joan Lock, *The British Policewoman: Her Story* (London, 1979), p. 132;

[95] Maryann Gialanella Valiulis, 'Defining their role in the new state: Irishwomen's protest against the Juries Act of 1927', *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, xviii, 1, (Dec. 1991-Jul. 1992), pp 43-60; Maria

post-war period, a crucial phase in the campaign for female police, have been relatively slight, and have tended to place emphasis on more moderate, participatory organisations, such as the housewives movement and the Irish Countrywomen's Association.[96] With respect to the 'middle decades' of the twentieth century, Linda Connolly has observed that: 'Women's historians have clearly revealed that contrary to the received view that the women's movement 'disappeared' in this period, first-wave feminist activists did continue to organise politically in the post-independence period and although their opposition was limited and constrained, it highlights the need for a deeper understanding of the impact of organised feminist resistance in this period.'[97] Connolly's analysis focussed on the role of two 'moderate but larger women's groups', the Irish Countrywomen's Association (I.C.A.), and the Irish Housewives Association (I.H.A.), which she described as 'abeyance organisations'. Connolly noted that: 'Clearly, both the I.H.A. and I.C.A., in cooperation with a core cadre of feminist activists who merged with a surviving network of pre-suffrage activists, maintained a threat of historical continuity between the first and second waves of the women's movement.'[98]

In its treatment of the campaign for female police, this thesis presents a detailed study of an important element of feminist activism during the middle decades of the century. This campaign was an abiding interest of members of the 'core cadre' of Irish feminism and directed by a crucial, centralizing and coordinating agency, the Joint Committee of Women's Societies and Social Workers. This thesis will consider the theme over an extended period which will allow for an analysis of how the conduct of the campaign developed and an appraisal of its immediate and long-term impact. Secondly, this thesis will examine the participation of non-élite individuals in activism that had a substantial effect on their working lives and that also had wider social implications. Historical treatments of female participation in electoral politics in Ireland during the period of this thesis have argued that female politicians were creatures of political parties, and failed to exert political impact.[99] 'Maurice

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Luddy, 'The problem of equality: Women's activist campaigns in Ireland, 1920-40' in Thomas E. Hachey, *Turning Points in Twentieth-Century Irish History* (Dublin, 2011) pp 57-76; Caitríona Beaumont, 'Women & the politics of equality: the Irish women's movement, 1930-1943' in Maryann Gialanella Valiulis and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *Women & Irish history. Essays in honour of Margaret MacCurtain* (Dublin, 1997) pp 173-88.

[96] Diarmaid Ferriter, *Mothers, maidens and myths: a history of the Irish Countrywomen's Association* (Dublin, 1995); Hilda Tweedy, *A link in the chain: the story of the Irish Housewives Association 1942-1992* (Dublin, 1992).

[97] Linda Connolly, *The Irish women's movement: from revolution to devolution* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 59.

[98] Connolly, *Irish women's movement*, p. 80.

[99] Maurice Manning, 'Women in Irish national and local politics, 1922-'77' in Margaret MacCurtain and Donnacha O Corráin, *Women in Irish society the historical dimension* (Dublin, 1978) pp 93-102; Mary Clancy, 'Aspects of women's contribution to the Oireachtas Debate in the Irish Free State, 1922-'37' in

Manning delivered 'a resounding no' in response to his question as to whether or not 'these 24 women in the Dáil made any significant contribution to our laws or to national debate on important matters.''[100] Consideration of the relationship of the campaign for female police to electoral politics, and in particular, to female politicians, will offer a detailed basis on which to review previous historical appraisals of female parliamentary participation.

IV: Outline of thesis, justification of structure, and reference to major sources

The thesis comprises six chapters that are organized on broadly chronological lines. The chronological approach is suitable to redress the fragmentary and partial nature of the existent literature, as commented on above. It was considered that a chronological format was best suited to the presentation of this thesis, given its paramount investigative aim. The adoption of a chronological format was regarded as that best suited to the examination of a single theme through a series of phases across a broad time period: plainclothes police 'sisterhood', paramilitary policing, maternalist policing, and differentiated professionalism.

The first chapter is concerned with the dramatic and dynamic first phase of women in policing. This phase occurred within a relatively short period, 1915-1921, a period of militarism and intensifying revolutionary ferment that was crucial to all aspects of this phase of female policing in Ireland. The first section of this chapter is concerned with the Women Patrol scheme of the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland. Court records at the National Archives, Dublin (N.A.I.), archives of women's organisations at the National Archives and at the Representative Church Body Library, Dublin (R.C.B.); newspaper archives; and the Census of Ireland, 1901 and 1911, will be drawn on here. Treatment of this development, and the continuing operations of the voluntary Women Patrols, is based on records of the colonial administration, including records at the National Archives, Kew (N.A.U.K.), police and suffragist periodicals, a surviving report of the Irish Women Patrols at the Dublin Diocesan Archives (D.D.A.), and a summary service record of one of the policewomen at the Garda Archive (G.A.). Treatment of the counter-revolutionary female

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Maria Luddy and Clíona Murphy, *Women surviving. Studies in Irish women's history in the 19th and 20th centuries* (Dublin, 1990) pp206-32; Yvonne Galligan, Kathleen Knight, and Una Nic Giolla Choille, 'Pathways to power: women in the Oireachtas, 1919-2000' in Maedbh McNamara and Paschal Mooney, *Women in parliament. Ireland: 1918-2000* (Dublin, 2000), pp 27-69.

[100] Manning, 'Women in Irish National and Local politics', p. 96.

police mission to Ireland is based on Bureau of Military History witness statements (B.M.H.); press reports; and accounts presented by Mary Allen, Commandant of the W.A.S..

The second chapter is concerned with women in policing under the nationalist regime. Female police personnel were a feature of the short-lived Criminal Investigation Department (1921-23), and of the D.M.P.. The treatment of the clandestine 'special' police role of the C.I.D. along with the largely civil police role of the 'policewomen' of the D.M.P. will allow for an appreciation of the broad nature of the female police role in the early years of the nationalist State. Records of the Irish Free State administration at the National Archives, court records, newspaper archives, parliamentary debates, and material at the Garda Archive are the basis for this section of the thesis. The structuring of the second chapter on these lines will allow for some direct comparison between developments in independent Ireland and developments in Northern Ireland during this formative period, based on early archives of the Northern Ireland government at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, including records related to its Police Reorganisation Committee.

The third chapter is concerned with a process that occurred at one remove from operational policing: the campaign for a formal, regularized police role for women during the 1930s and 1940s. The feminist activists that mounted this campaign were aware of the existence and work of the few women in policing in Dublin at that time but do not appear to have sought their engagement with the campaign. Attention is given to major developments in female policing in Britain during the period in this chapter, since consideration of the subject in Ireland occurred in the context of a pivotal period in female policing in Britain. Direct representation to central government was the main mode of this campaign, which included an attempt to convince the authorities to employ female police in Cork. This chapter draws extensively on government archives at the National Archives, including records of an official inquiry as to the potential for female police in Cork. Internal records of the Joint Committee of Women's Societies and Social Workers, which led the campaign, also held at the National Archives, were a major source for this chapter. In 1943, the R.U.C. began to recruit women as full members of the force, following representations to government by civil society interests. This chapter will refer to that development in relation to the much longer comparable campaign in independent Ireland.

The fourth chapter examines the recruitment and duties of a second generation of unofficial, plainclothes policewomen in Dublin in the 1950s. This chapter is based on material at Garda

Archives and on material in private collections retained by relatives of three of the women, which include notebooks, photographs, and a work logbook. Noted interviews with one of the Women Assistants, now deceased, and with the children of two other Women Assistants, also contributed to the research of this chapter. The fulfilment of escort duty by these women was one aspect of the gendering of roles associated with the Dublin Children's Court during this period.

The fifth chapter examines the admission of women to membership of the police in the 1950s in the context of police reform and a perceptible change in the relationship between society and the police. Newspapers were a forum for a re-negotiation of police-public relations during the 1950s that had implications for the management of the Garda. This chapter will pick-up the campaign for a female police role in this decade, a period in which it broadened its base of support through a greater engagement with electoral politics. This final phase of the feminist campaign is documented in the records of the J.C.W.S.S.W. at the National Archives, in local government reports, and in parliamentary reports. Noted interviews with two senior civil servants of the Department of Justice, one of whom drafted the Garda Bill that provided for the admission of women to the Garda, contributed to the research for this chapter. The chapter draws on relevant Garda memoirs, and on the *Garda Review*, in its investigation of change within the Garda at this time. This chapter explains how a sensational episode was crucial in precipitating support for the proposal to admit women to the Garda.

The sixth chapter examines the first two decades of female membership of the Garda. This thesis will demonstrate that the period 1958-78 may be categorised as a distinct phase in the history of female policing in Ireland. This chapter is based on official sources at Garda Archives and the National Archives, and parliamentary reports. The operational focus of the chapter is informed by the use of newspaper archives, court records, and evidence presented to a state commission of inquiry that convened in 1968 and reported in 1970. As previously mentioned, the chapter includes a case study of female policing in Cork, where Ban Ghardaí were permanently stationed from 1962. In 1977-78 the number of Garda policewomen doubled, they achieved parity of pay with male colleagues, and they were assigned on a permanent basis to stations outside major cities for the first time. These developments constituted a watershed in the history of women in policing and mark the narrative closing point of this thesis.

'Policewomen's low numbers, together with their low status has rendered them nearly invisible to the historian, with historical accents focussing almost exclusively on the male police force.'[101] The fact of female policing is noteworthy in its own terms, due to its endurance and consistency, despite its marginal and provisional technical basis. It is also highly novel in the context of the strongly gendered identity of the Garda as a police force. Examination of the role of women within the Garda establishment, before and subsequent to the admission of women as members of the force, will offer a basis for a grounded exploration of gender identity in the force and in Irish society. Although female policing was performed by a small number of women, all of whom were based in Dublin, previous research has shown that the role of women in policing was a long-standing issue of keen interest to feminist activists in Ireland. The history of women in policing bears direct relation to themes of acute public historical sensitivity in twenty-first-century Ireland, such as historical child sex abuse and the role of the State in the historical maltreatment and exploitation of children and young women. We turn now to examine the first phase of female participation in policing, in which moral and welfare concerns were central features.

[101] Marisa Silvestri, *Women in Charge: Policing, Gender and Leadership* (Cullompton, 2003), p. 45.

Chapter One: Women Patrols and 'Women Police' in Ireland, 1915-21

This chapter examines the period 1915 to 1921 with respect to two major developments: the establishment of a full-time female police role in the D.M.P. and in the R.I.C., and the deployment of some members of a private female police and security agency, the Women's Auxiliary Service, with the police-led counter-insurgency in Ireland. While those developments hinged on the authorisation of the police authorities, it will be seen that female activism during the First World War was crucial to both developments. In both the case of the employment of policewomen in Dublin and Belfast, and in the deployment of female police searchers, police authorities drew on independent female proto-police organisations. The Dublin branch of a voluntary feminist civic patrol organisation, the Irish Women Patrols of the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland (N.U.W.W., later National Council of Women), was instrumental to the employment of women by the Dublin Metropolitan Police and by the R.I.C. in Belfast. The first female recruits to the D.M.P. and the R.I.C. were sent for a short period of training in London with a private female security agency that aspired to state recognition, the Women Police Service. When female searchers were sought to work with the R.I.C., they were procured from that organisation, by then known as the Women's Auxiliary Service (W.A.S.).

'Nobody thinks of women in connection with ordinary policework, which demands considerable strength,' remarked a national newspaper, in January 1914.[1] Reports of the tentative incursion of women into the police establishment in America had featured by that time in the Dublin press (Figure 1).[2] In the early 1910s, police forces in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Toronto, and other north American cities began to employ women in full-time police roles, under the titles of 'detective', 'policewoman', and 'patrolman'.[3] In June 1914 an amendment to the Criminal Justice Administration Bill was proposed by Lord Henry Bentinck which sought to provide for the appointment of women constables by police authorities.[4] Although this amendment failed, it indicates that the concept had caught hold as a political proposition by that time. From about 1915, 'in imitation of America, the employment of

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[1] *Freeman's Journal*, 2 Jan. 1914.
[2] 'No doubt there will be some people who will be inclined to look on the proposal [to establish women patrols in Ireland] rather as a joke than otherwise.' *Irish Times*, 14 Jan. 1915..
[3] Kerry Segrave, *Policewomen: A history* (London, 1995), pp 10-13.
[4] Woolacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend*, p. 171, cites Chloe Owings, *Women Police: A study of the development and status of the women police movement* (New York, 1925) p. 4.

women on definite police work has been an accomplished fact', the Inspector of Constabulary for England and Wales advised a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry on the subject in 1920.[5]

Figure 1: *Leprecaun*, Mar. 1913[6]

Origin of the Women Patrols

The changed circumstances caused by the First World War was the major underlying context to the development of a female civic patrol scheme that would prove crucial to the realization of a paid female police role. War conditions on the home front created greater opportunity for casual sexual relationships between young men and women, carried on in parks, theatres, and walkways. Subsequent recollections located pronounced social change as having occurred during the war. A London police magistrate remembered 'The shocking licence which existed between soldiers and quite young girls during the war,' and suggested that 'the working-girls

[5] *Committee on the Employment of Women on Police Duties. Minutes of evidence of the Committee*, p. 10, [Cmd. 1133,] H.C. 1921, xvi.73 (hereafter: *Baird Committee Minutes*).
[6] I am grateful to Ciarán Wallace for referring me to this cartoon.

of today lost their sense of modesty during the war'.[7] Dublin before the war was remembered by an Irish Lawyer, Kevin O'Sheil, as 'mainly a man's city', in which 'No women smoked tobacco or drank alcohol, or, if she did, she indulged her "vice" in secret.'[8] Irish nationalist Helena Molony suggested that 'Many thousands of innocent young country girls, up in Dublin, at domestic service mostly, were dazzled by these handsome and brilliant uniforms [...] often with disastrous results to themselves.'[9] 'In Belfast up to the present war, no respectable girl would be seen with a soldier,' Dr Prudence Gaffikin, told to a Women's National Health Association meeting in 1915. 'Now, however, for the first time the girls' sweethearts and brothers had openly joined the army and the situation had changed.'[10] A Dublin newspaper feature referred to female policing as 'of greatest importance to the young and foolish girl wayfarers who go hither and thither under cover of darkness in pursuit of adventure and excitement'.[11]

Suffragism brought politically conscious women into personal confrontation with the police and the legal system. War-time conditions encouraged suffrage campaigners to modulate their activities. With the outbreak of war, 'both militant and constitutional feminisms were publicly laying aside their political claims on the state in deference to the cause of national unity.'[12] The N.U.W.W.'s women patrol scheme intended that local branches of the organisation would organise women to act as volunteer civic patrols with police authorisation. At a practical level, it was intended to allow women to invoke police authority on a formal and official basis to address public licentiousness, particularly associated with relations between soldiers and young women. At a strategic level, the attainment of a paid female police function was an express objective of the scheme. The N.U.W.W.'s women patrol scheme intended that local branches of the organisation would organise women to act as volunteer civic patrols with police authorisation.

In October 1914 the N.U.W.W. encouraged police authorities to authorise the operation of women patrols in their areas, and proposed that approved volunteers be issued with a card affirming this endorsement.[13] Central government support for the scheme was secured, based

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[7] Henry Turner Waddy, *The Police Court and Its Work* (London, 1925), pp 153-4.
[8] Witness Statement 1770, Kevin R. O'Sheil, pp 218-9 (N.A.I., Bureau of Military History).
[9] WS 391, Helena Molony, p. 3 (N.A.I., B.M.H.).
[10] *Freeman's Journal*, 15 Apr. 1915.
[11] *Weekly Irish Times*, 20 Oct. 1917.
[12] Philippa Levine, '"Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should": Women Police in World War I' in *The Journal of Modern History*, lxvi, 1, (Mar., 1994), p. 39.
[13] *Constabulary Gazette*, 11 May 1918.

on the expectation that the patrols would be conducted 'in the vicinity of military camps' and to meet the concerns of the War Office that sexually active women not be permitted near these camps.[14] The Women Patrol organisation was widely successful in soliciting participation. The N.U.W.W. recorded that by October 1915 the movement numbered 2,031 women patrols at 108 affiliated centres in Britain and Ireland.[15] Branches formed in Cape Town, Durban, and Vancouver, similarly affiliated with the N.U.W.W. central organising committee in London. By 1920, the central organisers estimated that over 4,000 women had been enrolled as participants.[16]

Implementation of scheme in Ireland

Anna Maria Haslam, a prominent veteran feminist campaigner, was the moving figure in the adoption of the N.U.W.W.'s women patrol scheme in Ireland. She and her husband Thomas have been described as representative of 'a tradition of middle-class liberal unionist reformism'.[17] Through her opposition to the Contagious Diseases Act in the 1870s, Haslam became a member of the central executive of the Ladies National Association of Britain and Ireland. Haslam was most closely associated in Dublin with the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association (I.W.S.L.G.A.), a 'non-militant', 'non-party' suffrage organisation, which had supported other forms of voluntary war-work.[18] Haslam was a member of the central committee of the N.U.W.W. between 1897 and 1907. She resumed a vice-presidency of the N.U.W.W. in 1915, which coincided with her pivotal interest in the organisation of the Irish Women Patrols.[19] Haslam initiated a committee on a broad footing to organise patrols in Dublin. The attendance included suffragists, temperance promoters, women's welfare agencies and even an anti-suffrage organisation.[20]

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[14] 'Home Office: National Union of Women Workers organized to work in vicinity of camps etc. Police to assist Union', N.A.I., Chief Secretary's Office, Correspondence Register 296/19,255 (31 Oct. 1914).
[15] Woolacott, '"Khaki Fever"', p335, reference to: Report, November 1915, Women Patrols Committee for Scotland, N.U.W.W., 1, (T.N.A., P.R.O., HO 45/10806/309485).
[16] *Baird Committee Minutes,* 1921, p. 153.
[17] Patrick Maume, 'Haslam, Anna Maria' in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* [Online edition, http://dib.cambridge.org/] (Cambridge, 2009-) [hereafter *D.I.B.O.*] (accessed May 2014). See also, Mary Cullen, 'Anna Maria Haslam', in Mary Cullen and Maria Luddy (eds), *Women, Power and Consciousness in 19th Century Ireland* (Dublin, 1995), pp 161-96.
[18] Rosemary Cullen Owens, *Smashing Times. A history of the Irish women's suffrage movement, 1889-1922* (Dublin, 1985), p. 96.
[19] Quinlan, *Genteel Revolutionaries*, p. 181.
[20] *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Jan. 1915, p. 6.

Figure 2: Thomas & Anna Haslam, by Sarah Cecilia Harrison (1906).[21]

The Dublin Metropolitan Police was at low ebb in the winter of 1914. Violent confrontations had recently occurred during the 'Lock-out' labour dispute in 1913 and the Bachelor's Walk shootings of July 1914. These events constituted the exacerbation of 'a long-running saga of bitter confrontation between the force and a large proportion of the Dublin populace'.[22] The consequences of the Bachelor's Walk shootings included the resignation of a D.M.P. Assistant Commissioner and the resignation of the Chief Commissioner.[23] Discontent among the police was apparent in agitation for increased pay and resentment at promotion practices.[24] Many new duties fell to them, and wartime inflation threatened their relative financial position.

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[21] Image courtesy of Hugh Lane Gallery, Dublin.

[22] Brian Griffin, '"Such Varmint": The Dublin Police and the Public, 1838-1913', *Irish Studies Review*, xiii (Winter 1995), pp 21-5, reprinted in Sarah Briggs, Paul Hyland and Neil Sammells (eds), *Reviewing Ireland: Essays and Interviews from Irish Studies Review* (Bath,1998), pp 57-65. See also: Mary Scanlon, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police* (London, 1998).

[23] Eunan O'Halpin, *Decline of the Union: British government in Ireland 1892-1920* (Dublin, 1987), p104-5; Jim Herlihy, *The Dublin Metropolitan Police: a Short History and Genealogical Guide* (Dublin, 2001), pp 169-70.

[24] O'Halpin, *Decline of the Union*, p. 133.

Increased demands on manpower during the war years saw the introduction of a 'combined beat system' under which a single constable patrolled an area formerly patrolled by two or three constables in the same time.[25]

The Irish Administration was 'extremely reluctant to approve such a creation' as the Women Patrols due to concern as to the likelihood that their operation would reflect unfavourably on the Army.[26] The promoters offered the Under-Secretary for Ireland, Sir Matthew Nathan, a reassurance 'that in fact they blamed the women and not the soldiers for such lewd conduct'.[27] In late December 1914, Haslam wrote to the Chief Secretary 'as to establishment of women patrols to prevent harm to girls in the neighbourhood of places were [sic] troops are quartered in the city'.[28] When approval of the woman patrol proposal was granted in early 1915, it followed this direct representation by Haslam, and closely coincided with a change of Chief Commissioner in the D.M.P. The new Chief Commissioner, Walter Edgeworth Johnstone, while 'not in favour of appointing regular police', supported the establishment of a female evening patrol (Figure 3, below).[29] Johnstone suggested that such a patrol 'would be useful in detecting bad houses, cases of cruelty to children' and 'might intervene with effect in the case of young girls who might be in moral danger'. He also suggested that 'they could be further utilised in carrying out enquiries and taking statements in cases of rape, indecent assault, and kindred offences at a special fee per case'. Johnstone considered that 'such a patrol would be popular with the public' and 'would incidentally provide a buffer for the Government and the police against the many "purity cranks" that Dublin produces'.

In early 1915 the activists announced that the women patrol scheme had been approved and hoped 'that volunteers for this necessary work will now be forthcoming'.[30] Pairs of volunteers would be assigned to a beat, 'to make friends with the girls and gain their confidence, to warn girls behaving unsuitably, and to put them in touch with local societies, clubs, or classes'. The duty of the Patrols was 'to supervise and to persuade young girls who are found loitering or behaving in an unseemly way to go home, thus protecting the girls and taking temptation out

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[25] 'Recruiting for D.M.P.', (N.A.I., DJ H/225/2).
[26] Novick, *Conceiving Revolution: Irish nationalist propaganda during the First World War* (Dublin, 2001) p152, with ref. to: Bodleian Library, Nathan MS 467, fols. 18-19.
[27] Memoranda of Interviews: Ireland: Volume III, Oct. 1915 to May 1916, Interview with Mary Hayden and Anna Haslam, 23 Oct. 1915 (Bodleian Library, Sir Matthew Nathan Papers, Nathan MS 469).
[28] N.A.I., CSOCR, 296/22,806 (23 Dec. 1914).
[29] Chief Commissioner D.M.P., 30 Dec. 1915, 'The Employment of Female Police' [copy] (T.N.A. T/12398).
[30] *Freeman's Journal*, 2 Jan. 1915.

of the way of the men.'[31] From the outset, Haslam espoused the ambition of the N.U.W.W. that the scheme might 'lead to the organising of women police'.[32]

Figure 3: Sir Walter Edgeworth Johnstone, Chief Commissioner, Dublin Metropolitan Police, 1916-1923 (Portrait by Bassano Ltd., National Portrait Gallery, U.K.).

The initiative was accorded favourable coverage in the *Constabulary Gazette*, in the D.M.P. column in the *Irish Times*, and among that newspaper's columnists.[33] But the women patrol proposal elicited sharp criticism among some labour and radical feminist commentators in Dublin, as noted by Ben Novick and Maria Luddy.[34] *The Worker*, edited by Jim Larkin, regarded the women patrol scheme acidly, as an 'offensive and impudent attempt of a few well-to-do snobs to interfere' with working class children.[35] The paper disparaged the Patrols as caricature spinsters, and asserted that: 'The "johnnies" of the suburbs won't be interfered with, the "swanks" will still be free to swank with their ladies, the officers of the garrison will not be requested to explain their relationship to the girl in the motor car, but the poor working class girl will have a new terror added to her life.'[36]. Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, a leading Dublin militant suffragist, described the volunteers as 'lacking in status and authority', and

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[31] *Irish Times*, 14 Jan. 1915.
[32] *Irish Independent*, 4 Jan. 1915.
[33] *Irish Times*, 25 Dec. 1915.
[34] Luddy, *Prostitution* pp 175-7; Novick, *Conceiving Revolution*, p. 149. Novick attributed the critique to James Connolly, in *Workers Republic*, 9 Jan. 1915.
[35] *The Worker*, 9 Jan. 1915 (T.N.A., P.R.O., CO 904/161/7).
[36] Ibid.

anticipated that the scheme would 'easily involve additional harassing interference with women's liberties'.[37]

Figure 4: 'Worrying Tommy Atkins', from Leitrim Observer, 25 September 1915.

Recruitment of volunteers was said by the organisers to be the primary challenge faced by the organisation. An N.U.W.W. organiser visited Dublin in February 1915 to promote the scheme and advise on its implementation.[38] Haslam sought 'to interest the women in Belfast & Cork to take up similar work'.[39] A Belfast branch was established in February 1915, and Dr Prudence Gaffikin, a forty-year old, Belfast-born doctor, was its Secretary.[40] The organisers sought volunteers 'between 25 and 50 years of age', with 'tact and sympathy, some previous experience of work, good health; and the ability to give not less than two hours at least twice a week to the work.'[41] In February 1915 the 'ladies of the new force' were '19 in number'.[42] In mid-April 1915, Haslam told a meeting of the Women's National Health Association that there were 20 Patrols in Dublin.[43] In March 1916 Haslam was reported to have said that: 'They would like to have at least three couples on duty every night.'[44] 'Oh madam, you are doing splendid work – I only wish we had fifty or a hundred of you,' a report about the Patrols attributed to a

[37] *Irish Times*, 16 Jan. 1915, also reported in *The Worker*, 4 Feb. 1915.
[38] *Irish Citizen*, 13 Feb. 1915.
[39] Anna M. Haslam to Sir Matthew Nathan, Under Secretary, 3 Jan. 1915 (N.A.I., CSORP, 2654/1915).
[40] N.A.I., CSOCR 299 (1915), 2654; Dr Prudence Gaffikin, resident at Fitzwilliam Street, Belfast; Episcopalian Church of Ireland, *Census of Ireland, 1901*.
[41] *Irish Independent*, 4 Jan. 1915.
[42] *Constabulary Gazette*, 13 Feb. 1915.
[43] *Irish Independent*, 15 Apr. 1915.
[44] *Irish Times*, 31 Mar. 1916.

D.M.P. constable in October 1916.[45] Recruitment of volunteers in Belfast was initially slow, but was reported to have exceeded that of Dublin by 1918.[46] When the organisation presented its annual report for 1917, it was 'mentioned that they had 50 women patrols in Belfast'.[47] The minimum weekly commitment required of each volunteer was reduced from two evenings to one evening a week by September 1917.[48] The minimum age for volunteers increased gradually: from 27 years, it was raised to 28 in 1919, and was 29 by 1923.[49]

The vast majority of women who acted as Women Patrols were volunteers.[50] However, payments were made to some Women Patrols in London and in Dublin.[51] The Dublin Women Patrols were provided with a full-time paid welfare worker, Kathleen Veronica McLoughlin, from the Irish Girls Protection Crusade (I.G.P.C.). The I.G.P.C. was a multi-denominational agency formed in 1913 that advised and chaperoned young female travellers in Dublin.[52] The Irish Women Patrols sought to attract interest in its project from a sponsor of the I.G.P.C., the Girls' Friendly Society. The Girls' Friendly Society (G.F.S.), founded in 1875, was a Christian morality organisation centrally concerned with the chastity of single, female migrant workers in urban environments.[53] It bore close connection to the Anglican Church, and its formation by Mrs Mary Townsend was related to the initiative of an Anglican bishop. The G.F.S. was 'not consciously feminist and played no part in the campaign for female suffrage'.[54] The G.F.S., which contributed to fund the I.G.P.C., was invited to participate in the Women Patrols at an early stage.[55] The G.F.S. overcame misgivings about the political character of the organisations directly associated with the women patrol initiative. It increased its funding to the Protection Crusade to allow McLoughlin to be seconded to the Women Patrols for six months. At the end of that period, McLoughlin was recruited as an employee of the Women Patrols with the

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[45] *Weekly Irish Times*, 28 Oct. 1916. .
[46] *Irish Independent*, 15 Apr. 1915.
[47] *Weekly Irish Times*, 19 Jan. 1918.
[48] *Irish Independent*, 26 Sept. 1917.
[49] *Report of the Irish Women Patrols for 1919*, p3, (D.D.A, Byrne Papers, AB7/lay orgs.4); *Freeman's Journal*, 28 Sept. 1923.
[50] *Baird Committee, Minutes*, 1921, p. 153.
[51] For London see *Baird Committee Minutes*, 1921, p. 29.
[52] *Girls Friendly Society Report for Year ending 1913*, pp 27-30 (Representative Church Body Library, Girls Friendly Society Records, Ms. 578).
[53] Vivienne Richmond, '"It Is Not a Society for Human Beings but for Virgins": The Girls' Friendly Society Membership Eligibility Dispute 1875–1936' in *Journal of Historical* Sociology, xx, 3, (Sept. 2007), pp 304-27.
[54] Ibid., p. 305.
[55] G.F.S. Executive Committee Minute Book, 1906-1920, 15 Jan. 1915 (R.C.B., G.F.S. Records, MS 578/4/3).

consent of her former employer, the Protection Crusade.[56] The basis on which McLoughlin was involved lent a professional dimension to the Dublin Patrols from the early months of that branch's operation.

A distinguishing feature of the implementation of the women patrol scheme in Ireland was sensitivity to the issue of religious denomination. This was evident in the joint-presidency of the Irish Women Patrols, shared by Haslam and Mary Hayden, a prominent Catholic and constitutional nationalist.[57] The 'Constitution' of the organisation required that two-thirds of all members of its Executive Committee be Roman Catholics.[58] Each patrol couple included a Catholic partner. When the operation of a Belfast branch was authorised in early 1915, the Belfast police recommended that: 'owing to the question of party feeling it is desirable that Protestants should act only in Protestant localities & that Roman Catholics should confine themselves to Catholic localities'.[59] This reflected particular sensitivity to religious denomination in Belfast. 'No system of placing Protestants and Catholics in separate districts' was practised by the D.M.P. in its distribution of the force.[60] But 'proportion as between religious denominations' was regarded by the Inspector General of the R.I.C. as 'essential in Belfast'.[61] If this proposal was acceded to, it constituted a significant difference in the practical organisation of the Patrols in Belfast and Dublin. 'We are not engaging in rescue work. We do not touch it,' Haslam stated. 'Rescue work' referred to engagement with pregnant women or recent mothers or their children. 'That is the sphere of the religious organisations. Our work is to be purely preventive!'[62] Public appeals for 'ladies' as volunteers were made in denominational terms.[63]

Who were the Women Patrols?

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[56] *G.F.S. Report for 1914*, p. 25, and *G.F.S. Report for 1915*, p. 17 (R.C.B., G.F.S. Records).
[57] On Hayden, see Diarmaid Ferriter, 'Hayden, Mary Teresa', McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed July 2012); and Quinlan, *Genteel Revolutionaries*, p. 168.
[58] *Report of the Irish Women Patrols for 1919*, p3, (D.D.A., AB7/Lay Orgs/Box 4).
[59] R.I.C. Office, Dublin Castle, to Under Secretary, 10 Feb. 1915 (N.A.I., CSORP, 2654/1915).
[60] 'Notes on the oral evidence of the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police' in *Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention*, p. 133, [Cd. 9019] H.C. 1918, x.697.
[61] Brigadier General J.A. Byrne, Inspector General, 'Memorandum on the question of police administration under an Irish Government' in *Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention*, p126 [Cd. 9019], H.C. 1918, x.697.
[62] *Freeman's Journal*, 4 Jan. 1915.
[63] 'Greatly need more Catholic ladies', *Irish Independent*, 27 Jan. 1916; 'More Protestant ladies were wanted", *Irish Citizen*, May 1916; 'More women, Protestant and Catholic', *Irish Times*, 2 Mar. 1917; 'More Protestant ladies were wanted', *Irish Citizen*, May 1916.

References to individual Women Patrols may be related to other sources, including the *Census of Ireland*, to offer a selective but detailed profile of the Dublin membership. The Dublin volunteers were a relatively diverse group that included suffragettes, former elected office-holders, morality and welfare campaigners, and women in, or seeking, paid employment. The affluent background of some of the women was suggested by their residency in 1911 in households that derived income from capital.[64] The Dublin women patrols included at least three militant suffragettes: Maud Lloyd, Clara Moser, and Susan Manning. Manning and Moser had declared their militant suffragism to Census enumerators in 1911.[65] Lloyd was arrested in London in November 1911 for suffragette protest, and served a term of imprisonment in Ireland in 1912 consequent to her participation in a window-smashing protest by the I.W.F.L., the suffragette organisation that had been publicly critical of the patrol scheme.[66] Three former Poor Law Guardians, elected officials entrusted with the administration of the Poor Law on a local basis, were involved in the Dublin Women Patrols: Miss Emily Buchanan (South Dublin Union 1902-11); Miss Mary Weldrick (North Dublin Union, 1899-1914); and one woman known to have performed patrol work, Mrs Madge Farquharson (South Dublin Union, 1905-11).[67] As will be mentioned below, Farquharson was one of the first two women selected for employment with the D.M.P. in spring, 1917.

The Dublin membership included younger women aged in their thirties during the First World War, who were not conspicuous in public life or politics. It was from this cohort of women patrols without independent means that the police drew recruits to full-time police work. Occupations declared by these women in 1911 included: 'dressmaker' (Ms Bridget English); and 'draperess' (Ms Kathleen McLoughlin), subsequently a welfare worker with the Protection Crusade and the Women Patrols.[68] Wartime voluntarism has been attributed as a basis on which at least some of these became involved in the Patrols. One of the women who joined

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[64] Reddington Roche, Earlsfort Tce, Dublin.; Roberts, Appian Way, Dublin; Wigham, Albany Ave., Co. Dublin; Buchanan, Warwick Tce., Dublin (N.A.I., *Census of Ireland 1911*).

[65] Clara Moser, b.1873, res. at 16 Sandymount Ave., Pembroke East, Dublin, 'filled from information received' (N.A.I., *Census of Ireland, 1911*). Susan Manning, b. 1876, Dublin, res. at 27 Dartmouth Square, Rathmines & Rathgar East, Dublin (N.A.I., *Census of Ireland 1911*). On participation of Manning (née Bennett) and Louise Bennett, trade unionist, in the Women Patrols, see: Hilda Tweedy, *A link in the chain. The story of the Irish Housewives Association, 1942-1992* (Dublin, 1992) p. 33.

[66] Maud Lloyd, b.1871, New Zealand, res. at 122 St. Stephen's Green West, Mansion House, Dublin, (N.A.I., *Census of Ireland, 1911*); *Irish Times*, 22 Nov. 1911, p. 8; Clíona Murphy, *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Irish Society in the Early Twentieth Century* (London, 1989), pp 88-111; Prisoner Record Sheet, Suffragettes 'C' File (N.A.I., General Prisons Board).

[67] Virginia Crossman, *Politics, pauperism and power in late nineteenth century Ireland* (Manchester, 2006), p. 192.

[68] Mary O'Neill, 48 Botanic Ave., Dublin; Bridget English, Kennywell St., Kilkenny; Katie Veronica McLoughlin, O'Connell Ave., Dublin (N.A.I., *Census of Ireland 1911*).

the patrols recalled that several women who joined the Patrols 'had been members of a Red Cross Group and sewing party organised by Miss Haslam'.[69]

A FEW OF THE WOMEN PATROL WORKERS.

(LEFT TO RIGHT)—MISS CATHCART, MISS NICHOL, SECRETARY, MRS. GARRETT NAGLE; HON. ORGANISER, MRS. J. C. WHITE; PRESIDENT, MISS CURRAN; PATROL LEADERS, MISS MAWHINNEY AND MRS HOWARD.
SECOND ROW—MISS BELL (POLICEWOMAN), MISS M'BRIDE, MRS. FORSYTHE, MISS CLARKE, MISS BRADLEY, MISS MARTIN, MISS NELSON, MRS. DOWNHAM, MISS MAURICE, MRS. NEVILLE, MISS S. MAURICE, AND MISS FALLON (POLICEWOMAN).
(Photo: Halliday.)

Figure 5: 'A Few of the Women Patrol Volunteers' (*Belfast Telegraph*, 4th ed., 26 Oct. 1918).

One of the icons of suffragism, Christabel Pankhurst, declared in 1913 that spinsterhood was 'a political decision; a deliberate choice made in conditions of sex-slavery'.[70] Sheila Jeffreys has suggested that 'Pankhurst was not alone in her views in the Women's Social and Political Union, since 63 per cent of members in 1913, when her statement was made, were spinsters, and many of the rest were widowed'. Given that the Women Patrols was a voluntary organisation that required its members to undertake weekly patrol work, it could be expected that a high proportion of its members would be single women without the demands of a husband or children. However, the single status of a significant proportion of the women patrols, which was the basis of hostile caricature in *The Worker*, must be acknowledged. Some of the Dublin Women Patrols were married and were mothers (Manning, Rutland, O'Neill, Wigham, and Lang). However, a greater number of identifiable Women Patrols were unmarried at the time, and many of them never married. Fifteen identifiable members of the Dublin Women Patrols were unmarried at the time of their participation, and at least seven of

[69] *Irish Independent*, 9 Mar. 1957.
[70] Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies*, p. 89.

that number never married (Watters, Naughton, English, Hayden, Roberts, Moser, Lloyd, and English). Some of the women, such as Louie Bennett and Clara Moser, had close co-habiting partnerships with other women.[71]

Operations

The Patrols were equipped with an identification card that bore the endorsement of the D.M.P. Chief Commissioner (see Figure 6, below). They wore a wide white armband as visible identification (see Figure 5, above). Flashlights were used, and whistles were carried to call for help. Some of the Belfast Patrols photographed wore a major element of the uniform of the Women Police Service, London: a dark wide-brimmed hat. A press photograph of the Dublin Patrols does not feature such uniformity of dress.[72] It is not clear whether or not the Dublin Patrols were shadowed by policemen or worked in tandem with policemen, as was the practice in London.[73] Mary Hayden recalled that on night patrols between half-past eight and half-past eleven, police help was often necessary.[74] The identification cards and recourse to police help were useful 'when runaway girls are to be traced or girls are to be separated from dangerous companions'.[75] The Belfast police had counselled that: 'The patrols will need to exercise great tact,' advised the Belfast police.[76] 'The population is very rough & violence would be used on slight provocation. The ladies should avoid excessive zeal.'

Conspicuous participation as Women Patrols undoubtedly contributed to 'the public profile of suffragist women' as a basis 'to argue for more political power', as Maria Luddy has remarked.[77] However, Patrol involvement was more than public posturing. Participants used their participation in the scheme to advance particular policy agendas, particularly in relation to housing and temperance. Published accounts of the 'Experiences of a Woman Patrol', that may be attributed to Clara Moser, and to a public address attributed to Moser, are one example.[78] While some girls were cowed by the Patrols, 'more often they give us great abuse, and they have even raised their hands to us.' Moser explained that 'factory girls' were

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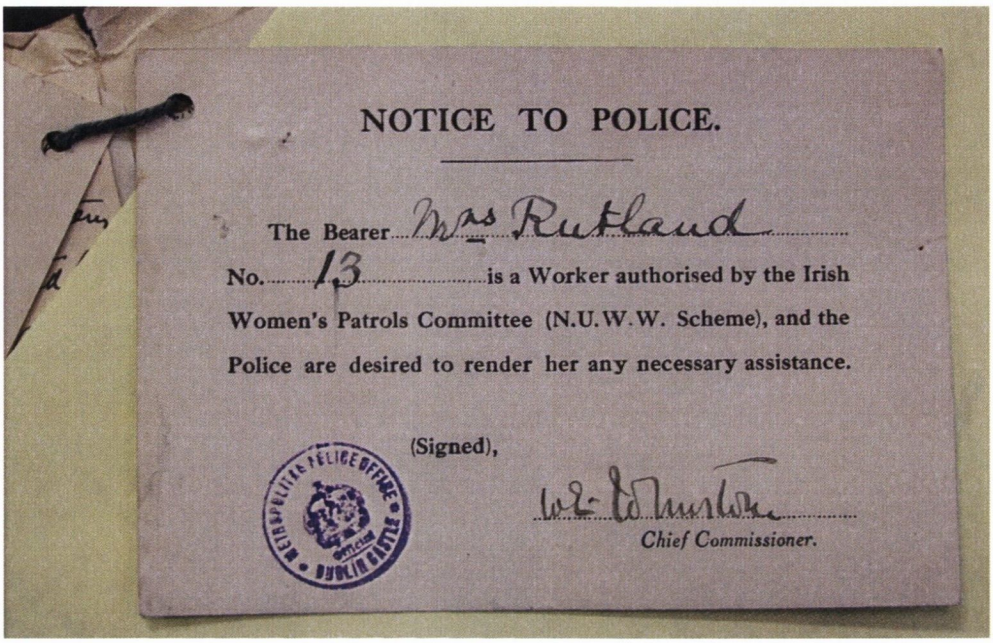
[71] *Weekly Irish Times*, 27 Jul. 1940.
[72] *Irish Independent*, 9 May 1919.
[73] *Baird Committee Minutes*, 1921, p. 29.
[74] *Irish Independent*, 27 Jan. 1916.
[75] *Freeman's Journal*, 31 Jan. 1923.
[76] R.I.C. Office, Dublin Castle, to Under Secretary, 10 Feb. 1915 (N.A.I., CSORP, 2654/1915).
[77] Luddy, *Prostitution*, p. 176.
[78] *Irish Citizen*, 9 Oct. 1915 and 23 Oct. 1915, (initialled 'C.M.'); and *Irish Independent*, 18 Oct. 1915, p. 6. Report of an address by Moser similar to these published accounts, see: *Irish Citizen*, 6 Nov. 1915.

discouraged from domesticity by 'miserable tenement house' accommodation, and described 'the filthy, unlighted, uncared-for and unprotected laneways in the city' as 'veritable nurseries for evil'.


NOTICE TO POLICE.

The Bearer Mrs Rutland

No. 13 is a Worker authorised by the Irish Women's Patrols Committee (N.U.W.W. Scheme), and the Police are desired to render her any necessary assistance.

(Signed),

Chief Commissioner.

Figure 6: Irish Women Patrols Worker identification card (N.A.I., DJ H/21/5).

Temperance, particularly female temperance, was a second cause of salience to the Patrol membership. Female patronage of pubs was often associated with separation allowance payments to the dependent wives of soldiers.[79] Moser's published account referred to 'The drink evil' as a 'cause of immorality' in Dublin.[80] Manning and Farquharson made representations to the authorities about two particular pubs, which prompted a D.M.P. report on the matter within a week.[81] In May 1917, 'Mrs Manning', addressed the Irish Women's Temperance Conference of on the topic of 'Women Patrols and Public houses'.[82] In March 1917 the Patrols reported that: 'they had watched and reported a number of public houses for being open after hours or for serving people already intoxicated', and had 'turned women, children and young girls out of public houses'.[83] A decline in the number of prosecutions initiated by the Patrols in 1917 was attributed to 'the earlier closing of public houses' that

[79] On curtailment of female patronage of pubs, see: N.A.I., CSOCR 316 (1918), 10,566; and CSOCR 317 (1918), 19,365. On women and allowances, see: Susan Pedersen, 'Gender, Welfare and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War' in *American Historical Review*, xcv, 4 (1990), pp 983-1006; and Janis Lomas, '"Delicate duties": issues of class and respectability in government policy towards the wives and widows of British soldiers in the Great War' in *Women's History Review*, ix (2000), pp 123-7.

[80] *Irish Independent*, 26 Oct. 1915.

[81] N.A.I., CSOCR 299 (1915), 4235 & 4550.

[82] *Irish Independent*, 18 May 1917, p2.

[83] *Irish Times*, 2 Mar. 1917, p7.

year.[84] The Belfast Women Patrols also visited pubs and were said to have been 'most successful in clearing those private boxes in which men can take young girls and are not watched.'[85]

One of the principal streets in Dublin, Sackville Street, was an area popular for soliciting for prostitution during the First World War, as confirmed by the Chief Commissioner of the D.M.P. at a meeting with the Under Secretary for Ireland and the Joint-Presidents of the Patrols.[86] A published account of patrol work memorably described the street as 'one great low saloon,' where 'among the men the ordinary "Tommy" leads the way.'[87] A social code segregated soldiers to one side of the street, and 'no respectable person – man or woman – would dream of walking on that side of the street after twilight.'[88] Hayden had stated the 'chief work' of the Patrols 'was with young girls who were in dangerous company or in any difficulties', and that: 'Women of bad character were not interfered with, unless they were acting with open indecency or molesting girls or young lads.'[89] A bye-law included in the Patrols' Report for 1919 directed that: 'Undesirable persons of either sex are only to be spoken to when behaving in a noisy or disorderly manner, or soliciting.'[90] The Dublin patrols were reported to 'run in men and women alike for having sexual intercourse in public', Louise Jackson has noted from her review of central N.U.W.W. records in London.[91] One of the witnesses to the Police Reorganisation committee of 1922, referred to 'The influence of a serious woman on the streets when girls are out in the evenings,' and recalled that on 'Clifton Street, and a good many of those streets where soldiers pass up and down, it was found during the war that it was a great advantage to have a couple of women on patrol.'[92]

The Patrols emphasised that their work was intended to be 'preventive', but they did initiate prosecutions, sometimes in the face of police passivity. The limited nature of the 'mixed club', operated by the Patrols as an alternative venue for recreation, which opened just two

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[84] *Constabulary* Gazette, 19 Jan. 1918.
[85] Ministry of Home Affairs Northern Ireland. Police Reorganisation Committee, Minutes of Evidence. Chapters 6 & 7, para.4 (P.R.O.N.I., HA/47/6).
[86] Luddy, *Prostitution*, p. 174. Luddy referred to: 'Memoranda of interviews, Ireland, vol.III, Oct. 1915-May 1916, p. 58: Sir Matthew Nathan Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.'
[87] *Irish Citizen*, 9 Oct. 1915.
[88] WS 391, Helena Molony, p. 3 (N.A.I., B.M.H.).
[89] *Freeman's Journal*, 28 Sept. 1923.
[90] *Report of the Irish Women Patrols for 1919*, p5, (D.D.A, Byrne Papers).
[91] Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 172, with reference to: Imperial War Museum, EMP 42.3, N.U.W.W. Women's Patrol Committee reports 1917.
[92] Miss E.S. Montgomery, Belfast Women's Advisory Council in Police Reorganisation Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Chap. 6 & &, para.8 (P.R.O.N.I., HA/47/6).

evenings a week for a few hours, suggested the challenge of sustained preventive projects. [93] The *Constabulary Gazette* of March 1916 attributed the Patrols with a significant role in 'several cases' that were 'tried in the Dublin Courts, the evidence being heard in camera. Convictions in each case resulted, accompanied by heavy sentences.'[94] A review of court records revealed scant record of the Patrols prosecutorial exertions, probably due to the fact that cases in which they were involved were mainly tried at the lowest criminal court, the Police Court. A low rate of appeal against convictions secured by the Patrols is suggested by the fact that only one record of such a case was found. This documented the dismissal of a conviction for indecent exposure that had been brought by Lloyd, with evidence also from McLoughlin.[95] Dismissal of the conviction spared the defendant a sentence of three months' imprisonment. The exertions of the Patrols were occasionally the topic of correspondence between the D.M.P. and the administration officials. An entry of November 1916 referred to one of the Women Patrols as having 'arrested' a girl: 'D.M.P.: Kathleen F___ arrested by Kathleen McLoughlin (woman police) charged with begging with views of committing her to In. [industrial] School charge refused.'[96] In November 1917 the *Irish Times* carried a brief report of the conviction of two named men for the assault of three Patrols, McLoughlin, Lloyd, and 'Miss Flood'.[97] The men were fined £1 and £2 respectively.

The Patrols' pursuit of at least one male harasser indicated that deference to 'social position' was not their customary practice. The case occurred early in the existence of the Patrols, in January 1916, and arose from a night-time encounter between McLoughlin and Lloyd and a drunken young man on a pedestrian bridge in the city.[98] The Patrol organisers had identified the 'Metal Bridge' as a venue used for 'immoral purposes'.[99] It was reported that:

> At the turnstile [for the Bridge], the defendant, who was coming the other way, addressed them, and made a suggestion to Miss McLoughlin which was improper and insulting. Miss McLoughlin told the defendant who and what they were. He replied that he did not mind and he caught her by the arm and tried to push her into a corner. [100]

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[93] *Irish Independent*, 2 Mar. 1917, and 26 Sept. 1917; *Report of the Irish Women Patrols for 1919*, p9 (D.D.A., Byrne Papers); and Thomas F. Molony, 'The Prevention and Punishment of Crime' in *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, xcix (Jan. 1921), p. 121.
[94] *Constabulary Gazette*, 25 Mar. 1916.
[95] Crown Book at Quarter Sessions, Dublin City, 1918, (N.A.I., 1C-70-71).
[96] N.A.I., CSOCR 306/21,077.
[97] *Irish Times*, 24 Nov. 1917.
[98] Levine, 'Walking the Streets', p. 63.
[99] Novick, *Conceiving Revolution*, p153. Novick cites: Bod., Sir Matthew Nathan Papers, Nathan MS 469: Memoranda of Interviews: Ireland: Volume III, Oct. 1915 to May 1916, Interview with Mary Hayden and Anna Haslam, 23 Oct. 1915.
[100] *Irish Times*, 12 Jan. 1916.

The women fended him off and followed him a short distance until a policeman detained him at their initiative. Evidence by a D.M.P. Inspector to the court suggested that the Patrols sought that the man be charged with soliciting, but that there was no legal basis for such a charge against him. D.M.P. Inspector Barrett quoted Lloyd as having said: 'We mean to put this thing down once for all.'[101] The Patrols persisted and instituted a prosecution in their own names against the man for insulting behaviour and assault.

The offender was Simon J. Clein, a 27-year-old, a Cork-born commercial traveller who lived at his family home on the South Circular Road, and was, in the words of his defence counsel, 'the son of a most respectable man, one of the leading men in the commercial business in Dublin.'[102] Clein's attempt to settle the case out of court by a donation to the Patrols was declined, and 'a considerable number of females attended in court and were deeply interested in the case'.[103] Clein was convicted of assault and fined, and the magistrate commented that 'women, some of whom were poor, must be protected from the overtures of men like the prisoner.'[104]

The 'Metal Bridge case' was of substantial importance to the Patrols, their supporters, and probably to one of the women directly involved, Kathleen McLoughlin. It demonstrated that the Patrols could achieve redress against male harassment through the criminal justice system. Its significance might be understood with reference to the antipathy of the *Worker* newspaper, quoted above, and to other references to the figure of the sexually-aggressive suburban male, a type said to 'infest the suburbs and molest girls, mostly servant girls'.[105] The *Constabulary Gazette* explained that 'ruffians who molest young women, and oftentimes children, are the most difficult to discover. We have known of cases reported to the Police in suburban districts, and although the offenders had been seen by scores of private people the Police never even found a clue.'[106] The Girls Friendly Society, who funded McLoughlin's work with the Patrols, considered that their support had been 'more than amply justified' by McLoughlin's role in the case.[107] As will be seen below, McLoughlin was one of the first two women recruited to the D.M.P. the following year, 1917.

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[101] Ibid.
[102] *Irish Independent*, 12 Jan. 1916; *Irish Times*, 12 Jan. 1916; *Constabulary Gazette*, 29 Jan. 1916; *Census of Ireland, 1911* (N.A.I.).
[103] *Irish Times*, 12 Jan. 1916.
[104] *Irish Independent*, 12 Jan. 1916.
[105] *Irish Independent*, 28 Oct. 1915.
[106] *Constabulary Gazette*, 29 Jan. 1916.
[107] *G.F.S. Report for 1915*, p17 (R.C.B., G.F.S. Records).

Nationalist sensitivities were riled by the I.W.P. in the sensitive political climate of early 1918, when it was perceived to have denigrated Dublin relative to other cities and exhibited partiality towards the Army. The initial draft of the Patrols' report for 1917 referred to Dublin as 'one of the dirtiest, most immoral and most unhealthy towns in the British Isles'.[108] At a public meeting some of the attendance objected to this statement, including the D.M.P. Chief Commissioner. 'The Dublin girl was moral, but extraordinarily wild,' an objector assured the meeting. Maud Lloyd, again at the nub of controversy, explained that the statement reflected the opinion of 'the military authorities', rather than the Patrols, which added to the controversy. The report was amended to refer to 'existing conditions of immorality and unhealthiness', but controversy in the letter-pages of the Dublin press ensued, in which the cross-national basis of the N.C.W. and the non-Irish origin of some of the Patrols was emphasised by correspondents hostile towards them.[109] The terms of this debate suggested that the behaviour at issue was casual, consensual sexual affection, rather than 'white slavery', or the 'amateur prostitute', treated by men in return for sexual favours.[110]

The patrol scheme was intended as transformative in terms of the sex of the entry of women to policework and in terms of the nature of that work, towards a preventive model. 'They believed that if women could be an active *part* of state bodies, including the police force, these bodies would be transformed accordingly,' Lucy Bland has noted.[111] The emphasis placed by the N.U.W.W. organiser 'that women must enter upon such service with the determination to change the police system, and so to change it that it shall become primarily a preventive rather than a punitive service,' was quoted in the Dublin press.[112] However, in a number of respects, such as the emphasis on court prosecutions, a clear hierarchical protocol for communications, and a publicised medal ceremony, the Patrols approximated aspects of the established police.

'In aiming to prove usefulness, women acknowledged the standards of efficiency in paid employment that depended upon some measurable or identifiable result,' Angela Woolacott has observed.[113] In reported statements and in the single surviving printed report, the Patrols

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[108] *Irish Independent*, 15 Jan. 1918.
[109] *Irish Independent*, 16 Jan. 1918 and 21 Jan. 1918.
[110] Jeffreys, *Spinster and her Enemies*, p. 165. See: *Irish Times*, 29 Jan. 1918; *Irish Independent* 31 Jan. 1918; *Irish Independent*, 1 Feb. 1918; *Irish Independent*, 4 Feb. 1918.
[111] Bland, '"Purifying" the public world', p. 404.
[112] *Irish Citizen*, 13 Feb. 1915.
[113] Angela Woolacott, 'From Moral to Professional Authority: Secularism, Social Work, and Middle-Class Women's Self-Construction in World War I Britain', *Journal of Women's History*, x, 2 (Summer, 1998), p. 100.

used their record of prosecutions made and convictions secured as a measure of their exertions, and of the value of their operations. Statistics of their prosecutorial activity were presented by the Women Patrols for the period 1916-19, in summary press reports for 1916 and 1917, and in their only extant published report, for 1919. The Patrols brought prosecutions against thirty-four people in 1916 and obtained convictions in thirty-three of those cases. Of the thirty-four cases prosecuted, thirteen were against women, and twenty-one were against men. 'These cases were immorality and indecency in the streets,' a report in the *Constabulary Gazette* offered by way of analysis of these summary statistics.[114] This level of prosecution declined in the following year, 1917, when the Patrols brought forward fourteen prosecutions, in which convictions were obtained in twelve cases.[115] A brief report of work for 1918 appeared in the press in January 1919 which described the work as 'chiefly preventive', and omitted any statistics of prosecutions.[116] In 1919, the number of prosecutions dwindled to three, in all of which convictions were obtained. This was ascribed by the Patrols 'partly to a real diminution in at least open bad conduct' and 'partly to increased vigilance on the part of offenders who now commonly station accomplices to warn them of the approach of Patrols.'[117]

In 1919, medals were awarded by the central organising body, now known as the National Council of Women of Great Britain and Ireland (N.C.W.), to seventeen members of the Dublin Women Patrols branch, presented by the Chief Commissioner of the D.M.P..[118] A centralized communications protocol was imposed under which 'No member of the Irish Women Patrols other than the two Presidents, shall at any time write to or interview the Chief Commissioner of Police on patrol work without direct authorisation from the Executive Committee.'[119] The Correspondence Registers of the Chief Secretary's Office feature traces of correspondence that may have caused friction between the Patrols and the authorities. An entry of April 1917 indicated official knowledge of a complaint by Lloyd about a judicial decision: 'On complaint of Miss Lloyd as to dismissal of charge brought by Women Patrols against T. O'Toole & Maggie D___.'[120]

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[114] *Constabulary Gazette*, 19 Jan. 1919.
[115] *Irish Independent*, 15 Jan. 1918; and for Hayden's gloss on these statistics, see *Constabulary* Gazette, 19 Jan. 1918.
[116] *Irish Times*, 22 Jan. 1919.
[117] *Report of the Irish Women Patrols for 1919*, p. 7 (D.D.A., Byrne Papers).
[118] *Irish Times*, 9 May 1919; and *Irish Independent*, 9 May 1919.
[119] *Report of the Irish Women Patrols for 1919,* p. 5 (D.D.A., Byrne Papers).
[120] N.A.I., CSOCR 310 (1917) 10,576.

In 1916 an Act of Parliament authorised the use of funds allocated for police pay to be used to pay women employed by the police on police duties, the Police (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 1916.[121] In October 1916, the Chief Commissioner wrote to the Under-Secretary that 'following further experience of the work done by the Voluntary Female Police patrols in Dublin', he was 'satisfied that we ought to come into line with other police forces in this matter' and proposed the employment of 'two policewomen'.[122]A significant term of this proposal from the Chief Commissioner was that it was 'subject to the reduction by two of the strength up to which the ordinary Dublin Metropolitan Police force may be recruited'.[123] In January 1917, the Irish administration secured Treasury authorisation 'for the employment as proposed of two female police at an inclusive remuneration of twenty-five shillings a week together with the necessary out-of-pocket expenses.'[124]

Support by the D.M.P. and by the Irish Administration for the employment of policewomen in Dublin encouraged an approach to the Chief Secretary by the Belfast Women Patrols. [125] 'The Hon. Ethel Macnaghten' addressed letters to the Chief Secretary's office on the subject in early December 1916.[126] The Chief Secretary promptly directed the Inspector General of the R.I.C. 'to arrange for the appointment of two women police at Belfast'.[127] The Inspector General showed no enthusiasm for the proposal. He noted it was 'to be an experiment for 12 months only', and wondered whether the 'local committee of ladies' that were 'anxious for the innovation' would be asked to supply the necessary funds.[128] Among those consulted by the R.I.C. as to the implementation of the Chief Secretary's directive was Margaret Damer Dawson, chief officer of the Women's Police Service, a private London-based female security agency that trained and provided women for employment by police forces and in industrial security roles.[129] This advice does not survive in the file, but the influence of the WPS is evident in the proposals that resulted: 'to select two women from Belfast who should be sent over to London for a four weeks' course of training by the Women Police Organisation', and to adopt the 'neat

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[121] John Carrier, *Campaign for the employment of women as police officers* p. 31.
[122] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 16 Oct. 1916 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).
[123] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 16 Oct. 1916 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).
[124] T.L. Heath, Treasury, to Under Secretary, 22 Jan.1917 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).
[125] N.A.I., CSOCR 306/22,893 (5 Dec.1916); and C.R.,309/7,252 (24 Mar. 1917).
[126] The Hon. Ethel Macnaghten, voluntary probation worker (Church of Ireland), Dublin Metropolitan District 1925-37; member of Irish delegation to International Women's Congress, 1926; Hon. Sec., Irish Women Citizens and Local Government Association; dau. of Sir Edward Macnaghten, Baron Macnaghten, M.P. and judge.
[127] J. Byrne, Inspector General R.I.C. to Under Secretary, 11 Jan. 1917 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).
[128] Ibid.
[129] David Doughan, 'Dawson, Margaret Mary Damer (1873–1920)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004).

and serviceable' uniform of the W.P.S., modified with R.I.C. insignia (see Figure 7, below). The request to Treasury for finance from Chief Secretary's office to the Treasury featured an offer similar to that made by the D.M.P., 'to suspend the filling of two vacancies for Constables on the establishment of the [R.I.C.] Force'.[130] Those were the terms under which approval was granted.[131]

The Chief Commissioner reported in June 1917 on a decline in the performance of the initial recruits which he attributed to low pay.[132] The Inspector General of the R.I.C. had suggested that the women be paid 30 shillings a week, but the Treasury was unwilling to authorise a rate higher than that set for the Dublin policewomen.[133] While confirmed in his opinion 'that women police must prove of great utility in police administration', the Chief Commissioner considered that 'the remuneration (25/- per week) hitherto given is not sufficient to attract women of the stamp required'. Johnstone reported 'difficulty in the first instance in obtaining any suitable candidates and although those whom I appointed did excellent work, I found that the duty became more or less a matter of routine with them and lost much of its utility. I therefore dispensed with their services.'[134] The *Irish Citizen* newspaper referred in April 1917 to the employment of 'two women police in Dublin. Mrs Farquharson and Miss McLoughlin'.[135] However, the two women reported to have taken up duty in September 1917 in the *Constabulary Gazette* were McLoughlin and Mrs Rutland.[136] Authorisation was received in July 1917 to pay 'the women police' at Dublin a war bonus of 5 shillings a week.[137] When the war bonus was increased in 1918, an increase to 9 shillings a week was extended to the 'women police' in Ireland, while policemen received 12 shillings.[138]

The training of 'women police' of the R.I.C. by the Women Police Service in London was also extended to the two Dublin Metropolitan Police Women Patrols in the autumn of 1917, for whom three week's training in London was arranged and funded.[139] The Women Police Service was a private female police and security organisation that aspired to be recognised as

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[130] W.P. Byrne, Under Secretary to Secretary, Treasury, 23 Mar. 1917 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[131] T.L. Heath, Secretary Treasury, to Under Secretary, 17 Apr. 1917 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[132] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 14 Jun. 1917 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[133] T.L. Heath, Secretary Treasury, to Under Secretary, 17 Apr. 1917 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[134] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 14 Jun. 1917 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[135] *Irish Citizen* April 1917, cited by Quinlan, *Genteel Revolutionaries*, p. 253.
[136] *Constabulary Gazette*, 13 Oct. 1917.
[137] Treasury to Under Secretary, 17 Jul. 1917 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).
[138] Treasury to Under Secretary, 13 March 1918 [copy]; and Treasury to Under Secretary, 27 Sept. 1918 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[139] T.L. Heath, Treasury, to Under Secretary 21 Aug. 1917, (T.N.A., T/12398).

an official force. A 'List of original members' in Mary Allen's memoir included two women trained for the R.I.C. by the W.P.S., who were also referred to in a W.P.S. annual report.[140] This was the beginning of the W.P.S.'s relationship with Ireland, which would deepen during the Anglo-Irish War of Independence, as will be discussed below, under its altered title, the Women's Auxiliary Service.

One of the differences between the 'women police' in Dublin and in Belfast was that uniform was prescribed for the women in Belfast by the R.I.C., in line with the advice given by the Women Police Service. The R.I.C. lent added significance to uniform as the Inspector General recommended that the women adopt uniform on satisfactory completion of a two month probationary period.[141] The Women Patrol committee for Belfast funded uniforms for the two women, as worn in the photograph published in the *Belfast Telegraph* of October 1918 (Figure 5, above).[142] In April 1919 an R.I.C. District Inspector remarked that: 'Their usefulness and authority has been increased by their wearing of [uniform], and they could not possibly discharge some of their duties without some outward mark of their position.'[143] The D.M.P. did not consider uniform desirable, and did not revise that opinion.[144]

Recent research by Margaret Cameron based on an autobiographical letter of one of the R.I.C. 'women police' has revealed information about its author, Jane Bell (Figure 7, below).[145] Bell was a thirty-year-old Presbyterian Deaconess attached to a Belfast congregation and had experience in the management of a hostel for Presbyterian girls in Belfast.[146] By her own recollection, she was exempted from police training on account of her religious training as a minister. She and her colleague, Mary Fallon, were attached to Musgrave Street police station and reported to a Detective Head Constable. Bell continued to serve as a Deaconess, and by her own account, it was in this capacity that she began to conduct probation work which became a major component of her policework. Evidence presented to a government

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[140] Mary S. Allen, *The Pioneer Policewoman* (London, 1925), p. 284; Carrier, *Campaign for the employment of women as police officers* (Aldershot, 1988), p. 63.
[141] Inspector General R.I.C. to Under Secretary, 11 Jan. 1917 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).
[142] *Belfast Telegraph* [bound 4th ed.] 26 Oct. 1918.
[143] Robert Dunlop, D.I., R.I.C. Detective Department, City of Belfast, to Chief Secretary's Office, 17 Apr. 1919 (T.N.A. T/12398).
[144] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Maurice F. Headlam, Treasury Remembrancer, 6 Jul. 1917 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[145] Margaret Carmeron, 'The Deaconess Policewoman', *Proceedings of the Royal Ulster Constabulary GC Society* (Summer, 2010).
[146] Carmeron, 'Deaconess Policewoman'.

committee in 1922 indicated that the work of the two R.I.C. policewomen mainly involved attendance at the Belfast courts and the investigation of sexual offences.[147]

Figure 7: Jane Bell, R.I.C.[148]

A clear sense of the role intended for the first D.M.P. 'women police' is conveyed by an article in the *Constabulary Gazette* that was published the month that they returned from training in London.[149] The specific terms of this article and the official nature of the *Gazette* render this a particularly useful source. The piece outlined a police function for women in Dublin that would obtain, largely unchanged, for over forty years. The specified tour of duty was by day, from 9.45 a.m. until 5.30 p.m., with a break for lunch. But in addition, it was understood that D.M.P. Women Patrols would, 'in event of their service being required in other districts, perform turns of duty as arranged by the Superintendents of the district concerned and between whatever hours in the evening that may be considered most suitable.'

[147] Ministry of Home Affairs Northern Ireland. Police Reorganisation Committee. Minutes of Evidence (P.R.O.N.I. HA/47/1).
[148] *Proceedings of the Royal Ulster Constabulary GC Society* (Summer, 2010).
[149] *Constabulary Gazette*, 13 Oct. 1917.

The principal duties assigned to the women were: 'the detection of beggars, persons guilty of indecent conduct, prostitutes soliciting,' and 'looking after children engaged in street trading without badges or licences, particular attention to juvenile beggars [sic].' The women were 'not to arrest offenders, but should keep within view until they can be handed over to a policeman.' When an arrest was made, the policewomen were to 'accompany each charge to the station, sign the charge sheet, and afterwards attend court to prosecute the case.' It was stipulated that: 'When on duty after 8 o'clock pm the women police are to be and should always be followed by a constable in plain clothes' for protection and to execute arrests. While it does not appear that the Irish Women Patrols were shadowed by police in Dublin or Belfast, this article suggests that policewomen on evening patrol were shadowed in Dublin, as was the case in London.[150]

The presence of the policewoman in cases of sexual crime against women, at the police station and at the court, was stipulated: 'One or both of the women are to be present at investigations of indecent assaults on females, more especially juveniles, no matter in what station in the service the investigation may take place, and they will also be present during the hearing of such cases before the magistrates.' In 1917, the authorities considered that it would not be necessary to summon women police during the night in response to reports of sexual crime, but that: 'a short report or a telephone message giving particulars should be sent to Chief Superintendent before 9.45am in order to have women police directed to attend the court' if a prosecution was to follow the following morning.

'The employment of Women Patrols in co-operation with the Dublin Metropolitan Police has been entirely successful and productive of excellent results,' Assistant Commissioner Fergus Quinn reported to the Under Secretary in October 1918.[151] The D.M.P. sought to double the number of women to four, to allow it 'to attach one woman patrol to each of the City Divisions' so that 'greater use could be made of the services of these patrols and the whole system would be rendered more effective'.[152] When the proposal was considered by the Treasury, an official noted that 'The women police in London, at any rate, are reported to be doing excellent work and the extension of their numbers are [sic] under consideration' The expansion of women to four was approved. The practice of sending the women for training to London does not appear to have been continued. 'The four policewomen attached to the force

[150] Lillian Wyles, *A woman at Scotland Yard. Reflections on the struggles and achievements of thirty years in the Metropolitan Police* (London, 1952), p. 31.
[151] Assistant Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 10 Oct. 1918 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).
[152] Assistant Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 10 Oct. 1918 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).

last week underwent a searching examination in Police Law and Police Duties,' reported a D.M.P. correspondent in March 1919. The report commented that 'Each of the Policewomen gave evidence of having assimilated their instruction thoroughly and have passed the examination most successfully.'[153]

Newspaper reports illustrate that the D.M.P. policewomen had an important role in the enforcement of war-time regulations that controlled the sale of foodstuffs. The Defence of the Realm Act, 1914 (DORA), conferred exceptionally broad and extensive powers on Government.[154] DORA was 'an emergency measure which gave effectively unlimited powers to prescribed authorities while the war was on'.[155] DORA was 'a skeleton act': 'an approved general principle to which a multitude of amendments were added'.[156] Under DORA, the prices of common consumer goods such as tea, margarine, and jam, were set by a Food Controller. Clare Culleton has noted that in contemporary cartoons, DORA was often represented as a spinster aunt, as *The Worker* had caricatured the volunteer membership of the Women Patrols in spring 1917.[157] The Women Patrols were suggestive of how DORA 'encouraged a civilian watchdog campaign that served to animate one segment of the civilian population while straitjacketing another'.[158]

By the autumn of 1918, the D.M.P. *Irish Times* columnist remarked that the policewomen had made their forte 'the detection of overcharging for food and other misdemeanours under the DORA Act [sic].'[159]Policewomen were involved in four different prosecutions for over-charging during January and February 1918. 'Mrs Mary O'Neill, policewoman, proved the offence' of over-charging for margarine against a Fitzgibbon Street shopkeeper, Edward P. Foley, in January. Justice Lupton commended the 'policemen and policewomen engaged in these case', saying that they 'were doing a most important work'.[160] Policewomen who posed as shoppers were probably less conspicuous purchasers of foodstuffs, and so may have been more effective in exposing sharp-dealing by retailers, but their femininity and plainclothes was not

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[153] *Weekly Irish Times*, 1 Mar. 1919.
[154] On DORA, see: Charles Townshend, *Public Order and Public Security in Modern Britain* (1993); Claire A. Culleton, *Working -Class Culture, Women, and Britain, 1914-1921* (London, 2000); Leanne McCormick, *Regulating Sexuality: Women in twentieth-century Northern Ireland* (Manchester, 2009) pp131-2.
[155] O'Halpin, *Decline of the Union*, p. 108.
[156] Christopher Martin, *English Life in the First World War* (1974), cited by Culleton, *Working-Culture,* p. 135.
[157] Culleton, *Working-Class Culture*, p. 136.
[158] Ibid., p. 135.
[159] *Weekly Irish Times*, 21 Sept. 1918.
[160] *Weekly Irish Times*, 9 Feb. 1918.

fail-safe. By mid-February 1918, Lupton remarked in court that: 'steps had been taken so that traders could identify the policewomen; there was a kind of combination to defeat the law.'[161]

Regulation 40D under the Defence of the Realm Act, applied between March and November 1918, and criminalized any infected woman who had sexual relations with a member of the armed forces. It authorized the compulsory genital examination of female suspects. DORA 40D provided for the compulsory detention, examination and treatment of any woman suspected of having transmitted venereal disease to a member of the armed forces.[162] 'For suffragists and feminists,' writes Luddy, 'the central figure was an authoritarian and increasingly alien government.'[163] A cross-section of women's organisations mounted a 'loud and forceful' protest against 40D from its introduction in March until its revocation in November, which may be regarded as 'a feminist victory'.[164] Opposition to this regulation coincided with opposition to the prospect of military conscription in Ireland. Philippa Levine has noted that 'neither of the major women's police organizations', the W.A.S. nor the central N.U.W.W., 'actively protested the implementation' of regulation 40D.[165]

However, the Irish Women Patrols was not inhibited in its opposition to Regulation 40D by its collaborative relationship with the authorities. The Chief Secretary's Office Correspondence Register noted: 'National Union of Women Workers: Res.n of Committee of Irish Women Patrols condemning new D of R Regln re- venereal disease.'[166] In mid-October 1918, the Irish Women Patrols were listed among organisations that convened a 'united public meeting' at which Haslam and Hayden shared a platform with a guest speaker from London, Miss Wakefield.[167] The three speakers protested against Regulation 40D, and Hayden appealed for volunteers for the Women Patrols. The principled position distinguished the Irish branch of the Women Patrols, and suggested its success in negotiating what Levine identified as 'a delicate tightrope between the empathy of "sisterhood" and the requirements of their new position as maintainers of law and order'.[168] The Women Patrols also appear to have sought to use their

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[161] *Irish Times*, 14 Feb. 1918.
[162] Leanne McCormick, *Regulating Sexuality: Women in twentieth-century Northern Ireland*, (Manchester, 2009,) p131; Claire A. Culleton, *Working -Class Culture, Women, and Britain, 1914-1921*, (London, 2000), pp137-39.
[163] Luddy, *Prostitution*, p. 193.
[164] Lucy Bland, 'In the name of protection: the policing of women in the First World War' in Julia Brophy & Carol Smart (eds), *Women in Law: Explorations in law, family & sexuality*, p32.
[165] Levine, '"Walking the streets"', p. 52.
[166] N.A.I., CSOCR 316 (1918) 10,459.
[167] *Irish Times*, 16 Oct. 1918.
[168] Levine, '"Walking the streets"', p. 50.

association with the police to improve police treatment of women. Several records in the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers volume between late 1915 and 1917 refer to D.M.P. effort to procure a motor vehicle to convey women to the Bridewell, associated in the correspondence with the proposal to employ policewomen.[169]

Results of the 'experiment'

In May 1919, at the initiative of the Chief Commissioner, an incremental basic pay scale rising to 30 shillings a week was granted to the D.M.P. Women Patrols.[170] In October 1919, Col. Johnstone sought to recruit two more women and sought approval for an increase of pay to one of the serving quartet, Mary O'Neill, who had 'displayed marked ability'.[171] The Chief Commissioner wrote that O'Neill had 'displayed unusual initiative and zeal and many cases which she has successfully conducted would, in the case of a police officer, have justified me in awarding substantial rewards'. An increased wage for O'Neill was approved 'on the assumption that she will be called upon to exercise a limited supervision over the other women patrols.'[172] In his letter of October 1919, the Chief Commissioner referred to O'Neill having been 'entrusted with work of a very delicate and special nature'.[173] One example of the work assigned to O'Neill was to escort a young woman to Liverpool, for onward journey to America, under the direction of the D.M.P.'s Detective Department ('G' Division) with assistance from the Liverpool City Police C.I.D..[174]

In his request for two further recruits, Col. Johnstone wrote: 'The services of these women have been invaluable and the assistance which they have been afforded in dealing with many cases where ordinary police would have been quite ineffective has been of the greatest utility.'[175] Further recruits were required because, Johnstone wrote: 'there is unfortunately more work falling legitimately within the province of the women patrols than can possibly be performed by four women', a sphere of police work he referred to in the letter as 'offences arising from immorality and matters of the kind'. Two further appointments were authorised

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[169] N.A.I., CSOCR, 301/22164; 304/22182; and 310/14648.
[170] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 4 Apr. 1919 [copy]; and Treasury to Under Secretary, 12 May 1919 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).
[171] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 9 Oct. 1919 [copy] and 11 Oct. 1919 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).
[172] Treasury Remembrance to Under Secretary, 22 Nov. 1919 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[173] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 9 Oct. 1919 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[174] 'Quinlan, Miss Julia' (T.N.A., CO 904/213/364).
[175] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 22 Oct. 1919 (T.N.A., T/12398).

on the terms offered by the Chief Commissioner, that the strength of the uniform D.M.P. would be reduced by one constable.[176]

The Chief Commissioner advised the Under Secretary in April 1919 that he had 'obtained a return of the principal prosecutions taken at the instance of the two patrols originally appointed' and expressed satisfaction that 'all the members of the staff of the women patrols are working assiduously and intelligently'.[177] He assured the Under-Secretary that 'the services of these women have been invaluable and the assistance which they have afforded in dealing with many cases where ordinary police would have been quite ineffective has been of greatest utility.' He wrote that there was 'unfortunately more work falling legitimately within the province of the women patrols' than could be fulfilled by the current number of four, and declared himself 'convinced that an effective force of women police will be found to have a very salutary effect in coping with offences arising from immorality and matters of that kind'. In considering the D.M.P. proposal, an official at the Treasury remarked that 'substitution of women for the ordinary Police will tend to efficiency and (at present) to economy'.[178]

The volunteers who became police employees

What do we know of the background of these pioneering policewomen? While the correspondence cited above indicates when approval was given to employ two women (July 1917), and to increase their number to four (October 1918) and to six (November 1919), it is not possible to identify the date of appointment of all of the women known to have been employed. An authoritative record of appointment is extant for Mary O'Neill.[179] Seven other named women were appointed as full-time D.M.P. Women Patrols between July 1917 and June 1920. A survey of records consulted for this thesis indicated that Farquharson and McLoughlin were employed from July 1917, but that both appear to have been replaced in D.M.P. employment by autumn 1917 by Mrs Gertrude Rutland and Mary O'Neill. McLoughlin continued to undertake patrols in mid-November 1917, as suggested by an *Irish Times* report of an assault (see p. 14, n.98). This would suggest that she remained in the direct employment

[176] Treasury to Under Secretary, 22 Nov. 1919 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[177] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 4 Apr. 1919 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[178] Typed note, initialled by Maurice F. Headlam, Treasury Remembrancer, 10 Nov. 1919 (T.N.A., T/12398).
[179] Secretary for Chief Commissioner, D.M.P. to O'Neill, 26 Oct. 1917 [copy] (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/1); and Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Under Secretary, 11 Oct. 1919 [copy] (T.N.A., T/12398).

of the Irish Women Patrols. The women subsequently employed were: Miss Elizabeth Watters, Miss Edith Naughton, Miss Brigid English, Mrs Mary Kavanagh, and Mrs Elizabeth Jane Lang.

Figure 8: Identification card of Miss Bridget English, D.M.P. Women Patrols
(Private Collection, image courtesy of Mr Michael Colohan, Malaga)

By 1922, there were six women in D.M.P. employment: O'Neill, Watters, Naughton, Lang, English and Kavanagh.[180] Bridget English, a Catholic from Kilkenny, was the daughter of a coachman. She described her occupation as 'dressmaker' in 1911. She was in her early forties when she entered employment with the D.M.P., and never married.[181] O'Neill was a 36-year-old widow with two children of primary school age when she began her police career. Her husband, a commercial traveller, died in 1912.[182] Gertrude Rutland was an Englishwoman, married to an English-born 'storekeeper', with one son. She was in her late thirties when she entered police employment. Rutland was the only one of the group known to have been a member of the Church of Ireland, and she later became one of the first Jehovah's Witnesses in Ireland.[183] Elizabeth ('Lizzie') Watters was also in her mid-thirties at the time of her

[180] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Minister for Home Affairs, 30 Oct. 1922 (N.A.I., Jus 4/62/1).
[181] Information from Mr Michael Colohan, Malaga, grand-nephew of Brigid English, D.M.P..
[182] Correspondence from Mr Derek O'Neill, Beaumont Hospital, Dublin, May 2010, grandson of Mrs Mary O'Neill, D.M.P. & Garda Síochána; N.A.I., *Census of Ireland 1911*.
[183] Information from Mr Dave O'Rourke, Watchtower Society, Dublin; and Mr Laurence Rutland, Dublin, grandson of Gertrude Rutland, D.M.P.; N.A.I., *Census of Ireland 1911*.

appointment in 1920. She was a labourer's daughter, born in Co. Louth, a Catholic, and never married.[184] Edith Naughton was born in Mayo, was Roman Catholic and was in her mid-thirties when she began to work for the D.M.P.. Her occupation was not declared in the Census of 1911. She lived with her widowed sister and her mother and father, an Army Pensioner. Background details of the two remaining women, Mrs Elizabeth Lang and Mrs Mary Kavanagh have not been established, but internal records show that Lang had children.

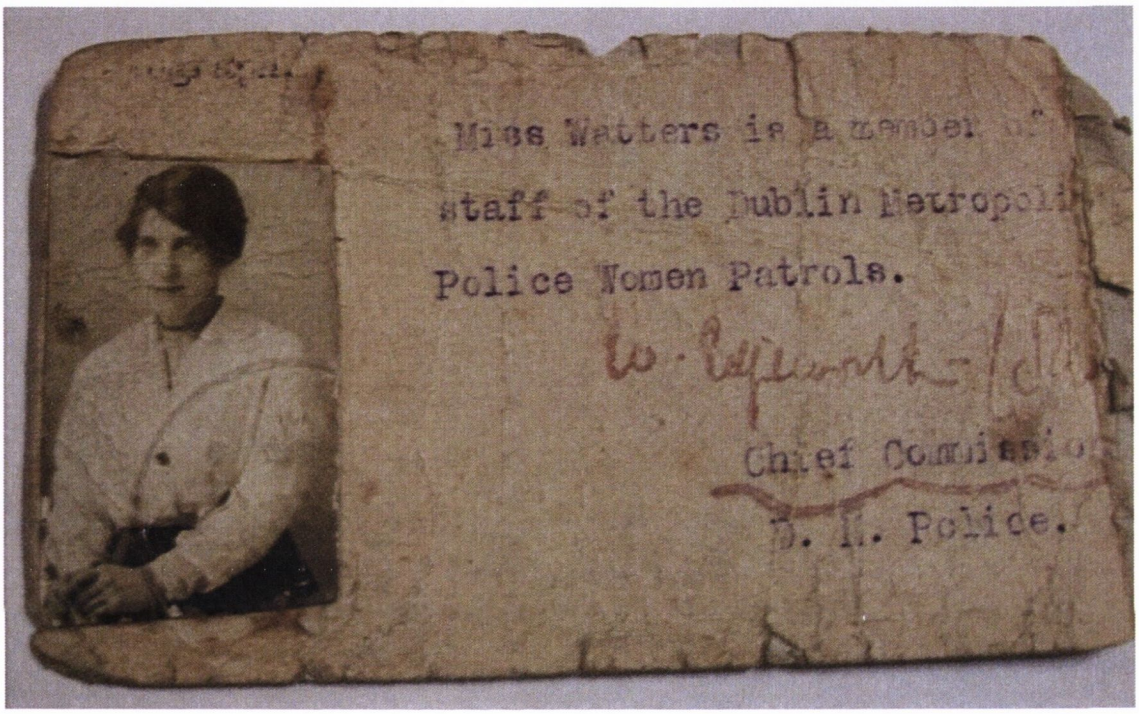

Figure 9: Identification card of Miss Elizabeth Watters, D.M.P. Women Patrols
(Private Collection, image by permission of Mrs Carmel Brohoon, Dublin)

The known backgrounds of the Women Patrols volunteers that became D.M.P. policewomen tend to revise the perception of the character of the Irish Women Patrols as upper-class. [185] With regard to prospective candidates for D.M.P. employment, the Chief Commissioner considered that: 'What we want is a woman of fair education, strong common sense and robust health,' and that: 'A woman of this kind (if there is such) might belong to any class.'[186] No other indication of the selection criteria used by the D.M.P. has been found, but sources suggest that Haslam exercised a pivotal influence in the selection of candidates by Col. Johnstone and the police authorities. The Chief Commissioner was quoted in the *Irish Times* to

[184] Information from Mrs Carmel Brohoon, Dublin, grand-niece of Elizabeth Watters, D.M.P. & Garda Síochána.
[185] Luddy, *Prostitution*, pp 174-6.
[186] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Treasury, 6 Jul. 1917 (T.N.A., T/12398).

have said that the women recruited by the D.M.P. 'were selected from the ranks of the Patrols on the recommendation of Mrs Haslam.'[187]

The vigour with which the Women Patrols initiated prosecutions declined from 1918 onwards, as noted above. By 1920, the Women Patrols had shifted the focus of their activity from 'street work' to 'station work'. In May 1921, the cross-religious Protection Crusade collapsed with the secession of its Catholic component.[188] The Women Patrols committee committed itself to 'carrying on the work of the Irish Girls Protection Crusade until such time as that work can again be put on a firm financial basis. Each week, three workers now help about 25 girls.'[189] The Girls Friendly Society and Mothers Union allocated funding directly to the Women Patrols, and were represented on the Women Patrol committee.[190] The organisation retained its title and continued to value police endorsement. In May 1922 the Free State Ministry of Home Affairs assured the Women Patrols that 'the privileges heretofore accorded to these patrols will be continued'.[191] In December 1922, the Women Patrols reduced their complement of station workers to just two, and the organisation was dissolved in 1929.[192]

Paramilitary phase

The street patrol activity of the Irish Women Patrols declined from 1918, and was curtailed in Dublin in May 1920, on the instruction of the D.M.P. Chief Commissioner.[193] The reason for curtailment was referred to contemporaneously as 'the Troubles' in Ireland: a War of Independence, had been launched in January 1919 by the Irish Republican Army, the military wing of the nationalist *Sinn Féin* ('We ourselves') movement. The war began with the shooting of two R.I.C. men in Co. Tipperary, and the police remained in the front line for the course of the conflict, which was referred to as 'police war' by the leaders of the counter-insurgency. The Government treated the campaign prosecuted against it as a criminal one rather than a political revolution, a strategy that wore thin as 1920 progressed. In May 1920, the leadership of the Irish police forces, R.I.C. and D.M.P., was unified under a military officer, Major General Henry Hugh Tudor, who was appointed as Police Adviser to the Irish government. The exceptional powers that Government held under the Defence of the Realm Act were extended

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[187] *Irish Times*, 9 May 1919.
[188] *G.F.S. and M.U. Report for year ending 1921*, p. 13 (R.C.B., G.F.S. Records).
[189] G.F.S. Central Council, Meeting 16 Nov. 1921 (R.C.B., MS 578, Minutes of Central Council 1905-21).
[190] G.F.S. Central Council, Meeting 15 Jun. 1921 (R.C.B., MS 578, Minutes of Central Council 1905-21).
[191] Ministry of Home Affairs to Irish Women Patrols, 22 May 1922 (N.A.I., DJ H/21/5).
[192] *G.F.S. Report for 1929*, p. 16 (R.C.B., G.F.S. Records).
[193] *Freeman's Journal*, 1 Nov. 1921; and *Irish Independent*, 2 Jan. 1924.

in August by the Restoration of Order in Ireland Act, 1920. Curfews were imposed in cities from 1920, and martial law was imposed in eight southerly counties in the winter of 1920-21.[194]

In an effort to make up a marked shortfall in the ranks of the R.I.C., in December 1919 the police authorities began to recruit men in Britain for service as 'Temporary Constables' of the R.I.C..[195] In July 1920, a further innovation reflected the military nature of the police repression of the revolution in Ireland: an elite force was raised in Britain, drawn from former military and naval officers to form an Auxiliary Division, Royal Irish Constabulary (A.D.R.I.C.). Its members were designated 'Temporary Cadets', and were ranked and paid at the level of R.I.C. Sergeant. Unlike the Temporary Constables, commonly referred to as 'Black and Tans', the Auxiliary Division men did not reside in R.I.C. barracks and it operated as a separate force from the main body of police.[196] The Auxiliaries were to the fore of the counter-insurgency strategy of raiding residential and business premises.[197] The counter-insurgency was heavily reliant on 'overt intelligence methods', through interrogation of prisoners and search raids.[198]

The effectiveness of search raids was hampered by observance of the convention that women were not subject to physical search by men. The female auxiliary of the revolutionary Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.), *Cumann na mBan* [trans.: women's association], 'never armed itself and it never attacked British military or police'.[199] However, the guerrilla nature of the revolutionary insurgency involved the storage and conveyance of arms and information by civilians, including women. The Deputy Police Adviser with responsibility for intelligence, Sir Ormond Winter, later recalled that: 'Women were practically immune from search and were known frequently to carry arms for their IRA friends.'[200] Accounts presented by nationalist participants of the War of Independence suggest that women were generally successful in resisting the wishes of the police to search them, unless a female searcher was available.[201] The 1911 edition of the R.I.C.'s *Standing Rules and Regulations* directed that: 'when it is

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[194] Richard Abbott, *Police Casualties in Ireland, 1919-1922* (Cork, 2000) p273.
[195] David M. Leeson, *The Black and Tans: British Police and Auxiliaries in the Irish War of Independence, 1920-1921* (Oxford, 2011), p. 24.
[196] Ibid., p. 34.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Paul McMahon, 'British Intelligence and the Anglo-Irish Truce, July-December 1921' in *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 140 (Nov., 2007), p. 521.
[199] Cal McCarthy, *Cumann na mBan and the Irish Revolution* (Cork, 2007), p. 117.
[200] Peter Hart (ed.), *British Intelligence in Ireland 1920-21: The Final Reports* (Cork, 2002), p. 54.
[201] WS 632, Elizabeth Bloxham, p30; WS 752, Mary Rigney, p10; WS 485, Brighid O'Mullane, p. 8, (N.A.I., B.M.H.).

necessary to search a female prisoner, this is only to be done by another female'.[202] In pre-war Belfast, 'male police officers were not in a position to search immediately women whom they suspected of theft, other than to demand to see what they carried under a shawl or coat,' and this practice was generally upheld during the Anglo-Irish War.[203] The invulnerability of female I.R.A. couriers in Cork, attributed to a shortage of female searchers, was recalled by a military officer stationed there during the War.[204] A policeman correspondent expressed frustration at the position in the *Constabulary Gazette*: 'We have the Policewomen and the Government did not despise the services of tens of thousands of women during the war. Many of these would be glad of employment.'[205]

W.A.S. involvement

These circumstances led the police authorities to incorporate women searchers as an element of recruitment in Britain for the counter-insurgency in Ireland. The Deputy Police Adviser in Ireland applied to the London Metropolitan Police for women to work with the R.I.C.. The Metropolitan Police referred the Irish police authorities to the Women's Auxiliary Service (W.A.S.), the name taken by the private 'women police' organisation formerly known as the Women Police Service, which had trained D.M.P. and R.I.C. policewomen in 1917.[206] The police leadership at Dublin Castle procured the services of about fifty 'women police', as the Women's Auxiliary Service referred to its members. Ray Douglas noted that 'W.P.S. literature and Allen's memoirs both state that fifty officers were sent to Ireland. Only forty-five W.P.S. members, however, are recorded on active duty there in the 1920-21 Annual Report.'[207]

Ray Douglas has noted that the procurement of its members for service in the Anglo-Irish War was very opportune for the W.A.S., the continued existence of which was imperilled without participation in 'another war'.[208] In 1921, a British Parliamentary Inquiry as to the employment of women on police duties, recognised 'the valuable services which the voluntary organisations

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[202] *Standing Rules and Regulations for the government and guidance of the Royal Irish Constabulary* (6th ed., Dublin 1911), p311, cited by Michael D. Boyle, 'Women and Crime in Belfast, 1900-13' (Ph.D Dissertation, 1997, The Queen's University Belfast), p. 132

[203] Boyle, 'Women and Crime in Belfast, 1900-13', p. 132.

[204] : Lieut. Gen. A.E. Percival in William Sheehan, *British Voices from the Irish War of Independence 1918-1921: The words of British Servicemen who were there*, pp104-6.

[205] *Constabulary Gazette*, 3 Apr. 1920.

[206] Mary S. Allen, *The Pioneer Policewoman* (London, 1925); Sir Ormond Winter: *Winter's Tale: An Autobiography* (London, 1955) p298; Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps*, p. 75.

[207] Ibid., p. 97

[208] Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps*, p. 75.

have rendered during the war,' but was 'unable to see any permanent place for them in the police system of the country.'[209] The number of policewomen employed in England declined in the post-war period.[210] The founder and principal fund-raiser of the W.A.S., Margaret Damer-Dawson, had recently died; most of its members had been demobilized from their supervisory work in munitions factories, and the Metropolitan Police had acted decisively against it following the establishment of Metropolitan Police Women Patrols. Prosecution in court by the Metropolitan Police, under Sir Nevil Macready, compelled the W.P.S to modify its uniform and expunge 'police' from its name.[211] Deployment in Ireland was the first of a series of missions outside Britain assigned to the W.A.S..

The most detailed treatment of the women's work is offered in Allen's memoir, *Pioneer Policewoman*. Allen's treatment drew heavily from extended direct quotations attributed to members of the W.A.S., referred to by their surname and their W.A.S. rank. It was the practice of at least some of its members to correspond regularly with the W.A.S. headquarters. The wearing of uniform was a cardinal principle of the W.A.S., recommended by it to the R.I.C. in 1917 and a matter of issue in its dispute with the London Metropolitan Police. The first W.A.S. party of eleven arrived at Dublin in full uniform, to the alarm of the plainclothes policeman who was assigned to receive them.[212] All but the leader of the group, W.A.S. Chief Inspector E. Anne Campbell, were required to change into plainclothes before they proceeded from the port. One of the contributors quoted in Allen's memoir mentioned that, when advised to do so when walking on the street in the north of Ireland, she and her colleague removed their hats and used long rain 'macs' to conceal their uniform.[213] Allen wrote that the R.I.C. agreed that the women wear uniform when on duty, and referred to the presence of the 'blue uniforms of the Women's Auxiliary Service' alongside other uniformed police personnel in Ireland.[214] A published photograph of a 'joint police/military search operation in Co. Monaghan' featured two women in a dark uniform that incorporated the distinctive Glengarry wool hat worn by the Auxiliary Division.[215] It seems probable that the W.A.S. members attached to the Auxiliary

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[209] *Report of the Committee on the Employment of Women on Police Duties*, p10 [Cmd. 877], H.C 1920, xxii, 1087.
[210] *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Policewomen*, p11-12, [Cmd. 2224], H.C. 1924, xii, 193.
[211] E.H. Glover, *The English Police. Its origin and development* (London, 1934), p. 115.
[212] Allen, *Pioneer Policewoman*, pp 185-6.
[213] Allen, *Pioneer Policewoman*, p. 196, attributed to Constable Budd's diary, Jan. 1921.
[214] Ibid., p189.
[215] Richard Abbott, *Police Casualties in Ireland 1919-22* (Cork, 2000).

Division adopted a uniform similar to that worn by its members, rather than the W.P.S. uniform.

Allen listed the names and rank within her organisation of some of the women who were deployed to Ireland, who were led by 'Chief Inspector Campbell'.[216] 'The Lady Inspector in charge of the contingent of the Women Police Service just arrived in Dublin from London' told a reporter that 'they had received no instructions beyond being ordered to proceed to Dublin', and declined to say by whom that instruction had been issued.[217] The deployment of Women Police Service members to Ireland was noted in the 'Police News' column of the *Irish Times* in October 1920, which cited the *Manchester Guardian* as its source.[218] Brief reports of the presence of women searchers with military and police parties featured in newspaper reports.[219] One observer was incredulous of reports that the female police searchers were associated with the W.A.S., given Sir Nevil Macready's prominent role in the successful prosecution of the organization in 1919.[220] The presence of women searchers was publicized in a statement to the press of December 1920: 'A revolver is easily hidden and difficult to find only too often it is passed to one of the women in the house who keeps it on her until the raiding party have gone. To meet this elementary stratagem the authorities now employ a certain number of women searchers but it is not possible to take them on all the raids that are carried out.'[221]

The W.A.S. members were dispersed to various parts of the country, often in pairs, and 'some of the women searchers were attached to the Auxiliary Division'.[222] Allen quoted Campbell as having noted that 'In due time, the policewomen were given sealed instructions, and were ordered to report at Sligo, Fermoy, Roscommon, Belfast, etc. They were obliged to hold themselves in readiness, at any hour of the day or night, to accompany the Crown forces on raiding expeditions, whenever the presence of uniformed women was considered desirable.'[223] W.A.S. member Chandler referred to her participation along with another member named Rance, in searches at the Iveagh Buildings apartments and at the National University in Dublin,

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[216] Allen, *Pioneer Policewoman*, p. 184.
[217] *Irish Independent*, 17 Jul. 1920.
[218] *Weekly Irish Times*, 16 Oct. 1920.
[219] At Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, *Irish Times*, 28 Oct. 1920; At Iveagh Buildings, Dublin, *Weekly Irish Times*, 20 Nov. 1920; at Tralee, Co. Kerry, *Irish Times*, 25 Jan. 1921; at University College, Dublin, *Irish Times*, 1 Mar. 1921.
[220] *Irish Independent*, 26 Nov. 1920.
[221] Statements to the press, 20 Dec. 1920 (T.N.A., P.R.O., CO 904/168).
[222] I.C. Price, Assistant Inspector General, R.I.C. circular of 2 Aug. 1921 (T.N.A., CO 904/178).
[223] Allen, *Pioneer Policewoman*, p. 187.

press reports of which also referred to female searchers.[224] When the technical status of these women was queried in the House of Commons, the Attorney-General for Ireland Denis Henry, advised that they were not members of the R.I.C. but were paid from police funds and came under the control of the police and military authorities.[225] Ray Douglas found that the W.A.S. women were paid at a rate that 'roughly approximated' that of the R.I.C. Temporary Constables ('Black and Tans') of £3.10.0 weekly.[226] Internal correspondence of August 1921 indicated that the Treasury had sanctioned travel expenses for leave 'from the port of embarkation in Ireland to the women's home in England twice a year'.[227]

Members of Cumann na mBan were mindful of the threat posed to them by women searchers at railway stations and bases such as Macroom Castle, which was an Auxiliary Division base.[228] Some of the B.M.H. accounts refer to evasion of searchers or concealment of material from them. Áine Ceannt described how she concealed a case of 'documents connected with Dáil Éireann' from an Auxiliary party that included female searchers by 'sitting on it' while she nursed a broken leg.[229] Nora Aghas was not searched by a raiding party that included a female searcher when the train was stopped on its journey to Limerick.[230] The I.R.A. despatch carried by Aghas was undiscovered, but she remembered that she 'saw a girl who had been in my carriage and had moved out of it being carried off in the lorry by the Black and Tans', and subsequently 'found out that she too was carrying a despatch'. Margaret Brady, a member of Cumann na mBan in Leitrim, recalled that: 'It was very seldom that the enemy had lady searchers with them, and then only in very limited numbers.'[231]

'The women rebels themselves rarely resented the presence of policewomen,' Campbell is quoted to have reported.[232] However, statements to the B.M.H. suggest that the role of women searchers in house raids was acutely resented. The wives of two nationalist Limerick politicians whose homes were raided in February 1921 both referred in separate statements to the attentions of female searchers as a 'humiliation'.[233] One contributor described 'the senior

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[224] Ibid., p. 190.
[225] Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps,* p. 77, with citation: H.C. Deb. 5s., c.1083 (21 Jun. 1921).
[226] N.A.I., CSOCR 334/3057 (10 Feb. 1922); 334/2656 (27 Jul. 1921); 2636, 31 Jan. 1921; 2636/5 (7 Oct. 1921), cited by Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps*, pp 97-8.
[227] Administration, Police (Pay and Pensions) Circulars to R.I.C., 1921-22 (T.N.A., P.R.O., CO 904/178).
[228] WS 303, Josephine McNeill, p. 13; WS 1690, Nora Cunningham, p5, (N.A.I., B.M.H.).
[229] WS 264, Áine Ceannt, p. 58, (N.A.I., B.M.H.).
[230] WS 645, Nora Aghas, p. 6, (N.A.I., B.M.H.)
[231] WS 1267, Margaret Brady (née Sweeney), p. 8 (N.A.I., B.M.H.).
[232] Allen, *Pioneer Policewoman*, p. 187.
[233] WS 806, Mrs George Clancy, p. 12; WS 608, Mrs K. O'Callaghan, p18, (N.A.I., B.M.H.)

woman searcher' as 'insolent in the extreme', and suggested that the searcher had 'learned her methods and her manners in London dealing with a class of English crime very different from my offences'. This resentment is striking in the context of subsequent raids on these houses by masked men in which the women's husbands, the incumbent and former Lord Mayors of Limerick, were both killed. Cal McCarthy's reading of R.I.C. County Inspectors' monthly reports found that: 'Searches of the residence of Cumann na mBan members became more common from early 1921 and resulted in the discovery of republican literature in Galway, Tyrone and Offaly.'[234]

'In some cases they were armed,' wrote Allen of the W.A.S. members in Ireland.[235] Women were certainly employed on intelligence work by the police authorities at Dublin Castle.[236] Brigid O'Mullane described a daring spy who masqueraded as a member of Cumann na mBan. She had a revolver in a 'full Cumann na mBan uniform' beneath the black raincoat she wore when she was ordered by a revolutionary court to leave the country, the punishment prescribed for non-Irish spies by the IRA.[237] 'Only consideration of her sex prevents the infliction of the statutory punishment of death,' directed an order about 'Women Spies' initialled by Liam Lynch, and issued by the IRA in November 1920.[238] This letter directed that where an Irish woman was found by a republican court to be a spy, the publication of her identity and the offence was adequate punishment. R.M. Douglas found specific evidence of W.A.S. members attached to particular companies of the Auxiliary Division, R.I.C., in County Kilkenny and in Cork.[239] Allen's memoir indicated that it was the practice of some officers to direct female searchers to accompany them when travelling by car on the basis that the presence of the woman would reduce the prospect of an attack upon them. In Allen's memoir, Constable Chandler is attributed with having reported that: 'On one or two occasions I had to go with one or the other of the Staff Officers to Kingstown in a private motor, as they were officers whose lives were threatened, and they thought if I went with them they might be safer.'[240]

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[234] McCarthy, *Cumann na mBan*, p129-30, with ref. to: Galway East, January 1921; Tyrone, February 1921; Offaly, March 1921; (P.R.O. CO 904/114).
[235] Allen, *Pioneer Policewoman*, p. 174.
[236] Hart (ed.), *British Intelligence,* p. 47.
[237] WS 450, Brighid O'Mullane, p. 25, (N.A.I., B.M.H.).
[238] Women Spies letter, 9th Nov. 1920, (N.A.I., B.M.H., WS 808, Richard Willis & John Bolster, Appendix III).
[239] W.A.S., *Report of Work accomplished during the year, 1920-1921*, p. 19, cited by Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps*, p77; N.A.I. C.S.O. C.R. 334/3057/6 (Oct. 28, 1921), cited by Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps*, p. 98.
[240] Allen, *Pioneer Policewoman*, pp 190-1.

'It was a difficult time for any sort of police,' a member of the D.M.P. later recalled. 'They had very little sympathy from the population. A good number of the Dublin police had resigned. They were between the devil and the deep sea.'[241] Some revolutionaries took a sharply hostile view towards their compatriots in the ranks of the R.I.C.. A member of the first Dáil disparaged them in gendered terms that suggested the potential for female searchers:

> They have foresworn the allegiance they owe to their own land, they have sworn allegiance to the enemy of their country, degraded their manhood, and, like lost souls who have sold themselves to the devil, they are eager to do the devil's work in Ireland. Those black-coated rascals who seek to terrorise the weak, the womankind and the widow, who break into peaceful country homes, and scatter the furniture and effects about.[242]

Allen referred to the restrictions on the movement of the female searchers: 'As soon as the policewomen became known in their districts their liberties were perforce curtailed, as it was not considered safe for them to be abroad; and what free time they enjoyed had to be passed in barracks.'[243] Accounts presented in Allen's memoir described that the women stayed at barracks, or used a ruse of some other reason for their visit if they were to stay in private accommodation.[244] Contemporary published references to the activities and specific location of searchers was probably unwelcome, and prompted black humour. A press report about the movements of a military party to which two women searchers were attached prompted one of the soldiers to 'cheerily' tell a female searcher: 'You're doomed, miss!' as she retired for the night.[245] In Dublin in July 1921, one of the W.A.S. noted: 'Everywhere there are chalkings on pavements, walls and doors, making us feel we are in for it.'[246]

At least thirty-nine Black and Tans and Auxiliaries were assassinated in the Irish War of Independence, mostly in circumstances that 'can only loosely be described as combat'.[247] Based on official figures provided by the authorities in Ireland to the Government, '890 policemen were killed and wounded between July 1920 and July 1921', less than 10 per cent of a force of ten to twelve thousand.[248] Following almost eighteen months of service in Ireland, the Government decided in December 1921 to dispense with the services of the female searchers.[249] The women received a month's pay and their fares to Britain were to be paid.

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[241] David Neligan, *The spy in the* Castle (London, 1968), p. 129.
[242] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, i, 63 (10 April 1919), cited in Leeson, *Black and Tans*, p. 193.
[243] Allen, *Pioneer Policewoman*, p. 187.
[244] Ibid., pp 191, 195.
[245] Ibid., p. 196 (Jan. 1921).
[246] Ibid., p. 193, attributed to 'Constable Budd'.
[247] Leeson, *Black and Tans*, pp 134-5.
[248] Leeson, *The Black and Tans*, p. 140.
[249] C.A. Walsh, Deputy Inspector General, R.I.C., circular of 13 Dec. 1921 (T.N.A., P.R.O., CO 904/178).

R.I.C. officers were directed that 'the County Inspector should grant them certificates of service if they so desire', which were to be 'worded somewhat similarly to the wording of the ordinary parchment certificates'.[250]

The D.M.P. policewomen did not wear uniform, but they were generally known to their male colleagues. The niece of one of the D.M.P. policewomen recalled from her being in the company of her aunt in the city streets that members of the force formally saluted her on the street.[251] It is likely that their identity as policewomen was known to nationalist revolutionaries, particularly given that a number of D.M.P. men in important clerical positions were sympathetic agents of the nationalist revolution, including David Neligan and Eamon Broy, both of whom served with the plainclothes detective section of the D.M.P. ('G' Division), assigned to police political crime. Although 'not of high rank', Broy 'had access to the most confidential files of the government intelligence services operating within Ireland,' and on occasion, facilitated direct access for the leadership of the revolution to that material.[252] Broy's duplicity was not decisively evident to the D.M.P. until December 1920, when he was arrested and imprisoned.

The D.M.P. policewomen were not involved in counter-insurgency activities to a similar extent to that of the W.A.S. members who worked on the direction of the Police Adviser in Ireland. In 1917, the D.M.P. Chief Commissioner had described the D.M.P. as 'a purely Civil Force' in contrast to the 'semi-military' R.I.C..[253] But, in the context of comparison with Belfast, the Chief Commissioner said that 'the temperament of Dublin was peculiar', and added that: 'There were secret political associations, and the authorities were not supported in the same way.'[254] The employment of policewomen by the Irish police forces from 1917 coincided with a period in which, 'for the first time since the 1880s, violence, or the threat of violence, became a constant feature of regular police work'.[255] Brian Hughes's study of hostility towards the police and non-police associated with them has noted that: 'Women who worked for the R.I.C. as

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[250] C.A. Walsh, Deputy Inspector General, R.I.C., circular of 13 Dec. 1921 (T.N.A., P.R.O., CO 904/178).
[251] Recollection of Ms Sheila English, niece of Brigid English, D.M.P. (Information from Mr Michael Colohan, Malaga).
[252] Pauric J. Dempsey and Shaun Boylan, 'Broy, Eamon ('Ned')', and Lawrence White, 'Neligan, David', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009).
[253] W.E. Johnstone, D.M.P. Chief Commissioner, 'Memorandum on the Dublin Metropolitan Police' in *Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention*, p. 131. [Cd. 9019], H.C. 1918, x, 697.
[254] 'Notes on the oral evidence of the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Metropolitan Police' in *Proceedings of the Irish Convention*, p. 133 [C. 9019], x, 697.
[255] Peter Hart, *The I.R.A. and Its Enemies: Violence and Community in Cork, 1916-1923* (Oxford, 1998), p54.

barrack servants were regularly threatened, often successfully, in a bid to force them to leave their employment.'[256] Hughes described a report by the R.I.C. County Inspector for Dublin as a summation of the general situation in 1919: 'People are afraid to offend the extremists and comply with their wishes fearing injury if they did not do so. Also there is no doubt a general scheme on the part of Sinn Féin to intimidate and cow the police to prevent them from doing their duty and to deter young men from joining the Police.'[257]

Given the intensity of the counter-insurgency in Dublin during 1920-21 and the limited number of trusted women with local knowledge in the service of the police, it is implausible to think that they were never involved in counter-insurgency work. However, no direct evidence of such involvement has survived. Some of the policewomen recalled direct involvement in the police escort of prisoners that were prominent figures of the nationalist revolution. Gertrude Rutland told her family of her involvement in the supervision of Countess Markievicz when she was under arrest in Dublin.[258] Jane Bell of the R.I.C. recalled that she had been with a police party that escorted Eamon DeValera in custody from Dublin to Belfast.[259] A 'Record of Rewards/Record of Punishments' from for Mary O'Neill is extant, which included a reward of £2 'for Special Police Services in 1920', without any further detail.

How does the Dublin branch relate to the Belfast branch?

Two basic observations may be drawn from a comparison of the early experience of female policing in Dublin and in Belfast. Firstly, the R.I.C. was less interested in a female police role than the D.M.P., and the second is that the number of policewomen in Belfast did not develop beyond the initial number of two, despite evident police satisfaction with them and with their work. In a request of April 1919 for new uniform for the women, an R.I.C. District Inspector remarked that 'the women police have proved a distinct acquisition to the Force.' He added: 'Their work has been excellently done and I think they ought to be retained.'[260] The second major distinction between Dublin and Belfast relates to the different character of female policing in the R.I.C. than in Dublin, which may be partly attributed to the influence of the

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[256] Brian Hughes, 'Persecuting the Peelers' in David Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Terror in Ireland 1916-1923* (Dublin, 2012) p. 213.
[257] Monthly Confidential Report, County Inspector for Dublin, Jan. 1919, (T.N.A., CO 904/108), cited in Hughes, 'Persecuting the Peelers', p. 208.
[258] Information from Mr Lawrence Rutland, Dublin.
[259] Cameron, 'Deaconess Policewoman'.
[260] Robert Dunlop, D.I., R.I.C. Detective Department, Belfast, to Chief Secretary's Office, 17 Apr. 1919 (T.N.A., T/12398).

W.P.S. in the case of the R.I.C.. While a training period with the W.P.S. in London was arranged for the D.M.P. Women Patrols, this initial training appears to have been the extent of the W.P.S.'s direct influence on female policing in the D.M.P.. The Chief Commissioner of the D.M.P. persevered with the employment of policewomen despite some initial dissatisfaction, and was supportive of it. He lent public support to the operations of the Patrols, increased the number of D.M.P. policewomen (albeit only to six), and effectively promoted one of their number, O'Neill. Haslam's relationship with the Chief Commissioner was evidently crucial to the selection of women for employment with the police, and would seem to have been a significant factor in the relative development of female policing in Dublin.

The failure of the Irish Women Patrols to establish a branch in Cork indicated the limited appeal of the initiative beyond Dublin and Belfast. It also suggested the limited interest in the R.I.C. for the deployment of women patrols or policewomen, given that Cork Corporation had raised concern at prostitution there to the R.I.C. in 1917 on more than one occasion.[261] John Borgonovo has shown that in Cork, 'interactions between local women and American soldiers caused outrage, which led to mob attacks on the visitors and their female companions,' evidently inspired by Catholic priests. Borgonovo attributed to 'unstable political conditions in Cork' the 'very different response to the same perceived prostitution problem experienced in Dublin, Belfast and Great Britain'.[262] However, it would seem that the absence of a female civic patrol and women police in Cork might be more readily explained with reference to the evident weakness of organised suffragism in Cork and the uninterest of the R.I.C. in the application of female police.

Conclusions in relation to existent literature

Levine's survey article about women patrols and women police requires qualification in important respects with regard to the Irish Women Patrols and policewomen in Ireland. The first of these is the retention by the Irish Women Patrols of their commitment to feminist, welfarist, suffragist objectives. Participation in the Irish Women Patrols was strongly related to electoral politics, as suggested by the participation of some former Poor Law Guardians in the organization, and the conspicuous participation of Clara Moser, a political campaigner and unsuccessful candidate for election as a Guardian. Levine noted that the central N.U.W.W. and

[261] John Borgonovo, '"Exercising a close vigilance over their daughters": Cork women, American sailors, and Catholic vigilantes, 1917-18' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxviii, 149 (May 2012), pp 91-2.
[262] Borgonovo, '"Exercising a close vigilance"', p. 93.

the W.P.S. 'were noticeably mute on the issue' of the implementation of DORA Regulation 40D, but this chapter has illustrated that not only did the I.W.S.L.G.A., the organisation with which Haslam was most closely involved, protest at 40D, but that the Irish Women Patrols also expressed their objection to it. A second indication that the Irish Women Patrols retained their commitment to practical female welfare was the organization's adoption of the 'traveller's aid' work that had been performed by the Irish Girls Protection Crusade, until the collapse of that agency through the secession of its Catholic component. In her survey analysis, Levine remarked that 'ties between the women police and the feminist movement rapidly loosened'.[263] However, in the case of Dublin, the ties were sustained, through the participation of the D.M.P. policewomen in events to honour women patrols, such as the medal ceremony of 1919, and in the laying of a wreath from 'the Irish policewomen' alongside one from the I.W.P. at Anna Haslam's funeral in December 1922.[264]

The contention that the Women Patrols were a manifestation of class bias, advanced by Angela Woolacott, might also be revised. Woolacott attributed the decision of female social reformers 'to work hand-in-hand with police and military authorities' during the First World War as indicative of 'their class identification and their own ambitions'.[265] She suggested that participants in the women patrol and female police movement were 'prepared to use women of the working class as objects for their own ends'.[266] While mainly comprised of 'ladies', there was a non-élite section of participants in the Irish Women Patrols. The voluntary scheme acted as a vehicle for full-time employment of a small number of women in Dublin. Maria Luddy's portrayal of the Irish Women Patrols as a manifestation of class bias might be challenged with reference to the profile of the former Patrol volunteers subsequently employed by the D.M.P.. A significant number of women remained in police employment in during a period of peril and tumult. In the case of at least some of the Dublin women patrols, it is probable that the prospect of employment was a factor in their voluntarism with the patrol organisation. It seems likely that ambition, and economic necessity, was a significant factor in the entry of these women without independent means to police employment. At least one, O'Neill, was a widow with young children.[267] Later in their lives, O'Neill and Watters were the sole-wage

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[263] Levine, '"Walking the Streets"', p. 75.
[264] *Irish Times*, 2 Dec. 1922.
[265] Angela Woolacott, '"Khaki Fever" and Its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, xxviiii, 2 (Apr. 1994), p. 338.
[266] Woolacott, *Munition workers in the Great War*, p. 179.
[267] Information from Mr Derek O'Neill, Dublin, and *Census of Ireland 1911*, N.A.I..

earners in households with other dependent female relatives.[268] Rather than a choice 'between traditional feminine loyalties and the closed world of law enforcement' suggested by Levine, 'joining the police' enabled some of these women to serve traditional feminine and family loyalties.[269] Gertrude Rutland, who had been a D.M.P. Woman Patrol from 1917 to 1921, continued her detection and enforcement career as an inspector of the Irish Pharmaceutical Association, in the investigation and prosecution of errant pharmacy operators.[270]

'For a woman to be unable to venture' into the night-time streets or other public places 'without fearing attack, being labelled "immoral" or suspected of being a prostitute, necessarily acted as a constraint upon her freedom of movement,' Lucy Bland has written of feminist vigilantism in late Victorian England.[271] The operation of the women patrols in Dublin sought to redress this situation, as demonstrated by the importance accorded by the Women Patrols to its successful prosecution of the 'Metal Bridge' case. Some of the Patrols at least adopted an aggressive prosecutorial practice, such as Lloyd and McLoughlin, and the sources indicate their disposition and capacity to prosecute men, contrary to the impression that their sole 'targets' were women. The treatment of the Irish Women Patrols as ineffectual might be challenged with regard to the prosecutorial vigour, and on the basis of their instrumental role in the entry of women to full-time, paid police work. The Dublin branch of the Women Patrols was vigorous in initiating and pursuing court prosecutions in its early years.

On a promotion and training visit to Dublin in February 1915, an N.U.W.W. organiser 'was very emphatic upon the point that women must enter upon such service with the determination to change the police system, and so to change it that it shall become primarily a preventive rather than a punitive service.'[272] As Levine has noted, the incursion of women into the field of policing registered an 'implicit criticism of the incompleteness of exclusively male policing. It also suggested more openly the inability of policemen to access large areas of female experience or of women's trust and in this it raised the critical issue of access to power.'[273]

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[268] Máire Bhreathnach, Finance to Secretary Justice 13 Jan.1950, and Proposed Extension of Service beyond the normal retiring age on the grounds of hardship or of national service, October 1955 (N.A.I., Jus. 4/62/1).
[269] Levine, '"Walking the Streets"', p. 78.
[270] Several references occur in *Irish Times*, 4 Apr. 1927 to 27 May 1937 inclusive.
[271] Lucy Bland, '"Purifying" the public world: feminist vigilantes in late Victorian England' in *Women's History Review*, i, 3 (1992), p. 408.
[272] *Irish Citizen*, 13 February 1915.
[273] Levine, '"Walking the Streets"', p. 72.

Levine remarked on: 'The rapid adoption of what one might call typical police attitudes' by women in policing during this period.[274] However, the basis of the women patrol movement, and the activities of some of the most active Irish Women Patrols such as Lloyd, would tend to suggest that the initiative may be interpreted as an attempt to subvert exclusive male administration of policing and criminal justice through participation in policing. It is posited that at least some of the Irish Women Patrols probably regarded their patrol and prosecution efforts in those terms.

Statistics collated by the D.M.P. offer an indication of the extent and nature of the force's recorded involvement with women up to 1919.[275] Women formed a substantial proportion of persons with whom the D.M.P. had recorded interaction. Between 1909 and 1919, women never constituted less than three of every ten people arrested by the D.M.P., and for four of those years women constituted 40 per cent or more of all people arrested by the force. The proportion of females proceeded against, whether by arrest or by summons, was also substantial. Women never constituted less than a quarter of all those proceeded against by the D.M.P. in any given year between 1909 and 1919. On average during this period, approximately 32 per cent of all persons proceeded against ('made amenable') were women. The proportion of females arrested and the proportion of females proceeded against through this period remained relatively stable, despite pronounced changes in the overall volume of arrests and prosecutions over the course of the period. On the basis of the level of crime 'detected', the D.M.P. demonstrated a strong effort to make sexual offenders amenable to the law over the period 1907 to 1916. However, the gap between detected crimes and resultant prosecutions widened during 1917-19. The low incidence of these crimes detected in 1913, a tumultuous year for the D.M.P., would seem to cast doubt on the accuracy of detected crime as a reflection of the actual level of crime.

Within two years of its formation, both branches of the Irish Women Patrols had realized a major objective of the organisation through the employment of women on full-time police duty by the R.I.C. and the D.M.P.. The employment of 'women police' was a development of particular significance as a feature of the entry of women to full-time paid occupations during this period, due to the strongly-gendered nature of that employment and its political sensitivity. It was also remarkable due to the conservatism of the Chief Commissioner, as

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[274] Levine, '"Walking the Streets"', p. 55.
[275] *Statistical tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police* published as Command Papers for each year, 1909-1919.

exhibited to the Irish Convention in December 1917, to whom he declared himself 'strongly of the opinion' that 'the existing police system should remain unchanged', and that 'alterations' ought to be 'effected gradually and with due caution'.[276] The speed and apparent ease with which women were employed by the D.M.P. was remarkable as an illustration of collaboration between political, police, and civil society interests. The humanitarianism espoused by the female police movement cultivated 'an association between police work and community involvement, a sea change in police practice unlikely to have emerged without women's presence in the police'.[277]

However, beyond the matter of employment, the position of the small number of consistently employed policewomen in Ireland did not develop during this period, with the exception of the individual position of Mary O'Neill, whose pay was increased and who was to exercise 'limited supervision' over her colleagues. A Vice-Regal Commission on re-organisation and pay of the Irish police forces recommended a rate of pay for 'Police Women' on appointment (35s.) that was half that of a Constable on appointment (70s.), and was the same as the rate for female attendants and matrons.[278] The brief report of the Commission did not propose any change to the number of 'Police Women' employed nor to their want of technical police status.

'The war was indubitably decisive in the making of the British policewoman,' observed Levine. The First World War may be said to have been similarly decisive in making the Irish policewoman, but the revolutionary war in Ireland was also consequential to female policing in Ireland and internationally. The patriotism that had contributed to draw volunteers to the Irish Women Patrols was widely unpopular in Dublin by 1918. Attributes, such as wartime voluntarism during the First World War and loyal service to police through the revolutionary war became highly impolitic following the establishment of independent nationalist government in the south of Ireland in 1922. Provision for retirement on pension was not available to the policewomen whose period of service, while undoubtedly trying and dramatic, had been of short duration prior to that time.[279] The paramilitary and political aspects of policing were amplified during the Anglo-Irish War of Independence, and this was the context for an urgent expansion of female policing through the procurement of members of the W.A.S.

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[276] 'Memorandum on the Dublin Metropolitan Police' in *Proceedings of the Irish Convention* [Cd. 9019] H.C. 1918, x, 697.
[277] Levine, '"Walking the Streets"', p. 51.
[278] *Report of the Vice-Regal Commission on Re-organisation and Pay of the Irish Police Forces* p10 and p. 14, [Cmd. 603], H.C. 1920, xxii, 1125.
[279] Kent Fedorowich, 'The Problems of Disbandment: The Royal Irish Constabulary and Imperial Migration, 1919-29' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxx, 117 (May, 1996), pp 88-110.

by the counter-insurgency. In the short-term, the War of Independence produced an intensification of female policing. But in the longer-term, the outcome of the war tended to negate the prospect for expansion of the D.M.P. policewomen, due to the impolitic nature of their affiliation to the former Administration, and to the re-orientation of the police as a national force that bore strong association with the nationalist revolution and the mode of cultural nationalism with which the revolution was associated.

Ray Douglas has remarked on the significance of participation in the Anglo-Irish War to the continued existence of the W.A.S.. That participation was crucial in sustaining what Douglas has identified as the militarism evident in the women police movement which found further expression in subsequent international missions. The W.A.S. was procured by the R.U.C. soon after its formation in the suppression of political violence against the regime. The W.A.S. retained an interest in Ireland and it remained an influence promotion on the campaign for 'women police' in Ireland in the 1930s. It is noteworthy that reference to the involvement of the W.A.S. as searchers for the counter-insurgency does not appear to have occurred in any subsequent discourse about female policing in Ireland. The eighteen-month deployment would seem to have demonstrated the operational utility of women and that women could be readily incorporated into the police apparatus with regard to practical considerations such as accommodation and uniform. Female policing continued to be referred to as 'an experiment', the viability of which was unknown.

Chapter Two:
'Simply a bunch of tough men'? Female police in independent Ireland

This chapter will examine women in policing in the first two decades of independent government in Ireland. The first section of this chapter will refer to the numerically slight but significant employment of women in the C.I.D.. The second section will note the omission of female policing from consideration in police re-organisation schemes during the early 1920s, which saw the formation of a new nationalist State police, the Civic Guard, in 1922; and its re-formation as An Garda Síochána in 1923. The third section of this chapter presents a study of the work by the Dublin policewomen based on court records and press reports. Covert investigative work was a notable aspect of the work of women in policing during this period, as agents of the C.I.D. and as a component of the regular police apparatus in Dublin. This covert, investigative mode of work is regarded as highly significant by this thesis. It illustrated the particular utility of female police and demonstrated the capacity of female police for work not directly based on maternalism.

The Criminal Investigation Department

Women were conspicuous in the section of the nationalist movement that opposed the terms of peace by which the Anglo-Irish War was ended. Cumann na mBan, a female auxiliary to the nationalist army, the I.R.A., and 'the largest women's group in Ireland,' held a special delegate convention that rejected the Treaty. While the Treaty was subsequently endorsed by a majority of the Dáil, 'the only female T.D.s had also voted against it.'[1] Widows of nationalist revolutionaries and former female participants were vociferous opponents of the Treaty. A garrison opposed to acceptance of the Treaty formed at the Four Courts in Dublin. The terms by which the war had ended were the basis of significant disorder and violence in the new state of Northern Ireland, and in the south, a Civil War was fought between the Government and those opposed to its espousal of the Treaty from June 1922 to May 1923.

The unpacified nature of the island in the aftermath of the Truce and the Treaty had pronounced short-term effects on police organisation, including female participation in policing. The major effect in this regard was the use of policewomen and female police agents by the new governments in Ireland in a mode comparable to the role served by the W.A.S. members attached to the A.D.R.I.C. during the Anglo-Irish War: temporary agents deployed in

[1] McCarthy, *Cumann na mBan*, p. 185.

fraught and violent circumstances as part of a paramilitary police apparatus. In Northern Ireland, this was manifest in a second, smaller mission by the Women's Auxiliary Service with the Royal Ulster Constabulary, from June 1922.[2] In the southern State, the most notable development was the small but significant female participation in an armed, plainclothes, paramilitary agency, the Criminal Investigation Department (C.I.D.). It was formed by the Provisional Government in Dublin in July 1921, and was sustained up to November 1923 by the Government of the Irish Free State. A brief background statement about this controversial, and influential agency is offered here to justify its inclusion in this thesis, and to inform an understanding of female participation in it.[3]

The C.I.D. was formed in July 1921 under the Ministry of Defence of the Provisional Government, soon after a Truce was agreed in the Anglo-Irish War.[4] In mitigation of its shortcomings, Kevin O'Higgins, Minister of Home Affairs, subsequently referred to the 'pell-mell, haphazard way in which the institution was formed, simply a bunch of tough men, if you like, being sent in under their own officers, by the late General Collins,' Chief of Staff of the I.R.A.[5]. Collins was said to have 'rushed three or four score of men into Oriel House under people whom he considered particularly trustworthy and reliable'.[6] Oriel House, a red-brick corner building in central Dublin, was the C.I.D.'s barracks and interrogation centre during two years and four months of its existence, and was synonymous with the agency.[7]

While O'Higgins objected to the characterisation of the C.I.D. as 'natural gunmen', he tartly acknowledged that its personnel 'were not selected according to any drawing-room standards'.[8] Extant basic personnel records suggest that the C.I.D. comprised mainly young, Dublin-born, former I.R.A. men. A few of its staff had prior police experience: two in the R.I.C., one with a police force in the U.S.A., and one with the London Metropolitan Police.[9] Its

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[2] Women's Auxiliary Service, 'Women Police' [pamphlet] Jan. 1926 (U.C.D.A., Bridget Stafford Papers, P63/67).
[3] O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, pp 11-3; Brady Thesis, Chap. 3, p. 7. Brady drew on his private interviews with Baxter, Kinsella, and Neligan; and on papers retained by Kinsella.
[4] Sometimes incorrectly referred as Criminal Investigation *Division*, the title applied to the D.M.P. detective section from Oct. 1923. Sinéad McCoole, *No Ordinary Women Irish female activists in the revolutionary years, 1900-1923* (Dublin, 2004), p. 99; Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland*, p. 29.
[5] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 1296 (30 May, 1923).
[6] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 1294 (30 May, 1923).
[7] From Feb. 1923 to Nov. 1923, C.I.D. head office was at 88 Merrion Square, adjacent to government buildings on Merrion Street.
[8] Deputy Gavan Duffy, *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 1292 (30 May, 1923); and Deputy O'Higgins, Minister of Home Affairs, *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 1294 (30 May, 1923).
[9] Respectively: Michael Joseph Finn and Thomas Cryan; Daniel McAuliffe; and Stephen Lynch (N.A.I., DJ H/169A, pt. 2).

formation was later justified as a 'threat to those who were planning very dark and very violent enterprises', with reference to the mobilisation of anti-Treaty forces.[10] O'Higgins explained 'Oriel House' as a counter to the Dublin garrison of militant nationalist dissidents: 'Putting it baldly, it was the Provisional Government's Four Courts.'[11]

In the Civil War, the C.I.D. fulfilled what O'Higgins had described as its anticipated role as an instrument of the nascent State against its internal political opponents. A memorial by C.I.D. staff in September 1922 referred to 'the unenviable reputation which this department bears with a certain section of the public'.[12] An internal C.I.D. report of 1923 claimed only that 'The interrogation of any prisoner was at least as humane as that form at present extensively used in America and known as the Third Degree.'[13] In 1927, the former Director General of the C.I.D., February 1923 to November 1923, Joe McGrath, succeeded in a libel action against the publishers of a book that imputed that he was responsible for murder and concealment of murder during direction of the agency.[14] A landmine was detonated at Oriel House and shots fired at the building in October 1922.[15] Three C.I.D. staff were killed in the line of duty during its existence, one of them in an attack on Oriel House.[16]

However, in September 1922, three months into the Civil War, control of the C.I.D. was transferred from the Ministry of Defence to the Ministry of Home Affairs, a move that lent it 'at least the veneer of a police institution'.[17] Under his Ministry, O'Higgins said that 'A genuine effort was made to make that institution, in the fullest sense of the word, a civil detective force, and the men confined there were intended for ordinary civil detective work.'[18] O'Higgins referred to favourable press coverage of the C.I.D.'s success against 'the ordinary abuses that are more or less inseparable from the life of a city', a profile that was actively cultivated by or on behalf of the agency.[19] An example of such coverage referred to the non-conformity of

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[10] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 1294 (30 May, 1923).
[11] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 1294 (30 May, 1923).
[12] Memorial of C.I.D. staff to Minister for Home Affairs, 12 Sep. 1922 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/9).
[13] Capt. A.S. O Muiréadhaigh to Maj. Gen. McGrath, T.D., Director General C.I..D, 12 Oct. 1923 (N.A.I., DT s.3331).
[14] Coleman, 'McGrath, Joseph ("Joe")', in in McGuire and Quinn (ed.s), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014).
[15] *Irish Times*, 30 Oct. 1922.
[16] C.I.D.: John Murray, at Deansgrange, Aug. 1922 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/98); Thomas Fitzgerald at Dunsink, Oct. 1923 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/85); Anthony Deane, at Oriel House, Sep. 1922 (N.A.D., DJ H/169/12); C.D.F.: William A. Johnston (N.A.I., DJ H/169/78); Nicholas Williamson (N.A.I., DJ H/169/77);
and as a result of accidental discharge by Free State Army, Charles Patrick Daly Cooper (N.A.I., DJ H/169/82).
[17] Brady Thesis, Chap. 3, p. 9.
[18] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 1295 (30 May, 1923).
[19] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 1295 (30 May, 1923).

C.I.D. personnel to standards of police physique and appearance as an asset to the agency: 'the fact that there is nothing of the accepted detective appearance about them'.[20] Then, a reversion to a political emphasis was indicated by its placement from February 1923 until its dissolution in November 1923, under the authority of Joseph McGrath, at once a T.D. and the Director of Intelligence of the National Army during the Civil War.[21]

Twenty years after its dissolution, Government professed uncertainty as to whether the C.I.D. had been a police force. An official summarised the position: 'It was not created by Statute; its expenses were defrayed out of state funds; it was in no way connected with the police forces which were in existence at the time; its members were not sworn in as police; it was organised on the lines of an official police force, having the ranks of Chief Superintendent, Superintendent, Inspector, and Detective Officer; its purposes were to repress crime and maintain order in the very difficult conditions which then obtained; its members, while not legally endowed with powers of arrest and search, actually exercised such powers.'[22] In response to queries in the Dáil during the C.I.D.'s existence, Minister of Home Affairs, Kevin O'Higgins, delineated the 'spheres' of D.M.P. and C.I.D. operation as, respectively, 'preventive' and 'detective'.[23] The D.M.P. was unarmed, besides its small detective section, 'G' Division, formerly a committed foe of the nationalist revolution and, consequently, a somewhat impolitic body. Of a total of forty-eight members, fourteen had 'applied to retire in consequence of the change of Government'.[24]

Its political-military basis and direction characterised the C.I.D., but did not entirely define it, as there were aspects of its work that were not overtly political. The C.I.D. provided armed escort to cash and mail in transit, including the pay of the D.M.P.. In private correspondence to the Minister of Home Affairs, its Director emphasized its role in the apprehension of armed criminals and referred sourly to the D.M.P.: 'Every single armed robber apprehended in Dublin for the past eighteen months was run to earth by the C.I.D., and even though the gentlemen with "certain physical qualifications" got the credit from the Dublin Magistrates for many such cases, it did not alter the fact that the name of Oriel House is a terror to every armed footpad

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[20] *Irish Times*, 1 Nov. 1922. 'The laughing young fellow seated beside you in the theatre or on the tram may be a very wide-awake unit of the new organisation, out on an important piece of investigation work.'
[21] Marie Coleman, 'McGrath, Joseph'.
[22] Sec. Foreign Affairs, 6 Apr. 1943 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/2).
[23] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, i, 2314 (28 Nov., 1922).
[24] Memorandum by the Ministry of Home Affairs re: disbandment of the C.I.D. and the formation of a new Detective force, 5 Oct. 1923 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/46, pt. 2).

and robber in the City.'[25] The C.I.D. influenced the development of the national police, through the advice of C.I.D. staff on the suitability of candidates for the State police; and through the incorporation of twenty-eight C.I.D. staff into a re-fashioned D.M.P. detective section in 1923, to be superintended by one of that number.[26]

The C.I.D. employed at least one woman on its operational staff from 1922, and employed three 'women officers' for approximately five months in 1923. The staff list of the C.I.D. in August 1922 included 'Miss Keena, typist' and 'Mrs O'Daly, Typist', both of whom were paid at the same weekly rate as the Detective Officers, £3.10.0.[27] This referred to Evelyn Keena, and Nora O'Daly, the latter of whom was noted as 'I.R.P. [Irish Republican Police] transferred to C.I.D.'. An Oriel House staff list of 1922 referred to a single 'Typist' and to '"Typists"' at the above rate, which suggests that women performed full-time operative roles in that year.[28] The use of quotation marks may be explained by Capt. Moynihan's practice of concealing the occupational identity of female operational staff as '"typists"', as referred to in a letter of 1923, quoted below.

In December 1922, Moynihan suggested to the Ministry of Home Affairs 'that at least a dozen Female searchers be immediately employed, the searchers to be preferably middle-aged'.[29] Moynihan justified this request as a strategy to counter the participation of '"Cumann na mBan" girls, who now act as gun carriers' in armed attacks. Moynihan reported that in the case of a hold-up of a mail van in Dublin: 'The men of the attacking party handed back their revolvers to women who accompanied them immediately the hold-up was over'. Moynihan detailed that 'Some of the girls carry the gun in a cloth holster attached to the leg under the skirt, others carry them down in the V of their breast garment, and also *attaché* cases are used.' Although the Cumann na mBan special convention had voted against acceptance of the Treaty, the organisation's membership was divided. Jenny Wyse-Power, a prominent member of Cumann na mBan, led the formation of an alternative, pro-Treaty female auxiliary in March 1922 as *Cumann na Saoirse* (Council of Freedom).[30] Moynihan suggested that searchers be recruited from this organisation.

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[25] Director General C.I.D. to Minister for Home Affairs, 13 Jul. 1923, personal and confidential (N.A.I., DJ H/169/37).
[26] In addition to the twenty-eight ex-C.I.D. detective agents, five ex-C.I.D. drivers were employed by the D.M.P. on 'transport duty', *Dáil Éireann deb.*, viii, 748 (8 Jul. 1924).
[27] 'CID staff, 22nd August 1922', (N.A.I., DJ H/169/2).
[28] N.A.I., DJ H/169A, pt. 1.
[29] Capt. Moynihan, Director C.I.D., to Sec., Home Affairs, 8 Dec. 1922 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/7).
[30] McCarthy, *Cumann na mBan*, pp 185-94.

By early July 1922 the Government side had thwarted the dissident, 'Irregular' forces in Dublin. 'Hundreds of the arrested men were interned in Mountjoy and Kilmainham prisons, while the women were allowed to go free.'[31] However, as the war continued elsewhere, Government posture towards female 'Irregulars' hardened. By early September 1922, the Government was resolved that 'any woman found actively assisting the "Irregulars" should be arrested and imprisoned'.[32] A female prison was established in Dublin in February 1923, and by late March the number of women interned in military prisons increased about five-fold, to 271.[33] The 'large-scale imprisonment of its most active members' was a 'key factor in the defeat of Cumann na mBan'.[34] Anne Matthews has written that 'Between November 1922 and November 1923, 645 women were interned,' of whom 'around 300 were held for periods ranging from a few weeks to several months.'[35]

Notably, this policy shift was accompanied by only a minor expansion to the female staff of the paramilitary C.I.D., a significant actor in the prosecution of political policing in Dublin, where many leading members of Cumann na mBan resided. Moynihan received no response to his request of December 1922, but continued to seek the employment of women by the agency. This led to the employment of three 'women officers' by the C.I.D. from February 1923 until August of that year.[36] In the case of at least one of these women, Lena Phelan, her selection was based on personal recommendation of Government Dáil Deputy J.J. Walsh, a prodigious exponent of patronage politics.[37] Capt. Moynihan's endorsement of her employment as 'a female C.I.D. Detective Officer' noted that 'She is a capable hand with a revolver.'[38] Having 'selected three young women for duty as Detective Officers' Moynihan proposed 'to cloak their work under the title of "Temporary Typists"'.[39] A request for sanction from Finance referred to the necessity that 'three women officers' were employed 'on special duties connected with the detection of women engaged in hostilities against the Government'.[40]

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[31] Anne Matthews, *Dissidents: Irish Republican women, 1923-1941* (Dublin, 2012), p. 44.
[32] 'Prisoners' accommodation, barracks, women and Kilmainham' (M.A., Irish Free State Army Files, A/07056), cited in Matthews, *Dissidents*, p. 45.
[33] Matthews, *Dissidents*, p. 58 and p. 62.
[34] McCarthy, *Cumann na mBan*, p. 206.
[35] Matthews, *Dissidents*, p. 10 and p. 117.
[36] Misses Lena Phelan, Olive Caprani, and Teresa Coyle, named in 'CID, list of staff and pay file, c.1922-23', (N.A.I., DJ H/169/2).
[37] J.J. Walsh, Postmaster General, to Minister of Home Affairs, 22 Jan. 1923 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/7); Patrick Maume, 'Walsh, James Joseph' in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014).
[38] Capt. Moynihan, Director C.I.D. to Sec. Home Affairs, 25 Jan. 1923 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/7).
[39] Capt. Moynihan, Director C.I.D. to Sec., Home Affairs, 8 Feb. 1923 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/7).
[40] Home Affairs to Finance, 17 Feb. 1923 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/7).

By February 1923, eight 'women observers' were among 'approximately 350 men and women' in the 'different civil armed forces then amalgamated under central direction', which comprised the C.I.D., a Protective Corps, also commanded by Moynihan, and a Citizens' Defence Force, which amounted to a total force of 'approximately 350 men and women'.[41] In May 1923, Moynihan sought the continued retention of the 'women officers' on reduced pay because 'their duties do not envolve [sic] the inC.I.D.ental expenditures' initially anticipated.[42] In defence of C.I.D. staff in the Dáil, O'Higgins declared that 'They may not handle a cup of tea as gracefully as the Deputy, but they have saved this State.'[43] Moynihan had envisaged that the women would incur minor expenses from frequenting commercial premises in the course of their duty, but this pay reduction indicated that they were not obliged to frequent tea-rooms or cafés. One of the women was assigned as telephonist at Oriel House and was 'immediately available as a searcher when female prisoners are brought in during the day whilst the other females are on outdoor duties'.[44]

The C.I.D. report of October 1923 and references in the accounts of Republicans offer a sense of the type of work in which C.I.D. women were engaged. 'The use of observers (touts)' generally was described as 'disappointing' although 'excellent information' had been obtained by the C.I.D. through that source 'in some cases'.[45] The detection and detention of active supporters of the dissident, 'Irregular' side, was a major focus of C.I.D. operations. 'A successful method of capturing "wanted" men and women was found to be the raiding of the well-known haunts of the "Irregulars" on the "Mouse Trap" principle.'[46] Female agents were associated with 'sit-down raids' in which C.I.D. personnel occupied the residence of an 'Irregular' supporter, held the residents captive, and searched and interrogated any subsequent callers to the house.[47]

It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which the C.I.D. drew on casual, voluntary service by women in its work to supplement its small, full-time female staff. The Director General of the C.I.D. had suggested the employment of Cumann na Saoirse members as female searchers,

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[41] Capt. A.S. Ó Muiréadhaigh, C.I.D., to Maj. Gen. McGrath, T.D., Director General C.I..D, 12 Oct. 1923 (N.A.I., DT. s.3331).
[42] Director C.I.D. to Sec. Home Affairs, 11 May 1923 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/7).
[43] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 1295 (30 May 1923)
[44] Director C.I.D. to Sec. Home Affairs, 11 May 1923 (N.A.I., DJ H/169/7).
[45] Capt. A.S. Ó Muiréadhaigh to Maj. Gen. McGrath, T.D., Director General C.I..D, 12 Oct. 1923 (N.A.I., DT s.3331).
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ernie O'Malley, *The Singing Flame* (Dublin, 1978), p. 171.

and Cumann na Saoirse was referred to disparagingly by Republicans as 'Cumann na Searchers'. References to female searchers and to the involvement of Cumann na Saoirse members in this work, and in intelligence gathering for the Government side, have been found in Republican correspondence captured by the Government forces and in the archived papers of Ernie O'Malley, a Republican protagonist.[48] Cumann na Saoirse 'provided women searchers for Free State forces, both inside and outside prisons,' Cal McCarthy has written.[49] C.I.D. women were not referred to in press reports of activities by the agency in which they may have been involved, such as the afternoon raid on a city premises and arrest of eight members of Cumann na mBan in March 1923.[50]

'No Republican women died as a result of conflict during the Civil War', but the prison experiences of women interned during the Civil War 'engendered significant propaganda'.[51] On occasion, the C.I.D. supported the military in the transferral and management of prisoners, such as the forceful transferral of female internees in late April 1923, from Kilmainham prison to another military prison established at the North Dublin Union.[52] A Republican news-sheet, the 'Daily Bulletin', referred to named male C.I.D. participants and to "a Cumann na Saoirse woman called May Smith".[53] A report by the Army officer in command of the transfer described that some of 'the prisoners had to be dragged or carried down two flights of stairs', and that some of them 'assaulted the police and the female searchers'.[54]

From August 1923, just one of the three 'women officers' was retained.[55] Neither she nor any other former female C.I.D. staff were among the former C.I.D. personnel incorporated into the Dublin Metropolitan Police in October 1923.[56] A former C.I.D. officer, David Neligan, who had earlier served in the D.M.P., was appointed as Chief Superintendent of the enlarged D.M.P. detective section.[57] Chief Commissioner of the D.M.P., General W.R.E. Murphy, in a discussion of the 'amalgamation of Oriel House & the "G" department', conceived of 'this Detective

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[48] McCarthy, *Cumann na mBan*, p. 190.
[49] Ibid., p. 190, without specific citation by McCarthy.
[50] *Irish Times*, 3 Mar. 1923. See also: *Irish Times*, 4 Apr. 1923, and 28 Apr. 1923..
[51] Matthews, *Dissidents*, pp 119, 144.
[52] McCoole, *No Ordinary Women Irish*, pp 122-4; Matthews, *Dissidents*, pp 81-2.
[53] 'Daily Bulletin', 5 May 1923, quoted in Free State Publicity Department Memo, 9 May 1923 (N.A.I., DT s.1369/3).
[54] 'Report on disturbance at Kilmainham on April 30 – May 1', 6 Jun. 1923 [copy], (N.A.I., DT s.1369/3). No details as to the C.I.D. personnel that participated was included in this report.
[55] N.A.I., DJ H/169/2.
[56] Brady, *Guardians* (1974), p. 128.
[57] Lawrence William White, 'Neligan, David', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014).

Department as an all-Ireland one'.[58] The operation of an armed, centrally-controlled, detective section on a national footing was established on the 'amalgamation' in 1925 of the D.M.P. and the State police, as a unitary, national force, An Garda Síochána. Neligan was central to the execution of that scheme as Chief Superintendent of the section until he was impelled to resign in February 1933.[59]

No women at the birth

While the C.I.D. was regarded by the nationalist Government as a necessary, but temporary agency, it sought to establish a permanent state police force to replace the R.I.C.. The Government of independent Ireland adopted a hasty but conservative approach to police organization that deferred to R.I.C. precedent in important respects. The first attempt to establish a State police force, the Civic Guard, was disrupted by a mutiny among its trainees soon after its formation in 1922.[60] An investigative review of the episode preceded a second attempt that included the appointment of a new Commissioner and the re-constitution of the force in 1923. The formation and early years of the State police have been a focal point of published police histories. However, those treatments are inadequate for the purpose of this thesis as they did not consider the process in specific relation to the matter of female policing, nor refer to significant possibilities raised in the process but not implemented in the establishment of a new state police, An Garda Síochána. This section notes the non-inclusion of female policing from this process, and posits reasons for it.

An extra-parliamentary committee of four parliamentarians, and several police and ex-police personnel, was privately assembled by the Provisional Government to formulate a scheme for a new police force.[61] The committee included Chief of Staff, Eoin O'Duffy, T.D., and Minister for Defence, Richard Mulcahy, T.D., who became its chairman. There were eight members of the R.I.C. among the police and ex-police members.[62] At the outset, the committee recommended that 'the policing of Dublin City should be left out of consideration, as the Provisional Government contemplate taking over the Dublin Metropolitan Police'.[63] Female police were associated with urban policing, and so, the committee's decision to confine its

[58] Chief Commissioner, D.M.P., undated memo (N.A.I., DJ H/169/37).
[59] Brady, *Guardians* (1974), p. 175, referred to 'the sacking of Dave Neligan'.
[60] Brian McCarthy, *The Civic Guard Mutiny* (Cork, 2012).
[61] Garda Síochána, organisation of force, 1922-3 (N.A.I., Taois. s.9049/a).
[62] Other members included: R.I.C. District Inspector Walsh, later Assistant Commissioner, Garda Síochána; and Eamon Broy, ex-R.I.C. and ex-D.M.P., later Garda Commissioner. (N.A.I., DT s.9049/a).
[63] 'Police organisation Report', 27 Feb. 1922 [henceforth Mulcahy Report], (N.A.I., DT s.9049/a).

considerations to the largely non-urban rendered any consideration of female police less likely. The committee recommended the adoption of R.I.C. practice with what Brady described as 'certain liturgical changes in uniform, title and such details'.[64] The planning and the subsequent execution of the scheme, were conducted hastily and without public comment by Government about the new force which may be explained by the primacy of political considerations, in the context of intense political division and suspicion on the issue of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. The private, internal basis of the planning process excluded, among others, Thomas Johnson, T.D., leader of the Labour Party, who expressed an interest in female policing 1922 and in 1923, as shall be discussed in Chapter Three.[65]

Misgivings about the Treaty, and objection to the prominent role of some former R.I.C. men in the training and leadership of the new force was the basis for a mutiny by approximately 1,000 recruits of the new police at its Kildare training camp in May and June 1922.[66] The mutiny played out as a six-week stand-off between the Government and the armed trainees, of whom a dozen decamped with police firearms to join the republican anti-Treaty garrison at the Four Courts.[67] A government legal adviser, Kevin O'Shiel, was appointed in July 1922 to lead a two-person inquiry into the 'breaches of discipline and acts of insubordination' and to make recommendations 'for the future government and discipline of the Civic Guard'.[68] While the Commission was empowered to summon witnesses, its hearings were stymied by the defiance of some of the mutineers, and it reported the next month, August 1922.[69] The Report recommended that 'the services of one or more highly experienced police officers or ex-officers of a foreign police body be procured to act as high superintending officers of the Civic Guard for a certain of 3 to 5 years or longer if found necessary.' O'Sheil also referred to the desirability of a degree of local government input to police management, with particular regard to instances where paramilitary police reinforcements were necessary: 'Outside police duties proper, it may be possible, and we think advisable to devise some means of local control by a Co[unty] Council or such body.'

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[64] Brady Thesis, Chap. 4, p. 9.
[65] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, i, 2317 (28 Nov., 1922); and iii, 2335 (22 June, 1923).
[66] McCarthy, *Civic Guard Mutiny*.
[67] Brady Thesis, Chap. 5, p. 13.
[68] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, i, 325 (18 Sep. 1922); Marie Coleman, 'O'Shiel, Kevin Roantree Shields', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014).
[69] 'Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Civic Guard following the Mutiny of 1922' [copy], 17 Aug. 1922 (N.A.I., DT s.9048).

Government did not pursue either of these recommendations when it lent legislative basis to a re-formed police force, An Garda Síochána, in 1923.[70] Instead, Gen. Eoin O'Duffy of the National Army, was appointed as Commissioner. Although he publicly promulgated a gaelic, nationalist ethos in the police, he sustained a reliance on R.I.C. practice and ex-R.I.C. leadership personnel.[71] Control over the police was retained entirely by central government. Years later, O'Duffy declared himself to be favourably disposed to the concept of female police, as shall be discussed in Chapter 3. However, the cumulative effect of major features of the gestation of the Garda, such as its non-urban basis, and the hurried nature of the process, and a preoccupation with strategic political considerations, were not conducive to the development of a female police role in the new institution.

In contrast to the evident occlusion of female policing from the formation and establishment of police in independent Ireland, the subject did feature in official discussions about the formation of a new police force in Northern Ireland. The Government of Northern Ireland appointed a sixteen-member committee to advise it on the establishment of a new police force.[72] The committee consisted of elected politicians, some local magistrates, and the Chief Constable of the Glasgow Police.[73] It was mentioned in the course of the committee hearings that 'In Glasgow they have 11 policewomen.'[74] The committee sat from February 1922 and presented a detailed Interim Report by March. In the course of its hearings, the committee distinguished between the existent model of a small number of women attached to the established, male-constituted police, and a separate establishment of female police. The concept of a 'women's police force' was raised as a proposition at hearings of the committee, and was addressed in the preliminary statement of the officer in command of the Belfast police.

In a preliminary statement to the committee, J.F. Gelston, Commissioner of Police, Belfast, wrote that 'a Women's Police Force is not necessary except in Belfast and Derry,' and advised that 'Street duty in Belfast is hardly suitable for Police Women.'[75] When he appeared before

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[70] Garda Síochána (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1923, No.37 of 1923; Garda Síochána Act, 1924, no.25 of 1924.
[71] McGarry, *Eoin O'Duffy*, p. 118.
[72] *Interim Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry on Police Reorganisation in Northern Ireland* Cmd 1 [N.I.], 1922, (P.R.O.N.I., SO 1A/1).
[73] Ministry of Home Affairs Northern Ireland. Police Reorganisation Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Chapter 1 (P.R.O.N.I., HA/47/1).
[74] Police Reorganisation Committee Minutes of Evidence, Chap. 6 & 7, para. 7 (P.R.O.N.I., HA/47/6).
[75] Reorganisation Committee Minutes, Chap. 1, p. 115. Para. 5 of Gelston's preliminary statement was quoted by the Chairman.

the committee, Gelston declared his approval of the work of the current two policewomen, but did not favour the separate establishment of female police.[76] 'You might have two, three or four but there is no necessity to organise a large force to patrol all over the city,' he told the committee. Gelston favoured the continuation of the existent model: 'We want policewomen to deal with children's cases in the children's court and to make enquiries in cases where there have been offences committed on young girls who are more likely to speak to policewomen than to policemen. For those things policewomen are necessary.'[77] The committee also heard evidence from representatives of feminist and welfare organisations, who argued for the formation of a uniformed, regularized cohort of policewomen with power of arrest.[78]

In its interim report of March 1922, the majority of the committee did not recommend any change to the number or status of the R.I.C. policewomen. Three members, including the representative of the Ministry of Finance, suggested that the proposal to increase the number of policewomen receive further consideration.[79] Following its interim report, the committee was specifically requested by Government 'to report as to an increase in the establishment of Policewomen'.[80] The Royal Ulster Constabulary was established before the presentation of the committee's brief final report, in which it suggested that outstanding matters, including that of female policing, 'could more appropriately be left to be dealt with departmentally', and 'that no useful purpose would be served by our continuing the inquiry.'[81] Gelston referred to the disturbed state of Belfast as reason to defer consideration of the 'question of forming a Women's Police Force'. However, from June 1922 until January 1926, a W.A.S. mission of sixteen policewomen served with the R.U.C. in Northern Ireland, 'in various places in the North'.[82] Douglas's study of the W.A.S. does not offer any further detail of this mission, beyond reference to it in a W.A.S. promotional leaflet of 1926 and reference to it in a memoir by a close companion of the senior W.A.S. member, E. Ann Campbell.[83]

The D.M.P. under independent government

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[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., p.111.
[78] Reorganisation Committee Minutes, Chap. 6 & 7 (P.R.O.N.I., HA/47/6).
[79] *Interim Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry on Police Reorganisation*, Reservation 3 to para.27.
[80] *Final Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry on Police Reorganisation in Northern Ireland*, Cmd. 34 [N.I.], 1925.
[81] *Final Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry on Police Reorganisation*, para. 2 and para. 6.
[82] Women's Auxiliary Service, 'Women Police' Jan. 1926 (U.C.D.A., Bridget Stafford Papers, P63/67).
[83] Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps*, p. 101; Cicely B. Hale, *A good long time: the autobiography of an octogenarian* (London, 1975).

The D.M.P. was retained under the terms of the truce in the Anglo-Irish War, and was transferred to the Irish Free State government in April 1922.[84] Its position remained difficult, and its decline in numerical strength continued. 'It operated as a rather helpless peace force in a strictly military environment' for the two years preceding summer 1923, as 'some of its functions were assumed by the Army and others by the Criminal Investigation Department.'[85] Of the force that transferred in April 1922 to the Provisional Government, only forty-seven per cent continued to serve by July 1924.[86] The average numerical strength of the force for 1922-23 fell to less than 85 per cent of its approved strength.

In October 1922, Chief Commissioner Johnstone wrote that the D.M.P. women had 'proved of the greatest utility in dealing with many matters in which the ordinary Police would have been quite ineffective,' but that 'the number of such cases now arising no longer justifies me in retaining the services of all six policewomen.'[87] He noted that 'these officers are unestablished and their appointment is terminable at a week's notice.' He proposed 'to dispense with the services of two of them, Mrs Mary Kavanagh and Miss Bridget English.' No indication was given for the basis on which Kavanagh and English were selected. It is difficult to interrogate Johnstone's reason for the decision, given that the last published annual report of the Commissioner of the D.M.P. was for 1919, and that the final published judicial statistics for Ireland were also for that year.[88]

In 1923, the nationalist police order asserted itself, and wrought significant change to the D.M.P., now sometimes referred to as Póilíní Átha Cliath [Dublin Police], to draw it closer to the state police, An Garda Síochána.[89] In April 1923, Lieut. Col. Johnstone retired, and was replaced as Chief Commissioner by Maj. Gen. W.R.E. Murphy, formerly of the National Army, whose candidature was supported by Garda Commissioner, Eoin O'Duffy.[90] As mentioned above, the strength of the detective section of the D.M.P. approximately trebled in October 1923 with the incorporation of former C.I.D. personnel, in anticipation of an expansion in its

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[84] *Arrangements governing the cessation of active operations in Ireland which came into force on July 11, 1921*, 427 [Cmd. 1534], H.C. 1921, xxix; *Irish Free State. Heads of working arrangements for implementing the treaty*, 123 [Cmd. 1911], H.C. 1923, xviii.
[85] *Irish Times*, 1 May 1923.
[86] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, viii, 744 (8 Jul., 1924).
[87] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Minister of Home Affairs, 30 Oct. 1922 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/1).
[88] *Statistical tables of the Dublin Metropolitan Police for the year 1919*, 377 [Cmd. 1318] H.C. 1921, xxix; *Judicial statistics, 1919*, 394 [Cmd. 1431], H.C. 1921, xli.
[89] The gaelic title featured on stationery and uniform badges but was no change to the official title of the force was made.
[90] McGarry, *Eoin O'Duffy*, p. 113, with ref. to N.A.I., DT s.9050.

remit as a state detective service. No women were attached to this élite section which was oriented towards political subversion and armed crime. This expansion and re-fashioning of a Criminal Investigation *Division* in the Dublin police was the most conspicuous aspect of a profound process of political patronage through which pro-Treaty, former revolutionaries formed the main body of the police of the new State, as illustrated by McNiffe's analysis of recruits to the state police during the period 1922 to 1932.[91] There was no female aspect to this mode of entry to police employment, other than the brief employment of a small number of women in the C.I.D., as detailed above.

On the reduction to a quartet of policewomen, Chief Commissioner Johnstone proposed a basic pattern of organisation that endured for decades afterwards, by which two pairs of women were formed and assigned to the two largest and most central police stations on either side of the River Liffey, 'able to deal with all cases properly coming within their province'.[92] That 'province' included the care and escort of children and infants in the charge of the police, plainclothes patrol in shopping districts, involvement in the police response to sexual crime on the request of investigating officers, and occasional participation in plainclothes investigations.

Shoplifting: 'A war of woman against woman'

The suppression of theft from shops was a significant element of the policewomen's' work, and was also the most publicized aspect of their work. Larceny, the most common breach of the criminal law, was also the most common offence policed by Dublin policewomen: on plainclothes patrol in stores and on the streets of the shopping districts; as searchers of women apprehended for shoplifting; and as witnesses for the prosecution at the trials of these women in Dublin courtrooms. Pioneering studies of women and crime have focused on offences related to physiological features of womanhood, such as abortion, infantiC.I.D.e, and prostitution. However, the two leading causes for the direct involvement of women in the criminal justice system (as complainants or defendants) were as defendants in cases of theft and in cases of prostitution.

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[91] McNiffe, *History of the Garda*, p. 179, n.3.
[92] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Minister of Home Affairs, 30 Oct. 1922 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/1).

The policewomen's suppression of shoplifting in Dublin was, as elsewhere, largely 'a battle of woman against woman'.[93] Elaine Abelson has demonstrated the highly-gendered terms by which shoplifting was perceived and classified as long as department stores have existed.[94] Of course, shoplifting was not a female preserve, and the policewomen were involved in the detection and prosecution of adult men.[95] 'The knowledge that any lady seemingly intent on purchasing in a shop may be a Policewoman should have a deterring effect on the persons who make a profession of shoplifting, particularly at the annual sales in drapery establishments,' remarked the 'D.M.P. Notes' column of the *Irish Times* in January 1919, in a brief report of a case in which O'Neill and Kavanagh were prosecution witnesses.[96] The Dublin Police Court heard in mid-December 1923 that 'there had been so much pilfering from Messrs. Switzers premises that policewomen had to be put on special duty there.'[97] District Justice Cussen complimented O'Neill and Watters on their work during the Christmas season of 1928, and it was reported that 'Their presence in the shops, he said, had been of real benefit to traders and no doubt their activity had prevented many more losses than had been reported.'[98]

Policing shoplifting by women in drapery and department stores was regarded as work for which women were well-suited. But it brought particular challenges peculiar to the sub-formal technical position of the policewomen, who were without police power of arrest. Research indicated that policewomen often directly challenged the suspect at the scene and managed to contain them – probably with some assistance from shop staff – until a policeman arrived. In a lesser number of cases, the suspect was accosted by shop-staff, and sometimes one of the policewomen was on the scene before a policeman. Evidence by policewomen described instances in which suspect was kept under observation until an arrest could be effected by a male colleague. A press report of a December 1931 hearing stated that 'Policewoman O'Neill' gave evidence that she had shadowed a mother and daughter while she observed them taking items from two big shops without payment, before 'she followed them down Grafton Street

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[93] Mary Sullivan, *My Double Life: The story of a New York Policewoman* (New York, 1938), p. 38.
[94] Elaine S. Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle -Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store* (Oxford, 1989)
[95] For O'Neill, *Irish Independent* 14 Feb. 1931 (O'Neill); for Watters, *Irish Independent*, 11 March 1930.
[96] *Weekly Irish Times*, 25 Jan. 1919.
[97] *Irish Times*, 17 Dec. 1923.
[98] *Irish Independent*, 7 Jan. 1929.

and gave them in charge to a Guard.'[99] The detection led to further enquiries, and O'Neill told the court that 'She found a quantity of goods at the residence of the accused woman.'[100]

Many of the prosecutions of women for theft involved the theft of non-essential items from major city-centre department stores. It may be speculated that a number of biases operated to cause this outcome: the probable policy of larger retail concerns to support a prosecution compared with sole traders and small shops; a less sympathetic posture taken against those who stole non-essential and relatively expensive goods; and the apparent policing focus on large department stores on South Great Georges Street, Grafton Street, Henry Street, and O'Connell Street. The involvement of privately-employed store detectives did not arise in any of the cases covered by this survey, and oblique comments on the reliance of retailers upon the policewomen suggest that it was not common practice in the 1920s or 1930s even for large stores to retain in-house detectives. A District Justice adjourned a shoplifting case in August 1930, 'refusing to accept the evidence of a junior sent to the Court to represent the firm concerned in a charge' against a woman. 'It was obvious, he said, that they were not able to mind their own property, and they should show some respect for Mrs O'Neill (policewoman) and the Guards who were at their disposal to stop shoplifting.'[101]

Research suggested that the two longest serving policewomen, O'Neill and Watters, who often worked together, were the most active in the detection and prosecution of shoplifters. In a deposition made by O'Neill in March 1927 in a larceny case against three female teenagers, it was evident that the policewomen were recognised by some of the suspects: 'On 16th inst bet 3 & 4 pm in company with Policewoman Waters [sic] we went to Guineys shop Talbot St & there saw deft McGauley she wore a fawn tailor-made coat. When she saw us she immediately left the shop. We followed her outside & there saw her talking to deft Sweeney & the girl Venables. Venables had a coat similar to the one McGauley is now wearing & carried a baby. McGauley pointed us out to the other three & went into Parnell St where I lost sight of them.'[102] Under cross-examination, O'Neill acknowledged her familiarity with some of the defendants: 'I have known Venables & McAuley before but I hadn't seen Sweeney before. They are all in dock now.'

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[99] *Irish Times*, 28 Dec. 1931.
[100] *Irish Times*, 28 Dec. 1931. A detailed description of stealthy pursuit by O'Neill and Watters in a case ten years later was presented in 'Dep. of P/Woman Mrs Mary O'Neill of An Garda Siochana', 1 Jan. 1942, State Files at Circuit Court, City, Michaelmas (Jan.1942) No.19 (N.A.I., 1D-20-111).
[101] *Irish Times* 28 Aug. 1930.
[102] 'Deposition of Mrs Mary O'Neill, Policewoman', in State Files at Circuit Court, City, Easter 1927, no. 53 (N.A.I., 1C-90-35).

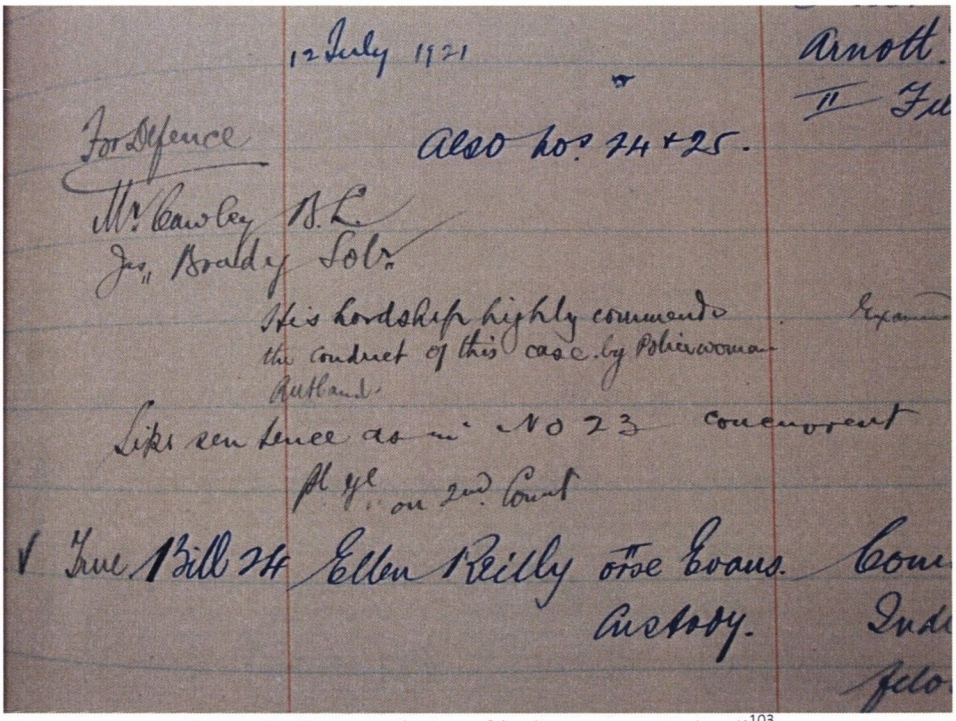

Figure 10: Commendation of 'Policewoman Rutland'[103]

Involvement of children in thefts by adults

Following the conviction of two sisters aged in their twenties for theft from a shop, O'Neill told the sentencing judge that they were 'the two cleverest shoplifters in Dublin'.[104] This was an example of how the policewoman pointed-up family engagement in crime. The implication of children in theft directed by their parents featured in several cases covered by this survey which indicated that it was a focus for them.[105] In a few instances, children were said to have been inducted into shoplifting by their parents or older siblings, who directed the thefts. Watters told a court in May 1933 that a mother 'against whom there were fifteen previous convictions, took the children out and taught them to rob'.[106] Mary O'Neill's deposition stated:

[103] Crown Book at Quarter Sessions City [of Dublin] 1921-23, p. 60 (N.A.I., 1C-78-68.)
[104] *Irish Independent*, 5 Sep. 1942.
[105] Examples of mothers and juveniles: *Irish Independent* 19 Jun. 1928; *Irish Independent* 1 Jan. 1929; *Irish Independent* 17 Feb. 1928; *Irish Independent* 17 May 1933. A case of sister and younger brother: *Irish Times* 11 Apr. 1927.
[106] *Irish Times*, 27 May 1933.

> Today in Mary Street betn 1 & 2 I saw 3 Defts, kept under observation stopped outside 5 Mary Street & looked into window Alice carrying waterproof on arm Esther spoke to young man minding shop he went into shop & Esther went after him & Alice then took a blue suit from side of door & passed in & in a few seconds the boy came out with the coat made up in a parcel & stood at next window. Alice came on & pushed him down street. He walked towds Capel Street where I stopped him. He said he had nothing in parcel. I took it from him & took out suit & he said "I didn't steal it". I brt him bck to where other two were & got them arrested. Ester had a parcel containing shopping bag & sheets of brown paper. [107]

The six-year-old boy mentioned in O'Neill's account was not prosecuted, but his mother and his sister were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment.[108] One inner-city mother was ordered in 1934 by a district justice 'not to enter a shop again in company with any person under 21 years' after O'Neill told the court that 'she was systematically teaching her children to become shoplifters; and she herself had seen her giving instructions to them'.[109] Children under fourteen were regarded as juveniles, and were prosecuted in the Children's Court unless they were co-accused with adults. It was only these prosecutions of children implicated in the crimes of their parents that feature in the court records surveyed. However, in their vigour against the deployment of children in the thievery of their parents the policewomen's' attention to children is evident.

Abelson's work also studied how the policing of shoplifting sometimes occasioned confrontation along class lines between petit-bourgeois shop workers and police, and bourgeois female shoplifters. The incongruities were sometimes illustrated by reports of Dublin cases: the theft of luxurious items by poor women; or the theft of inexpensive items by women of manifest means. Kathleen Atkinson and Kathleen Gleeson were neighbours ten doors apart at Summerhill who were held at an office in Clery's by Watters and O'Neill following attempted theft from the store in May 1946. While those who seem to have been regularly engaged in shoplifting often acted in concert with a partner in crime, it seems that 'the respectable' shoplifter generally acted alone. [110] Acting alone, these women seem to have exploited their ostensible propriety and 'respectability' in conducting their thefts, and sometimes drew on their social confidence and composure in facing-down policewomen when they were caught with unpaid for goods in their possession.

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[107] State Files at Circuit Court: City, no. 80 (Apr. 1933), (N.A.I., 1D-33-107).
[108] State Files at Circuit Court: City, no. 80 (Apr. 1933), (N.A.I., 1D-33-107).
[109] *Irish Independent* 16 May 1934.
[110] 'Respectability' seems to have been based on a defendant's deportment, often associated explicitly with dress ('respectably dressed'); but an address *beyond* the inner-city has been regarded here as a secondary indicator of 'respectability'.

'A respectably dressed elderly woman' appeared in the Southern Police Court in January 1919, where Mary O'Neill and Mary Kavanagh told of seeing her shoplifting in Switzers and in Woolworths. Defence for the accused described her as a 'very respectable lady', and said: 'She was prepared to pay for the items now and denied any intention of stealing them.'[111] A Dublin woman was convicted of 'pilfering' gloves, a hanky, and some small pictures from Switzers in December 1923, using two bags she carried over her arm. 'In view of this being the festive season,' the judge passed a suspended sentence and accepted her husband's assurance of her good behaviour and the honouring of a bond 'that the accused shall not enter Messrs. Switzers premises at any time' for two years.[112] This short report illustrated a number of recurrent features in such cases: the suggestion that fancy stores constituted an irresistible temptation, the primacy of domestic and familial claims, the frivolous luxury nature of the items taken, and the paternal attitude of the judge towards the woman whose respectability was asserted.

Some of the generally brief reports of proceedings at court arising from shoplifting charges allow a glimpse of the presence of mind and attention to detail of the policewomen in deflecting protestations: 'Mrs O'Neill, Policewoman, said defendant stated she had bought the umbrella in England. Witness said the umbrella was quite new, and did not appear to have been used, even though it was a wet day.'[113] A married woman, resident at Cadogan Road, took gloves from a counter in Switzers and left the shop in December 1925. Challenged by O'Neill outside the shop, 'she said that she had forgotten she had the gloves in her hand', and her plea to illegal possession was accepted in court by the District Justice.[114] A married motorist with an address at Stillorgan was challenged by Watters outside Arnotts in winter 1936: 'Outside the shop the defendant said she had not taken anything without paying from the shop and endeavoured to conceal the powder compact in her clothes.' Watters told the court 'that the defendant told her that she had substantial means and was very well known at Arnotts'. In court, the woman told of her upset 'that the policewoman could not take her word' caused her to forget that her car was parked outside the shop. Happily for her, the District Justice took into account 'her social standing and previous good record' and allowed

[111] *Irish Times*, 16 Jan. 1919.
[112] *Irish Times*, 17 Dec. 1923.
[113] *Irish Independent*, 18 Apr. 1931.
[114] *Irish Times*, 26 Dec. 1925.

her the benefit of the probation act, remarking that the offence had been committed 'in a moment of weakness'.[115]

The actuality of physical confrontation was evident from some reports. On a 'Saturday night' in December 1923, 'policewoman O'Neill' was punched in the head by a man who 'had taken too much drink'.[116] The man was convicted of assault and of insulting behaviour towards Watters, and was sentenced to a month's imprisonment. From the mid-1930s, Watters and O'Neill were over fifty years of age (Watters b.1883; O'Neill b.1881) and ill-fitted for a physical struggle with a younger and more athletic adversary. In a 1953 interview, one of the policewomen, Elizabeth Watters, told her interviewer that 'None of her captives held any animosity towards her,' and suggested that 'off-duty' relations between police and policed were cordial: 'Sometimes they meet, when both are "off-duty" and they shake hands as old friends and exchange courtesies about the weather, their health and their mutual well-being.'[117] The policewomen did experience violent female resistance. 'When I captured her she kicked me on the legs and body and scratched my face,' Watters told Dublin District Court of arresting an eighteen year-old who had stolen a handbag from another woman in Arnotts in August 1932. In December 1939, the *Irish Times* reported that a shoplifter who had previous convictions and was of no fixed address was convicted of 'the assaulting of policewoman Mary O'Neill when she took the prisoner into custody'.[118] In a small number of the cases that actually went to trial, suspects made a desperate dash to evade arrest.

'To find out what you were really at': covert female policing of abortion

During the 1920s and 1930s, it was an established practice of some UK forces to deploy policewomen in covert operations against abortionists.[119] This strategy dispensed 'with reliance on a hitherto pregnant accomplice for Crown testimony'.[120] In Ireland, abortion for the purpose of fertility control was a criminal act. Under Section 58 of the 1861 Offences Against the Person Act all parties to abortion, including the woman seeking the operation, faced penalties up to life imprisonment.'[121] This remained the law in independent Ireland during the

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[115] *Irish Times*, 23 Dec. 1936. District Justice Cussen described a woman against whom O'Neill gave evidence in Jun. 1932 as 'a common thief of respectable appearance' (*Irish Times*, 27 Jun. 1932).
[116] *Irish Times*, 11 Dec. 1923 and 15 Dec. 1923.
[117] *Irish Independent*, 9 Nov. 1957.
[118] *Irish Times*, 20 Dec. 1939
[119] Clifford R. Stanley, *The purpose of a lifetime: a profile of Barbara Mary Denis de Vitré, O.B.E., 1905-1960: Britain's first woman Assistant Inspector of Constabulary* (Chichester, 1972), p. 11.
[120] Judith A. Allen, *Sex and Secrets: Crimes involving Australian Women since 1880* (Oxford, 1990), pp 164-7.
[121] Sandra Larmour, 'Aspects of the State and Female Sexuality in the Irish Free State, 1922-1949' (Ph.D Thesis, National University of Ireland, University College Cork, 1988)., p. 223; Sandra McAvoy (née

period covered by this thesis.[122] Pioneering research into prosecutions related to abortion by R.S. Rose indicated that prosecutions were rare prior to 1925, and were very few in subsequent years up to the early 1940s. [123] Of the small number of prosecutions identified as related to abortion, most occurred in Dublin. Research by Sandra Larmour mentioned the involvement of a 'policewoman' in a covert role in one such case of 1929, as the 'only evidence of aggressive police action against an abortionist during this period.' Larmour's close analysis was confined to the court records of cases in the 1940s, and her published work was also concerned with a later period.[124] In addition to the case of 1929 mentioned by Larmour (Mahara case) the research for this thesis has found a second earlier case of 1926 (Willis case) that was substantially based on subterfuge by policewomen.

'Harry Willis of Lower Clanbrassil Street was returned for trial in connection with charges brought by Policewoman Mrs O'Neill,' a press report of proceedings in Dublin District Court noted in November 1926.[125] Willis was an Englishman living in Dublin who came to police attention as he began to establish himself as an abortionist in Dublin under the alias George Williams. A witness for the prosecution, Elizabeth Lynch, told the court that one night about a week earlier she had been approached in the dark by a man who handed her a letter 'on which was written "For Ladies Only"'. No explanation as to why Elizabeth Lynch in particular was approached with the letter was offered to the court. She passed the letter to the police, and it was presented in court as Exhibit 'H'. 'If you are in trouble from your young man we can make you alright,' offered the letter. As illustrated, the letter proposed that any woman interested in the offer was to go to a street corner at Mount Street Bridge in the city, any Wednesday night, and to 'wear a white flower in the right lapel of your coat'.

Policewoman O'Neill and Policewoman Watters were enlisted by Detective Sergeant Gibney to secure the arrest of the letter-writer. O'Neill recounted that she 'went to Lower Mount Street & separated from companions I went to corner of Clanwilliam Place. I was wearing in right

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Larmour), 'Before Cadden: Abortion in Mid-Twentieth Century Ireland', in Dermot Keogh, Finbarr O'Shea & Carmel Quinlan, *Ireland: the lost decade in the 1950s* (Dublin, 2004), pp 147-63.

[122] R.S. Rose, 'An outline of fertility control, focusing on the element of abortion in the Republic of Ireland to 1976' (Ph.D Thesis, University of Stockholm, 1976), p. 16.

[123] R.S. Rose, 'An outline of fertility control, focusing on the element of abortion in the Republic of Ireland to 1976' (Ph.D Thesis, University of Stockholm, 1976); Sandra Ruth Larmour, 'Aspects of the State and Female Sexuality in the Irish Free State, 1922-1949' (Ph.D Thesis, National University of Ireland, University College Cork, 1988); Clíona Rattigan, '"Dark Spots" in Irish Society: Unmarried motherhood, crime and prosecution in Ireland, 1900-1950', (Ph.D Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2008) pp 272-316.

[124] Larmour Thesis, p. 240.

[125] *Irish Times*, 26 Nov. 1926.

lapel of coat a white flower. I stood by the electric light standard for some time & then Deft came towards me walkg very briskly, wearing a fawn overcoat he passed by & stood at other side of light standard & after a few moments came over & stood by my right side bade me goodnight. I answered him (abt 9.35pm) He then asked was I fond of flowers. I said yes, he asked had I the flower in my coat by acC.I.D.ent or for a purpose. I ansd. I had it there for a purpose.'[126]

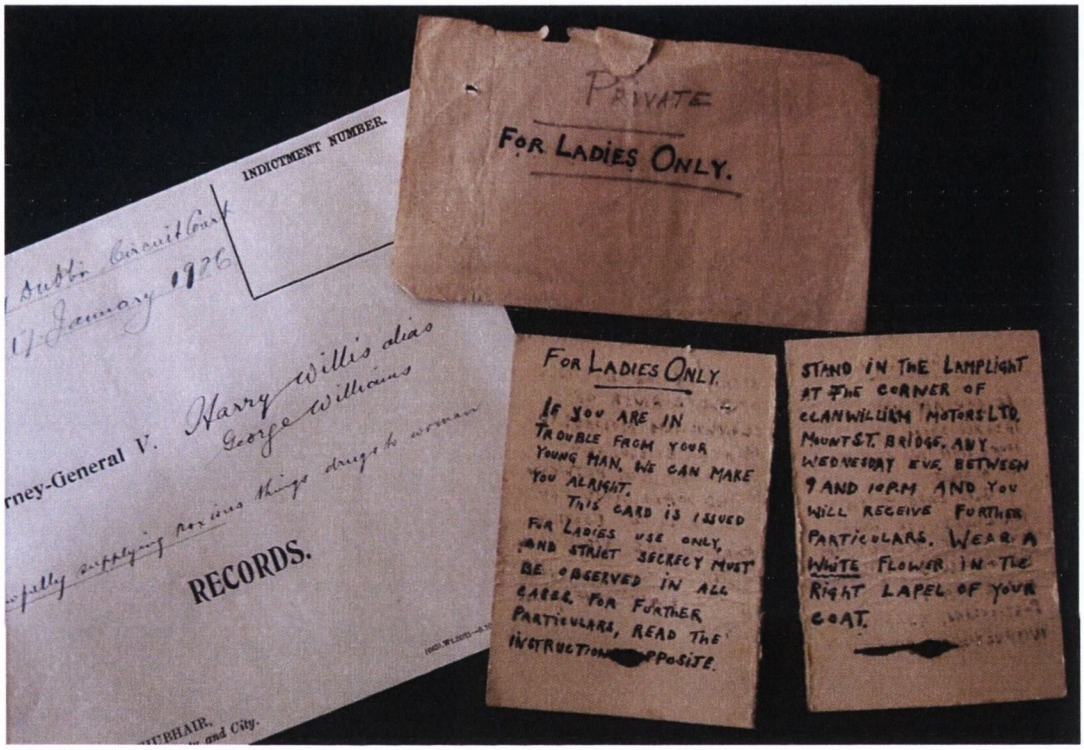

Figure 11: Exhibits in the Willis Case (N.A.I., 1C-90-45).

In his exchange with O'Neill, the man asked if her presence had 'anything to do with the card you got.' I said "yes" He said "In Bray?" I said "yes"'. This suggested that he had become a target for investigation by the Garda following just a single direct letter approach. In conversation with O'Neill, Willis told her 'he didn't interest himself so much in married women it was young girls he was after & had several young girls on his hands just at present.' She told him she was eight weeks pregnant, having conceived while her husband was away for a period of over a year. Willis offered to procure pills for her, 'with the result that they would procure an abortion & failing that, he would operate on me.' O'Neill quoted him as having said that there was 'only one right way & that's the sure way, by operation'. Willis claimed he was 'about the first in Dublin that ever did these operations,' but did not yet know just how correct he was - in this instance at least - in saying: 'They are largely done in North but people here are

[126] Deposition in State Files at Circuit Court, County, Hilary, (Jan. 1927) no.s 73-4 (N.A.I., 1C-90-45).

two [sic] good.' Willis quoted her a rate of 'about 30/= for the operation but the pill would be 25/= & 5/- fee to him,' and that 'If they weren't successful he'd do operation for 15/=.' O'Neill said she wanted some time to consider what course she wanted to take, but Willis declined to tell her where he could be contacted, as 'the truth was that young girls, when they get into trouble go rushing about, to see who'll they'll find & one tells the other somebody has given me away & the Bobbies are after me'.

O'Neill arranged a second meeting two nights later, to which she brought marked money notes. Having conducted the transaction for pills with Willis, she dropped her handkerchief as a signal and Gibney, accompanied by Watters, approached them and arrested Willis. While O'Neill played the lead role in the operation, it is likely that Watters was detailed to accompany Gibney in order to allay any suspicions Willis may have had of two men or of a man alone. Following Willis's arrest, his brother Norbert Herbert Willis's residence was raided and various chemicals found. A doctor, John Ryan of Lower Gardiner Street, testified that the chemicals passed to him for examination included morphine, opium, and chemical chloride, all used to treat haemorrhage in maternity cases; along with 'croin & aloe capsules of a common kind.' The capsules 'can be bought in the chemists without any mystery.' Ryan described a dose of four of these capsules as 'very drastic', and said that such a dose 'would very likely have the effect of procuring abortion'. On selling her pills on the street, Willis told O'Neill that the pill jar had been labelled 'Blake's Female Pastilles', but that he had removed the labelling.

William Carrigan prosecuted the case in the District Court in January 1927, by which time Willis had altered his plea to guilty, on a charge of incitement to commit crime, under Section 59 of the Offences Against the Person Act, 1861, having 'unlawfully incited Mary O'Neill to administer noxious drugs to herself or to submit to an illegal operation to procure the miscarriage of herself.' Judge Davitt imposed a sentence of three years, suspended on condition that Willis leave the Saorstát within a month and not return to it for at least five years. For his effort to conceal and destroy the chemicals at his house, his brother was similarly ordered by the court to leave the state within a month.

O'Neill swore her deposition on the day following Willis's arrest, and was cross-examined in court. A feature of her deposition is its attentiveness to Willis's direct speech, illustrated, for example by his reference to 'the Bobbies'. Such fidelity exemplified a recommendation by a Dublin-based judge in 1923: 'If the Guard is describing events, let him omit no jot or tittle of the events. It is not for him to select or reject what facts he will dispose of. If it be a

conversation, above all I pray that he may give the words themselves. [...] For dear heaven's sake say the words the accused said, and don't give your own gloss of what he said.'[127] In a rare feature article about 'The Dublin Female Police' in the *Irish Times* in 1931, this case was described in vague outline, and O'Neill lauded as 'having secured the first conviction for selling illegal drugs on the streets of Dublin'.[128]

A similar investigation was conducted in the winter of 1928, in which O'Neill and Watters were enlisted, along with their colleagues Lang and Naughton. This was triggered by an advertisement among the 'Miscellaneous' classifieds of the *Dublin Evening Mail* in late November, for 'Madame and Dr Mahara, Indian Phrenologists and Medical Specialists'.[129] Among a number of exhibits assembled was hand-bill publicity material by Mahara, which suggested that he had transferred his practice from a London address to a number of Dublin locations, with addresses listed at Pearse Street, St Stephen's Green, and Earlsfort Terrace around the margins of a hand-bill on which a London address had been struck through. Lang and Naughton called on Mahara on 1st December, 1928, and deposed that in response to her direct enquiry about birth control, Mahara told Lang: 'I take everything away with drugs. First month second month - up to 6 months I can drug the child & carry everything away by medicine.' Mahara, who conducted his own defence, baldly challenged Lang under cross-examination as recorded in the file: 'Xd- [...] My story is true not a concoction.'[130] Naughton and Watters deposed how the accused had told their fortunes, telling Watters that she 'very much in love with a married man who works in the Govt.'

A week after Lang and Naughton's visit, O'Neill called alone in the evening to 78 Pearse Street and again presented herself as a married woman who had conceived a child in the absence of her husband in America: 'I said "The truth is I am in a bit of trouble." He said "Oh yes - is it pregnancy." I said "yes". He asked me if I was married. I said yes but my husband was away & he said "Oh then you've been carrying on with another man" & I said "yes".' O'Neill's account of the exchange, in which she assented to the inferences drawn by the accused was strategically weighted to negate the imputation that she had entrapped him. O'Neill reported that Mahara advised her: 'I could operate on you tonight if you like and put your feet up & you will be all right in about a week.' When O'Neill opted for treatment rather than an operation,

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[127] District Justice Edward J. Little, 'Some Reflections for Beginners' in *Iris an Gharda* (25 Jun. 1923) p. 14.
[128] *Irish Times*, 14 Jan. 1931.
[129] *Evening Mail* [City Final Edtn.], 28 Nov. 1928 [cutting] in State Files at Circuit Court: Hilary pt. 1, 1929 (N.A.I., 1C-94-77).
[130] State Files at Circuit Court, Hilary part 1, 1929 (N.A.I., 1C-94-77), and *Irish Times* 14 Dec. 1928.

Mahara reassured her: 'You are wise. It's the slow but sure way and you will be all right,' and took a £1 deposit from her for medication, the balance to be paid the following night on delivery of the drugs. When O'Neill returned the next day Mahara had her sign a crude disclaimer, and also used a similar device with his fortune-telling customers. The Garda visits culminated with the visit of Inspector Richard O'Connell who directed the investigation, in the company of Watters and O'Neill, to arrest Mahara and search the premises. O'Connell later stated that he 'found a book with the name of patients therein, many of whom were Dublin people', and that Mahara had £10 cash in his pocket when he was arrested.[131]

Mahara appeared before the District Court in mid-December 1928, described as 'a coloured man' wearing 'gold-rimmed spectacles and dangling a monocle'.[132] All four policewomen appeared as witnesses for the prosecution at the trial, and, to the amusement of the court, Lang, Watters and Naughton described the defendant's fortune-telling. 'And you sent down a policewoman to tempt me to commit a crime?' Mahara challenged O'Connell, to which he replied: 'I sent down [sic] to find out what you were really at.'[133] Press reports of the case did not refer to abortion, although the trial record book recorded that the palmistry charges were struck-out, and that it was on the basis of O'Neill's evidence on the charges of 'inciting to commit abortion' and 'attempting to incite to commit abortion' that Mahara was convicted.[134] Following conviction, Carrigan told the court that the accused had twenty-three previous convictions and had used numerous aliases. Mahara had been 'here only a fortnight' and that 'the police believed that an effort was being made on the part of the defendant to start the white slave traffic in Dublin'.[135] Justice Davitt acceded to Carrigan's call and imposed the maximum sentence of two years imprisonment with hard labour. 'The police had done a public service,' Carrigan asserted, and the court clerk noted that 'The Judge compliments Inspr R O'Connell and the police for their work in this case.'[136]

In a similarly covert vein, the policewomen were sometimes assigned to carry-out purchases which may have been considered difficult for a Garda to undertake without arousing suspicion. Watters was assigned such work by Inspector O'Connell in February 1928, when she visited a shop at Upper Stephen's Street and asked for a copy of *Family Limitation* by Margaret Sanger,

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[131] *Irish Times*, 1 Feb. 1929.
[132] *Irish Times*, 12 Dec. 1928.
[133] *Irish Times*, 1 Feb. 1929.
[134] *Irish Times*, 12 Dec. 1928, 14 Dec. 1928, & 1 Feb. 1929; and *Irish Independent*, 14 Dec. 1928.
[135] *Irish Times*, 1 Feb. 1929.
[136] City of Dublin Circuit Court, Criminal Cases, Trials Record Book, Oct. 1927 to Dec. 1929, no. 43 of Jan. 1929 (N.A.I., 1C-94-15).

a booklet published in London and priced at sixpence on its cover.[137] For 10d. (ten pence) Watters received this booklet, and a pamphlet, *The Married Woman's Guide, fully explaining family limitation, midwifery, and the vexed question of birth control*, published in Glasgow with a cover price of 1 shilling. The pamphlet stated that 'The surest "preventive" is the sheath or "French Letter", used by the man, or the "check pessary", its counterpart, used by the woman. The use of either of these articles, especially the sheath, leaves nothing to be afraid of. [...] Where and how to obtain these contraceptive appliances will be found in this book. Instructions as to their proper use nearly always accompany the articles.' Copies of these items were submitted as exhibits in an envelope sealed by a Garda wax seal. The case file suggests that Watters had to refute the suggestion that she had incited the accused shopkeeper, Joseph C. Kearney, to commit a crime:

> Xmd:- I am a woman police officer. The book was produced from under other books. I didn't see it, I couldn't see it. It wasn't exposed. I was acting under instructions when I asked for it. I looked for it in ordinary way. I didn't lean across & whisper to Deft for it. I haven't read the book. I asked for 'Family Instruction' by Margaret Sanger & Defendant went & immediately & took the book.[138]

Kearney was convicted of having 'obtained or procured certain obscene libels in the form of booklets' in April 1928 and ordered to pay a fine of fifty pounds.

While information on family planning was probably less conspicuously obtained by a policewoman than by a Garda, the policewomen were involved in plainclothes investigations even where they were conspicuous on account of their gender. In 1938, the Catholic newspaper, the *Standard*, took interest in the trade of the Capital Library bookshop on Amiens Street, where, it was reported:

> Behind the counter and out of reach were shelves of gaudily coloured, clearly suggestive-looking publications. They were sealed in cellophane, giving the impression of mystery and secrecy. Some of the titles were 'Silk Stocking', 'Stocking Parade', and 'Screen Humour'.[139]

According to the shopkeeper, he imported about 3,000 such magazines a month which he said were also for sale in other shops in Dublin. The *Standard* writer professed that he was 'amazed that a magazine [*Beauty and the Beast*] which in America cost 20 cents, should in Dublin cost 5s.'

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[137] State Files at Circuit Court, City: Easter 1928, No. 24 (N.A.I., 1C-90-39).
[138] Ibid.
[139] *The Standard*, 4 Feb. 1938.

A priest was reported to have commissioned enquiries by 'asking a working man whom he knew to make some purchases' at the shop. In a similar style, the Garda commissioned O'Neill and Watters to visit the shop. The police may have calculated that the shopkeeper, John Currid, was likely to recognise Garda detectives, because the he had two convictions for 'indecent assaults on male persons'.[140] Or it may have been that specifically *female* access to material was to be demonstrated. Watters told the court that Currid had declined to sell her a book, *Frozen Beauty*, on the cover of which was 'a picture of a naked woman', until he was undressing his window display. Watters bought *Film Fun*, 'a magazine on the cover of which was a picture of an almost naked woman'. 'Did it affect you in any way?' the prosecution asked Watters, to which she replied that she 'thought it was not very nice'. [141] Currid was convicted on all charges and sentenced to six months imprisonment with hard labour. However, on appeal to the Circuit Court, only one conviction was upheld, and the sentence was reduced to a fine of fifty pounds.[142]

In a trawl of twenty-seven trials record books and numerous case files up to the mid-1950s, involvement by a policewoman in a case of sexual crime was found in only one instance. In that instance, the policewoman's involvement was to retrieve and convey the torn undergarments of the victim.[143] Despite a scan of numerous case files related to sexual offences against women and children, no trace of a policewoman's involvement in the statement-taking process was found, nor did any of the policewomen feature as witnesses in court records of the prosecution of sexual offences. However, several statements suggested that the policewomen *did* contribute to the police response to sexual crime against women and children, despite the absence of reference to such involvement in court records. The D.M.P. Chief Commissioner's obtuse reference in 1922 to cases 'in which the ordinary police would have been quite ineffective' is likely to have included cases of sexual crime. [144] In a briefing note to the Garda Commissioner in 1928, first listed among the 'Duties of Police-women in D.M.D.' was the 'Investigation of cases of indecency, indecent assaults on women and children, indecent exposure, rape.'[145] This type of work was also prominent in a list composed in 1948 of 'the duties for which policewomen had been intended and employed',

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[140] *Irish Times*, 15 Jul. 1938.
[141] *Irish Times*, 15 Jul. 1938.
[142] Appeal Book at Circuit Court, Apr. 1933 - 12 May 1941, no.s 84-5, Oct. 1938 (N.A.I., 1D-20-37).
[143] State Files at Circuit Court, City, Michaelmas, no. 69 of Oct. 1944, (N.A.I., 1D-24-144).
[144] Chief Commissioner D.M.P. to Minister of Home Affairs, 30 Oct. 1922 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/1).
[145] From Garda Depot to Commissioner, 21 Jul. 1928, statement attached re: Policewomen (G.A., Pay and Allowances - Ban Ghardai, B.2215/59).

described as 'the rendering of assistance'.[146] A rare newspaper feature about the policewomen and their work in 1931, referred to 'other duties that they have to perform' as 'too ugly to detail for general reading', possibly an allusion to duties that arose from sexual crime.[147]

While this chapter has emphasized the covert investigative work of the Dublin policewomen, it is acknowledged there were other aspects to their role, a major aspect of which centred on court proceedings that involved children. Summary statements of policy indicated that the Dublin policewomen constituted an integral part of the administrative apparatus of juvenile justice in Dublin, as escorts, attendants, and sometimes in the fulfilment of the role of probation officer. This aspect of the work of sub-formal policewomen was amplified in the 1940s and 1950s, when the inC.I.D.ence of committal of children to industrial schools and reformatories increased, and is the major theme of a subsequent chapter of this thesis concerned with the 1950s, 'Women Assisting'.

The focus of this chapter has been the paramilitary and covert police work performed by women during a period of pronounced upheaval and transition in police administration. That work was belied by the manner in which female policing did not feature as a consideration in the hasty, administratively conservative, and politically loaded process of police reformation under independent government. Women played a significant, if ancillary role in the campaign of militant opposition mounted by opponents of the Anglo-Irish Treaty. The uncompromising, military tactics adopted by the nationalist government, particularly the internment of women by the military, did not amount to a basis for female policing to be incorporated into the police re-formation plans of the independent Government. The paramilitary and covert, investigative female police function of the 1920s and 1930s scarcely featured in the public campaign to place female police on a commensurate footing with the male Garda that was renewed in the mid-1930s. That campaign is the subject of the next chapter.

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[146] Deputy Commissioner D.M.D., to Commissioner, 26 Apr. 1948 (G.A., 'History of policy on the first female members of An Garda Síochána, 1952-74).

[147] *Irish Times*, 14 Jan. 1931. Other features about the Dublin policewomen during this period include: *Irish Times*, 31 Aug. 1949; and *Irish Independent*, 21 Oct. 1935, 17 Jun. 1936, and 9 Nov. 1957.

Chapter Three:

'An artificial business'?: The campaign for female police, 1922-50

'The agitation for women police is an artificial business without any real roots in the country,' wrote the secretary of the Department of Justice in 1939. This chapter examines the campaign that was sustained by feminist activists for female police and responses to it during the first three decades of independent government in Ireland. The conferral of official police status to women was a matter of concern to a small but vociferous body of feminist activists. The elevation and expansion of female policing was the basis for a campaign that was largely propounded through direct representations to government, with limited consultation with the police authorities. A salient feature of the campaign for female police in Ireland was the absence of direct engagement between those who campaigned for an expanded, regularized female police role, and the small number of women then serving in Dublin as sub-formal policewomen. The title of this chapter echoes John Carrier's pioneering political-administrative study of the British experience, and some consideration of that experience by an official committee of inquiry in Dublin in 1930-31 allows for this chapter to present a limited comparative treatment of developments in Britain and Ireland during this formative period for female policing on both islands.[1]

The issue of female police was raised by Thomas Johnson, T.D., leader of the Labour Party, who noted reference in D.M.P. estimates to 'women police'. In November 1922, Johnson referred to the lack of any published report by the police authorities and asked 'whether we could be informed as to what the experience of the D.M.P. has been in regard to the activities of the Women Police', a subject that had attracted comment 'in police reports in other cities'.[2] The Minister of Home Affairs, Kevin O'Higgins, T.D. (CnaG) explained that 'these are not police in the regular sense of the word' but were 'a kind of patrols, semi-official patrols, for the protection of women in the city'. The Minister continued:

> I wonder if Deputy Johnson wants to provoke an expression of opinion from me as to whether there ought not to be women police, because I have not given the question any serious consideration. I understand in a general way that the predominant feeling in places where that particular experiment was made was against it, but I would undertake to look more deeply into the matter.[3]

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[1] Carrier, *Campaign for the employment of Women as police officers*
[2] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, i, 2317 (28 Nov. 1922)
[3] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, i, 2317-9 (28 Nov. 1922)

A year later, in June 1923, Johnson sought 'to hear from the Minister whether this matter of women police— women patrols as they were called—has been a success from the Commissioner's point of view, whether it is likely to be extended, or, on the other hand, if the decrease from six to four this year is merely a forecast of the complete abolition of this force.'[4] O'Higgins acknowledged that he had 'quite neglected to go into the question' and indicated that before the next D.M.P. estimates were presented – in a year's time – he would 'look into the matter and get the view of the Commissioner as to whether any extension of the idea of having women on police duty is advisable, or whether he thinks on the contrary, that with the exception of having a few women to deal with women prisoners it may be left as it is'.[5] In July 1924, O'Higgins briefed the Dáil on the work of the 'Women Police':

> They are chiefly employed in cases of offences against children, molestation of women, and sex offences generally. Searching of female prisoners is also carried out by them. They are sometimes engaged by private shopkeepers to watch for shoplifters and pickpockets, and one part of their duty might be to obtain evidence in cases of illegal betting, palmistry, fortune-telling, and cases of that kind.[6]

Neither Johnson, who did participate in this debate, nor any other member of the house addressed the Minister's comments about the 'women police'.

The following year, female policing was mentioned in the course of a debate on the Civil Service Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1925, which sought to allow the civil service commissioners to apply sex-based restrictions on certain roles in the public service. 'I think we might trust to the good sense of the women in the Saorstát not to apply for such a disagreeable and onerous position' Dr Oliver St John Gogarty asserted about the prospect of female applicants to the police. 'But there are policewomen,' Senator Jenny Wyse Power interjected.[7] 'We have women police here working beside the ordinary police and they have been a great success. The reason why I consider there are so few women police is because of the prejudice against their sex.'[8] No discussion of the few, sub-formal policewomen of the D.M.P. nor of the wider subject of the role of women in policing was to occur in the Oireachtas until 1944, a period of 19 years from the date of Wyse-Power's plaintive reference to them. Maryann Valiulis has concluded that legislators believed that women 'did not belong outside the home, be it in the Civil Service or in the jury box', not to say in the police force.[9] Cullen-

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[4] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 2335 (22 June, 1923).
[5] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, iii, 2336 (22 Jun. 1923).
[6] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, viii, 745 (8 Jul. 1924.
[7] *Seanad Éireann deb.*, vi, 251 (17 Dec. 1925), cited in Shepard, 'Campaign for women police', p. 566.
[8] *Seanad Éireann deb.* - xi, 256 (17 Dec., 1925).
[9] Maryann Gialanella Valiulis, 'Power, gender and identity in the Irish Fee State', in *Journal of Women's History*, vi, 4 (Winter/Spring 1995), p. 120.

Owens concluded that authority to restrict the employment of women in sectors of the economy, as provided by the Conditions of Employment Act, 1936, 'reflected popular attitudes to women at work that accepted that after marriage women's place was in the home'.[10] It must be acknowledged that with the exception of Wyse-Power, what female members of the Oireachtas there were, did not exhibit an interest in the issue of female policing during the period addressed in this chapter.

While the subject of women in policing did not feature in Oireachtas discussions, it was considered by official committees of inquiry: briefly, by the inter-departmental committee of inquiry on venereal disease (1924-26); and in greater detail, by the Criminal Amendment Act committee (1930-31). In the absence of *any* major official inquiry into Garda organisation or policy between 1925 and 1950, these committees constituted two of only a few occasions on which the subject received significant consideration. Consideration of the issue by these committees was chiefly due to the espousal of it by feminist activists, and partly due to the interest of some male office holders in the potential purposes for which female police might be deployed. Finnane's assessment of the substantive impression produced by the report of the Criminal Law Amendment committee's report might also be applied to the substance of the earlier report on venereal disease, that 'The sense of an Ireland that still awaited its moral reconstruction was the dominant element.'[11] The reports of both were regarded as highly impolitic and were not published, and the matter of their suppression has contributed to recent historical interest in them.[12] The consideration given by these committees to the question of female policing requires some attention here due to its general omission from the historical literature concerned with these committees, to which female policing was an ancillary concern; and also with regard to the timing of these committees, which occurred during a very formative period for female policing in Britain, as shall be discussed.

The Free State government appointed a three-member committee to examine venereal disease in the state, comprising an Army officer, the secretary of the Department of Justice, and a medial inspector of the Department of Local Government and Public Health. The employment of policewomen and comparable female officers with powers of detention had

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[10] Cullen Owens, 'Louie Bennett (1850-1976)', in Mary Cullen & Maria Luddy (eds), *Female activists: Irish women and change, 1900-1960* (Dublin, 2001), p. 51.
[11] Finnane, 'Carrigan Committee', p. 524.
[12] Finola Kennedy, 'The suppression of the Carrigan Report – a historical perspective on child abuse', in *Studies*, lxxxix, 356 (Winter 2000) pp 354-63; James M. Smith, 'The politics of sexual knowledge: the origins of Ireland's containment culture and the Carrigan Report (1931)' in *Journal of the history of sexuality*, xiii, 2 (Apr. 2004), pp 208-33.

formed part of efforts to suppress venereal disease in Britain and in the United States during the First World War period, and, as will be mentioned below, their role in liaising with women suffering from venereal disease in the post-war years was regarded as important.[13] In its published report, the committee noted that it had been 'urged to recommend the establishment of women police as a method of fighting this evil'. [14] Now women gave evidence to the committee, but it did consider evidence from three senior Garda officers, including Deputy Commissioner Maj.-Gen. W.R.E. Murphy. The printed report included a three-page memo by Murphy of his evidence to the committee which did not feature any reference to female police. [15] In subsequent years, Murphy argued for the expansion and regularization of female police in Dublin, as shall be discussed later in this thesis. Notes of the evidence of George P. Cussen, Senior District Justice of the Dublin Metropolitan Court, to the committee, recorded that Cussen was 'strongly in favour of increasing the number of women police'. Cussen's favourable reference to women police was in the context of his advocacy of regulationist measures that included the registration of prostitutes, and the compulsory medical examination of convicted prostitutes and of female probationers.[16]

In March 1925, the D.M.P. conducted a large-scale sweep of the 'Monto' district of the city which up to then had been effectively tolerated as an open brothel district. Although 120 people were arrested, the police action resulted in only two prosecutions.[17] The change of policy by the D.M.P. has been attributed to representations made to it by a lay Catholic organisation, the Legion of Mary, which was extensively engaged in an attempt to suppress the trade. The four D.M.P. policewomen are not known to have been involved in this night-time operation. The major findings of the committee's report challenged the nationalist moral geography that valorised the rural and associated promiscuity and prostitution with Dublin and the former British garrison centre of the Curragh, Co. Kildare. The committee reported that 'the view that prostitution is the principal cause of the spread of Venereal Disease is erroneous', that the incidence of the disease was widespread nationally. Casual promiscuity by

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[13] Mary E. Odem, *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885-1920* London, 1995), pp 123-6.
[14] *Report of venereal disease in the Irish Free State* (Dublin, 1926), p. 10 (N.A.I., DT S4183).
[15] Deputy Commissioner Maj.-Gen. W.R.E. Murphy, pp 35-8. A statement by Deputy Commissioner Eamon Coogan was also included, pp 31-2, and Chief Supt Harrington listed as a witness examined by the committee.
[16] Criminal Law Amendment Committee, 1930, G.P. Cussen, D.J. (N.A.I., DJ 90/4/11). The Criminal Law Amendment Committee of 1930-31 referred to the record of Cussen's evidence of Sept. 1925 to the inter-departmental committed on venereal disease.
[17] Finola Kennedy, *Frank Duff: A Life Story* (London, 2011), p. 82.

'a class of girl who could not be regarded as a prostitute' was found to have had a substantial role in the dissemination of the disease.[18]

The committee referred to 'the system in force in Continental countries of registering and licensing prostitutes and subjecting them to periodical medical examinations' but resolved that 'No system of official recognition accompanied by permission to carry on this trade seems to us desirable.'[19] However, Philip Howell has highlighted the double-speak and ambiguity of the report, which despite its explicit eschewal of 'official recognition' of prostitution, commended and recommended policies that were 'regulationist in nature if not in name'.[20] The committee reported that 'the general adoption of a system of Prophylaxis', chemical disinfection following exposure to infection, as 'desirable, but in the present state of public opinion cannot be recommended.'[21] Its report recommended the compulsory registration of convicted prostitutes for the purpose of medical examination and detention in hospital for treatment as necessary.[22] Although it commended policies that were 'regulationist in nature if not in name', the committee did not envisage any role for female police.[23] The committee reported that it 'found it difficult to see in what way they could be of use, and we make no suggestions thereon'.[24] The factual basis of the report was not disputed but the regulationist policies it supported were not adopted by government, which may be said to have buried it.

A committee of inquiry appointed in June 1930 to advise on the reform of the Criminal Law Amendment Acts, somewhat irregularly accorded significant attention to the question of female police. The ostensible brief of the committee was to advise on the revision of Irish law on sexual offences and prostitution, particularly in light of legislative change in neighbouring jurisdictions in the 1920s to the law on prostitution, and to limit or abolish the plea in carnal knowledge cases that the defendant had reasonable cause to believe that a girl was aged over sixteen, or that the girl was a consenting party in a case of indecent assault.[25] Explanation for the attention accorded to the question of female police by a committee that was ostensibly

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[18] *Report of venereal disease in the Irish Free State* (1926), p. 3 ((N.A.I., DT S4183).
[19] Ibid., p. 10
[20] Philip Howell, 'Venereal Disease and the Politics of Prostitution in the Irish Free' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxiii, 131 (May, 2003), p. 131. See also idem., 'The Politics of Prostitution and the Politics of Public Health in the Irish Free State: A Response to Susannah Riordan' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxv, 140 (Nov., 2007), pp 541-52.
[21] *Report of venereal disease in the Irish Free State* (1926), p. 9 (N.A.I., DT S4183).
[22] Ibid., p. 10
[23] Howell, 'Venereal Disease and the Politics of Prostitution in the Irish Free', p. 131.
[24] *Report of venereal disease in the Irish Free State* (1926), p. 10 (N.A.I., DT S4183).
[25] Finnane, 'Carrigan Committee', p. 524.

formed to advise on specific legislative reform unrelated to the Garda may be understood by reference to its composition, and the consequent character of its proceedings. Inexplicably, government selected a group described by Susannah Riordan as 'remarkably – and from the government's perspective, unwisely – associated with the cause of reform', and 'associated with female, rather than male welfare,' which included only one lawyer, its chairman, retired senior state prosecutor William Carrigan.[26] As described in its report, the Committee 'proceeded to take such evidence as might afford a conspectus, from the legal standpoint of Public Decency, of the extent to which abuses exist.'[27]

The committee's proceedings 'stood very much in the tradition of the campaigns for the protection of women and children which went back to the 1880s and earlier,' Mark Finnane has written, 'campaigns which among other things had assisted in raising the age of consent and, less successfully, reforming the laws on prostitution.'[28] That tradition had also contributed significantly to the women patrol movement and to the campaign for female police, evident in Ireland through the activism of Anna Haslam through that period, and that tradition will be seen to have borne influence on the committee's consideration of the question of female policing. Feminist organizations included female policing in their agenda for presentation at the committee. The subject was addressed by three witnesses to the committee: Ms Edith Tancred, a private female police tutor, who was presented as a witness by the I.W.C.L.G.A.; Mrs Mary Kettle, a member of Dublin Corporation who was also a member of the I.W.C.L.G.A.; and Garda Commissioner Gen. Eoin O'Duffy; and was also the subject of a written submission from the Cork branch of the N.C.W.I..[29]

Before the evidence, findings and outcome of the Carrigan committee are discussed, it is apposite to consider the British case for a number of reasons. The reports of two official British committees of inquiry that convened specifically to consider the question of female policing were presented as evidence to the committee, the Bridgeman Report of July 1924 and the report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure of March 1929.[30] Thus the

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[26] Susannah Riordan, '"A reasonable cause": the age of consent and the debate on gender and justice in the Irish Free State, 1922-35' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvii, 147 (May 2011), p. 436.
[27] *Report of the committee on the Criminal Law Amendment Acts (1880-85) and juvenile prostitution* (Dublin [1931]), para. 5, p. 7 (N.A.I., DT S5998) [hereafter: *Carrigan Report*].
[28] Finnane, 'Carrigan Committee', p. 523.
[29] Carrigan committee, minutes of evidence Carrigan Report - minutes of evidence (N.A.I., 90/4).
[30] Numbered 42 and 43 respectively, of Documents circulated to members of the Committee (N.A.I., DJ 90/4/15); *Report of the Departmental Committee on the Employment of Police-women (Women Police)* 193, [Cmd. 2224] H.C. 1924, vii [hereafter *Bridgeman Report*]; *Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure,* 127, [Cmd. 3297] H.C. 1928-29, ix.

Carrigan committee may be said to have discussed female policing in light of the British case. The advocacy of female policing by Tancred and Kettle bore obvious relation in different ways to the British case. Tancred's evidence consisted of a summary of the history of female policing in Britain along with some personal observations on practice in London and in Scotland. Kettle's proposal for female police was influenced by the London-based W.A.S., which existed as a private organisation rather than an official police force. Irish feminist interest in the W.A.S. in the latter 1920s is suggested by a promotional leaflet for Allen's *Pioneer Policewoman* (1926) and a leaflet entitled 'Women Police' among the papers of Bridget Stafford, an Irish attendee at international feminist conferences.[31] The Carrigan committee's attention to the proposal for female police in Ireland roughly coinC.I.D.ed with what has been regarded as the culmination of the campaign for women police in Britain, as will be discussed below.

Basis for doubt as to the legality of the appointment of female constables by police forces in Britain and Ireland was removed by the passage of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919. That year the London Metropolitan Police Women Patrols had been incorporated into the force, although they were not conferred with police power of arrest until 1922. Deference to the local autonomy of chief constables in the application of these reports was a significant distinguishing feature between British and Irish police models that had implications for the divergent pattern of development of female policing in Britain than in Ireland, where a single state police force was closely managed by a department of government.

The first British official committee of inquiry concerned with female policing was the Baird committee, which convened in 1919.[32] It reported 'that in thickly-populated areas, where offences against the law relating to women and children are not infrequent, there is not only scope but urgent need for the employment of policewomen,' since 'policewomen may be of great assistance in taking statements from the victim'.[33] It noted that 'as information regarding the facilities available for the treatment of venereal disease can now be obtained from the police, it is important that policewomen should be available to give this information to women'.[34] The Baird Report noted the effect of the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919, as mentioned above, and recommended that where police authorities 'did employ women to

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[31] Bridget Stafford Papers (U.C.D.A., P/63/66 and P/63/67).
[32] *Report of the Committee on the nature and limits of the assistance which can be given by women in the carrying out of police duties, and as to what ought to be the status, pay and conditions of service of women employed on such duties (Women Police)*, 1087, [Cmd. 877] H.C. 1920, xii [hereafter *Baird Report*].
[33] *Baird Report*, p. 5.
[34] Ibid.

perform police duties' those women 'should be vested with the legal powers and status of a constable'.[35] The Police Pensions Act, 1921 'defined the expression policewomen to be "members of a police force who are women"'.[36] In 1924, a Departmental committee was appointed 'to review the experience now available in the appointment of women police in England and Wales and to make recommendations as to their future organisation and duties', under the chairmanship of W.C. Bridgeman, M.P..[37] This Report did not depart to any significant extent from the recommendations of the Baird report of four years earlier. It concluded that 'the efficiency of the police service has been improved by the employment of policewomen'. It recommended that 'every police authority should provide, as far as is practicable, for the statements of women and children when sexual crimes are in question, being taken by policewomen'.[38]

The Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure considered female policing in the investigation of crimes and offences and not preventive work, which it remarked was 'held to be the most promising field of activity' for them.[39] It noted that the 'number of Policewomen now serving in England is approximately 150', and that none had yet been appointed to forces in Wales. It noted 'great diversity of practice' in the implementation of a 1926 Home Office circular of September 1926 that a woman be present when a policeman took a statement from a young girl about sexual matters. The Commission emphasised that 'only trained and qualified women should be entrusted with the taking of statements in sexual cases, from young women and children'.[40] The Royal Commission's report declared itself 'satisfied' that 'the time is ripe for a substantial increase' in the number of female police, 'more particularly in cities for patrol work in uniform'.[41]

In October 1931, the Home Office issued statutory regulations to standardise the terms of employment of attested female police in police forces in England and Wales, a form of intervention that was provided for under the Police Act, 1919.[42] These were extended to Scotland in 1934. The statutory regulations were 'undoubtedly a most important step' that

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[35] Ibid., p. 7.
[36] Eric Harraden Glover, *The English Police. Its origin and development* (London, 1934), p. 116.
[37] Philip Williamson, 'Bridgeman, William Clive, first Viscount Bridgeman (1864–1935)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004-), http://www.oxforddnb.com (accessed Jan. 2011).
[38] *Bridgeman Report*, p. 13.
[39] *Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure*, p. 90.
[40] Ibid., p. 94.
[41] Ibid., p. 97.
[42] Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 24.

conferred statutory recognition on attested policewomen, and provided 'a decisive lead' to police authorities as to whether or not to appoint female police. [43] In addition to the difference of localised autonomy, a second significant feature of difference between the British and the Irish case, demonstrated by Carrier's account, was the interest of members of parliament in the development of female policing. The promulgation of the regulations followed from a large meeting of M.P.s convened by and a deputation to the Home Secretary in spring, 1931. [44] Similarly, when the London Metropolitan Police Women Patrols section faced abolition as part of a programme of expenditure reduction in 1922, 'representations to and by female parliamentarians were crucial at this important juncture, when women's foothold in the police establishment was threatened'.[45]

Mrs Mary Kettle, who was a witness to the Carrigan Committee in Dublin, merits particular attention here on account of her prominence as the pre-eminent champion of female policing in Ireland from her appearance at the Carrigan committee in 1930 into the 1950s (Figure 12, below). Although described as 'the most able woman in public life' by Mme Constance Markievicz in 1927, Kettle has received historical consideration mainly in relation to her more famous relatives: her father and her husband, both members of the constitutional nationalist Irish Parliamentary Party that was displaced by Sinn Féin; and her sister, radical nationalist feminist, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington.[46] Both sisters were widowed in 1916. Kettle was elected to Rathmines Urban District Council as a Nationalist candidate in January 1920, which had a high female membership during the 1920s relative to other local government assemblies. Kettle was elected vice-chairman in 1927 and was chairman of the council from 1928 to 1930.[47] In 1930, urban district councils of Rathmines and of Pembroke were subsumed into the municipal area under the Local Government (Dublin) Act, 1930. Kettle was elected as an Independent member of Dublin City Council from October 1930 to June 1933, when was not re-elected.[48] As a City Councillor, Kettle was chairman of the Dublin Union Committee, the governing body that replaced the Board of Poor Law Guardians in 1923, which became the Dublin Board of Assistance under the Local Government (Dublin) Amendment Act 1931.[49]

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[43] Carrier, *Campaign for women police*, p. 241.
[44] Ibid., pp 231, 235.
[45] Joan Lock, *The British Policewoman: Her Story* (London, 1979, p. 143.
[46] Owen McGee, 'Sheehy, David', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014); Senia Pašeta, *Thomas Kettle* (Dublin, 2008); Margaret Ward, 'Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington (1877-1946)' in Mary Cullen & Maria Luddy (eds), *Female activists - Irish women and change, 1900-1960* (Dublin, 2001), pp 89-112.
[47] *Irish Times*, 1 Feb. 1927 and 31 Jan. 1931.
[48] *Irish Independent*, 2 Oct. 1930; *Irish Times*, 29 Jun. 1933.
[49] *Irish Independent*, 23 Oct. 1930.

Kettle was a member of the Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Service, 1932-35.[50] Kettle's promotion of female police and other feminist causes was sustained, from 1933 onwards, without the status of elected office.[51] Mary Daly has written that political opportunities for women were constrained by the reform of local government during the period 1923-31, which involved the dissolution of many smaller units of government, such as Rathmines U.D.C. in 1930.[52]

Figure 12: Portrait of Mary Sheehy Kettle, artist unknown.
(Image by permission of the Simms family, Belgrave Square, Dublin.

As a witness to the Carrigan committee, Kettle argued for the appointment of female police 'who would be specially trained for dealing with young girls of a wayward disposition.' In addition to the establishment of 'women police', she proposed that 'More Probation Officers should also be employed - these to be assisted by voluntary workers.' The model of female policing championed by Kettle did not evolve in succeeding years from that which she outlined to the committee, heavily based on conspicuous vigilance: 'The Women Police would with other duties patrol in the vicinity of theatres, cinemas, dance halls and such places frequented by young persons. They should also keep an eye on boarding houses and lodging houses, which

[50] Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Service, *Final report, with appendices.* [vol.1], (Dublin, 1936).
[51] 'Mary Kettle Sheehy, Councillor 1930-1933' (Gilbert Library, Dublin, Dublin City Council, 'Dublin City Councillors, 1881-2008' database).
[52] Mary E. Daly, 'The "women element in politics": Irish women and the vote, 1918-2008' in Esther Breitenbach and Pat Thane (eds), *Women and citizenship in Britain and Ireland in the twentieth century* (London, 2010), p. 83.

establishments indeed might be required to register the arrival of young girls from the country.'[53]

Garda Commissioner Gen. Eoin O'Duffy told the committee that he favoured the establishment of 'women police' on his attendance at a meeting of the committee in December 1930. Earlier that year, he had contributed a letter to the *Policewoman's Review*, a magazine published by the W.A.S, in which he commended the organisation 'on the splendid work you are accomplishing as recorded month after month', evidently without regard to the role fulfilled by members of the organisation in Ireland during the Anglo-Irish War, under its former name, the Women Police Service. O'Duffy had met female police leaders through his attendance at international police conferences in the 1920s, including Mary Allen, Commandant of the W.A.S., with whom he was photographed in Berlin in 1926 (See Figure 13, below). Commissioner O'Duffy's letter to the *Policewoman's Review* reported that 'In Dublin, our own little unit of four Women Police has been very helpful in the prevention and detection of offences against women and children, shop-lifting, etc.,' and indicated that 'Later on, I hope to make recommendations for the extension of the unit.'[54]

The Commissioner's remarks to the Carrigan committee constituted a marked advance no his stated intention to the W.A.S. to recommend 'extension' of the number of policewomen, who it will be remembered, had no formal police status. Finnane identified the importance of O'Duffy's evidence to final committee report, 'the order of the report's headings following almost exactly those in O'Duffy's evidence, down to the concluding paragraphs of each, which dealt with the desirability of women police'.[55] On the second of two appearances as a witness to the committee, O'Duffy made proposals for female policing following a discussion based on an outline of cases of sexual offences across the country. O'Duffy 'thought that a force of 6 women police with a woman inspector in charge would suffice. They should be of a good type, young and well educated. The widows of gardaí would from their acquaintance with police matters be particularly suitable for these posts which should carry a commensurate salary equal to that given to the male recruit.'[56] O'Duffy's proposal was a blend of the traditional and the radical. Police widows, a traditional source of ancillary police support, would form the core

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[53] Carrigan Committee, Minutes of Evidence, 17 Oct. 1930 (N.A.I., DJ 90/4/2).
[54] *The Policewoman's Review* (May 1930), p. 7, 'from the Commissioner of Police, Irish Free State', cited in Ray M. Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps. The British Voluntary Women Police, 1914-1920* (London, 1999), p. 112 and p. 136.
[55] Finnane, 'Carrigan Committee', p. 531.
[56] Carrigan Committee Minutes, ninth meeting, Dec. 1930 (N.A.I., DJ 90/4/2).

of the female police employed by the Garda in the 1950s, and did not have any role in the public advocacy of female police by Kettle, Tancred, or the main feminist campaign for female police. But the appointment of a female inspector and pay equalization were specific and quite radical proposals, as reflected by the fact that they would not be features of female policing in the Garda for a further forty years.

Miss F. Teigard (London), General O'Duffy, Chief Commissioner of the Civic Guard, and Commandant Mary Allen (London) at the Police Congress in Berlin.

Figure 13: Garda Commissioner O'Duffy with the W.A.S. leader, Mary S. Allen, to the right of the picture[57]

The committee's report recommended a 'wide range of legal reforms affecting sexual behaviour and sexual offences, as well as other matters including the licensing of dance halls,

[57] *Irish Times*, 4 Oct. 1926

the establishment of a borstal for girls, and the appointment of women police'.[58] A critical initial review of the report by an official of the Department of Justice remarked that 'the Committee recommends in every instance the adoption of the proposals of the societies'.[59] The Report noted that there was 'no legislation in force to restrain the open indecency, which witnesses denounced as being carried on so flagrantly and defiantly as to be a menace to public morals, and therefore to demand special legal measures for its repression'.[60]

With regard to its recommendation on female police, the committee had extrapolated from its proceedings the necessity for change not merely to legislative strictures, but also to the agency of enforcement, the Garda. The final recommendation of the committee's report was titled 'Women Police', and proposed 'that in the Dublin Metropolitan Police District a staff of specially trained policewomen, not less than 12, should be organised.'[61] The mission intended by the committee for these 'women police' was along the lines proposed by O'Duffy and Kettle: 'Their primary duties should be to aid in the maintenance and observance of good order and decency in the streets and public places, to keep a strict supervision over the registration and conduct of Servants' Registry Offices, Common Lodging Houses for Women and Private Maternity Homes; to escort and take charge of women and children in custody, and to do preventive work generally with regard to Juvenile Prostitution.' This brief for female police was primarily one of enforcement, vigilance, and regulation. This concept of female policing harked to the women patrol era, and did not emphasize the role of policewomen in statement-taking from women, which had been a significant aspect of both of the official British reports which had been passed to the committee, and an important element of the work of female police in major urban forces in Britain.

As the literature of the Carrigan committee has emphasised, its report was suppressed by government. Towards the end of the Department of Justice's sharp critique of the report, it was mentioned that 'The Committee recommend the appointment of additional women Probation Officers and women police', and that 'doubts have frequently been expressed as to whether women police are of any real value.'[62] The printed report was not published but was

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[58] Finnane, 'Carrigan Committee', p. 525.
[59] Department of Justice memo (N.A.I., DJ H/247/41D).
[60] Carrigan Report, para.26, p. 31. Finnane has commented that 'an obsession with the visibility of sex (in dance halls, on country lanes, or imagined in the motor vehicles parked along the roads) avoided a more considered attention to the contexts and harm of serious sexual offending.' (Finnane, 'Carrigan Committee', p. 530).
[61] Carrigan Report, para. 35, pp 39-40.
[62] Department of Justice memo (N.A.I., DJ H/247/41D).

considered by a strictly confidential, cross-party Dáil committee by arrangement by Minister for Justice, James Geoghegan, T.D. (F.F.). Geoghegan and his predecessor as Minister for Justice, 1927-32, James Fitzgerald-Kenney, T.D. (CnaG), chaired the committee which convened at Leinster House in the summer of 1933.[63] The Dáil committee's line was largely followed by the Government in the form of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, with the notable exception of the law governing access to contraceptives, which was unilaterally prohibited. The recommendation for women police was jettisoned by the Geoghegan committee of parliamentarians, with a cursory note that 'the existing law was adequate to enable the Minister for Justice to give effect to the Report'.[64]

Dissatisfaction with the Criminal Law Amendment Act was a spur to the formation of the Joint Committee of Women's Societies and Social Workers (J.C.W.S.S.W.).[65] Progressive reform of the administration of justice was a central objective of the J.C.W.S.S.W., which may be regarded as a channel of continuity between widely acknowledged first and second 'waves' of feminism, in the 1910s and in the 1970s. Its central committee took an active interest in causes such as the development of the probation service, the administration of adoption, and the participation of women on juries. The ostensible purpose of the organization was to serve as a consultative and lobbying hub for affiliated member organizations, and the total accumulated membership of its affiliate organisations numbered approximately 28,000 in the 1930s, which included the Irish Countrywomen's Association (I.C.A.), the Irish Women Citizens Association (I.W.C.A.), formerly the I.W.C.L.G.A.; and, from its affiliation in 1946, the Irish Housewives Association (I.H.A.), which was formed in 1942.[66] However, the repeated advocacy of particular issues and causes by certain members suggest that the Joint Committee was as much an instrument for the agenda of its dominant individual members, as a body at the service of affiliated member organizations.

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[63] The 'Geoghegan Committee' members, not named in previous studies, comprised: James Geoghegan (F.F.), William Davin (Lab.), Desmond Fitzgerald (CnaG), Fitzgerald-Kenny (CnaG.), W.E. Thrift (Ind.), Morrissey (Ind. Lab.; CnaG 1933-), Duff (Department of Justice), Secretary to the Committee (N.A.I., DJ H/247/41 D).

[64] Minutes of the Dáil [Geoghegan] committee (N.A.I., DJ H/247/41 D).

[65] Its founding meeting in March 1935 was attended by several leading Irish feminist activists, including: Mary Kettle, her sister Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, Louie Bennett, Jennie Wyse Power and Madeleine ffrench-Mullen. Others that were prominently involved in the J.C.W.S.S.W. included: Mary Hayden, Jean Coote, and Whilemena R. O'Hegarty.

[66] Lindsey Earner-Byrne, '"Aphrodite rising from the waves"? Women's voluntary activism and the women's movement in twentieth-century Ireland' in Esther Breitenbach and Pat Thane, *Women and citizenship in Britain and Ireland in the Twentieth Century* (Continuum, London, 2010), p, with ref. to N.A.I., DT S9278.

The Committee secured a meeting with the Minister for Justice in January, 1935. The Minister rejected the amendments to the Criminal Justice Bill proposed by the Joint Committee deputation, but 'promised, however, to examine further into [sic] the question of establishing a women Police Force.'[67] Encouraged by this, the Joint Committee established a sub-committee that included Jean Coote, Mary Kettle, and Hannah Sheehy-Skeffington. Commissioner O'Duffy's interest in the establishment of a regularized female police corps was shared was shared by Garda Deputy Commissioner, Gen. W.R.E. Murphy, who 'had received a deputation concerning women police & was in favour of the establishment of a woman police force, mentioning Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Galway, & Limerick as suitable centres. The main difficulty was said to be finance.'[68]

In the late summer of 1936, as the Joint Committee prepared its scheme for submission to Government, the W.A.S. continued to exert indirect influence on the campaign for female police in Ireland. In London, Kettle met Miss Laura [Barry/Davy?] & Miss Graham (from the staff of Commandant Allen)', who discussed female policing in Britain and the role of the W.A.S. as a private training agency and recruitment pool for police forces that sought female candidates for employment as policewomen.[69] The Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers indicated official unease in 1929 about the position of the W.A.S.. Its report anticipated that with the implementation of its recommendations, 'the need will diminish for the continued existence of unofficial organisations of policewomen, which, whilst deserving much credit for their pioneer work, are not readily understood or accepted by the public at large'.[70] By 1936 time, Allen had embraced fascist politics, and that summer was an invited guest of Nazi Germany, where she had an interview with Hitler.[71]

In October 1936, Kettle reported to the Joint Committee that 'The sub-committee had drawn up a scheme & that Asst Commissioner Brennan & Supt Carroll of the Garda Síochána had discussed it in detail with her & Mrs O'Hegarty.' The Joint Committee heard that 'this discussion was interesting & instructive & some minor changes were suggested in the scheme. It was felt, however, that if the main scheme went through these changes, if desirable, could easily be made later.' Kettle persevered with her original proposals and did not accede to Garda amendments, unlike the spirit of collaboration that had obtained between the Irish

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[67] J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 30 Jan. 1936 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).
[68] J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 22 Jun. 1936 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).
[69] J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 24 Sept. 1936 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).
[70] *Report of the Royal Commission on Police Powers and Procedure* (1929), p. 97.
[71] Douglas, *Feminist Freikorps* pp 124-6

Women Patrols and the D.M.P.. 'The scheme was, therefore, presented in its original form to the Minister for Justice, with a request to receive a deputation to discuss it.'[72]

The scheme addressed to government by the J.C.W.S.S.W. bore strong imprint of W.A.S. influence, a want of Garda, or other official police, input, and some complacency on the part of the J.C.W.S.S.W. as to its implementation. Its opening terms were that:

> A. There shall be a Corps of Women Police officered by women with the designations: Superintendent, Inspector, Sergeant, Constable.
> B. There shall be a force of: 25 in Dublin, 9 in Cork, 5 in Limerick, 5 in Galway, 5 in Waterford. These might be employed as a mobile force at the discretion of their officers.
> C. They shall wear uniform, except when on special plain-clothes duty.
> D. They shall have the same pay, emoluments, allowances, pension rights and annual leave as the man.
> E. They shall have powers of arrest. [73]

The scheme listed 'patrol' first among duties for the policewomen, followed by 'Duties in connection with women and children reported missing, found ill, injured, destitute, or homeless, and those who have been the victims of sexual offences, or are in immoral surrounding', and also separately referred to ' 'Taking statements from women and children in cases of sexual offences.' [74]

The references to 'constable' cannot have commended it to its intended readership of former nationalist revolutionaries such as the Minister for Justice P.J. Ruttledge, T.D. (F.F.), who declined to meet a deputation from the authors for further discussion of the memo.[75] In December, it was reported that the I.W.C.A., and the N.C.W., affiliates of the J.C.W.S.S.W., 'were circulating' Oireachtas members in an effort to garner support. [76] The meeting minutes noted that 'Mrs MacWhinny (Miss Linda Kearns),' a founding member of the government party, 'reported that she had been informed by Mrs Pearse T.D. that the Minister for Justice intended to receive a deputation from us in connection with the scheme for women police.'[77] A member of the women police sub-committee advised that: 'The deputies Mrs Concannon & Mrs Pearse were sympathetic & promised to use their influence with the President & Minister

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[72] J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 29 Oct. 1936 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).
[73] J.C.W.S.S.W., 'Scheme for women police constitution' (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[74] J.C.W.S.S.W., 'Scheme for women police constitution' (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[75] Marie Coleman, 'Ruttledge, Patrick Joseph ('Paddy', 'P. J.') in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography Online*, http://dib.cambridge.org/ (accessed Apr. 2014); J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 16 Nov. 1936 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).
[76] J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 10 Dec. 1936 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).
[77] Seán Kearns, 'MacWhinney, Linda Kearns-' in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed Apr. 2014).

for Justice to induce them to receive a deputation.'[78] A motion to support the call for women police was forwarded to Dublin City Council by the I.W.C.L.G.A., which placed the accent on the challenge of sexual crime. 'Great uneasiness, the petition stated, was felt at the large number of sexual offences against young persons and children, and it was know [sic] that others occurred that did not reach the courts. Trained women police would give invaluable help in preventive, protective and detective duties.'[79] Dublin City Council voted in support of the petition for the establishment of women police.[80]

However, both the J.C.W.S.S.W. and the government appear to have been distracted at this time by the campaign on the draft Constitution in 1937, proposed by the Fianna Fáil government, and strongly opposed by most Irish feminists, including the J.C.W.S.S.W..[81] A deputation of J.C.W.S.S.W. members met with de Valera for almost two hours on 29 January, 1937, but the record of the discussion in the Joint Committee minutes indicated that the discussion was exclusively concerned with female representation in the upper-house.[82] In November 1937, the Joint Committee indicated an attempt to revive the issue, when it was 'decided that another effort should be made to have a woman police force appointed & a suggestion was made that a question should be asked in the Dáil why the Joint Committee had not been received by the Minister for Justice.'[83] Their efforts seemed to be in vain, as no such question was raised for some years.

The J.C.W.S.S.W. and its affiliates were accorded favourable coverage for their campaign in the *Irish Times*, and attempted to draw on broadcast media. The J.C.W.S.S.W.'s proposal to Radio Éireann to broadcast a discussion programme on the subject of 'women police', was initially declined on the basis that 'a state broadcasting service could not undertake a broadcast on one side of a question being considered by another State Dept.'[84] The approval of the Minister for Justice to a two-sided discussion of the subject was secured, but the broadcast did not take place, apparently for want of a speaker to oppose Sheehy-Skeffington as a contributor in favour of 'women police'.[85] The mobilisation of support for the agitation for 'women police'

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[78] J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 10 Dec. 1936 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).
[79] *Irish Times,* 8 Sept. 1936.
[80] *Minutes of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin 1936,* p. 139 (G.L.D., Dublin City Council Records).
[81] Maria Luddy, 'The Problem of Equality: Women's Activist Campaigns in Ireland, 1920-40' in Thomas Hachey (ed.), *Turning points in twentieth-century Irish history* (Dublin, 2011), pp 71-6.
[82] J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 25 Feb. 1937 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).
[83] J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 25 Nov. 1937 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).
[84] Ibid.
[85] J.C.W.S.S.W. Committee minute book, 1935-9, 28 May 1937 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/1).

was facilitated by the *Irish Times*. The paper regularly carried copy passed to it by the J.C.W.S.S.W., and published correspondence from it in its 'Letters' column. The *Irish Times* was notable as a forum in which the sub-formal policewomen were referred to in the context of the campaign for an official, regularized role for female police. A feature of January 1937 averred that 'If the public had a knowledge of the extent of the philanthropic work done in Dublin in the course of a year's round by our four policewomen they would realise the true virtue of their office.'[86] 'Testimony of their worth has come from almost every section of the community,' an editorial of April 1937 claimed. 'What then, is the objection to the extension of the service?'

The wider campaign was re-invigorated by a marked shift of focus and tactics from the second city, Cork, initiated by the local branch of the N.C.W.I.. In June 1938, the Department of Justice received what it described as 'a rather alarming document from Cork'. The letter was supported by a petition signed by 'Canon Sexton, by several other priests, by Protestant and Presbyterian clergymen and by representatives of a large number of religious and social organisations in the city'. It suggested to the authorities in Dublin 'that offences against morality were increasing in that city to a really serious extent,' and contended that 'action by the State was urgently necessary and should take the form of the appointment of women either as Probation Officers or as Police Officers'.[87] The author of the letter was 'Mrs Hill', a member of the Cork branch of the N.C.W.I..[88] This branch had expressed support for the employment of female police in Cork in a written submission to the Carrigan committee, and at its annual general meeting in April 1932.[89] On foot of the letter, District Justice, D.B. Sullivan was consulted by the Department. Sullivan's 'reply confirmed, in strong terms, the suggestion that there was something seriously wrong in Cork'. The Cork judge 'referred to the number of young girls who had come before him in connection with offences of this class, their apparent shamelessness, and their readiness to commit perjury.'[90]

Assistant Justice Henry A. McCarthy was despatched to Cork by the Department of Justice to investigate matters. McCarthy held two meetings with interested parties in Cork city, and interviewed the Port Sanitary Officer, District Justice Sullivan, and clergymen, including the

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[86] *Irish Times*, 14 Jan. 1931.
[87] Summary of Mrs Hill's letter of 31 Mar. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[88] Probably Stella A. Hill or Mrs W.H. Hill, referred to in correspondence to the Carrigan Committee (N.A.I., DJ 90/4/9).
[89] Cork Council of Women to Carrigan Committee, 9 Feb. 1931 (N.A.I., 90/4/9); *Irish Times*, 9 Apr. 1932.
[90] ['M'?] at Justice to Seán Ó Muimhneacháin, Chief Establishment Officer, Department of Finance, 6 Jul. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210). Sullivan's letter is not in the file.

Catholic Bishop of Cork. McCarthy's assessment was that the general wish was for some alternative to the prosecution of children at Cork District Court.[91] The port officer confirmed the prevalence of promiscuity between seamen and Cork teenagers, and District Justice Sullivan re-iterated his belief 'that good use could be made of one or two Police women'. McCarthy met with Chief Superintendent Hannigan and his colleague Superintendent O'Driscoll. 'Both these officers were in favour of the appointment of one or two women Police, and felt that they would be of considerable assistance in many ways to the ordinary Gardaí,' McCarthy wrote. McCarthy's report noted strong interest in the employment of a probation officer in Cork, and he gave somewhat equivocal support to the calls for policewomen in Cork. He was unconvinced 'that there was a pressing need for them at the moment,' but that 'on principle, I think that work could be found for one in connection with the searching of female offenders, in the escorting of female prisoners, and in keeping a watchful eye on ships in the port.'[92]

'Simultaneously with the receipt of Mr McCarthy's report on the situation in Cork' the Department of Justice learned that 'the Taoiseach, in consequence of representations made to him, would be glad to learn the view of the Minister for Justice as regards the appointment of Policewomen, not with reference to Cork particularly, but in a general way.'[93] 'Now the Cork business gives us an opportunity of looking at the Women Police question in the best way in which that sort of question can be looked at, viz: in light of actual facts,' wrote the secretary of the Department of Justice in July 1938.[94] In a letter to Garda Commissioner Kinnane, in July 1938, Justice raised 'a question which I have frequently discussed with you', and cited the opinion of the Cork Garda officers. The official continued 'that it may be said generally that we are rather sceptical as to the utility of female officers, but not prepared to say definitely that we have examined the question thoroughly and made up our minds against the proposition. The present agitation in Cork City, and the view expressed by the two police officers mentioned above seem to afford a useful opportunity to explore the question more thoroughly in its application to a definite set of conditions.'[95] The selection of Cork as a test-case seems curious, given sub-formal policewomen had operated in Dublin since 1917, and

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[91] 'Final Report on enquiry into conditions in Cork in connection with the request for women officers', 21 Jun. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[92] 'Final Report on enquiry into conditions in Cork in connection with the request for women officers', 21 Jun. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[93] Department of Justice to Garda Commissioner, 6 Jul. 1938, (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[94] S.A. Roche, Department of Justice, to Ó Muimhneacháin, Department of the Taoiseach, 6 Jul. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[95] Department of Justice to Garda Commissioner, 6 Jul. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210).

had never operated in Cork. Roche referred to the – largely favourable – views of the Cork Garda officers in the selection of Cork as basis for its inquiry, but the Joint Committee's account of its meeting with senior officers in Dublin in October 1936 suggested that at least some senior officers in the capital were also favourably disposed to the concept.

McCarthy's investigation suggested that the clerical support attached to Mrs Hill's initial petition had been over-stated. Early in its inquiries, Justice learned that the Catholic Bishop Colohan of Cork had known of her petition, and 'didn't like it'.[96] The Bishop assured McCarthy that 'there was nothing in the present moral condition of the city to give cause for concern'.[97] None of the Catholic clerical signators of the petition attended the meetings in Cork arranged by McCarthy for the discussion of the subject. On receipt of McCarthy's report, Justice asked the Garda Commissioner 'to explore the question more thoroughly in its application to a definite set of conditions', and 'to kindly have the question taken up with the Chief Superintendent [Hannigan] and ascertain from him what exactly he has in mind.'[98]

This second Garda response to the Department's inquiries took the form of a report by Hannigan addressed to Commissioner Kinnane, and forwarded by him to the Department without any gloss.[99] Hannigan's report of August 1938 affirmed that 'both the present City Officers and myself would favour their establishment if the question of their utility was the sole matter for consideration', but referred to the high rate of successful prosecution of sexual offences generally and cost considerations. He presented statistics for the period 1933-37 that detailed a high proportion of successful prosecutions arising from 'detected' sexual offences. For the calendar years 1933 to 1937, a total of 109 sexual offences were 'detected', seventy-eight per cent of which were described as having been successfully prosecuted.[100] The report suggested the potency of police strategy in determining the nature of 'detected' crime. Hannigan's gloss acknowledged that 'the major portion of crimes of indecency which were investigated in the peak years, 1935 and 1936, came under the category of offences of gross indecency between males and buggery' when 'a concerted drive was made in the city area with the object of eradicating, as far as was possible, this type of crime'. Those categories

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[96] Department of Justice to Seán Ó Muimhneacháin, Department of the Taoiseach, 6 Jul. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[97] 'Final Report on enquiry into conditions in Cork in connection with the request for women officers', 21 Jun. 1938, (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[98] Department of Justice to Commissioner, 6 Jul. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[99] Chief Supt. J.J. Hannigan to Commissioner, 3 Aug. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[100] 'Return of offences of immorality committed in the Districts of Cork City South and North in the five years commencing 1st May, 1933' (N.A.I., DT S16210).

accounted for fifty-six of the total 109 cases detailed. 'A fairly large number of youthful girls of doubtful morals' who 'could not be dubbed prostitutes' constituted a problem 'not peculiar to Cork city', Hannigan wrote. Although Garda expenditure was not locally controlled, Hannigan referred to the anticipated expense involved. 'To be effective, the minimum number of policewomen which could be allocated to a city of Cork's dimensions would be two, and natural doubts arise as to whether, from the financial standpoint, the remedy would be too expensive for the evil.' The Chief Superintendent concluded that 'while the establishment of police women in the city might be desirable in certain circumstances, it cannot be held to be absolutely necessary in consequence of prevalent conditions.' Most remarkably, having suggested that action was *not* necessary, Hannigan proposed 'as an alternative remedial measure favourable consideration should be given to the appointment of a female Probation Officer'.

It is likely that this heavily-contextualized qualification of his initial favourable opinion on the subject was strongly informed by his appreciation of the disposition of his superiors, Garda Commissioner Kinnane, and Minister for Justice Gerald Boland, towards the question. A month after the date of Hannigan's report, Kinnane advised the Department that 'in view of the number of more urgent and (to my mind) important questions of police organisation and administration with which I am faced it is improbable that I will be able to give the matter much consideration for some time.'[101] According to the recollection of a Department of Justice official, Kinnane's view 'was that the appointment of women police would not increase the efficiency of the Garda and he suggested that the Police authorities in England who appointed women police had done so mainly because of feminist agitation.'[102]

Peter Berry, Private Secretary to the Minister for Justice, Gerald Boland, drew on Superintendent Hannigan's report and on arguments that had featured in the Department's review of the Carrigan committee's report in outlining objections to female police. 'The majority of responsible police officers, both here and in Great Britain, are sceptical as to the value of Women Police,' it was averred, 'and while such grave doubts exist the Minister would not be prepared to approach the Minister for Finance for authority to incur the very considerable expenditure that would be involved,' with reference to the deployment pattern

[101] Garda Commissioner to secretary, Department of Justice, 26 Aug. 1938 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[102] Memo by F.C. Connolly, Department of Justice, to secretary, Department of Justice, 9 Jan. 1953 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).

outlined in the J.C.W.S.S.W. scheme. [103] An argument that had featured in the Department's initial response to the report of the Carrigan committee was elaborated on:

> The main argument in favour of the establishment of such a Force which has been put forward is that the investigation of cases of indecent assault could best be undertaken by women and that the injured party would be less embarrassed in such circumstances. It is, however, to be remembered that the girl's story must eventually be told in Court and little is gained by the preliminary investigation being conducted by a woman if the Judge, Jurors, and Court Officials are men. [104]

The point was pressed with a flourish that emphasised the marginality of women in criminal justice administration: 'Nobody has seriously suggested that the entire investigation from the beginning to the conviction and sentencing of the offender should be carried out by women.'[105]

Once the situation assumed this complexion, persistent representations by the J.C.W.S.S.W. were ineffectual. The Joint Committee rowed behind the initiative of the N.C.W.I. with regard to Cork, and raised the case of another maritime Munster city. 'Letters were read from Mrs Holmes White & Mrs Jacob concerning the need for women police in Waterford,' at the Joint Committee meeting in June 1939. 'It was decided to write to Mrs Redmond, T.D. for Waterford, to ask her for her help in obtaining an interview with the Taoiseach or in any other way. '[106] A press report of the meeting stated that 'Several letters were read strongly urging the need for women police in Waterford City, and pointing out that since the jail was closed there, women brought to the barracks have no woman attendant, and, when charged, have to travel to Cork under the care of men police only. Their need for patrolling the quays was also strongly urged.'[107]

The Joint Committee issued a 'Memorandum on women police' in November 1939 to the Taoiseach that acknowledged 'helpful suggestions' by 'the Commissioner of the Garda Síochána' in October 1936, and reflected a more inclusive perspective.[108] It referred to the moral dangers posed to sailors and girls at Cork and Waterford, and to the needs of women and children under conveyance to Magdalene Asylums and industrial schools for 'special attention which it is not suitable for men to give'. Commitment to the composition of female

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[103] Private secretary of the Minister for Justice, to secretary Department of the Taoiseach, 3 Jun. 1939 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.
[106] J.C.W.S.S.W., Committee minute book, June 1939 – Nov. 1947, 29 Jun. 1939, (N.A.I., 98/14/5/2).
[107] *Irish Times*, 1 Jul. 1939.
[108] J.C.W.S.S.W. to Private Secretary to An Taoiseach, 9 Oct. 1939 (N.A.I., DT S16210).

police as a 'force of trained, educated women, officered by women' featured, but this memo also stated that 'Women police would not encroach on the work of the men'. Some jarring instances of the W.A.S. influence remained, such as the reference to 'constable', the description of female police as a 'mobile force', and the statement that 'Turkey, the land of the veil and purdah, has women police, and Poland, according to Commandant Allen, had the finest women police force in the world.'[109] The Department of Justice resisted the entreaties of the Department of the Taoiseach to grant the lobbyists an interview or to any revision of policy. In response to the October 1939 'Memorandum on women police', Berry wrote that 'having regard to the urgent need for economy, the Minister would not be prepared to urge the Minister for Finance to sanction the very considerable expenditure which the adoption of the scheme would involve.'[110] De Valera's suggestion that the matter and the request for a meeting be considered, were resisted by the Department of Justice. 'The agitation for women police is an artificial business without any real roots in the country,' the Department was convinced. 'The reception of a delegation would only prolong the artificial life of the agitation by giving the promoters an opportunity to pose as the recognised representatives of a considerable volume of public opinion, which they are not.'[111]

The subject of female police was raised in the Oireachtas for the first time in nearly twenty years in April 1944, when the Department of Justice estimates were under consideration. The previous year the first female members of the R.U.C. had been recruited. A social welfare organisation, the Belfast Council of Social Welfare, had prompted the Government of Northern Ireland to canvass police opinion on the issue in 1942, which led to the admission of women to the R.U.C. the following year.[112] The Ministry of Home Affairs later explained to the Department of Justice that up to the 1940s, it was thought that the exclusive male terms of the foundational police legislation, the Constabulary (Ireland) Act, 1836 precluded the appointment of women as constables.[113] But, when the Ministry sought legal advice on the point in 1942, it was advised that the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, 1919 allowed for women to be appointed to the R.U.C. as it had for the appointment of women to British forces.

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[109] J.C.W.S.S.W. to Private Secretary to the Taoiseach, 9 Oct. 1939 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[110] Berry, Department of Justice, to Ó Cinnéide, Department of the Taoiseach, 1 Nov. 1939 (N.A.I., DT S16210)
[111] S.A. Roche, secretary, Department of Justice, to Ó Muimhneacháin, Department of the Taoiseach, 23 Nov. 1939 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[112] Cameron, *Women in Green*.
[113] R.F.R. Dunbar, Ministry of Home Affairs, to F.C. Connolly, Department of Justice, 2 Feb. 1955 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2)

While welfare interests had prompted government inquiries about the appointment of women to the R.U.C., the leadership of the force rejected established grounds for the employment of policewomen but identified an alternative basis for their employment. 'I do not see any advantage in translating social workers or court missionaries into policewomen,' wrote R.U.C. Assistant Commissioner R.D. Harrison, City Commissioner, Belfast. 'Obtaining statements in sexual offence cases 'never presented any difficulty', so it was 'quite unnecessary for witnesses and injured parties to be then handed over to policewomen for statements to be taken.'[114] Harrison appeared to distinguish between 'patrol work in general' with reference to 'hostile areas where women patrols would not be suitable'; and 'political work, policewomen could not be used for patrol duties, they would be interfered with, clothes torn off, tarred, hair cut etc (possibly by other women).'[115] Harrison wrote of female involvement with juveniles only in terms of escort duty.

However, Harrison referred to 'clear evidence of an increase in the number of women participating or helping in political crime', and believed that 'Policewomen of the right type would be of considerable use in searching females connected with the Cumann na mBan or such organisations.'[116] In April, he mentioned to the Inspector General that 'for the purpose of dealing with young girls, taking statements from the class most likely to be concerned etc., it would be a great advantage to a policewoman that she should speak with a Belfast accent,' an indication of the penetrative and intimate role he envisioned them performing.[117] Harrison considered that 'about four policewomen would be necessary for political work' and it was on that scale that the measure was requested by the R.U.C. in May 1942 and sanctioned by the Ministry the next month.[118] The two existent sub-formal policewomen, whom Harrison regarded as unsuitable 'for work of a political nature', were attested as members of the force, but both retired within five years.[119]

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[114] R.U.C. Assistant Commissioner R.D. Harrison, to R.U.C. Inspector General, 31 Mar. 1942 (P.S.N.I.A., Women Police conference).
[115] Memo by R.U.C. Assistant Commissioner Harrison, 30 Mar.1942 (P.S.N.I.A., Women Police conference).
[116] Memo by Assistant Commissioner Harrison, 30 Mar. 1942 (P.S.N.I.A., Women Police conference).
[117] City of Belfast Commissioner, R.D. Harrison, to Inspector General, 27 Apr. 1942 (P.S.N.I.A., Women Police conference).
[118] Assistant Commissioner Harrison to Inspector General, 1 May 1942; Deputy Inspector General, C.F.F. Davies, to secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, 5 May 1942; Barry, Ministry of Home Affairs to Inspector General, 26 Jun. 1942 (P.S.N.I.A., Women Police conference).
[119] Assistant Commissioner Harrison to Inspector General, 1 May 1942 (P.S.N.I.A., Women Police conference); Cameron, *Women in green*, p. 7.

Gerald Boland (Fianna Fáil), Minister for Justice from September 1939 to February 1948, and again from June 1951 to June 1954, was implacably opposed to the concept of female police.[120] That strong continuity of governance was paralleled by executive continuity in the tenure of Roche as Secretary of the Department from 1934 until his death in January 1949, and in the continued influence of Peter Berry subsequent to his role as private secretary to Ministers Ruttledge and Boland.[121] The quasi-martial aspect of Irish policing was maintained by the recruitment preference towards members of the – all-male - auxiliary services and former members of the defence forces, when recruitment resumed in 1942. 'The confinement of recruitment to men from these services was considered appropriate to the demands and circumstances of the Emergency.'[122] The Garda was engaged in the organisation and training of a Local Auxiliary Force during the Emergency period of the Second World War, re-named the Local Defence Force and transferred to military control in January 1941.[123] In 1943, Boland introduced legislation to exempt prospective Garda recruits from a literary examination. 'The period 1940-44 saw more than a dozen guards killed or seriously wounded by the IRA and an almost equal number of IRA men either killed in open gunfights with the police or subsequently executed.'[124]

Patrick Cogan, T.D. (CnaT), who had served in the Garda in a rural division in the 1920s, referred to there being 'only two or three women police in the force at present' and said 'that number should be substantially increased so far as the large cities are concerned'.[125] In partially veiled terms, Cogan argued that 'from their knowledge of their own sex and of children', women would be 'best qualified' and 'more effective' for 'dealing with various types of juvenile crime and in carrying out many of the other duties which devolve on members of the Garda'.[126] Called 'to state the reason for the failure to increase the number of women police', Boland was dismissive: 'I have no use for them. I do not think women police are needed at all.'[127] Pursued on the matter by Jim Larkin (Jnr) T.D. (Lab.), Boland said he did not

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[120] 'Mr Gerald Boland' in Houses of the Oireachtas, *Members Database* at www.oireachtas.ie/members-hist/ (accessed 31 May 2014) [hereafter: Oireachtas, *Members Database*]
[121] William Murphy, 'Roche, Stephen Anselm'; and Patrick Maume, 'Berry, Peter' in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014).
[122] Brian W. McCarthy, 'A history of the provision and reform of probationer education and training in the Garda Síochána, 1922-2007' [2 vol.s] Ph.D thesis, University College, Dublin, 2008), ii, p. 42.
[123] D.J. Hickey and J.E. Doherty (eds), *A new dictionary of Irish history from 1800* (Dublin, 2003), pp 276-7.
[124] Brady, *Guardians* (1974), p. 234.
[125] Pauric J. Dempsey, 'Cogan, Patrick' in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014); *Dáil Éireann deb.*, xciii, 1044 (19 Apr. 1944).
[126] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, xciii, 1044 (19 Apr. 1944)
[127] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, xciii, 1156 (19 Apr. 1944).

think they were 'very effective'.[128] In 1945, the topic was raised by Seán Costello T.D. (F.G.), but Boland was unmoved.[129] 'I have been asked about it by a lady in Cork on behalf of some society down there, and I was asked only last Saturday by a deputation from Dublin,' the Minister mentioned. His indication that he would 'have the matter examined' was evidently unfulfilled. After sixteen years in power, Fianna Fáil was replaced by an Inter-Party Government from 1948 to 1951. The Inter-Party Government established an inter-departmental committee to advise on the achievement of economies and efficiencies in the force, the first major the first inquiry into the Garda since its permanent establishment, in 1924. While Boland was to return to office as Minister for Justice when Fianna Fáil returned to power in 1954, the inter-departmental committee was a harbinger of programmatic change in the Garda, including its gender composition.

[128] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, xciii, 1156 (19 Apr. 1944).
[129] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, xcvi, 2246 (19 Apr. 1945).

Chapter Four: 'Whenever a woman was needed': Garda Woman Assistants of the 1950s.

In the early 1970s, a young Garda asked a detective sergeant colleague at Sundrive Road Garda station who were 'the two "auld wans" [elderly women] that were always up at the Children's Court'.[1] The Children's Court was the term used since 1924 to refer to less formal, less public sessions of the Metropolitan District Court where a District Justice ruled on charges against under sixteen year olds, where only those directly concerned with the case and members of the press were permitted to attend.[2] The detective was well-placed to answer: 'One of those "auld wans" is my mother,' he responded. The explanation for the presence of a pair of women at the Children's Court up to the late 1970s dated back to the mid-1950s. Between 1954 and 1956, four middle-aged women, all of whom were widows and mothers, became Garda Woman Assistants: full-time, plainclothes auxiliaries to the Garda of the Dublin Metropolitan District (D.M.D.). 'Whenever a woman was needed, we were there,' remembered one of the women of their work.[3] Expectation existed that female membership of the Garda was to be provided for, but while this continued to be resisted by the Minister for Justice, it became necessary to employ a second generation of female police personnel in Dublin on a similar sub-formal footing, to be referred to as 'Women Assistants'. The role of the Women Assistants was inter-related to the work of other women who worked in the criminal justice system in Dublin: probation officers and police station 'matrons'. It will be suggested that all three roles were associated with a maternal ethos, and that this characterised the position of the Women Assistants in the Garda 'police family'.

The terms 'Garda Woman Assistant' (G.W.A.) or 'Woman Assistant to the Garda' originated in the latter 1940s to emphasize the non-statutory and sub-formal status of Garda policewomen. This was considered necessary because by that time, female constables were an established feature of urban police forces in the United Kingdom. By 1950, there were over 1,300 policewomen in Britain.[4] The first major report of the Garda, presented to Government in 1951, cited current reports by British police authorities which not only continued to recommend the employment of female police, but which documented that 'every force' in England and Wales had 'an establishment of policewomen', and that in

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[1] Interview with Michael 'Junior' Barrins, Dublin, April 2009, (hereafter: Michael Barrins Interview).
[2] The Courts of Justice Act, 1924, Part III, Sec. 80.
[3] Interview with Mrs Mary Barrins at Kiltipper Woods Care Centre, Dublin, June 2009, (hereafter: Mary Barrins Interview).
[4] Edith Tancred, *Women Police 1914-1950* (London, 1951), p. 35.

Scotland, policewomen were employed 'in all but one of the 14 burgh forces and in 14 of the 22 county forces'.[5] Female membership of the R.U.C. from 1943 was an aspect of this growth that was to prove particularly influential on the position in the south. Female membership of the R.U.C. grew steadily, 'from 9 in 1943 to 15 in 1946 and 38 in 1957'.[6] The development of the female branch of the R.U.C. was an element of a broad programme of innovation and investment conducted under Captain Sir Richard Pim, Inspector-General of the R.U.C., from July 1945 to January 1961.[7]

A perceptible decline in investigative and patrol work by the policewomen in the 1940s may be attributed to their advancing years and to the high volume of escort work that devolved to them from proceedings at the Dublin Children's Court. A Garda memo of 1948 noted that the Garda women 'were not available for the duties for which policewomen had been intended and employed' because 'these three women are practically whole-time employed at present in escorting young girls and boys to Industrial Schools etc., and in attending at Juvenile Courts in charge of prisoners'.[8] The Dublin policewomen were 'concerned mostly with escorting children to reform schools and dealing with women who break the law' the *Irish Times* reported in August 1949. It referred to 'policewomen in Britain, where women do patrol duty and even work as detectives', but quoted one Garda to have said that 'women seem to be unpopular in the force.'[9] A Dublin Garda Superintendent recalled in 1954 that 'in the years gone by when four policewomen were available in the city, their duties were not confined to escorts and attendance at the Juvenile Court.'[10] But by that time the demands of service at the Dublin Metropolitan District Children's Court, and escort work devolving from it, preoccupied the two aged policewomen then in service.

While the Garda made no operational response to the withdrawal from service of the elderly pioneer policewomen in the 1940s through death and retirement, the imperative for female fulfilment of the police escort of infants and young children meant that an imperative for female police remained. The supervision of women and children in custody, and the conveyance of children and girls at the direction

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[5] *Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry into An Garda Síochána, Final Report* (1951), para. 322, (hereafter *I.D.C. Final Report*).
[6] Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 26, with ref. to P.S.N.I. Museum, Women Police Branch, Annual Report to Inspector General, 1957.
[7] Bridget Hourican, 'Pim, Sir Richard Pike', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014).
[8] Deputy Commissioner D.M.D. to Commissioner, 26 Apr. 1948 (G.A., Women Police, A68/234/26).
[9] *Irish Times*, 31 Aug. 1949.
[10] Supt T. O'Brien, 'B' District, 6 Dec. 1954 (G.A., A68/234/26).

of the Garda or the courts, was the primary duty of the small number of women in policing in the early 1950s. The conveyance of children to institutions under court order was a duty of the Garda.[11] This work was funded under a specific sub-heading of the Garda estimates.[12] A Garda allowance applied to the fulfilment of the duty.[13] Mrs Honor Mary Crowley, T.D. (F.F.), who had worked as a social worker in the 1930s in London, was advised in 1948 that the Department's policy prescribed that 'whenever possible, children and young persons are conveyed by women.'[14] This practice was based on the consensus that the custodial care of young children would more appropriately, and more effectively, be attended to by a woman than by a man. Where policemen did perform juvenile escort duty, they did so in plainclothes, and the performance of the work by women was also in line with this attempt to modulate criminal justice formalities in the direct management of juveniles. The policewomen fulfilled the long-standing practice that young children and teenage girls in police custody be escorted by women. Similarly, in many cases in which young women were directed to reside at a convent as a term of their probation, a female probation officer escorted the young female probationer to the institution where she was to reside.

Two notable developments occurred in the administration of juvenile justice in Dublin in the 1940s. Firstly, the establishment of a separate premises for the Children's Court at Dublin Castle in 1943; and secondly, the significant expansion of voluntary probation work with children by branches of the Legion of Mary in Dublin. A Dublin District Justice, Henry A. McCarthy, was centrally involved in the design and implementation of both of these developments, as presiding judge of the Dublin Children's Court, 1941-57. These features of a juvenile justice apparatus existed only in Dublin. Up to 1969, the few full-time probation officers all operated only in Dublin, and the D.M.D. Juvenile Court was the only such court to convene in a dedicated venue, separate from the ordinary courts.[15]

Juvenile courts were provided for under the Children's Act, 1908, to try cases that directly involved children separately from adult proceedings, where the formal trappings of court, such as a dock, a

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[11] *Report of the Committee of Public Accounts for 1927-28*, para. 1451-2.

[12] *Report of the Committee of Public Accounts*, various.

[13] Section 81.8(6), Garda Code, 1965, cited in *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee to establish the facts of State involvement with the Magdalen Laundries* (Dublin, 2013), p. 305 (henceforth cited as *Magdalen Laundries Report*).

[14] Frances Clarke, 'Crowley, Honor Mary', McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014); Report *of the Committee of Public Accounts for 1948-49*, para. 359; *Report of the Committee of Public Accounts for1949-50*, para.428.

[15] Gerry McNally, 'Probation in Ireland: A brief history of the early years' in *Irish Probation Journal*, iv, 1 (Sept. 2007), p. 14.

judge's dias, wigs, gowns, and police uniforms, were to be eschewed. The Courts of Justice Act, 1924, applied the term Children's Court to these courts, and referred to their establishment in provided in metropolitan districts of Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Dublin.[16] 'Children's Court, housed separately from the District Courts, where children's cases are disposed of', were referred to and endorsed by the Cussen Report.[17] The Children's Court convened in the vicinity of the courts complex on Inns Quay up to 1943, when it moved to a former drawing-room at the Upper Yard of Dublin Castle. McCarthy joked that 'Although 'the Castle' may wear certain forbidding aspect to juveniles' it would 'in no way give them the feeling that they are being escorted to the "Tower"!'[18] Notably, this relocation of the Dublin Children's Court to dedicated premises occurred two years after a similar move by the Belfast Children's Court. 'The first occasion on which the juvenile court was held in a place other than the custody court where ordinary criminals were dealt with' occurred in Belfast in March 1941.[19]

No development in female policing in Dublin accompanied the developments in juvenile justice, despite the prominent role assigned to female police in that sphere of work in other jurisdictions. Louise Jackson has noted that in the United Kingdom during this period, female police established a professional identity and ethos. This occupational position drew to a significant extent on acceptance of traditional female competencies, such as appropriate supervision and care of young children. 'Policewomen in many parts of the UK played a central role at the frontline of child protection and family surveillance in the mid-twentieth century.'[20] The work of R.U.C. Woman District Inspector Marion MacMillan, may be cited in this regard. MacMillan's 1948 analysis of juvenile delinquency in Belfast and its causes was commended as 'a magnificent production' by the Ministry of Home Affairs, and reproduced as appendices to the Ministry's *Report on the Protection and Welfare of the Young and the Treatment of the Young Offender*.[21]

Action came to be necessary due to the withdrawal from service of the pioneering former Women Patrols. Elizabeth Lang withdrew from service in April 1947. She was absent from work for much of

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[16] The Courts of Justice Act, 1924, Part III, Sec. 80.
[17] *Commission of Inquiry into the Reformatory and Industrial School System, 1934-1936: Report*, para. 49; about the premises, see *Irish Times*, 8 Apr. 1957, 24 Oct. 1974, and 8 Jan. 1980.
[18] District Justice Henry A. McCarthy to Archbishop Byrne, 9 Mar. 1942, (D.D.A., Byrne Papers, AB 28/988).
[19] *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 Mar. 1941.
[20] Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 139.
[21] Adrian Robinson, Ministry of Home Affairs, (N.I.) to W./D.I. MacMillan, 8 Mar. 1948 (P.S.N.I. Museum, Personnel File of Marion Paterson Macmillan); Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 145, with ref. to *Report on the Protection and Welfare of the Young and the Treatment of the Young Offender*, 1948, Cmd 264 [N.I.].

January 1947 before her 'appointment was terminated' that April. No gratuity payment appears to have been made to her between her withdrawal from service in April and her emigration in November to live with one of her sons in the U.S.A..[22] Mary O'Neill died in 1949.[23] Lang's retirement and the advanced age of O'Neill and Watters led Deputy Commissioner Murphy to raise the matter with the Commissioner in April 1948. 'If it is decided to appoint women police,' wrote Murphy, it is considered that their conditions of service should be similar to those of men police, with pension rights, and that the pay should be adjusted to modern conditions to attract desirable candidates.'[24] Murphy wrote in similar terms a year later, to suggest that the positions 'should be filled by women of the type of those admitted as women constables in England'. In July 1948, Daniel Costigan, Assistant Secretary at the Department of Justice with responsibility for the Garda, wrote to Commissioner Kinnane that the Minister 'would be glad to learn whether it is your intention to fill the vacancies'.[25] Internal Garda correspondence of 1949 noted that 'Deputy Commissioner Murphy has stressed verbally the desirability of bringing the number of Women Police up to eight, ie to have six appointments now made'.[26] 'Pls reply that it is not my intention to fill these vacancies until recruiting has been resumed,' Kinnane jotted in response.[27]

Policy stasis prevailed into the 1950s on the issue of female police, despite a recommendation strongly favourable to the proposal by a committee of inquiry at the beginning of the decade, the first major review of the Garda since its establishment. The review was conducted in 1950-51 by an inter-departmental committee formed on the direction of Lieutenant General Seán MacEoin, T.D., Minister for Justice in an Inter-party government that replaced Fianna Fáil between 1948 and 1951.[28] The committee included Commissioner Kinnane. The deputy chairman, Michael Deegan, chaired the committee in the absence of MacEoin and was appointed as its chairman in June 1951 following Boland's return to the Department of Justice when Fianna Fáil returned to government. Although it had been established with a cost-saving purpose, the Inter-departmental committee interpreted its brief

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[22] Supt 'B' to Deputy Commissioner 'B', 8 Aug. 1947; Supt 'B' to Deputy Commissioner 'B', 17 Jul. 1947; Michael T. Neary (solicitor for Lang) to Commissioner, 8 Nov. 1947; Sgt John Hayes, 'G' District, to Supt. 'G'; 30 Nov. 1947, (G.A., A68/234/26').

[23] A press notice of O'Neill's death did not refer to her police career (*Irish Press*, 8 Jan. 1949).

[24] Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner, 26 Apr. 1948.

[25] Assistant secretary, Department of Justice to Commissioner, 22 Jul. 1949 (G.A., A68/234/26).

[26] Assistant Commissioner Tomás MacCoille to Commissioner, Sept. 1949.

[27] Handwritten note by 'C', 12 Sept. 1949, on memo from Assistant Commissioner Tomás MacCoille to Commissioner, Sept. 1949.

[28] Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry into An Garda Síochána, 1950-51, (N.A.I., DT S7989c/2).

rather expansively, and adopted a progressive, technocratic approach which included research visits to forces in England and Scotland. The wider recommendations of this committee and their implications for female policing will be discussed in Chapter Five, but its treatment of the specific issue of female policing is discussed here.[29]

Among the witnesses received by the committee at its oral hearings was a four-member deputation from the J.C.W.S.S.W., which included Kettle. She had identified the inquiry as 'a good opportunity to re-open the question of Women Police'.[30] 'Mrs Kettle reported that the deputation had an interview of 1 1/2 hours & was sympathetically & courteously received & after the deputation had put the case a lively discussion ensued.'[31] This hearing was the last occasion on which the Joint Committee was received by the central authorities concerned with police policy until after the passage of the Garda Act, 1958. Denied further direct engagement by Government, the J.C.W.S.S.W. campaign shifted its focus towards canvassing the support of local government assemblies for female police, and stimulating and informing the interest of local politicians in the subject. This final phase of the campaign will be treated in Chapter Five.

The committee issued an interim report in March 1951 which called for prompt action to address a manpower shortage in Dublin. Its final seventy-page report, presented to Government in August 1951, constituted a blueprint for the modernisation of the Garda as law enforcement agency. The committee devoted a chapter to the subject of policewomen. Rather than ascribe the campaign for female police in Ireland to artifice, it described it as a natural consequence of 'the position in Great Britain', and the wide basis of female police membership of U.K. police forces.[32] The Inter-Departmental committee recommended that 'as an experiment, and when amending legislation is enacted, a corps of twelve policewomen should be assigned' to the Dublin Metropolitan Area, to 'work under the supervision and direction of male officers and non-commissioned officers'. The reference to male control of the female corps was curious in the context of an established, hierarchical, all-male force, and constituted a pronounced rebuff to the J.C.W.S.S.W., which sought that any female corps to be 'officered by women'. A significant proviso to the implementation of this recommendation, consistent with Kinnane's position,

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[29] *I.D.C. Final Report* (1951), para. 149-50.
[30] J.C.W.S.S.W., Minute book 1948 –55, 15 Jun. 1950 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/3).
[31] J.C.W.S.S.W., Minute Book 1948–55, (N.A.I., 98/14/5/3).
[32] *I.D.C. Final Report* (1951), para. 322.

'that until the requirements of the [Dublin Metropolitan] Division as to male guards have been met, steps need not be taken to recruit policewomen'.[33]

While the report recommended that policewomen 'should as far as possible be employed on the same duties as their male colleagues', it proposed that the duties assigned to policewomen 'would primarily be concerned with matters affecting children and young women and girls', particularly to liaise with the victims of sexual crime and the relatives of those victims. The committee reported that its discussions 'with the Garda authorities and with individual officers' indicated:

> 'a general measure of agreement that it would be of advantage to have a number of properly trained policewomen in the larger cities where the police cannot have the same close touch with the individual families amongst the populations as have the guards in less densely populated areas and where, accordingly there must be a certain reluctance on the part of parents to hand over the investigation of such matters as assaults on young girls or children to male police who are comparative strangers'.[34]

'The male police in the cities would prefer that preliminary investigation of sexual offences against females would be conducted by properly-trained women police,' Garda Deputy Commissioner Garrett Brennan wrote in 1950.[35] Brennan considered that 'In the cities, the existence of women police might result in the discovery of more cases than normally comes to light, particularly in the poorer areas where the proportion of undiscovered offences is stated to be high.'[36] But Brennan noted that the Commissioner, Kinnane, did not 'believe that the employment of women police would make the parents of injured children any less reluctant to report these offences.' By mid-century at least some officials of the Department of Justice were convinced of the utility of policewomen as a component of the police response to sex crime. 'It cannot be denied that the investigation of sexual offences is much less embarrassing and likely to be much more effective when it involves the questioning of women and children if conducted by women police,' a memo of 1950 asserted.[37] The report was withheld from publication. When the Joint Committee prompted Labour Party Deputy Maurice Dockrell to ask about its publication, the Minister declined to say if or when it would ever be published.[38]

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[33] *I.D.C. Final Report* (1951), para. 326.
[34] Ibid., para. 324.
[35] Deputy Commissioner Brennan to Department of Justice, Nov. 1950, (N.A.I., AGO 2002/17/25).
[36] A similar association between poverty and sexual deviancy in this period was recalled by one of Jackson's R.U.C. interviewees (Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 154).
[37] Note for Minister for Justice, 9 Nov. 1955, (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[38] Correspondence from Dockrell summarised in J.C.W.S.S.W., Minute Book 1948-55, 30 Apr. 1953 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/3); *Dáil Éireann deb.*, cxxxviii, 390 (22 Apr. 1953).

The complexion of the situation was altered by the death of Commissioner Kinnane, which led to the appointment of Daniel Costigan as Garda Commissioner in July 1952.[39] Costigan had served as the representative of the department on the Inter-Departmental Committee of 1950-51. In December 1952, five months after his appointment as Commissioner, Costigan raised a proposal for 'Women Police in the Garda Síochána' with the Department of Justice. 'Convinced of the present need for women police in Dublin, and their probable assignment to other centres as the need grows,' Costigan suggested that 'the Garda Síochána Acts be amended by making provision for a maximum of 100'.[40] In a rather unchivalrous sequence, Costigan 'disclosed that 'three aids which we have not got in this country – police horses, police dogs, and police women – are at present under consideration'' (Figure 14, below).[41] This section was omitted from an extended transcript of Costigan's speech in the next month's *Garda Review*.[42] This excision may be explained by the recollection of a Garda historian that at least one senior official at Justice disapproved of Costigan's failure to acquire departmental approval of his speech.[43]

Other former colleagues of Costigan's at the Department of Justice approved of his interest in 'women police in the Garda' by 1953. 'Women police have, I think, become a recognised auxiliary to most police forces,' wrote Assistant Secretary F.C. Connolly in 1953, 'and while they are probably not so necessary here as in the large industrial centres in Great Britain and on the continent I think we must move with the times and arrange for their appointment.'[44] Thomas Coyne, Secretary of the Department, 'was in favour of having women police', but was mindful of Boland's antipathy to the proposal.[45] In March 1953, Coyne advised the Minister 'that the Commissioner suggests that statutory authority should be sought for the recruitment of women police as recommended by the Garda Committee of Inquiry.' Coyne opined that 'we ought to have women police, particularly in Dublin,' but, added, that 'perhaps it is untimely to put the proposal to the Government just now.'[46] Boland was not dissuaded from his view that policing was 'a man's job'. 'I think it is untimely' he noted on the memo.[47] Asked by M.E. Dockrell, T.D., (Lab.), whether he had 'anything to say with regard to the employment of women police?' Boland

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[39] Pauric J. Dempsey, 'Costigan, Daniel', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.
[40] Garda Commissioner to Secretary Department of Justice, 29 Dec. 1952 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).
[41] *Irish Independent*, 18 Nov.1953.
[42] *Garda Review*, Dec. 1953, pp 65, 67, 69, 71.
[43] Allen, *Garda Síochána*, p. 150, footnote: 'Berry's reprimand, author's recollection'.
[44] Connolly to secretary, Department of Justice, 9 Jan. 1953 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2)
[45] Coyne to Minister for Justice, enclosed with Connolly's memo (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).
[46] Coyne to Minister for Justice, enclosing Connolly's memo (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).
[47] Secretary, Department of Justice to Minister for Justice, 4 Mar. 1953, with Minister's note of 9 Mar. 1953 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).

was succinct: 'I have not. I think it is a man's job.'[48] A subsequent 'off-the-record discussion with Garda Superintendent', noted by the Catholic Women's Federation, indicated that it had been expected that female recruitment would shortly be sanctioned. The officer was reported to have said that in 1953 'a house was acquired on [the North Circular Road] for women recruits. Guards were all set to train six women to start. Scheme fell through.'[49] 'This accommodation aspect is the all-important one', the Deputy Commissioner had advised the Commissioner in February 1953, and his view was 'that for a start at any rate policewomen should live out both during training and during service'.[50]

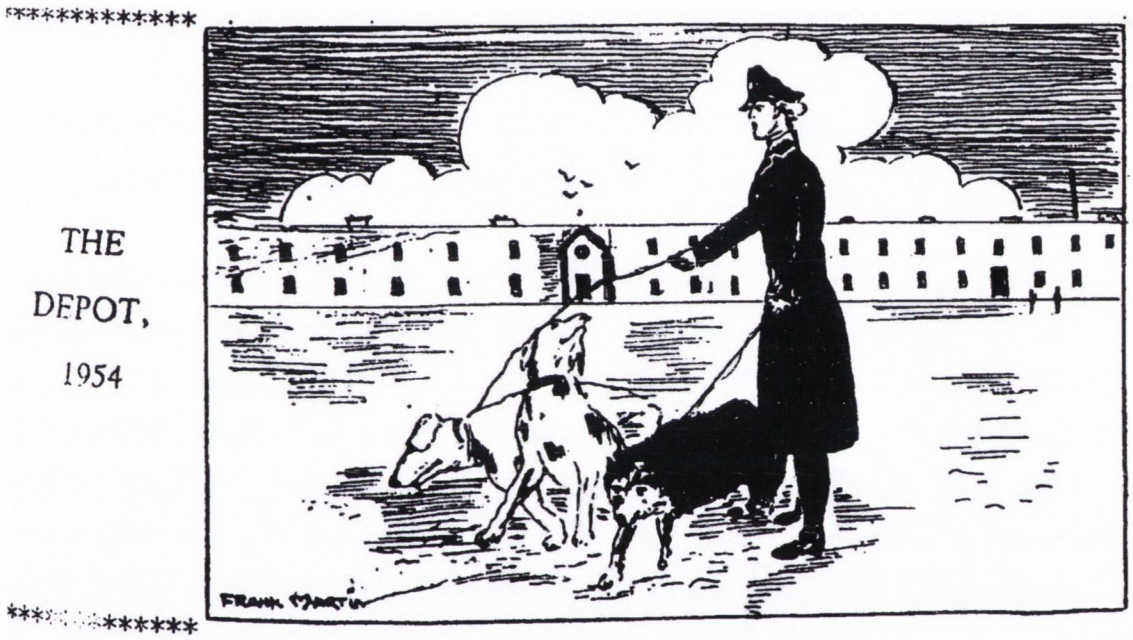

Figure 14: 'Police aids' anticipated by *Garda Review*, April 1954[51]

Edith Naughton's death in November 1954 left Elizabeth Watters as the sole policewoman, and the authorities were impelled to act.[52] The Commissioner arranged for a wardress from Mountjoy Prison to be available to assist Watters as a female escort and 'agreed' with the Assistant Commissioner's assessment that the replacement of Naughton was 'urgent'.[53] A memo from a Garda superintendent to his commanding officer in December 1954 stated that the escort of women and young children 'could be

[48] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, cxxxviii, 523 (22 Apr. 1953).
[49] Memorandum on policewomen in Ireland, May 1954 (D.D.A., Byrne Papers, AB 29/3/24).
[50] Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner, Feb. 1953, bearing ink note by Commissioner, 24 Feb. 1953 (G.A., History of policy).
[51] *Garda Review*, Apr. 1954, p. 365.
[52] *Evening Mail*, 12 Nov. 1954.
[53] Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner, 16 Dec. 1954 (G.A., A68/234/26).

regarded as essential duties that could not be properly performed by other than policewomen'.[54] Four appointments were made between April 1955 and May 1956 under the existing, temporary terms, and the auxiliary status of the position was emphasised by the title 'Woman Assistant to the Garda'. The first appointment occurred in April 1955; two more women were employed from May 1956, and a fourth woman took up employment in October 1956. An Assistant Commissioner understood that 'On the retirement of Miss Watters in July 1956, the question of fulfilling the vacancy will be guided by the likelihood or unlikelihood of the appointment of regular women police during 1956,' but contended that 'In any case, to meet the practical requirements of the Police Service the number of women police for this Division should not fall below four for any considerable period.'[55] Costigan agreed, 'unless the Minister proposes to legislate in the near future for the appointment of policewomen'.[56]

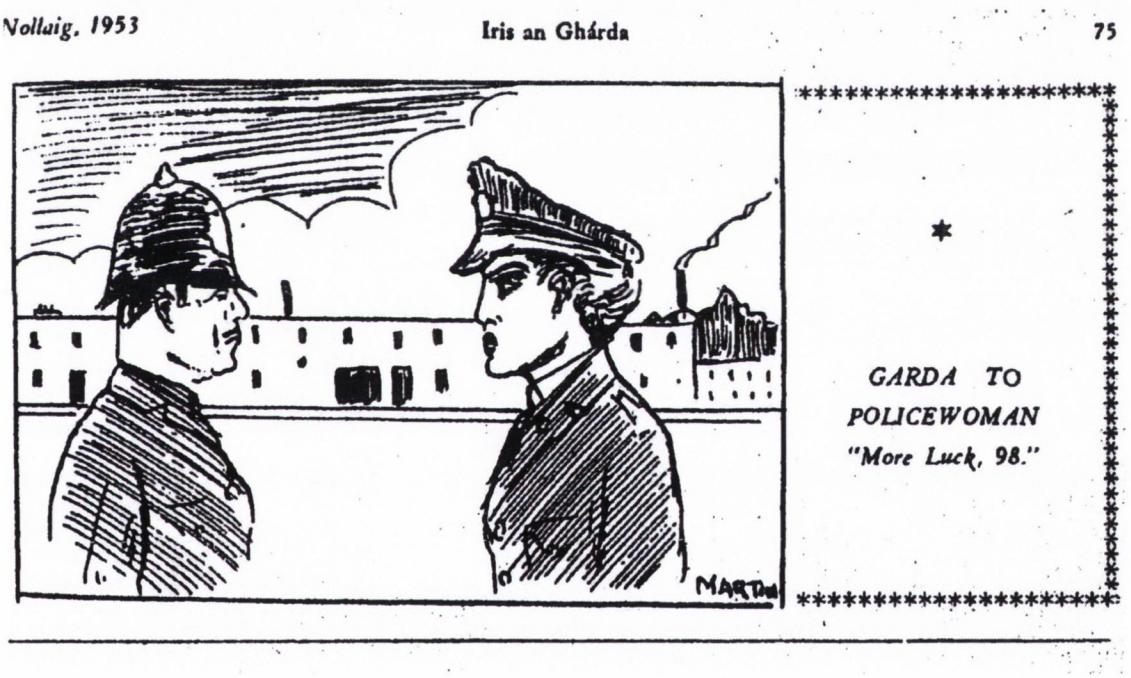

Figure 15: *Garda Review*, Dec. 1953. (Note D.M.P.-style helmet of Garda)

The Department of Justice made the fulfilment of duties in addition to escort work by Women Assistants a condition of its authorisation of the second and third of these appointments. This requirement was

[54] Supt T. O'Brien 'B' District, to Chief Supt 'B', 6 Dec. 1954 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[55] Assistant Commissioner 'A' to Commissioner, 30 Nov. 1955, with pencil note by Commissioner, (G.A., A68/234/26).
[56] Initialed note by Commissioner 5 Dec. [1955], on letter to him from Assistant Commissioner 'A', 30 Nov. 1955 (G.A., A68/234/26).

informed by political sensitivity to public comment on the changes in female policing in the Garda in the context of continued Ministerial disinclination to make any departure to policy. Department officials countenanced the continuation of the policy instituted forty years earlier. F.C. Connolly noted that 'If it were deC.I.D.ed that the appointment of women police, with full police powers, should not be proceeded with, the position might be met by appointing women assistants of the type who were recruited in 1917 and of whom one still survives.'[57] In May 1955, Boland's successor as Minister for Justice, James Everett, T.D. (Labour), was asked 'If, pending the introduction of legislation for the establishment of a women's police force,' he would 'consider appointing a number of women wardens to fulfil the many duties essential to the proper handling of women, young girls and juvenile delinquents of both sexes.' In response, Everett referred to 'two women so employed' and said that he would 'consider the Deputy's suggestion'.[58] In late February 1955, Coyne sought authorisation to circulate a memorandum on the subject of women in policing. But where Boland had been strongly opposed, Everett was passively resistant. When the matter was considered five months later, Coyne noted: 'Minister says to take no action.'[59] A briefing note suggested that 'Having regard to the possibility that action to appoint women members of the Garda Síochána may be taken in the near future, it would, it is thought, be undesirable to increase the existing number of "Women Assistants" as by reason of the small pay they receive it would be impossible to obtain women of a sufficiently high educational standard for appointment as permanent members of the Garda.'[60]

In briefing the Minister of the Garda requirements, a Justice official observed that 'The fact that there would be four women available to assist the Garda might help to keep quiet some of the parties who are pressing for the appointment of women Police.'[61] Before the appointments were sanctioned, the Department sought 'to be informed as to whether, if the strength is to be increased to four, it is the intention to employ women police assistants on a wider range of duties'.[62] Costigan assented that duties in addition to escort work would be fulfilled by a complement of four, and Justice authorised the appointments in April 1956.[63] The outcome of this wrangle between the Commissioner and the

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[57] F.C. Connolly to Coyne, Sec., Dept. of Justice, 18 Feb. 1955 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).
[58] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, cl, 1805 (24 May 1955).
[59] F.C. Connolly to Coyne, secretary Department of Justice, 18 Feb. 1955, (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).
[60] Department briefing note for Minister for Justice, May 1955 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/1).
[61] Assistant secretary to secretary, Department of Justice, 20 Dec.1955, (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/1).
[62] F.C. Connolly, Department of Justice, to Commissioner, 20 Jan. 1956; and Commissioner's affirmative reply, 8 Feb. 1956 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[63] Assistant secretary Department of Justice to Commissioner 20 Jan. 1956, and Commissioner's reply, 8 Feb. 1956, (G.A., A68/234/26).

Department diminished somewhat the grounds for policy change since an expansive definition of the duties of the Garda Woman Assistant role had been agreed to by the Commissioner.

The appointments were made privately by the Garda. 'Only unmarried women or widows would be eligible for appointment.'[64] Garda Commissioner Gen. Eoin O'Duffy had suggested in 1930 that 'the widows of Gardaí would, from their acquaintance with police matters, be particularly suitable' for employment as 'women police'.[65] One of the first six R.U.C. Woman Constables was the widow of a member of the R.U.C.. Of the four Women Assistants recruited by the Garda during 1955-56, three were widows of deceased members of the Garda, and the fourth woman, also a widow, was the niece of a serving Detective Garda. The poor relative terms offered dissuaded at least one woman from pursuing her application. Miss Annie Wogan, a Dublin-based inspector for the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children in Dublin was considered by Superintendent Farrell to 'be most suitable for the position', but was reported as 'not now keen on securing it' when she had been 'told the conditions of employment'.[66]

Table 1: Pay rates of Garda matron, Woman Assistant, Garda, Probation Officer, and R.U.C. Woman Constable[67]

position	(i) Woman Assistant to D.M.D. Garda	(ii) Matron at Bridewell, Dublin.	(iii) Probation Officer, Dublin.	(iv) Garda (1958)	(v) R.U.C. Woman Constable (1944-)
Weekly pay	£3.8.6 including allowances (min. 35 hours p/wk)	£4.7.2d (45 hours p/wk)	min. £10 for male position, 1960.	£6.0.2 on appointment; £7.3.9 on completion of training	£5.0.5 (including boot & rent allowances)
Prospects	rising by seven yearly increments of 1/- per week.				Pay increases by 2/- to maximum of 80/-

Superintendent Michael Farrell interviewed the three 'applicants': Mrs Mary Barrins, Mrs Teresa Harnett, and Mrs Mary Conlon. All three of these women were to be appointed and would serve lengthy careers as Garda Woman Assistants. Barrins had made representations to the Garda to secure police

[64] Department of Justice to secretary, Department of Finance, 20 Feb. 1956, (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/1).
[65] Carrigan Committee Minutes, Dec. 1930, (N.A.I., DJ 90/4/2).
[66] Chief Supt M. Farrell to Commissioner, 7 Jan. 1955 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[67] Sources: (i) Terms of employment outlining wages, signed by Mary Agnes Barrins, 29 Apr. 1955 (G.A., A68/234/26); (ii) Matrons in Bridewell (G.A., A72/29/29); (iii) *Irish Times* 20 Jun. 1960 [advertisement]; (iv) Appointment of women police, General, (N.A.I., DT s.16210); (v) Old Women Police Papers, (P.S.N.I. Museum).

employment in 1949, through Patrick Ruttledge, T.D. (F.F.), and again in 1952.[68] Barrins's were among several letters to the Garda around mid-century from women that expressed interest in being considered for work as female police.[69] Barrins and Harnett were widows of members of the Garda detective section, and Conlon was the widow of a Garda that was serving at Garda Headquarters at the time of his death. The status of three of the women as Garda widows was crucial from the outset to the women's occupational status and identity. The acceptance of the women by the police establishment was largely based on the perception of them as dutiful and trusted affiliates of policemen, as demonstrated in marriage. In the sad circumstances of widowhood, the direct marital affiliation of the three police widows was a basis for their entry to employment.

Married women could not be employed under a prohibition on the employment of married women in the public service. While this prohibition did not technically apply to the position of Woman Assistant, as it was not an established public service position, such considerations made it unlikely that a married woman would be regarded eligible. It followed that widows with a low income were the likely appointees. In addition, a disinclination to appoint single women as probation officers, station matrons, or policewomen, and a preference to appoint widows, was a significant feature that informed the selection of appointees to these positions, as will be instanced later in this chapter.[70]

In the Garda, as in electoral politics, 'the identity of widows often remained closely linked with that of their deceased husbands'.[71] The adoption of the widows as candidates by political parties following the death of a politician is comparable to the preferment that was shown towards the women employed by the Garda as Woman Assistants. The high-degree to which marital affiliation acted as a vehicle for the employment of these women by the police suggest an unusual extension of how, in widowhood, 'her husband's position' and 'the total police structure of thought' would influence a woman's situation.[72]

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[68] Patrick J. Ruttledge, T.D., to Commissioner, 3 Dec.1949; Mary Barrins to Commissioner, 17 Dec. 1952, (G.A., A68/234/26).
[69] G.A., A68/234/26.
[70] Deparement of Justice memo, 12 Sept. 1945 (N.A.I., DT S13727); Matrons in Bridewell, D.M.A., (G.A., A 72/29/29).
[71] Finola Kennedy, *From Cottage to Crèche: Family Change in Ireland* (Dublin, 2001), p. 45.
[72] Malcolm Young, 'Police Wives: a reflection of police concepts of order and control', in Hilary Callan and Shirley Ardener (eds) *The Incorporated Wife* (London, 1984), p. 78.

Employment among colleagues of their deceased husbands may have affirmed the women's identity as widows, since at least three of them never re-married or co-habited.[73]

'Is she to be allowed to bring her pram with her while on patrol?' a celebrated Dublin newspaper columnist had teased about the prospect of female police.[74] This joke on the conflation of conventional gender roles approximated an actual concern of the Woman Assistants. Experience of children and affection for them was an important criterion for appointment. All four of the Women Assistants each had at least one child of primary school age when they began their police careers. The job of Woman Assistant entailed frequent escort journeys, generally by public transport, often to counties distant from Dublin, occasional overnight trips to Britain, and occasional night-time call-outs to Garda Stations. An ability to defray or delegate childcare commitments was an important consideration in the recruitment of the Women Assistants.

Mrs Teresa Harnett was placed by Superintendent Farrell as 'second choice for the post' to Barrins. Farrell mentioned that Harnett had 'no definite arrangement for the care of her children at present.'[75] 'I withdrew my application,' Harnett wrote subsequently, 'as it was so short a time after my husband's death, and I could not get a reliable person to look after my children in my absence from home.'[76] Following her appointment as a Woman Assistant, Barrins felt unable to care directly for all of her three children in the family home in Drimnagh. Her son Michael was raised by his uncle and aunt in Sligo, and retained a Sligo accent in later life.[77] In January 1956, Harnett notified the Garda that 'The position has now changed, as my brother and sister have both come to reside in the vicinity, and have undertaken to look after my children in my absence, should I be appointed to this position.'[78] Harnett was forty-three-years-old at the time of her appointment, and was the mother of four children.[79]

The second appointment made at this time was that of Mrs Josephine Musgrave, a forty-year-old widow of two who also lived in Drimnagh. Farrell's short interview note endorsed Musgrave as a 'Very good

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[73] Interview with Mr Michael Musgrave and Mrs Rita Clarke (née Musgrave), Drimnagh, Dublin, October 2009 (henceforth Musgrave Family Interview); Mary Barrins Interview.
[74] *Irish Times*, 5 Nov. 1954.
[75] Chief Supt. M. Farrell to Commissioner 'A', 7 Jan. 1955 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[76] Teresa Harnett to Deputy Commissioner, Dublin Castle, 14 Jan. 1956 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[77] Author's interview with Mr Michael 'Junior' Barrins, Kimmage Road West (May 2009).
[78] Teresa Harnett to Deputy Commissioner, Dublin Castle, 14 Jan. 1956 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[79] Noel, Frank, Mary, Patricia. Author's interview with Mr Noel Harnett at Bewley's Cafe, Dublin, Feb. 2011 (hereafter: Noel Harnett Interview).

candidate. Very fond of children.' While Harnett had the support of her brother and sister in caring for her children, Musgrave had some support from her niece, Betty, who worked as a civil servant and lodged in the Musgrave home. Harnett and Musgrave took up duty on 18th May, 1956. While Musgrave's husband had been an electrician, he had worked at the railway works at Inchicore, reputed as an employer of men that had been affiliated to the Anti-Treaty side in the Civil War, and the source of 'large contingents' of former militant republicans who were recruited to the Garda in the 1930s, as discussed below.[80]

The fourth Garda Woman Assistant appointed was Mrs Mary Conlon, who had 'experience of nursing and children' and wrote that she had 'acted as Court Clerk on many occasions under Senior D/J [District Justice] Hannah who would be pleased to recommend me.' [81] At fifty-three years of age, Conlon was about ten years older than the three other Garda Woman Assistants. Two of her children were teenagers who may have helped their mother in caring for the youngest Conlon child, who was 11 years old at this time. Following the eventual retirement of Elizabeth Watters in September 1956, Conlon took up duty as her replacement in October 1956. Watters, who had performed over thirty-seven years unbroken police service since her appointment to the D.M.P. in 1918, was retired against her wishes in 1956, aged 73.[82] In September 1955 an Assistant Commissioner 'recommended that her services be retained for a further period' and referred to 'the tuition being received from Miss Watters.'[83] The Department of Justice directed that she be 'discharged' by July 1956 but consented to an extension of her employment to September 1956 in response to a request in which Watters referred to her position as 'the sole support to my widowed sister who is residing with me.'[84] In December 1956, a gratuity of £186, less than half a year's pay of a newly-recruited Garda Women Assistant, was paid to her, and thus ended a vital operational connection with the voluntary Women Patrol organisation of the First World War era.[85] The newspaper notice of Watters's death in February 1970 described her as 'late Policewoman, Garda Síochána'.[86]

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[80] Brady, *Guardians* (1974), p. 198.
[81] Insp. M. Sullivan to Supt 'E' District, 23 Feb. 1956, (G.A., A68/234/26).
[82] Assistant Commissioner to secretary, Department of Justice, 30 Sept. 1955, (G.A., A68/234/26).
[83] Assistant Commissioner to secretary, Department of Justice, 30 Sept. 1955, (G.A., A68/234/26).
[84] Letter from Watters, 2 May 1956 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[85] Refer to the feature in the *Irish Independent*, 'A Policewoman looks back'.
[86] *Irish Independent*, 8 Feb. 1970.

'An Irish policeman may well have conceived of his loyalty as owing primarily to his family, his comrades, and the policing culture of which he was a part,' commented Elizabeth Malcolm of the Garda's predecessor, the R.I.C..[87] The political background of the male relatives of the Women Assistants indicate that the 'policing culture' of the Garda in Dublin was, by the 1940s, inflected by common party-political sympathies, which go some distance to explain Barrins's attitude towards Watters. Contrary to the argument for retention of Watters's services quoted above, Barrins recalled that Watters had 'not really' trained her, and she owed her tutelage to 'the men of the station'. When Watters's name was raised in interview with Barrins, she remarked that Watters 'was a British appointment.'[88] The deceased husbands of two of the women, Barrins and Harnett, had been members of the detective branch at Dublin Castle who had died suddenly of natural causes.[89] Barrins's assertion of her credentials was clearly premised on her awareness of bases of occupational fraternalism in the Dublin Garda:

> I am the widow of the late Michael Barrins who was stationed in Dublin Castle and an Officer in the old I.R.A. Mayo Brigade. I am aged 39 years strong and hearty and have three children ages ranging from seven to ten years and I am left in poor financial circumstances. Mr P.A. Calleary, T.D. [Fianna Fáil], Ballina, Co. Mayo, can recommend me.[90]

Josephine Musgrave was the niece of a serving Detective Garda, Larry Curtin, who had notified her of the opportunity and advised her about her application.[91]

These three detectives, Harnett, Barrins, and Musgrave's uncle Curtin, were among approximately 390 men who were admitted to the Garda between 1933 and 1935, despite their non-compliance with standard recruitment criteria.[92] This cohort, pejoratively referred to as 'Broy Harriers', owed their police careers to their 'republican pedigree' as former militant revolutionaries, trusted by the newly-elected Fianna Fáil Government to act as armed bodyguards and detectives.[93] Most of the 'Broy Harriers' were directly assigned to the detective section on their recruitment, another unconventional feature of the episode. The induction of the quartet of Garda Woman Assistants in the mid-1950s bears relation to the recruitment of the 'Broy Harriers' in the 1930s, with whom three of the four women were affiliated,

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[87] Malcolm, *The Irish Policeman, 1822-1922*, p.43
[88] Mary Barrins Interview.
[89] Harnett Interview; Michael Barrins, Interview.
[90] Mary Agnes Barrins to Commissioner, 17 Dec. 1952 (G.A., A68/234/26). Calleary was a Fianna Fáil T.D. for Mayo North, 1952-1969 (Oireachtas Éireann, *Members Database*).
[91] Musgrave Family Interview.
[92] Noel Harnett Interview; Michael Barrins Interview; The Commissioner of An Garda Síochána and Donal J. O'Sullivan, *The Depot. A history of the Garda Síochána Deport at the Phoenix Park, Dublin* (Dublin, 2007), p. 144.
[93] O'Halpin, *Defending Ireland*, p. 116. The term 'Broy Harriers' was a play on the name of Eamon Broy, Garda Commissioner 1933-38, and the name of a Dublin running club .

with the major distinction that official police status was *not* conferred on the Women Assistants as it had been on their male relatives in the 1930s.

Their status as widows and mothers was crucial to the acceptance of the women by the police establishment. The women seem to have been perceived as dutiful and trusted affiliates of policemen on account of their marital and family connections to the police institution. Widowhood and motherhood were features that were also significant to the perception of the Women Assistants as reluctant professionals, in paid employment to provide for the children arising from their marital bereavement. It was necessary for the Women Assistants to project social respectability in a number of settings: as trustworthy escorts and advisers to the Court, as ostensible browsing housewives in city shops, and at all times to their colleagues, 'the men of the Station'. Careful deportment was one means of asserting social respectability. Josephine Musgrave's daughter remembered that her mother borrowed a suit to wear as a candidate for interview by the Garda. It was customary for a lady about town wearing a suit to accessorize with a hat and gloves, and this mode of dress was adopted by Mrs Musgrave. She recalled that her mother bought new clothes for her job at Harper's, a fashionable shop: a dark grey coat with a square collar, and a green hat. Although the hat caused her irritation, she customarily wore it on duty.

The station 'mother': police matrons and policewomen

'If the Matron on night duty at the Bridewell Garda Station is not available due to illness or other causes, either myself or one of the other three Assistant Police Women attached to the Metropolitan Division have to relieve her in our turn,' Barrins wrote in 1962. Garda matrons attended to the welfare of women and children prisoners, and prepared hot food for them up to sometime in the 1950s. 'Relief duties at Bridewell Station when the Matron there is away' continued to be fulfilled by the Women Assistants in 1965.[94] As a member of staff in central police stations, matrons sometimes witnessed violent and distressing incidents.[95] In the selection of 'Mrs Kearney' for employment as a matron in January 1953, it was remarked that 'because of her nursing experience she would be in a position to deal with female prisoners suffering from the effects of over indulgence in intoxicating liquor or from

[94] Mary Barrins, Application for increase in wages, 24 Jan. 1962, (G.A., A68/234/26); Barrins, Musgrave, Harnett & Conlon, Application for increase in wages, 15 Apr. 1965 (G.A., Mrs. Josephine Musgrave).
[95] Deposition of Annie Owens, Matron, Bridewell, State File at Circuit Court, City, no. 49 of Easter 1932 (N.A.I., 1C-95-129).

injuries received in brawls.'[96] Matrons wore an 'approved uniform, namely, blue bonnet, navy serge frock with white collar and cuffs, black shoes and black stockings'.[97] Mrs Barrins referred to this matron relief duty as the most unpleasant aspect of work required of her during her police career.[98] Mrs Musgrave's children remembered that their mother also disliked this duty.[99]

Figure 16: College Station party including Josephine Musgrave (left) and Mary Barrins, c.1956.[100]

Matrons 'are generally widows of deceased members of the Force,' the Deputy Commissioner noted in December 1953.[101] Unmarried women seem to have been regarded as unsuitable for the position due to their unmarried status. All candidates for a vacancy in January 1953 were described as 'respectable and have never come unfavourably under police notice', but one candidate was 'a single woman and she would not be suitable for this position.'[102] One of the matrons, Mrs Lily O'Sullivan, applied unsuccessfully to be considered for 'the post of police woman' when Elizabeth Lang's career ended, and

[96] Sgt Samuel J. Bell to Supt 'D' District, Jan. 1953 (G.A., A72/29/29).
[97] Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner, 14 Dec. 1953 (G.A., A72/29/29).
[98] Mary Barrins Interview.
[99] Musgrave Family Interview.
[100] Original image in possession of Mr Michael Musgrave, Drimnagh, Dublin.
[101] Deputy Commissioner to Commissioner, 14 Dec. 1953 (G.A., A 72/29/29). See also, *Garda Review*, August 1954, p734.
[102] Sgt Samuel J. Bell to Supt.'D' District, Jan. 1953 (G.A., A72/29/29).

a Dáil Deputy made representations on her behalf.[103] O'Sullivan re-stated her interest in 1949 following the death of Mary O'Neill.[104] Although O'Sullivan continued to serve as a matron as late as 1953, neither she nor any other matrons appear to have been considered for employment as a Woman Assistant.

An episode involving non-compliance by a matron with a Station Sergeant's directive illustrated an expectation by Garda supervisors that matrons were obliged to discharge extra-domestic duties and would be subject to dismissal for failure to do so. In March 1956, a matron at the Bridewell declined to make an invasive physical search of a suspect who was a convicted prostitute. The matron 'informed the Station Sergeant that she had carried out the search and that she was sure that the prisoner had money concealed in her private part' but 'declined to take any further steps towards recovery of the money, being under the impression that to do so would be an assault on the prisoner'. It was stated that 'as a person with no training in nursing etc., she would be very reluctant to interfere in any way with a female's private part.'[105] Her non-compliance prompted enquiries to the Attorney General's office, and the Deputy Commissioner was unequivocal in his 'view that Matrons who [...] refuse to comply with the direction of a Station Sergeant in regard to the manner and extent of the search of a female prisoner should not be retained in the service,' a view deplored by Attorney General.[106]

Court attendance and escort duty

The Dublin Metropolitan District Children's Court was the locus of the work of female police, as indicated by internal Garda reports that referred to the neglect of other duties as court and escort duty demanded. The fulfilment of escort work devolved from the court was a major reason for the presence of policewomen at the Children's Court, and will be discussed in more detail below. 'Besides the escorting of children and young persons to different parts of the city and country a policewoman attends all sittings of the Juvenile Court to be available there for any duties that might arise,' a Garda Superintendent reported in December 1954.[107] On the death of Edith Naughton in 1954, Justice McCarthy remarked that 'Miss Naughton had given him great assistance in that court', and that Naughton's death constituted 'the loss of a valuable officer, one of the only two police women he had to

[103] Garda Commissioner's private secretary. to John S. O'Connor, T.D., Solicitor, 11 Jul. 1947 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[104] Mrs Lily O'Sullivan to Minister for Justice, 11 Feb. 1949 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[105] Chief Supt. D.M.D. to Commissioner 'A', 24 Mar. 1956 (G.A., A72/29/29).
[106] Deputy Commissioner, D.M.D., Thomas Woods, 24 Mar. 1956; and F.C. Connolly, Department of Justice, 7 May 1956 (G.A., A72/29/29).
[107] Supt T. O'Brien, 'B' District, to Chief Supt 'B', 6 Dec. 1954 (G.A., A68/234/26).

assist him.'[108] The presence of a policewoman *in* the court merits attention, since they satisfied an important practical and symbolic maternal role in the Children's Court, comparable in those respects to the role of the probation officer. In some cases, policewomen were assigned the role of probation officer by the court.

Young people appeared at the Children's Court under three circumstances. The first was if they were charged with criminal offences. Often, young boys were jointly-charged with offences, the most common of which were stealing coins from residential gas meters and theft of bicycles. A second basis for their appearance was their persistent failure to attend school. A third reason for the appearance of a child before the court was due to the perceived, or self-declared inability of their parents to adequately care for them.[109] 'The court is arranged like a school room,' a newspaper reporter wrote in 1944. 'There are bright varnished benches, a fire, and an old clock on the mantle-piece. There are no visible signs of the law.'[110] Henry McCarthy the presiding judge of the Children's Court between 1941 and 1957, wrote that he sat at a desk, 'having on his right his Clerk, and on his left a Lady Probation Officer', with, before them, 'a slightly elevated platform on which the smaller children can stand so as to bring them comfortably on a speaking level with the Justice and within two feet of his chair'.[111] At the end of the judge's desk were 'two chairs with smart green leather seats', usually occupied by the parent of the child and by the witness in the case: generally a Garda or an Inspector of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, or a School Attendance Officer.[112]

The Garda were not the sole prosecutors at the Children's Court. Local authority School Attendance Officers were responsible for the enforcement of school attendance in Dublin and in other metropolitan areas. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was prominent as a prosecutor in cases of destitution, and the Garda tended to defer to the Society. The C.I.C.A Report suggested that the prosecutorial vigour of the D.M.D. Garda 'may have' contributed to the high level of prosecution of children in the city. It suggested that 'In Dublin, whether a child was brought to court depended a good deal on the "feel" and possibly ambition of the particular Garda who happened to make the arrest or

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[108] *Evening Mail*, 12 Nov. 1954.
[109] Dermot Walsh, *Juvenile Justice* (Dublin, 2005).
[110] *Irish Times*, 7 Dec. 1944.
[111] McCarthy, 'The Children's Court'.
[112] *Irish Times*, 7 Dec. 1944.

deal with the offence. This may have been one of the reasons why the rate of prosecutions per head of population was so much higher in Dublin than the provinces.'[113]

DISTRICT JUSTICE MCCARTHY.

Figure 16: Senior District Justice Henry Augustine McCarthy.[114]

Newspaper reports of proceedings in the Children's Court suggest the dominance of the presiding judge. The judge 'talks to the children like a father, and an unusually understanding and compassionate father at that,' Prof. Agnes Cassidy, Trinity College Dublin, commented in 1955.[115] McCarthy exhibited a self-consciousness of the reporter in his courtroom. He addressed four boys convicted of stealing refreshments from a girls' school: 'Well, when they [the girls] see the papers tonight I hope they have a good laugh at you!'[116] In an assault case, he identified a junction in Drimnagh as 'a regular cock-fighting venue', and the newspaper carried his remark that 'The police will have to do something, and I know I

[113] *C.I.C.A. Report*, v, 2, p. 22.
[114] *Irish Times*, 3 Jul. 1943.
[115] *Evening Mail*, 7 May 1955.
[116] *Evening Mail*, 20 Jan. 1953.

can rely on them to do it.'[117]Exchanges between the judge and the young person before him sometimes featured in these reports.

The number of committals per head of relevant population was significantly higher in the Dublin Metropolitan District Court than in the provincial courts surveyed by the C.I.C.A., and most of the schools that were not in Dublin were situated a significant distance away from the city.[118] District Justice McCarthy told the J.C.W.S.S.W. in November 1954 that 'Artane would not now take a delinquent or even a wild child,' and so 'delinquents have now to be sent to Letterfrack (Christian Brothers) [Co. Galway]; Greenmount, Cork (Presentation Brothers), or St Joesph's, Clonmel [Co. Tipperary].'[119] The high committal rate in Dublin was in spite of Judge McCarthy's acknowledged disinclination to make such orders.[120] McCarthy's wrote that it was 'always with the greatest reluctance' that he committed any child to an institution, 'because I appreciate that they can never be more than Institutions'.[121] In a letter of May 1947 to the Minister for Education, the Minister for Justice wrote that he was 'aware that you (like many others) think McCarthy is too lenient.'[122] The employment of Women Assistants occurred in a period of steady decline in the volume of committals to industrial schools from the peaks of the 1940s (Table 2, below). 'From the 1950s [...] the courts displayed a greater reluctance to send children away for long periods and when they did so it was only for shorter terms,' noted the C.I.C.A.[123] 'After the high point of the 1940s, the population [of children in industrial schools] declined gradually in the 1950s and more steeply in the 1960s and 1970s.'[124]

The influence of Catholic moral teaching on the officers of the court is evident from the affiliation of some regular attendees at the court to religious organisations, and from the explicitly religious references in McCarthy's public discussion of the court. According to a solicitor writing in *Studies* in 1962, the Children's Court was charged with 'a more vital responsibility' than its paramount role of upholding the law: 'that of assessing children's moral needs and prescribing treatment which, though

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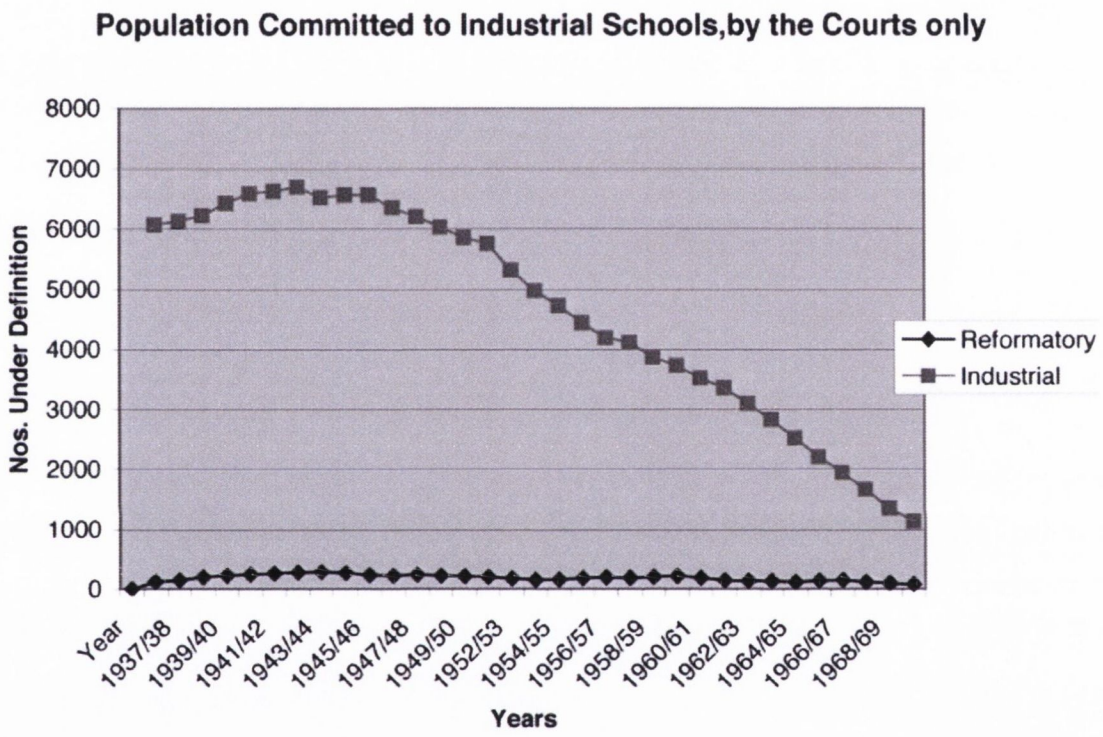
[117] *Evening Mail*, 12 May 1955.
[118]Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, *Report*, (5 vols, Dublin, 2009) iv, 3, p. 226 and p. 237.
[119] J.C.W.S.S.W., Minute book, 1948–1955, (N.A.I., 98/14/5/3). See also, C.I.C.A., *Report*, iv, 3, p.238, para. 3.133
[120] *C.I.C.A. Report*, v, 2, p. 40.
[121] McCarthy, 'Supervision of Delinquents', p. 51.
[122]Mary Raftery and Eoin O'Sullivan, *Suffer the Little Children. The Inside Story of Ireland's Industrial Schools* (Dublin, 1999), pp 196-7, with ref. to Minister for Justice to Minister for Education, 21 May 1947, D/Ed SpEd file G003/e, Transfer of Borstal to Department of Education to be run by a Religious Order
[123] C.I.C.A. *Report*, iv, 3, p. 218, para. 3.59.
[124] C.I.C.A. *Report*, iv, 3, p. 218, para. 3.58.

punitive, is also remedial and constructive'.[125] Justice McCarthy questioned children with reference to their knowledge of the catechism, probably as an indication of a child's moral and intellectual abilities.[126] 'Whoever devotes his life to the care of children,' wrote McCarthy in 1948, 'will inevitably learn that much of his work must be done on his knees. In his heart there must be an abiding Faith, and on his lips the beautiful Prayer of Solomon for Wisdom.'[127]

Table 2: Court committals to industrial schools, 1937-68, based on Department of Education Annual Reports.[128]



The reluctance of judges to make committal orders to residential institutions, contributed to the emphasis on probation as a mechanism for the reformation of young people who had been involved in crime. 'In the District Court, the Court of the Poor,' said District Justice Little in 1940, 'the judicial function without the aid of the probation officer, could only be used to punish crime, too late to prevent it.'[129] The granting of 'chances' by the judge was the currency of the Children's Court. Garda reports

[125] James O'Connor, 'The Juvenile Offender', *Studies*, lii, 205 (Spring, 1963), pp 69-96.
[126] *Evening Mail*, 22 Apr. 1955.
[127] McCarthy, 'The Children's Court', p. 12.
[128] Reproduced from C.I.C.A., *Report*, v, 2, p. 53.
[129] Justice Edward J. Little at Social and Statistical Inquiry Society (12 Mar. 1940), in Sir Thomas Molony, 'New Methods for Offenders', *Journal of the Social and Statistical Inquiry Society*, xvi, 1937-42, p. 58.

indicate a high dismissal rate of criminal cases against juveniles. Although probation officers were seldom referred to in press coverage of the court, judges acknowledged their reliance on the advice of probation officers to inform their decisions. Justice McCarthy suggested that 'Perhaps the most important function attached to the Children's Court is the Probation Service.'[130] McCarthy wrote that it was 'in its application to children and young persons' that probation's 'greatest value and success must be expected'.[131]

The religious influence evident in discussions of the Children's Court quoted above, was a historic feature of the development of probation. 'There was a tradition in Ireland and the United Kingdom of so-called "court missionaries" who provided services on a voluntary basis to the Courts' prior to the formalisation and development of probation under the Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914.[132]As McCarthy wrote, under that Act the Government 'recognised' a Cork branch of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul, and three Dublin branches of the Legion of Mary, and so authorised the courts 'to place offenders, under the age of twenty-one years, under the supervision of officials of the Society in the same way as they may be placed under the supervision of official Probation Officers'.[133] McCarthy oversaw the implementation of a scheme for an expanded, formal role for Voluntary Probation Officers in Dublin, by which about thirty voluntary 'helpers' were assigned to act as auxiliaries to the small number of full-time probation officers.[134] McCarthy intended that this scheme would 'apply to children probationers only or to such adults as I, myself, may have placed on probation'.[135] 'The services of the Legion of Mary were widely availed of in the forties, when, on occasions, over 700 persons were under rules of supervision – there were about 40 voluntary social workers engaged in this kind of work.'[136] The Legionnaires were 'provided at state expense with office accommodation and visiting rooms' and reported to the official probation officers.[137] Voluntary involvement 'had practically ceased' by the early

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[130] McCarthy, 'Children's Court', p. 8

[131] Henry A. McCarthy, 'The Supervision of Delinquents in Society', in B.G. MacCarthy (ed.), *Some Problems of Child Welfare* (Cork, 1945).

[132] *Magdalen Laundries Report*, p. 232.

[133] Henry A. McCarthy, 'The Supervision of Delinquents in Society' in B.G. MacCarthy (ed.), *Some Problems of Child Welfare* (Cork, 1945), p. 49.

[134] *Magdalen Laundries Report*, pp 234-7.

[135] Henry A. McCarthy to Minister for Justice, 28 Mar. 1942, D.D.A., xxviii/990/1, quoted in *Magdalen Laundries Report*, p. 235.

[136] Note for information of the Minister for Justice appended to material dated 1963, N.A.I, DJ 93/182/10, quoted in *Magdalen Laundries Report*, p. 233.

[137] Note on the Inter-Departmental Committee on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders, quoted in *Magdalen Laundries Report*, p. 240.

1960s, the Minister was advised.[138] But religious-based voluntarism in probation was affirmed following consideration of the practice by an Inter-departmental Committee which resulted in the formal recognition of two specific branches of the Legion in Mary in Dublin in May 1963.[139]

Probation and maternalism

The application of probation was associated with an ethos of maternalism. 'In olden times, each one of us had a very effective Probation Officer in our own lives – our mothers,' a contributor to a meeting of the Social and Statistical Inquiry Society said in 1940.[140] Policewomen were regarded as substitutes in the absence of a female probation officer by District Justice Cussen. 'When any girls are charged there were always present in court one or other of the probation officers, or the policewomen', Cussen was reported to have said.[141] 'Probation officers are officers of the court and they could also be, and, in the Dublin Metropolitan District Court were asked, in advance of sentence, to supply authoritative information on an offender's background.'[142] McCarthy wrote that he required 'the presence of one or other of the [two] women [probation] Officers on three of the four days on which the Children's court is sitting,' and that 'a Woman Officer' was 'essential' for cases that involved younger children or girls.[143] One such woman, Brigid Murphy, was 'invariably consulted by the court before a decision was taken'. 'Rarely, indeed, were the justice and herself at variance concerning the methods of treatment to be adopted; and it is noteworthy that when such an occasion did arise, it was due to the fact that she was in favour of leniency and of another chance for the offender.'[144]

Depictions of court proceedings suggest that the discretion of the court and the extension of 'chances' was often conducted in a set-piece manner: absolute executive authority resided with the judge, while the 'Lady Probation Officer' fulfilled the role of advocate for the child. Where some court observers depicted McCarthy as a paternal figure, references to female probation officers sometimes invoked maternal associations. A press report of January 1946 described Murphy as a 'Fairy godmother to

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[138] Note for information of the Minister for Justice appended to material dated 1963, N.A.I, DJ 93/182/10, quoted in *Magdalen Laundries Report*, p. 233.
[139] *Magdalen Laundries Report*, p. 110. The Salvation Army was similarly recognised at this time.
[140] Dr O'Reilly at Social and Statistical Inquiry Society (12 Mar. 1940), in Sir Thomas Molony, 'New Methods for Offenders', *Journal of the Social and Statistical Inquiry Society*, xvi, 1937-42, p. 60.
[141] *Irish Times*, 17 Dec.1927.
[142] C.I.C.A. *Report*, v, 2, p. 32, n.43.
[143] McCarthy, 'Supervision of Delinquents in Society', pp 48-9.
[144] 'H.A.M.' (prob. Henry Augustine McCarthy), 'Mrs Brigid Murphy, An Appreciation', *Irish Times*, 13 Aug. 1955.

youthful delinquents', and suggested that 'as often as not it was Mrs Murphy's intervention that saved them' from more severe judicial treatment at the Children's Court. [145] Maternalism was associated with probation in effective terms by McCarthy. Dissatisfied with a candidate for appointment as a probation officer because she was unmarried, it was reported that he 'would prefer (in view of the nature of some of the cases that arise) to have somebody with a personal experience of married life'. [146] The Minister for Justice shared this preference, and recommended that 'a new competition, limited to widows, with definite previous experience of managing children, be held for the vacancy on the Children's Court side'. The Department of Finance resisted the proposal, but in October 1945 the cabinet sanctioned the appointment of forty-three year-old Mrs Evelyn Flanagan, 'the widow of a well-known officer of the Old I.R.A.' and 'the mother of five children'.[147]

District Justices emphasised the importance of probation in public statements, such as those quoted above, and supported the expansion of the probation service. On his retirement in February 1937, Cussen indicated that probation work had been fulfilled by one of the Garda policewomen for a year to meet the lack of probation officers, and 'paid tribute to the services of Police-Woman O'Neill, whose reports on her visits to the houses of adults and children on the South side while she was doing probation work had been of great assistance.'[148] The Dublin-based District Justice seems to have regarded the concept of female police as deserving of support. District Justice Cussen was 'strongly in favour of increasing the number of women police' according to a record of Cussen's evidence to an inter-departmental committee of inquiry in 1925.[149] However, District Justice Hanna told the J.C.W.S.S.W. in 1941 that 'he didn't see that there was material for such a case as would justify him pressing officially for this reform'.[150] Probation Officer Elizabeth Carroll advised the Hayes Committee in 1947 that she was in favour of a police role for women.[151]

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[145] *Irish Times*, 1 Jan. 1946.
[146] Department of Justice memo, 12 Sept. 1945 (N.A.I., DT s.13727).
[147] Department of Finance memo, 1 Oct. 1945 (N.A.I., DT s.13727); and Extract from Government Minutes, 2 Oct. 1945, (N.A.I., DT s.13727).
[148] *Irish Press*, 1 Mar. 1937.
[149] Minutes of the Inter-departmental committee of inquiry regarding venereal disease, 4 Sept. 1925, (N.A.I., DJ 90/4/11).
[150] J.C.W.S.S.W. Minute Book, 1939-47, 25 Sept. 1941 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/2).
[151] McAvoy Thesis, p. 125, with ref. to: 'R. Hayes, 27 May 1947 report, 'The suppression of prostitution'. with ref. to: N.A.I., DJ 72/94A.

In at least one case, one of the Woman Assistants fulfilled an unconventional, quasi-probationary role in 1956-57. In the summer of 1956, a young woman pleaded guilty to concealing the birth of her newborn child by throwing its body into the Liffey, and was bound over for three years on conditions that are not specified in a brief newspaper report of the sentence.[152] Mary Barrins was directly involved with this young woman when she 'assisted Sgt Hynes in taking statement from' her.[153] Mary Barrins and her son, Michael, remembered that for at least a year of this period, the young woman was placed under Mrs Barrins's supervision, lived at the Barrins home in Drimnagh, and performed domestic and childcare work in the household during the probationary period of her stay.[154] The Magdalene Laundries Report noted that the Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914, 'explicitly provided that a Probation Order might include additional conditions, including a condition as to "residence"'.[155]

Maternal escort work

In the calendar year to mid-November 1954 'there were in all a total of 54 long distance escorts and 94 local escorts carried out by the policewomen.'[156] 'The four assistants are, on average, employed two days each per week in the Juvenile Courts,' and 'the major portion of their time is taken up in escorting of juveniles to schools and convents in the city and to various centres in the country,' reported the Deputy Commissioner, D.M.D., in 1958.[157] 'Such escorts often entail absences of two days, e.g. to convents at Clifden, Ballaghadereen, Ballymote etc. They have also been employed on escort duty to England. They have performed this work with entire satisfaction.'[158] Until October 1951 a prison van transported children ordered to residential institutions from the Children's Court, when a large car began to be used for the purpose.[159] The logbook of one of the policewomen details that in the mid-1950s many of the long escort journeys were made by train. Several entries suggest that more than one

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[152] *Irish Independent*, 27 July 1956 and 3 Aug. 1956; Mary Barrins Logbook, 26 Jul. 1956 (MS in the possession of Barrins family, Kimmage Road West, Dublin).
[153] Barrins Logbook, 26 Jul. 1956.
[154] Mary Barrins Interview.
[155] *Magdalen Laundries Report*, p. 230, with ref. to Sec. 8 of the 1914 Act, amending section 2(2) of the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907. This is a corrective to previous statutory reports that neglected the legislative basis of this practice. See *Magdalen Laundries Report*, pp 254-5.
[156] Supt T. O'Brien, 'B' District, 6 Dec. 1954 (G.A., A68/234/26).
[157] Chief Supt D.M.D. quoted by Assistant Commissioner to Garda Commissioner, 23 Aug. 1958 (G.A., B.880/58).
[158] Chief Supt D.M.D. quoted by Assistant Commissioner to Garda Commissioner, 23 Aug. 1958 (G.A., B.880/58').
[159] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, cxxvii, 274 (7 Nov. 1951), cited in *C.I.C.A. Report*, iv, 3, p. 227, para. 3.90.

child of the same family was ordered to an institution, and in most of these cases as noted by the Women Assistants, all boys were ordered to one institution and all girls to another.[160]

Teresa Harnett's notebooks date from her appointment in 1954 into the 1960s, and her notes consist almost entirely of entries related to escort work devolved from proceedings at the Children's Court.[161] The entries generally take the form of a date followed by the name, age, and the location or name of the institution to which the child was ordered. The Women Assistants' work records illustrate the young ages of many of the children escorted, some of whom were infants. Among the schools referred to repeatedly in the work records of the Women Assistants were industrial schools for girls that were certified to receive very young boys: St. Joseph's Kilkenny; Clifden, Co. Galway; Tralee, Co. Kerry; and Moate, Co. Westmeath.[162]

Figure 17: Josephine Musgrave on escort work in Britain with unidentified police colleagues[163]

To the rear of one of Harnett's notebooks were song lyrics with explicit themes of stoicism ('Don't Quit'), hope ('Tomorrows Opportunity'), and fellowship ('The Travellers'). The sentiments of these songs

[160] Barrins Logbook; Teresa Harnett Notebooks (MS in the possession of Mr Noel Harnett, Dublin); also referred to in *C.I.C.A. Report*, iv, 3, p. 239, para. 3.140-3.
[161] Harnett Notebooks.
[162] C.I.C.A., *Report*, iv, 3, pp 219-20, based on composite sources.
[163] Original image in possession of Mr Michael Musgrave, Drimnagh, Dublin.

suggest an ethos of determination, forgiveness, and humanity that Harnett may have drawn on to console and sustain the young people whose custody and care she was assigned. The children of the Women Assistants remembered that their mothers had a work bag with toys and equipment to care for and occupy the children during long journeys, such as that recorded below:[164]

> Reported on duty at 8.30 in Sundrive Garda St. Proceeded to St Kevin's Hospital accompanied by Policewoman Watters and collected Mary, John, and James [surname] proceeded then to Westland Row Railway station en route to Ballymote Co. Sligo arrived there at 2PM got the 2.55PM train back arriving on Westland Row at 7PM. Reported off duty at 7.15PM.[165]

Sometimes, an escort was sought by Garda Divisions outside the Dublin Metropolitan Division, or to and from Britain. Although they involved a ferry crossing and a long period travelling away from their homes, the children of the Women Assistants said that the women were usually very happy to undertake escort trips to Britain.[166] The most common reasons for such trips were to return young Irish runaways to their families or to bring young women back to Ireland to face criminal charges. Mary Barrins believed that she was usually the first Woman Assistant called on for these duties, and understood that was an expression of preference by the Garda.[167] A fragmentary note in one of the Harnett notebooks indicated the rate at which Women Assistants were paid expenses for overnight trips, which was the same rate as applied to a Garda. The long-distance escort assignments afforded the Woman Assistants an opportunity to supplement their pay. The note featured alongside a Garda stamp and an entry about conveyance to domestic institutions, and said: '23/- over night, 4/- each child'. The Women Assistants were often accompanied by a detective Garda on these trips, and were often accommodated at English police station houses. In October 1956 Barrins accompanied a Cork Garda in escorting two teenage Cork girls from Manchester back to Cork where they were faced unspecified charges on their return. This trip involved three days travel for Barrins, including ferry trips across the Irish Sea.

No suspicion on the part of the Women Assistants of the maltreatment of children in residential institutions was found in their papers, or remembered by their families, or recalled by Mary Barrins. The C.I.C.A. report documented harsh and abusive treatment of children during the 1950s in residential institutions to which the policewomen escorted children, such as: St Joseph's, Tralee; St Vincent's,

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[164] Musgrave Family Interview; Michael Barrins Interview; Mary Barrins Interview.
[165] Barrins Logbook, 12 Jan. 1956.
[166] Michael Barrins Interview, Musgrave Family Interview, Harnett Interview.
[167] Mary Barrins Interview.

Goldenbridge; and St Joseph's Clifden.[168] Interviewed soon after its publication, Mary Barrins was indignant at what she perceived as a public mood of recrimination towards those associated with the administration of juvenile justice. 'They're making out that we were the bad ones,' she said.[169] The C.I.C.A. found that the Department of Education 'had too little information because the inspections were too few and too limited inscope'.[170] The Commission also received evidence about temporary ameliorations made by school management in advance of an inspection.[171] Henry A. McCarthy's attitude towards the schools was described as 'somewhat critical'.[172] A social worker told the Commission that in the 1960s she regarded the schools as 'safe places where the child would be, if not positively cherished, at least protected from harm'.[173] However, the Report also featured a troubling suggestion about low-level official awareness of sexual abuse in the 1960s, acquired through direct Garda interaction with the institutions. 'A district court clerk who served in the 1960s' was directly quoted in the Report as having told the Commission that court officers and policemen that administered the committal of children to institutions during the 1960s 'knew about the sexual abuse in the schools because one of the Gardaí who drove the children to the schools told us about it.'[174]

Women assisting: core police duties and the women of the D.M.D.

As noted above, the performance of duties in addition to court attendance and escort duty was imposed by the Department of Justice as a condition of the employment of the Garda Women Assistants. What work did the Woman Assistants do besides attend court and escort children? When not at court or on escort work, the Women Assistants were at the disposal of the detective branch. The two pairs of women were assigned to the two most central stations, with one pair assigned to B-District, College Street (Barrins and Musgrave); and the other to C-District, Store Street (Harnett and Conlon). 'All four Assistants will parade each morning at their respective stations (College & Store St) at 9.45 am,' according to Superintendent Moran's direction.[175] 'The two not engaged at Juvenile Court shall report to Sergt i/c, D.I.U. who shall detail them for duty.' It was anticipated that the Woman Assistants would

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[168] C.I.C.A., *Report*, i, 9, 'St. Joseph's Industrial School, Tralee'; ii, 7, 'St. Vincent's Industrial School, Goldenbridge' [Dublin]; ii, 9, 'St. Joseph's Industrial School, Clifden'.
[169] Mary Barrins Interview.
[170] C.I.C.A., Executive Summary, p. 16.
[171] C.I.C.A., *Report*, ii, 9, p. 416, para. 9.220-2
[172] C.I.C.A., *Report* v, 2, p. 38.
[173] C.I.C.A., *Report*, iv, 3, p. 236, para. 3.125.
[174] C.I.C.A., *Report*, iv, 3, p. 235, para. 3.120.
[175] Supt J.F. Moran, 5 Dec. 1953 (G.A., Mrs. Josephine Musgrave).

be in demand from elsewhere in the Division, and outside their standard duty hours. He advised that: 'Districts, exclusive of "B" & "C" which require the assistance of these women can contact College or Store Street Stations or Juvenile Court or, in cases of urgency outside official hours, their homes.' Mrs Barrins's comment on the work assigned to them, was to say that: 'Anytime a woman was needed, we were there.'[176]

The main regular duty performed by the women when *not* on Court or escort work was to perform foot patrols in the main shopping districts. The 1950s was an era of major change in retail in Dublin. 'Self-service' stores, where goods were directly available to customers, rather than retained behind a store manned by a salesperson, became more popular in Dublin in the 1950s, 'the modern way of shopping: time-saving, trouble-saving and money-saving'.[177] The ready-access to merchandise that was a feature of 'self-service' shops such as Woolworths, was also adopted in the design of upmarket shops, such as Harpers.[178] A memoir of Dublin in the 1950s recalled that: 'Women ran the house and they went to the shops every day. No freezers, no fridges.'[179]

The Garda Women Assistants cultivated professional relationships with retail staff and management, which was understood as part of this dimension of their duty. Visited Cassidy's premises, held conversation with the manageress for a few minutes. Went to lunch at 12.45PM,' noted Barrins in May 1956.[180] Mrs Barrins said that she was in a position to recommend candidates for employment in upmarket shops.[181] The Musgrave children remembered that Josephine Musgrave was on friendly terms with the store detective at Cassidy's on South Great George's Street, among others.[182] The Barrins Logbook mentions a few episodes where she apprehended suspected shoplifters, often young girls, notably around Woolworths. Sometimes no charge was pressed against them:

> Thursday 11th Oct. 1956
> reported on duty at 9.45AM.
> Patrolled principal streets in B Division. Visited Woolworths Stores Grafton Street where I seen a girl taking a ring off the counter & put it in her pocket without paying I followed Girl till she was going out the door. I asked her to come back with me. I searched her nothing else was in her possession. She gave her name as Nellie [surname], [Dublin address]. No charge was preferred against her.

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[176] Mary Barrins Interview.
[177] *Evening Mail*, 10 Jun. 1954 [advertisement].
[178] *Irish Times*, 15 May 1956 [advertisement].
[179] Gene Kerrigan, *Another Country: Growing up in 1950s Ireland* (Dublin, 1998), p. 83.
[180] Barrins Logbook, 12 Jul. 1956.
[181] Mary Barrins Interview.
[182] Musgrave Interview.

Reported off duty and went to lunch at 2PM.[183]

Monday 21st January 1957
[...] returned at 2.15PM. Patrolled principal Streets in B Division and visited Woolworths Stores Grafton Street where I observed three Girls taking Articles off the Counter. I kept them under observation for some time as they were coming out the door I asked them to come back with me I searched them and found goods total value £1.14.9 in a Paper Carrier bag which she purchased in the store they admitted taking all the articles and not paying for them they were taken by squad car to College Garda Station and Cautioned in the presence of their mothers by Inspector C. Ward College Garda Station.[184]

The Women Assistants were also on friendly terms with street traders that sold newspapers, fresh food, and other goods from prams and assembled tables on the main shopping streets along their 'beat'. Josephine Musgrave's children remembered that on account of their mother's work, the street traders knew the Musgrave children, and that Mrs Musgrave was on friendly terms with women trading on the streets. Josephine Musgrave's daughter recalled that her mother sometimes attended a trader's pram to allow the woman a quick comfort break from her work.[185] Josephine Musgrave's daughter remembered that two passing policemen had joked with Mrs Musgrave on her position as locum street trader on one occasion as she stood with Mrs Proudfoot's wagon of merchandise. The presence of the children of the Women Assistants was noticed and commented on to their mothers. The Musgrave children risked being caught in an untruth if they neglected to tell their mother that they had been in town and she came to hear of this from colleagues or acquaintances on the street. Although the women patrolled the shops in plainclothes without police power of arrest, an assertion of authority and a sense of the routine of quotidian policing is suggested by entries in Barrins's logbook of 1955-57, such as: 'Patrolled principal shops again where everything was in order.'[186]

Barrins's logbook recorded her involvement in covert observation and investigative work, albeit in a limited and often low-key way. A number of entries record Barrins's participation with Garda colleagues in keeping suspects under observation, sometimes for several days, before their apprehension:

Saturday 3rd November 1956
Reported on duty at 9.45AM.
Accompanied by D/Garda JF O'Brien & D Murray I went to Woolworths Grafton St where we had Margaret [surname] under observation followed her to Clarendon Street RC Church where she took a lady's handbag off seat [sic] she was arrested and brought before Court.

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[183] Barrins Logbook, 11 Oct. 1956.
[184] Barrins Logbook, 21 Jan. 1957.
[185] Musgrave Interview.
[186] Barrins Logbook, 8 Aug. 1955.

Reported off duty at 2.30PM. [187]

Or, more dramatically, having spent several days following a convicted criminal, John Gilligan:

> Thursday 5th June 1956
> reported on duty at 9.45 AM.
> Accompanied by DG Kevin Scally I went to Ballyfermot where we seen [sic] John [first man's surname] and J [second man's surname] board a bus into the city. We followed them as far as Malahide where at 2.15 PM I seen [sic] them enter the locked shop known as Maypark Stores Malahide. DG Scally followed them in and held [one man]. I called 999 and a squad car arrived and took into custody [man apprehended]. [Second man] attempted to use a hammer and got away. Reported off duty at 3.3PM.[188]

Involvement in the police response to sexual crime

In interview, Mary Barrins deprecated her participation in the police response to sexual crime against women and children, but did recall that occasionally she was required to attend at Garda stations during the night in instances where a female had presented to the Garda as a victim of sexual violence. A police car was sent to notify the Woman Assistant of the requirement to attend, and to convey her to the station. According to Barrins's recollection, her role was to facilitate and support medical examination of the victim by a doctor, and to liaise in the retrieval of the victim's clothing for use as evidence. The Garda *Manual of Criminal Investigation* (1946) stated that it was 'desirable that another woman should be present' when statements related to sexual crime were to be taken from a female victim.[189] A list of female police duties in the file of Garda Woman Assistant Mary Conlon referred to 'visiting of picture houses for the purpose of detecting acts of Indecency', and to 'private house visits to detect indecency' as 'duties' that the women 'assisted in'.[190]

Entries in the work records maintained by Barrins and Harnett indicate that Women Assistants were deployed to intercede for the Garda in the female domain and in interactions with female victims or perpetrators of sexual offences. In January 1957, Barrins accompanied a Garda J. Farrell to Holles Street Hospital, where two ward sisters told them 'of articles missing from their respective wards'. The entry continues to simply say that 'as a result' a thirty-nine-year-old woman 'was charged with the larceny of

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[187] Barrins Logbook, 3 Nov. 1956.
[188] Barrins Logbook, 5 Jun. 1956.
[189] Major-General W.R.E. Murphy, *Manual of Criminal Investigation* (1946), p. 148, para.118. I am grateful to Mr John Henderson for providing me with this item.
[190] 'Appointment of Women Assistants to An Garda Síochána', Dec. 1953, (G.A., Mrs Mary Conlon).

their property'.[191] In May 1956, Barrins recorded that 'accompanied by Det. Sgt J. Corristine' she had 'travelled to St Kevin's Hospital where I assisted in taking a statement from Kathleen [X] age seventeen years of [listed south-city address] in relation to an indecent assault charge against her Father of [same address].'[192] In July she 'assisted Sgt Hynes in taking statement from Ann [X] age 22 yrs of [listed town], Co Leitrim whose having being [sic] charged on this day in concealing the birth of her unnamed female child, escorting her to Bridewell Garda Station where she was remanded in custody for 1 week.'[193] Teresa Harnett's notebook features an entry that records that she 'accompanied Mary [X] to Dr Bourke at Kenilworth Square where she was examined' in October 1958, probably arising from a report of sexual crime against her.[194] Accessible court files related to this category of offence seldom refer to the role of policewomen. In the incest case of Kathleen F., but no reference to Barrins's involvement in obtaining the victim's statement featured in the relevant trial record book or case file.[195] Female police engagement with female victims of sexual crime would be a significant aspect of public discussion of the issue in the final phase of the campaign, as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Women Assistants and the 'police family'

The relatives of the Garda Woman Assistants considered that the women were content in their employment, which was a source of camaraderie and chivalric regard towards them, despite the challenges and tribulations acknowledged by Barrins in interview. The strong affiliation with the police exhibited by the women, fostered through prior family connection, was certainly reciprocated in the cases of Harnett, Musgrave and Barrins, in the form of a fraternal chivalry. Mary Barrins recalled that she always looked forward to returning to the station at the end of her working day, not just because she would soon be off-duty, but because of the companionship and conversation with colleagues at the station before she went home.[196] This fellowship and sense of professional community between the Garda Women Assistants and their families, and their officers and 'the men of the Station' might be best understood by reference to the concept of the 'police family'.

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[191] Barrins Logbook, 28 Jan. 1957.
[192] Barrins Logbook, 23 May 1956.
[193] Anne [X] Case, mentioned above in relation to her residency in the Barrins household as a probationer.
[194] Harnett Notebooks, 22 Oct. 1958.
[195] County and City of Dublin Circuit Criminal Court, Trials Record Book for year 1956 (N.A.I., V14-15-4); State Files at Circuit Court, Dublin, Oct. 1956 (N.A.I., V14-8-17).
[196] Mary Barrins Interview.

Figure 19: Josephine Musgrave and Mary Barrins, c.1965
(Original image in possession of Mr Michael Musgrave, Mangerton Road, Dublin)

These women and their children, already affiliated with the 'police family' through the untimely death of their husbands, were embraced closer by it through their employment as Woman Assistants. The number of children dependent on a policeman's widow was a principal determinant of the level of the Garda pension paid to her. Maternal status was a qualifying requirement for the non-contributory statutory pension under the Widows' and Orphans' Pensions Act, 1935.[197] A concerted and consistent interest in the welfare and educational progress of 'Garda orphans' was exhibited by members in home visits and in the conduct of recreational events to entertain and treat the young children of deceased members, whose young surviving children were referred to as 'Garda orphans'. Michael remembered that Garda officers called to the house on account of his mother's employment with the Garda, and took an interest in his progress in school and his welfare. The Musgrave children remembered that Detective Inspector Edmund 'Ned' Garvey, later Garda Commissioner from September 1975 to January 1978, accompanied Musgrave on a children's clothes shopping trip in order that Musgrave might avail of a

[197]Lindsey Earner-Byrne, '"Parading their poverty...": Widows in Twentieth-Century Ireland', in Borbála Faragó and Moynagh Sullivan, *Facing the Other: Interdisciplinary Studies on Race, Gender, and Social Justice in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2008), pp 37-8. It was not an essential qualification for contributory pension under the Act.

discount available to Garvey.[198] The paternal Garda interest in the extended - informally - into the adulthood of the Woman Assistants' children. Noel Harnett was accepted for admission to the Garda himself, but declined the call to training at the Depot. Mrs Barrins's son Michael joined the Garda, and noted preferment towards him by at least one senior officer on account of his family background.[199] Rita Clarke remembered that her mother, GWA Musgrave, arranged for a Garda photographer to photograph her wedding.[200]

As the prospect of the appointment of official policewomen became more likely in 1957 and 1958, the Women Assistants were concerned as to the prospects for their retention in employment by the force. The papers of two of the policewomen include notes of commendation from officers, most of which refer to the period 1958 to 1959, around the time that provision was made for the admission of women as members of the force.[201] The chronology may explain why these commendations were retained by the Women Assistants, and may have been a factor to their conferral. The Women Assistants' lack of any demonstrable marker of their occupational status was highlighted in a report by Barrins and Musgrave in April 1958, as quoted in the Introduction to this thesis.[202] In their report, the Women Assistants referred to 'great difficulty in proving that we were acting bona fide' because they 'had no means of identification'.[203] It seems plausible that anticipation of the recruitment of female members of the Garda prompted the women and their officers to raise the issue of their lack of status at this time.

'I should like to know what is to happen the four or five women attached to the police force in Dublin?' the Minister for Justice was asked on announcement of female membership of the force. But their retention was hardly expected. The questioner, Patrick O'Donnell, T.D. (F.G.), hoped that they would be 'properly compensated when they retire on the recruitment of this new force'.[204] The Minister replied that 'the women police assistants who are at present operating in an unofficial capacity' would 'continue as at present'.[205] Just over a week later, an Assistant Commissioner who had been 'given to

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[198] Musgrave Family Interview; Diarmaid Ferriter, 'Garvey, Edmund', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.*(accessed April 2014).
[199] Michael Barrins Interview
[200] Musgrave Interview.
[201] Barrins Papers; Harnett Papers.
[202] Deputy Commissioner's Office to Supt 'C' District, 18 Apr. 1958 (Barrins Papers). A note of this commendation was also found in Teresa Musgrave's Papers.
[203] G.A., B.880/58.
[204] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clxviii, 609 (22 May 1958).
[205] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clxviii, 628 (22 May 1958).

understand that all four have been giving every satisfaction in carrying out the duties assigned to them' raised the matter with the Commissioner.[206] 'No consideration has yet been given to the question of the winding up of the Unit. By reason of their ages, none of these women would qualify for admission to the new Women Police.'[207] Chief Supt Farrell reported for the Commissioner that although escort work and court attendance occupied 'the greater portion of their time' they 'proved very useful in the detection of offences and have been responsible for some very commendable detections of housebreaking, larcenies, loitering, indecent exposure, etc'.[208] Farrell also suggested their particular – maternal - expertise: 'Cases of the escort or removal of babies in arms often arise in the course of their duties, and it is felt that those women, being mothers and therefore experienced in the handling and care of babies, are better suited for this type of work than young girls.' Assistant Commissioner Burke was unconvinced: 'With the possible exception of (3) - crime detection - it does not seem to me that such a case has been made as would warrant the continued employment of the women police assistants.'[209] Burke suggested the retention of the woman assistants only for a three to six month transition period. The Garda Commissioner 'agreed to the retention of the women police assistants so that they may, for a period of from, say, three to six months, assist the young women police in getting a knowledge of their duties after their allocation for duty in the city'.[210]

Whatever Commissioner Costigan may have intended, the political -fraternal ism that had influenced their selection for employment functioned to effect their retention in employment. 'Representations on behalf of the Women Police Assistants in the Dublin Metropolitan Division' were made by two Fianna Fáil Dáil Deputies from a western constituency, one of which referred to the 'widow of late Det. Officer Michael Barrins, a great friend of mine and an old column man pre-truce & afterward'.[211] Loyalty to the column after the Truce in the War of independence implied Barrins's affiliation to the anti-Treaty, anti-government side in the Civil War. The Minister for Justice, Oscar Traynor, T.D., assured his Fianna Fáil party colleague, Eugene Gilbride, T.D., that 'the position of these Assistants will not be affected by the appointment of women as members of the Garda Síochána.'[212] Traynor was reputed to have been

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[206] Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner, 30 May 1958 (G.A., B.880/58).
[207] Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner, 30 May 1958 (G.A., B.880/58).
[208] Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner, 23 Aug. 1958 (G.A., B.880/58).
[209] Garda Síochána D.M.D., 'B' Branch, to Commissioner, 26 Aug. 1958 (G.A., B.880/58)
[210] Assistant Commissioner to Deputy Commissioner, 17 Sept. 1958, (G.A., B.880/58).
[211] P.A. Calleary, T.D., to Minister for Justice, 13 Jun. 1958, (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/1); Minister for Justice to Eugene Gilbride T.D., 20 Nov. 1959 [copy] (G.A., B.880/58).
[212] Minister for Justice to Eugene Gilbride, T.D., 20 Nov. 1959, [copy], (GA: B.880/58).

directly involved in the selection and recruitment of former anti-Treaty I.R.A. men to the Garda between 1933 and 1935.[213]

The Garda Women Assistants continued to serve at the Dublin Children's Court in the 1960s and 1970s, and to perform escort duties arising from it. A female probation officer that had fulfilled probation work as a member of the Legion of Mary in the early 1960s prior to her appointment as a full-time probation officer in 1965, had no recollection of the Women Assistants when interviewed for this thesis.[214] As early as 1969, the Department of Justice regarded the grade of 'Female police assistant' as redundant, and the continued employment of the women significantly exceed the standard Garda retirement age of fifty-seven years, which the Department considered ought to apply to the them.[215] On the occasion of Barrins's retirement in 1978, a Garda officer observed that 'the question of a replacement for Mrs Mary Barrins' did 'not appear to arise as the two previous Women Police Assistants - Mrs Mary Conlon (retired) [September 1972] and Mrs Teresa Harnett (deceased) [August 1970] have not been replaced.'[216] Josephine Musgrave resigned 'as a Policewoman assistant at the Metropolitan Children's Court' in December 1983.[217]

Brown and Heidensohn have commented that 'It was the long-established practice of calling upon police wives to act as unofficial escorts, interviewers and minders of lost children that inhibited the development of policewomen's role and numbers.'[218] The Garda Women Assistants constituted the institutional adoption of such practice which involved widows rather than wives of policemen. While a practical basis existed for the employment of some form of female police due to the withdrawal from service of the aged pioneer policewomen in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the administrative response was determined by political considerations: support for female policing in a number of quarters, and opposition to it, principally by Gerald Boland as Minister for Justice. While the Women Assistants remained in employment for many years subsequent to the admission of women as members of the Garda, the expectation was that their tenure was contingent on the preservation of the existing – male –

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[213] Brady, *Guardians* (1974), p. 197.
[214] Interview with Ms Maura O'Looney, at Trinity College, Dublin, Feb. 2011.
[215] Dept. of Justice memo, 22 Jul. 1969, (G.A., B.880/58).
[216] Insp. J. Hanrahan, 'B' District to Chief Supt, D.M.A., 14 Jun. 1978 (G.A., B.880/58). Conlon's retirement is recorded in G.A., Mrs Mary Conlon.
[217] Letter from Josephine Musgrave, 15 Dec. 1983 (G.A., B.880/58).
[218] Brown and Heidensohn, *Gender and Policing*, p. 57.

criteria for admission to the Garda. The employment of Garda Woman Assistants was at once a partial concession to police demands, and a device intended to neutralise demands for substantive reform.

Figure 18: Presentation to Mrs Mary A. Barrins (right) by Justice Eileen Kennedy, 1978[219]

[219] *Irish Press*, 14 Jul. 1978

Chapter Five:

The changing of the Garda in the 1950s and women in policing

'A strange place' that operated 'on lines that were no longer connected to any reality, if indeed they ever were,' was John McGahern's memory of the rural Garda station of mid-century that was the setting for his celebrated novel, *The Barracks*.[1] 'The settings and rituals of barrack life are repeated in the novel,' and the historical, semi-autobiographical aspect contributes to the sense of foreboding and impending obsolescence that is the backdrop to events.[2] This chapter situates the Garda Act, 1958, in the context of a pivotal period of change for the force in terms of its composition, its deployment and training, and its re-orientation as a counter-crime, law enforcement agency; changes intended to reform the practices depicted in McGahern's writing. The chapter will treat the final phase of the campaign for female police in which the J.C.W.S.S.W. successfully solicited electoral political advocacy for the proposal, particularly at municipal level in Dublin. A shift in the tone and intensity of press coverage of crime and policing, by English and by Irish newspapers, was a feature of the 1950s that proved conducive to the proposal for female police.

Change in the Garda aside from the entry of women to the force has been greatly underestimated by an occupational account that has tended to read the decade backwards, informed by an appreciation of the change wrought by the implementation of the Report of a Commission of Inquiry into policing which reported in 1970. Vicky Conway's recent history of the Garda pointed to how the traditional police history of the period 'as quiet, peaceful times for Irish policemen where the sole concerns were pay and conditions' might be revised, with attention to features of a 'much more complex' history, but in treating 'The 1950s and 1960s' in a single chapter, Conway cleaved to orthodoxy.[3] 'For most gardaí the 1950s and 1960s were a time of little crime, plenty of extraneous duties and dissatisfaction with pay and conditions,' Conway wrote, which 'all changed fundamentally at the close of the decade when crime began to rise sharply and the report of the Conroy Commission heralded a new era for policing.'[4] This thesis will contribute to the case for revision pointed towards by Conway, and revise other accounts that have conflated technological and organisational change in the Garda with the

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[1] McGahern, *Memoir*, p. 32.
[2] McGahern, *Memoir*, p. 245.
[3] Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland*, p. 97; The previous orthodoxy is referred to by Kilcommins *et al*, *Crime, punishment and the search for order*, p. 204:
[4] Conway, *Policing twentieth century Ireland*, p. 95.

increase in crime around the mid-1960s. This thesis examines the final phase of the 'campaign for women police', the subject of Chris Shepard's 2009 article, and will achieve a significant advance on Shepard's rather vague and equivocal explanation for legislative change which will inform a re-assessment of the role of feminist activism in relation to Government's decision to provide for female police membership in 1958.[5]

Female membership of the Garda may be largely understood as an aspect of the modernisation instituted in the Garda in the 1950s. The implementation of that programme from the mid-1950s coincided with a major generational rotation of the membership of the force. On account of its relevance to the focus of this thesis, major aspects of police modernisation in the 1950s and early 1960s are summarised here. The modernisation programme embraced by the Garda in the 1950s involved a reduction to non-police duties and the greater use of telecommunications and motor technologies by a smaller, more 'centralised' force. Much of this change devolved from the recommendations of the Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry 1950-51, referred to in Chapter Four. The motorisation of the Garda was the major change, and, as in Britain 'the main impact of police motorization was not on new means of catching criminals, but as a substitute for police manpower.'[6] Secondary features included the development of police telecommunications in Dublin, the augmentation of the police in Dublin in the context of an overall reduction in the size of the Garda, the closure of many small Garda stations, and a reduction to the 'non-police duties' performed by the Garda.

One critical Dáil Deputy summarised Garda modernisation in 1955 as 'present policy of the Department of Justice of closing small Garda stations and replacing them with patrol cars'.[7] Between 1952 and 1962 the number of Garda stations was reduced from 810 to 754.[8] The greatest reduction in the number of Garda stations in any decade occurred in the 1950s, when fifty stations were closed. There was a sustained increase in the proportion of the force permanently stationed in Dublin. In 1952, twenty-one per cent of all members (including central staff at Headquarters) were stationed there, which rose to twenty-five per cent by

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[5] Shepard, 'Campaign for women police'.
[6] Weinberger, *Best Police in the World*, p. 70.
[7] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clii, 499 (13 Jul. 1955).
[8] *Statistical Abstract*, various years.

1957, and twenty-eight per cent by 1963.[9] Rural police strength included a significant number of policemen wholly engaged in border control.[10] When the Inter-Departmental Committee reported in 1951, just thirty of the 105 Garda districts had a motor-car available for patrol and response.[11] By 1957, seventy-one Garda districts had cars.[12] In April 1958, the Dáil voted funding for the acquisition of 'thirty-one additional patrol cars to complete the programme of one car for every district' by March 1959.[13] The development of the telephone network during the 1950s altered the nature of the relationship between the Garda and the public. Over 21,000 calls had been received on the '999' in 1959; a six-fold increase on the 3,300 calls that had been received in 1950.[14] An expansion in the number of vehicles, including motor-cycles, equipped with radio communications connected to a central control room was a salient feature in this development of a rapid, motorised response.

The application of policy and organisational change in the Garda in the mid-1950s coincided with the first large scale retirement of Garda members on completion of service. This significant milestone in the history of the force has been widely remarked on.[15] In 1955, 52 per cent of the Garda were over fifty years of age.[16] 'Pensions' appeared as a new category of expenditure enumerated in the *Appropriation Accounts* of 1955. In 1950, Garda pay constituted 86 per cent of net exchequer expenditure on the police, but by 1960 this proportion had fallen to 66 per cent, while a steadily increasing proportion of total net state expenditure on the police was allocated for pension payments.

The re-configuration of the Garda along these modern lines was underwritten by a rationale that supplanted the official nationalistic mythos of policing manifest in the Garda during the careers of the generation of members that retired in the 1950s. Brian Fallon has described the climate of 1950s Ireland as 'like the collision of hot and cold air currents, as the realities of life in post-war Europe increasingly intruded into a society where many people still clung to what seemed to them a safe, familiar world in which the old certainties (or were they ever that in

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[9] *Statistical Abstract*, various years. In 1964 the police map was re-drawn and the Dublin Metropolitan Area was expanded to incorporate several additional stations and the enlarged area comprising 40 stations called the Dublin Metropolitan Division, in which 31 per cent of the Garda were stationed.
[10] The Commissioner stated in February 1960 this accounted for 250 men at that time (N.A.I., DT S7989).
[11] *I.D.C. Final Report* (1951), para. 285-6.
[12] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clxi, 372 (25 Apr. 1957).
[13] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clxvii, 234 (16 Apr. 1958).
[14] *Irish Press*, 11 Jun. 1960; Garda Commissioner, *Report on Crime for 1950*, p.29.
[15] Conway, *Policing in twentieth century Ireland*, p. 77.
[16] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, 13 Jul. 1955, Volume 152, Col. 683.

reality?) functioned as a kind of social and ideological insurance policy.'[17] The re-configuration of the Garda was based on the premise of strategic responsiveness to crime and the necessity for technological infrastructure to that response, a premise that jarred with the ideal of a nation where crime was negligible. A *Garda Review* editorial of March 1959 referred to 'a situation developing where crime is accepted as inevitable and our main weapon to combat it is to have scientific investigators and mobile units at the ready'.[18] The closure of rural stations, increased deployment to Dublin, and the introduction of new police technologies in Dublin underlined the distinctiveness and significance of the capital as a field of operation for the Garda. Up to the 1950s, the numerical size of the Garda was taken as a simple indicator of the force's 'strength'. The replacement of personnel by technological investment constituted an implicit shift from a model of policing that was heavily vested in male physicality to a model under which police prowess and potency was increasingly associated with technological resources and their utilisation. Such a shift had decided implications for the public and the institutional conception of police personnel, and modified the monolithic, physical, male terms by which it had been virtually exclusively understood (Figure 21, below).

The altered institutional perspective also reflected the emergence of a police *service* ethos in the Garda. Direct public communications were formalized and expanded. The civic obligation of crime prevention was a major theme of police communications. The policeman was re-cast in a tutelary mould in police communications, with regard to practices to reduce the prospect of criminality and to cultivate safe and considerate conduct by motorists.[19] The greater policing of motor traffic constituted an expanding sphere of operations that brought new challenges to the police, particularly with regard to police relations with motorists. The members of a road-traffic motor-cycle corps, recommended by the Inter-Departmental committee were referred to as 'courtesy cops' to suggest their focus. Courtesy in relations with the public became a recurrent theme of the Commissioner's addresses to new recruits on their completion of training. The explicit espousal of a service ethos by the Garda may be said to have been conducive to the establishment of a regularized female police role in the Garda, and the assignment of public relations duties to female members will be discussed in Chapter Six of this thesis. While a service ethos was articulated and while the concept of policing was modernised, it ought to be acknowledged that the traditional role of the Garda as a state

[17] Fallon, *An Age of Innocence*, p. 257.
[18] *Garda Review*, Mar. 1959, p. 311.
[19] 'Recent improvements in Garda Organisation and Administration' (N.A.I., DT S7989).

security *force* was re-stated in response to a 'border campaign' by the I.R.A. in 1956-58.[20] The main aspect to the Garda response was the deployment of large numbers of policemen to border areas for protracted periods.

" Sorry, Muldoon, but the regulations say you must be in your socks."

Dublin Opinion *December*, 1953

Figure 19: Physical criteria re-considered

Modernisation of the Garda implied the espousal of innovations and developments that had been applied in foreign, principally British, police forces. The fraternal, professional relations with British forces that were established by the Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry and developed under Commissioner Costigan, drew the Garda closer to police forces in the United Kingdom, where policewomen were an established feature. As was purposely intended, these relations facilitated the transmission of police technologies, or 'aids' as Costigan had termed them, to Ireland, latterly including advice and a trainer in the introduction of female membership of the Garda. 'Economics, technocracy, technical education and 'scientific' rational administration were to be the means of a new, non-heroic but dedicated Irish patriotism' in the 1950s, in the belief that 'the national project was to be a technical one rather than one involving romantic and militant heroism'.[21] The technical skills of the

[20] Barry Flynn, *Soldiers of Folly: The IRA Border Campaign 1956-1962* (Cork, 2009).
[21] Tom Garvin, *News From a New Republic: Ireland in the 1950s* (Dublin 2010) p. 13.

telecommunications, traffic-flow management and motor-car driving were adopted by policemen as important indicators of competency, and would be invoked in expressions of resistance at the prospect of female membership of the Garda, as will be discussed below.

Assessment of the import of generalized societal developments to a single legislative policy change is fraught, but two features may be identified as pertinent to this research: the colourful and aggressive treatment of crime and policing by the popular press, and the prominence of a small number of women in public life, including electoral politics. An intensification of public discourse about crime and policing occurred in Ireland in the 1950s, as elsewhere. Several developed countries experienced a pronounced increase in crime in the post-war years, and a rise in crime was perceptible in most countries in western Europe in the mid-1950s.[22] 'There was little change from 1945 to around 1955,' to the level of recorded crime in England and Wales, and in Ireland, but 'thereafter it took off quite substantially in England and Wales, whereas in both parts of Ireland the steep rise did not really become apparent until about 1965.'[23]

A consequence of the British 'crime wave' was the exposure of Irish readers to colourful and dramatic coverage of it, and its influence on the style and posture of the domestic Irish press. Brian Fallon, a sub-editor at the *Irish Times* during the 1950s has remarked on the Irish media's cognisance 'of international events and currents of opinion.'[24] John Banville remembered from his childhood in the 1950s 'the spice of the 'cross-channel' papers' that featured 'those grisly murders for which the English seemed to have a particular gift.'[25] The Dublin evening newspaper market expanded in the 1950s, through the popularity of the *Dublin Evening Mail*, *Evening Press*, and *Evening Herald*, and coverage of crime and criminal proceedings were a staple of those publications. The anticipation and final arrival of a crime wave in Ireland in the 1950s may be regarded as suggestive of the new international terms in which crime and policing were discussed and perceived.

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[22] Peter Young, Ian O'Donnell, and Emma Clare, *Crime in Ireland: Trends and Patterns, 1950 to 1998* (Dublin, 2001).
[23] Brewer, Lockhart & Rogers, 'Crime in Ireland since the Second World War', *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, xxvii, 3 (Feb. 1996), p. 142.
[24] Brian Fallon, 'Reflecting on Ireland in the 1950s' in Keogh, O'Shea & Quinlan, *Ireland: The lost decade in the 1950s* (Cork, 2004), p40. Fallon was a 'youthful sub-editor' at the *Irish Times*, 1953-1958.
[25] John Banville, 'Memory and Forgetting: The Ireland of de Valera and Ò Faolàin', in Keogh, O'Shea, & Quinlan, *Ireland: the lost decade in the 1950s* (Cork, 2004), p. 23.

Garda-press relations were highly significant to the effort to re-fashion the Garda as a modern, specialist agency. The Commissioner's effort to manage police relations with the press was the subject of critical comment in the Dáil in 1953.[26] Press relations policy was revised in November 1954. Press relations were reserved for Crime Branch in Dublin, and to District Headquarters in Garda divisions outside Dublin, and pre-approval of press releases by the Commissioner's office was stipulated.[27] Twice daily Garda press conferences were instituted, at the first of which the presiding Chief Superintendent referred to his attendance at press conferences in Britain and his perception of the cordial relations between press and police that obtained there.[28]

The Garda sought to directly influence the intensified discourse about crime and policing, but the press exhibited autonomy and initiative that could undermine the official voice. Barbara Weinberger's work has suggested that critical press attention to police conduct in Britain in the 1950s was highly consequential to what has been described as the 'de-sacralization' of the police in Britain during that period. 'The 1950s, however, saw the slow trickle of accusations against the police become something of a flood, culminating at the end of 1959 in the setting up of a Royal Commission. The incidents themselves were nothing untoward; it was the reaction and media publicity that was unprecedented.'[29] An aggressive popular press interest in crime was the context for the role of the press in the 'baby-stealing' sensation of the mid-1950s, which was cited as evidence of the efficacy and propriety of a female police role.

It was not until the latter 1950s that an empirical basis for a domestic crime wave could be cited. The Garda Commissioner's Report on Crime for 1956 and 1957 documented an increase in reported crime in Dublin simultaneous with a decline in the detection rate. By 1958, a marked decline in the detection rate in Dublin was reported, and the occurrence of a 'crime wave' was publicly acknowledged by the Minister for Justice and the Garda Commissioner. Kilcommins *et al* have suggested an alternative theory of Garda modernisation, that, consequent to a perceived 'crime wave' around 1957-1958, 'the gardaí were pushed down the path of modernisation by fears of rising crime'.[30] The discussion above has disproven that

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[26] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, cxliii, 822 (25 Nov. 1953).
[27] Garda Deputy Commissioner, Crime Branch, [Gearóid Ó Breannáin] to Each Officer and Station Party, 19 Oct. 1954 (N.A.I., DJ 2005/23/175)
[28] *Evening Mail*, 1 Nov. 1954. A publicly designated Garda press officer was appointed in 1972.
[29] Weinberger, *Best Police*, p. 196
[30] Kilcommins, O'Donnell, O'Sullivan, Vaughan, *Crime, Punishment, and the Search for Order in Ireland*, (Dublin, 2004) p. 206.

causal connection, since the process of modernisation was launched a number of years before this crime wave.

'There is some evidence to suggest that the attitudes of Irish women had undergone a subtle change' during 'the much maligned 1950s', according to Mary Daly.[31] 'The 1950s can be seen as a decade of incipient change in the confidence and empowerment of women in Ireland,' Cullen Owens wrote; a decade in which 'women became accustomed to questioning political and social issues'.[32] The housewives movement in Ireland in the 1940 was a significant medium for the politicisation of women outside traditional party-political networks and for the entry of some women to public life. An Irish Housewives Committee formed in 1942 was re-constituted as the Irish Housewives Association (I.H.A.) in 1946. The I.H.A. was a consumer and women's interest organisation, was a major boon to independent female engagement in public life. The I.H.A. invoked the esteem and authority generally accorded to the traditional female role to assert a public female voice which supported child and female welfare causes. Participation in civil society organisations afforded an alternative apprenticeship to politically engaged women to traditional party politics in a decade in which the appeal of the main political parties waned.

Many of the women's interest organisations affiliated to the J.C.W.S.S.W., such as the Irish Countrywomen's Association, were not centrally concerned with criminal justice reform, which was a cornerstone of the J.C.W.S.S.W. from its foundation. The J.C.W.S.S.W.'s leadership exerted a primary role as champions of female policing in Ireland. [33] However, initiatives by members of affiliate organisations, such as the N.C.W., continued to contribute to the campaign. The General Council of the I.C.A. passed a resolution in support of the campaign in 1956.[34] The I.H.A. supported female police in the context of their interest in child welfare, a relation drawn by Rosaleen Mills when the Housewives Association presented its annual report in June 1957.[35] Two leading members of the I.H.A., Kathleen Swanton and Beatrice Dixon, mounted a campaign in the 1950s to promote fulfilment of jury service by qualifying female ratepayers.[36] The Juries Act, 1927, re-instituted the exclusion of women from jury service but

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[31] Mary E. Daly, 'Women in the Irish workforce from pre-industrial to modern times' in *Saothar* 7 (1981), pp74-82.
[32] Cullen Owens, *Women in Ireland*, p. 303.
[33] J.C.W.S.S.W., Committee minute book, May 1948 – Nov. 1955, 2 Jun.1955, and 29 Sept.1955; and W.R. O'Hegarty, 'The need for women police', *Irish Housewife Annual, 1956*, pp37-9 (N.A.I., 98/17/2/3/9).
[34] J.C.W.S.S.W., Committee minute book, 1956-64, 29 Nov. 1956 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4).
[35] *Irish Times*, 22 Jun. 1957.
[36] Tweedy, *Link in the chain*, p. 33.

allowed for a qualifying woman to insert her name on the jury list at their own initiative.[37] Swanton and Dixon asserted their prerogative as ratepayers to enter their names for jury service and subsequently served on juries in the higher courts in Dublin, the Central Criminal Court and the High Court.[38]

The J.C.W.S.S.W. repeatedly attempted to 'act jointly' with Catholic organisations on the issue. Overtures to the Catholic Rescue Society in 1953, 'with a view to joint action', were fruitless.[39] Chris Shepard has revealed the rival interest of a Catholic women's organisation, the Catholic Women's Federation of Secondary School Unions (C.W.F.), in the campaign for female police, from 1953.[40] The President of the C.W.F. cited that her only motivation was 'to prevent a certain other body taking full credit for developments if they come and perhaps claiming a "say" in the choice of personnel,' almost certainly with reference to the J.C.W.S.S.W..[41] The C.W.F. campaigned on the issue with the approval of Catholic Archbishop McQuaid, but the C.W.F. was 'politically out-manouvred by its rivals' in campaigning on the issue by 1956 and its activity in the matter ceased.[42]

Following its reception by the Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry, the Joint Committee's requests to meet with the police authorities were rebuffed, and the Committee responded in 1953 by broadening its lobbying campaign to local government as an alternative channel of influence. Mary Kettle had served as a Dublin City Councillor, 1931-33. Local government in Ireland had no direct influence in the management of policing, which was the preserve of central Government through the Department of Justice. Many of the members of local political assemblies held a 'dual mandate': they were members of the national parliament as well as being members of local government. Local government held potential as conduit to central government on account of the dual membership of some of the office-holders and common party political affiliations between members of local government and members of the

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[37] Maryann Gialanella Valiulis, 'Defining their role in the new state: Irishwomen's protest against the Juries Act of 1927' in *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, xviii, 1 (Dec. 1991-July 1992) pp 43-60 ; Mary Clancy,'Women's contribution to public political debate (with particular reference to women's issues) in the Irish Free State, 1922-1937' (M.A. Thesis, University College Galway,1988), pp 132-55

[38] *Irish Times*, 11 Jul. 1959; *Irish Press*, 9 May 1962. For an account by Dixon, see *Irish Times*, 9 Jan.1959.

[39] J.C.W.S.S.W., Joint Committee minute book, May 1948 – Nov. 1955; 26 Mar. 1953, and 25 Jun. 1953. J.C.W.S.S.W., Committee minute book, 1956-64, 10 Jan. 1957, and 28 Feb. 1957 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4).

[40] Christopher Colin Shepard, 'Women Activists and Women's Associations in Ireland, 1945-68' (Ph.D Thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 2007), pp 155-78; and idem, 'A liberalisation of Irish social policy? Women's organisations and the campaign for women police in Ireland, 1915-57', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvi, 144 (Nov., 2009), pp 564-80.

[41] Eileen Carton, St Joseph's, Nov. 30 to Father Martin (D.D.A., McQuaid Papers, 29/2/80).

[42] Shepard, 'Women Activists and Women's Associations', p. 175.

Oireachtas. Women became more prominent in major municipal government assemblies around this time. Dublin had its second female Lord Mayor in 1958-59, Mrs Catherine Byrne (F.G.). The first women female members to the corporations of Cork city and Limerick city, elected in 1951 and 1960 respectively, were subsequently elected as mayors by their fellow corporation members in 1959 (Cork) and in 1962 (Limerick).[43] These accomplishments post-dated the campaign for female police, but, as shall be discussed below, the J.C.W.S.S.W. did mobilise the support of female members of local government assemblies, particularly in Dublin.

From 1953, the Joint Committee forwarded resolutions for consideration by local authorities around the country canvassing support from those assemblies for women police. The renewed campaign gained strong support in Dublin, where in October 1953, directly prompted by the J.C.W.S.S.W., Dublin County Council adopted a motion: 'Convinced of the necessity for a force of women police in this country, we ask the Minister for Justice to take immediate steps to establish such a force.'[44] In January 1954, Dublin Corporation demonstrated support for the establishment of women police, with the unanimous adoption of a motion proposed by Colm Gallagher, a young Fianna Fáil Councillor and Dáil Deputy.[45] An I.H.A. delegate to the Joint Committee of the J.C.W.S.S.W., Rosaleen Mills prompted Mrs. Celia Lynch, T.D. (F.F.), who was also a member of Dublin Corporation, to question Minister Everett in June 1956 about local government interest in female police.[46] Minister Everett Minister acknowledged that representations on the matter had been received from seven county and borough councils, but said he was 'unable to state when a decision as to the appointment or otherwise of women police will be made'.[47]

The resolution of a series of child abductions in December 1954 and January 1955 was regarded by some observers as a demonstration of the utility of female police and of

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[43] 'Pauric J. Dempsey, 'Dowdall, Jane ("Jennie") Doggett', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed April 2014); Mary Collery Ryan, 'Frances Condell: A Citizen of Limerick' (M.A. Thesis, University of Limerick, 1995); John Rouse, 'Condell, Frances Pauline Eades', in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed December 2012).

[44] *Dublin County Council Minutes of Proceedings from 1st of April 1953 to 31st of March 1954*, p. 120, Minute 120/53,

[45] Colm Gallagher, Company Director, Fianna Fáil representative for Dublin North-Central, member of 14th (1954-'57) and 16th (1961-'64) Dáils. Oireachtas Éireann, *Members Database*, *www.oireachtas.ie* (accessed Jul. 2012).

[46] J.C.W.S.S.W., Joint Committee minute book 1956-64, 26 Jan. 1956 and 7 Jun. 1956 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4); *Minutes of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin from the 1st January to 31st December 1957* (Dublin, 1957); Oireachtas Éireann, Members Database, www.oireachtas.ie (accessed July 2012).

[47] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clvii, 1308-9 (5 Jun. 1956).

implications of the absence of policewomen in the Garda. All three children were infants when they were abducted from prams that were temporarily unattended on central shopping streets in Dublin, the first, six-month old Pauline Ashmore in November 1950, and two other infant children four years later: four-month old Elizabeth Browne in October 1954 and Patrick Berrigan in December 1954.[48] Information from a female train passenger allowed the R.U.C. to mount a search in the Whitewell district of Belfast, which resulted in the discovery of Berrigan within days of his abduction. In early January, the police identified that a second child living in the household where Berrigan had been discovered was Elizabeth Browne, who had been abducted in Dublin four years earlier.[49] R.U.C. policewomen featured in the reports about the custody of the children in Belfast, and Dublin newspapers carried a large photograph of baby Berrigan cradled by one of the policewomen.[50] The Garda Commissioner, the Chief Constable of the R.U.C., and the Lord Mayor of Dublin expressed gratitude to the mother whose information had led to the R.U.C. search.[51]

MISSING BABY FOUND IN BELFAST HOUSE

Patrick Berrigan with Policewoman Joan Bleakley
(*Irish Independent* Wirephoto.)

Figure 20: *Irish Independent*, 23 Dec. 1954

Some criticism was occasioned by the fact that the abductor had evaded a cordon mounted by the Garda immediately following the report of Berrigan's abduction. Government was

[48] Berrigan: *Irish Times*, 23 Dec. 1954 and *Irish Independent*, 23 Dec. 1954.
[49] *Sunday Independent*, 2 Jan. 1955.
[50] *Irish Times*, 23 Dec. 1954; *Irish Independent*, 23 Dec. 1954.
[51] *Irish Independent*, 29 Dec. 1954; *Irish Times*, 24 Dec. 1954.

reported to have been 'satisfied by the efforts made by the Civic Guards' and that 'no formal inquiry into police procedure in the case is deemed necessary'.[52] The Garda investigation into the whereabouts of the remaining missing child focussed on Belfast.[53] But in late January 1955, the Dublin *Evening Press* received anonymous information based on which they photographed a child. The photograph allowed for the identification of that child as the missing baby, Elizabeth Browne, who was restored to her parents by the Garda.

The Garda investigation had been wrong-footed, a perception exacerbated for the police by the crucial role of the press in the resolution of the affair. The Minister for Justice Everett announced that he had ordered an internal inquiry into the investigation.[54] A detective inspector and a detective sergeant who had worked on the abduction investigation were transferred to uniform duty.[55] 'Transferring a member from detective duties to uniformed beat patrol' was referred to by Walsh's 1998 study as 'well-established as a mark of the Commissioner's disapproval of something that the member has done or failed to do'.[56] The Minister for Justice, Everett, acknowledged 'public disquiet at the failure of the Garda', and indicated that the matter would be subject of a sworn internal inquiry.[57]

The episode had been a press sensation in December 1954 and January 1955, and was cited by advocates of female police as an illustration of their putative utility. In early 1955, Dublin Corporation supported a motion proposed by Fianna Fáil Councillor, Colm Gallagher. 'In the Berrigan case,' [Gallagher] said, 'police women placed at various railway stations would surely have spotted the child if it was being taken out.'[58] He was reported as telling the Corporation that 'In the recent cases of child stealing, women police would have been of great value to the police'.[59] It was reported that '[Gallagher] felt that if there had been a policewoman on duty at Clontarf the Berrigan baby would not have got past'. The Corporation resolved to send a delegation to the Minister for Justice to advance the proposal for the formation of 'women police', received by the Minister in early February 1955.[60] The Dublin Corporation delegation was received by Everett in February 1955, who affirmed to them that 'he was not prepared to

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[52] *Irish Times*, 24 Dec. 1954.
[53] *Irish Times*, 1 Jan. 1955; *Sunday Independent*, 2 Jan. 1955. *Irish Times*, 5 Jan. 1955.
[54] *Irish Times*, 31 Jan, 1955.
[55] *Irish Independent*, 4 Feb, 1955; *Irish Times*, 5 Feb.1955.
[56] Walsh, *Irish Police* p. 175.
[57] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, cxlviii, 20-1 (9 Feb. 1955). The inquiry was subsequently raised in the Dáil but the Minister did not address it (*Dáil Éireann deb.*, clii, 732, 13 Jul. 1955).
[58] *Irish Times*, 30 Dec. 1954.
[59] *Irish Times*, 4 Jan. 1955.
[60] *Irish Times*, 8 Feb. 1955.

commit himself to a definite decision' on the issue but, 'would consider the matter in consultation with his colleagues in the Government.'[61] In March 1955, the *Irish Times* related the hope of the Joint Committee in the establishment of women police to the 'public demonstration of the great need of [sic] women police, in connection with the stolen child taken up to Belfast, and recovered by the evidence of a woman passenger on the train.'[62] The next day, Senator Owen Sheehy-Skeffington, Mary Kettle's nephew, asserted in the Senate that it was 'high time we had in the Civic Guards a women's police section', and added that 'the necessity for it was dramatically demonstrated lately with the kidnapping of Dublin children.'[63] Sheehy-Skeffington suggested that 'quite a number of people in the south of Ireland felt somewhat ashamed when they saw that the Royal Ulster Constabulary could send a woman police officer to collect these children, whereas we had no such woman police officer.'[64]

A second putative application of female police proposed around this time was their involvement in the police response to sexual crime against women and children. A Department of Justice briefing note of November 1955 for the Minister for Justice indicated partiality towards the proposal for female police among officials at the Department, as noted in Chapter Four. The note outlined grounds for objection to the proposal, which referred to the existence of Garda Women Assistants, the cost of the refurbishment of police premises to cater to women, and, a point that had featured in an official response to the Carrigan Commission report over twenty years earlier, that 'that the girl's story must eventually be told in court and that little is gained by the preliminary investigation being conducted by a woman if the judge, jurors and court officials are men'. However, the note suggested to the Minister that there was 'a great deal to be said for having a corps of women police as part of the Garda Síochána, since it cannot be denied that the investigation of sexual offences is much less embarrassing and likely to be much more effective when it involves the questioning of women and children if conducted by women police.'[65]

About a year after the resolution of the abduction cases, a Fianna Fáil member of a Dublin borough corporation contended that the introduction of female police was necessitated by the

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[61] N.A.I., DT S196210.
[62] *Irish Times*, 14 May 1955.
[63] Owen Sheehy-Skeffington, academic and commentator, University of Dublin Senator 1954–'61, 1965–'70, C.E.J. Cadicott in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*; Andrée Sheehy-Skeffington, *Skeff: the life of Owen Sheehy-Skeffington* (Dublin, 1991).
[64] *Seanad Éireann deb.*, xliv, 1034 (15 Mar. 1955).
[65] Note for the Minister for the answer to Parliamentary Question from Maureen O'Carroll, 9 Nov. 1955 (N.A.I., DT s16210).

challenge of policing sexual crime against women and children.[66] 'Women police could do great work among women and children,' Gerald MacCarthy, a lawyer, told a meeting of Dún Laoghaire Borough Corporation. 'They could take depositions and statements from women and children, particularly in a case of an indecent offence when a young girl would naturally be reticent about giving details to a policeman, or in a case where a woman suffering from illness or accident was in hospital.'[67] As a member of the Borough Corporation, MacCarthy was also a member of Dublin County Council, which in March 1956 gave almost unanimous support to his motion that the Minister for Justice 'form a Women's Branch of the Garda Síochána to deal with certain routine duties and, in particular, with certain other duties which could be more appropriately carried out by women'.[68] An amendment was proposed that 'instead of a woman's branch, they should appoint a number of women investigators to deal with offences against women,' but another Fianna Fáil councillor argued that those with reservations 'should pay a visit to the courts and see the number of cases involving offences against the person'.[69] Along with a report of the resolution, an *Irish Times* editorial was convinced 'there is no answer to the case - which has been made over and over again - for women police in the Twenty-six Counties'.[70]

MacCarthy was an able, if somewhat disingenuous advocate of the case for female police. He stated that while he was 'aware that in Dublin there are women police wardens who attend when women are making statements, and who generally assist the guards in investigations affecting women,' that did not detract from the case for women police.[71] MacCarthy eschewed criticism of the Garda: he 'did not suggest that the civic guards were incompetent to deal with such offences, but some of them were just not suitable'.[72] He publicly suggested that his maternal uncle, Hugh Kennedy, the first Chief Justice of the Irish Free State had sought the appointment of female police.[73] The domestic press, and a British-based newspaper, the *People*, noted this apparent personal basis to his interest in the matter. The *People* quoted MacCarthy as having 'found several cases in which girls who have been attacked have been too

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[66] Ferguson (ed.): *King's Inns Barristers,* p235: 'MacCarthy, Gerard Brian (b.14 Sept. 1923) 3rd s. of Michael Joseph McCarthy, physican, of 'Teavenagrena', Alma Road, Monkstown, Co.Dublin, and Carmen Kennedy; M 1951. 1954/M/12 [2 items].'

[67] *Irish Times*, 9 Mar. 1956.

[68] *County Dublin County Council Minutes of Proceedings from 1st April 1955 to 31st March 1956,* p. 185 (12 Mar. 1956).

[69] *Irish Times*, 13 Mar. 1956.

[70] *Irish Times*, 15 Mar. 1956.

[71] *Irish Times*, 16 Mar. 1956.

[72] *Irish Times*, 16 Mar. 1956.

[73] Attorney-General, 1922-24; T.D. (CnaG) 1923-24; Chief Justice of the Irish Free State, 5 Jun.1924; d.12 Dec. 1936 (Kenneth Ferguson (ed.): *King's Inns Barristers, 1868-2004* (Dublin, 2005) p. 219).

embarrassed to tell men police what happened', as a result of which 'the men have got away with it.'[74] The claim that Chief Justice Kennedy had 'often expressed himself in favour of setting up of a woman's branch of the Civic Guard did not sustain the scrutiny of the Department of Justice, to whom MacCarthy acknowledged that 'Kennedy had not, so far as he was aware, ever advocated the establishment of a women police force', but 'had merely said that he thought it would have helped to have women in court to deal with sexual cases involving women.'[75]

Although MacCarthy did not publicly avert to the J.C.W.S.S.W.'s lobbying campaign, it seems most probable that MacCarthy's advocacy of the introduction of policewomen was stimulated directly by its lobbying of the Borough Corporation of which he was a member. J.C.W.S.S.W. minutes of March 1955 noted that the Chairman of Dún Laoghaire Borough Council, Councillor [Thomas] Potter, 'wrote that he would table a motion in connection with women police at the April meeting'.[76] Dun Laoghaire Borough Corporation was included in a circular issued by the J.C.W.S.S.W. in October 1955, 'drawing their attention to the announcement of the 50% increase in the numbers of women police in the Six Counties & to the good work done by them there & asking them to press for a force in the Republic.'[77] In January 1956, Dun Laoghaire Borough Council advised the Joint Committee that it 'agreed that the request for Women Police is worthy of support & wrote to the Minister for Justice to this effect.'[78] MacCarthy attended a Joint Committee meeting in October 1956. 'He had an interview in the Dept of Justice,' he told the committee, '& was informed that the cost of establishing a force of women police £25,000 was too great to be incurred.'[79]

The housewives movement did not translate directly to significant electoral success. The jury campaigners and prominent I.H.A. members, Kathleen Swanton and Beatrice Dixon, were among other Housewives Association candidates that stood unsuccessfully in the General Election of 1957.[80] However, Swanton was elected to Dublin Corporation in June 1955 and re-elected as a 'Housewives' candidate in 1960.[81] It may be observed that the political

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[74] *The People*, 11 Mar. 1956 [cutting] (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).
[75] Note to Asst. Sec., Dept. of Justice, 19 Mar. 1956 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).
[76] J.C.W.S.S.W., Joint Committee minute book, May 1948 – Nov. 1955, 31 Mar. 1955 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/3).
[77] J.C.W.S.S.W. Joint Committee minute book, May 1948 – Nov. 1955, 27 Oct. 1955 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/3).
[78] J.C.W.S.S.W. Joint Committee minute book 1956–1964, 26 Jan. 1956 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4).
[79] J.C.W.S.S.W. Joint Committee minute book, 1956–1964, 27 Sept. 1956 and 25 Oct. 1956 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4).
[80] Tweedy, *Link in the chain*, p. 62.
[81] *Irish Times*, 25 Jun. 1955; *Irish Press*, 30 Jun. 1959; Callan, *Irish Labour Lives*, p. 213.

mobilisation of women through their participation in the movement augmented sometimes informal or unacknowledged political connections between women. This will be shown to have been the case with regard to the interest shown in the issue of female police by two members of the Fifteenth Dáil (1954-57), Mrs Celia Lynch, T.D. (F.F.), who was also a member of Dublin Corporation; and Mrs Maureen O'Carroll, T.D. (Lab.). [82] Lynch was a Dublin constituency colleague of Seán Lemass, T.D., a leading figure in Fianna Fáil who became Taoiseach in 1959. Lynch entered politics following the death of her husband who had been a member the Dáil from 1932 to 1948.[83] Ms Rosaleen Mills, a leading member of the I.H.A. and a member of the Joint Committee of the J.C.W.S.S.W., was a medium between the Joint Committee and Lynch.[84] Lynch was receptive to the Joint Committee, as will be detailed below, and retained her seat as a party constituency colleague of Lemass subsequent General Elections in the same constituency as Lemass,), when Fianna Fáil returned to Government in the Sixteenth Đáil (1954-57).

The leading parliamentary advocate of female police during the 1950s was a single-term Government backbencher, Mrs Maureen O'Carroll, T.D. (Lab.).[85] O'Carroll entered politics through parents and consumer interest organisations, particularly the Lower Price Council before she was invited to join the Labour Party. In parliament, O'Carroll was conspicuously at odds with the Labour Party leadership, and repeatedly assailed her party colleague, Minister James Everett on the issue of female police, disproving the generalisation that female members of the Dáil 'always placed party before sex'. [86] 'My predecessors had the matter under consideration for the last ten years,' Everett replied to a question by O'Carroll on the issue in February 1955. 'You do not expect me, in a few months, to suggest my predecessors were all wrong?'[87] O'Carroll's bold independence was also suggested by the fact that she declined to reply to, or otherwise engage with the J.C.W.S.S.W. on this and other issues with which she and the J.C.W.S.S.W. had common concern, unlike other politicians such as Dockrell, Lynch, Gallagher, and MacCarthy. This seems curious given her former involvement in the

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[82] 'Celia Lynch', Oireachtas Éireann Members Database (Dublin, 2002) http://www.oireachtas.ie/members-hist/ (accessed Jan. 2014); *Minutes of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin from the 1st January to 31st December 1957* (Dublin, 1957).
[83]'James B. Lynch', Oireachtas Éireann, Members Database, www.oireachtas.ie/members-hist (accessed Jan. 2014).
[84] J.C.W.S.S.W., Minutes 26 Jan. 1956 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4).
[85] Callan and Desmond, *Irish Labour* Lives, p. 212; Maureen O'Carroll, 'Recollections of a female activist', in Raynor Lysaght *et al*, *Dublin History Workshop* (Dublin, 1988) pp 13-16;
[86] Maurice Manning: 'Women in Irish National and Local politics, 1922-'77', in Margaret MacCurtain and Donnacha Ó Corráin, *Women in Irish society the historical dimension* (Dublin, 1978) p. 96.
[87] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, cxlviii, 20 (9 Feb. 1955).

housewives movement and her shared interests with the J.C.W.S.S.W. in progressive welfare issues.

In May 1955, the J.C.W.S.S.W. dissociated itself from a question by O'Carroll that suggested her approval of the appointment of Garda Women Assistants as an interim measure. O'Carroll suggested that 'pending the introduction of legislation for the establishment of a women's police force' the Minister for Justice might appoint 'a number of women wardens to fulfil the many duties essential to the proper handling of women, young girls and juvenile delinquents,' which the Minister said he 'would consider'.[88] 'The suggestion of the appointment by the Minister of a few women wardens in no way meets the case,' asserted Mrs W.R. O'Hegarty, Honorary Secretary of the J.C.W.S.S.W. 'They will not have the training, authority or status of police officers it will only be tinkering with a serious problem.'As the terms of her question indicated, O'Carroll was not deterred from her interest in the establishment of female police by the employment of additional Garda Women Assistants. At its 1957 conference, the Labour Party resolved that it 'considers it desirable that a number of women police be engaged in the cities and the large towns'.[89] But in February 1957 the Dáil was dissolved in the face of a challenge to the government's economic policies. O'Carroll lost her seat in the General Election of March 1957 and Fianna Fáil formed the government in the Sixteenth Dáil.

One instance in which a member of the I.H.A. raised the matter of criminal sexual self-exposure to the Garda at local level was the subject of internal Garda correspondence associated with the issue. The Garda were informed by a letter of October 1957 of three instances of sexual self-exposure to children in Dún Laoghaire, Co. Dublin, the constituency of Councillor Gerald MacCarthy.[90] A Garda Inspector reported on his interviews with the parents of the three children, only one of whom had initially reported the incident.[91] Some of the incidents had occurred some time ago, and in the one case that had been reported to the Garda, the description of the offender was vague. He noted that one mother did 'not wish that her daughter should now be interviewed or questioned in connection with the incidents' because she did 'not desire to have it refreshed in the child's mind at this stage.' The Inspector reported that the author of the letter that had initiated Garda enquires was 'a very active

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[88] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, cl, 1805 (24 May 1955).
[89] Labour Party, *Report of the Administrative Council for the year 1957-'58* (Dublin, 1958).
[90] Mrs Esther P. Maxwell, Birr, Co. Offaly to Mrs Sawier, 4 Oct. 1957, referred to but not on file (G.A., History of policy on the first female members).
[91] Insp. Owen Cumisky, 'F' District (Dún Laoghaire) to Supt. 'F' District, 20 Mar. 1958 (G.A., History of policy on the first female members).

member of the Irish Housewives Association and is the driving force behind this campaign', and remarked that 'apparently matters of the nature referred to' were 'freely discussed at the various meetings held by the Association.' He suggested that 'they availed of the opportunity to bring these incidents to light now that the establishment of a Woman Police force is under consideration.'[92]

The role of politicians in the advancement of the campaign for female police was particularly significant given the unsympathetic regard held by some towards civil society activism and towards the primary agents of the campaign, the J.C.W.S.S.W.. While officials at the Department generally favoured female police, internal correspondence suggested that they were ill-disposed to its long-time promoters, the J.C.W.S.S.W.. F.C. Connolly of the Department wrote that he considered he was 'possibly correct in saying that there is no large body of public opinion in this country behind Mrs O'Hegarty's Committee and that no tears would be shed if the appointment of police women was further delayed.'[93] In a note to the Minister, Coyne concurred with Connolly and echoed a phrase by which the campaign had been describe twenty years previously, as quoted in Chapter Three: 'The campaign for women police is largely artificial and corresponds to no real demand on the part of the public which is indifferent, and, as regards some sections, hostile to the idea.'[94] While issue often featured in the news columns of the *Irish Times* and was the subject of some highly supportive editorials, Kettle and the subject of female police were occasional subjects of ridicule in the satirical 'Cruiskeen Lawn' column.

Hostility towards the idea among the Garda membership is strongly suggested by the treatment it in cartoons published in the *Garda Review* around this time, while official policy on it remained indeterminate. In his anthropological study of policing, Malcolm Young wrote that 'cartoons in the police magazines provide clear insights into the structural form and social beliefs of the police'.[95] He contended that they were 'important indications of institutional reality' that 'might otherwise remain unspoken or even go unnoticed in a society not noted for washing its dirty linen in public'. As a medium, cartoons seem to have allowed for less inhibited expression than typescript editorial formats in the *Review*, the official journal of the

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[92] Insp. Owen Cumisky, 'F' District (Dún Laoghaire) to Supt. 'F' District, 20 Mar. 1958 (G.A., History of policy on the first female members).
[93] F.C. Connolly to Coyne, secretary Department of Justice, 18 Feb. 1955 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).
[94] Secretary to Minister for Justice, 21 Feb. 1955 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).
[95] Young, *An Inside Job*, p. 236.

force. Not all of the cartoonists whose work is discussed here were members of the Force, such as, Brian O'Halloran, was the son of the Commandant of the Training Depot.[96]

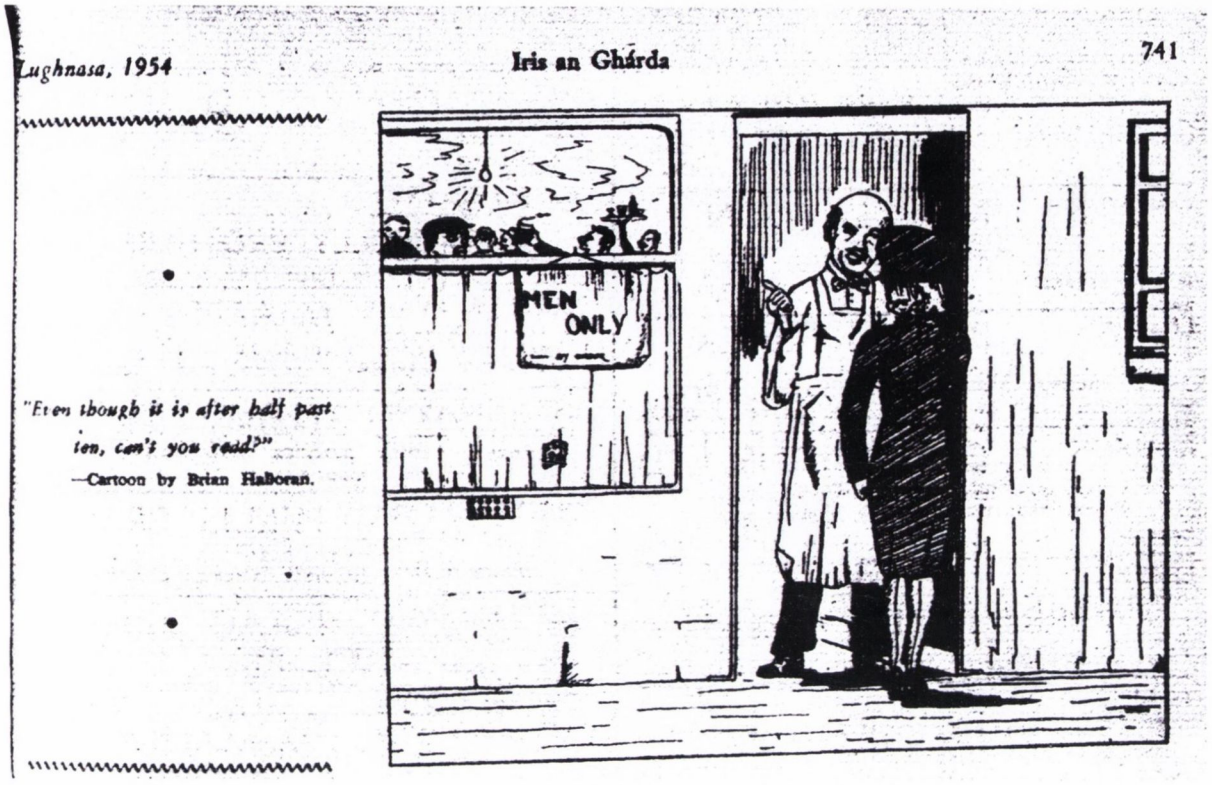
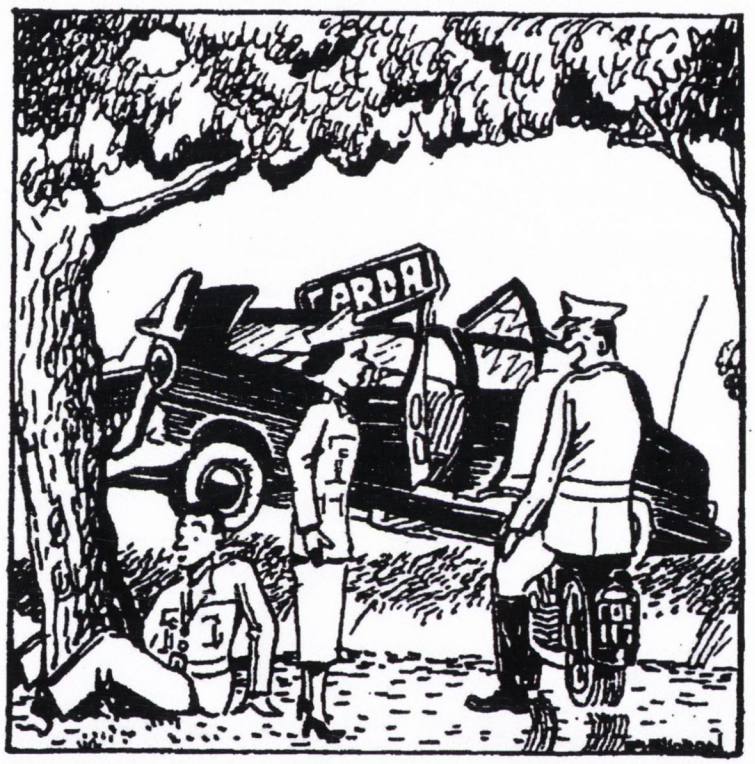


Figure 21: 'Men Only', *Garda Review*, August 1954, p. 741.

Apprehension of women, in both occupational and private roles, was the nub of several cartoons.[97] Where policewomen were depicted, they did not have a speaking role in the cartoon. Humour was often derived from conversation between policemen about them. Several cartoons imagined policewomen's encounters with gendered Garda convention. Examples of such cartoons were 'Their age is a terrible problem' (May, 1954); 'Wasn't smart enough for her' (July, 1954); both attributed to Brian O'Halloran. The inability of policewomen to perform specific Garda functions was depicted in a few cartoons. In Halloran's 'Men Only' a publican denies a policewoman access to a bar where drink is being served after-hours on the basis that it was a male-only bar. 'Peep into the future' attributed a police vehicle crash to a policewoman driver (Figure 24, below). 'Progress?' imagined chaotic traffic at the centre of

[96] *Garda Review*, December 1955, p. 31.
[97] See *Garda Review*: 'Take down my particulars' Dec. 1952, p. 79; 'Who wears the stripes', Sept. 1954, p. 807; 'Stubborn lady driver', May 1953, p. 547.

which was a policewoman on point duty (Figure 35, p. 261 below).[98] The only cartoon to suggest an operational benefit of female police depicted a put-upon policeman beset by playful young pedestrians at a road junction, captioned 'Who said we needed women police?'.[99] Policewomen as objects of their colleagues' amorous interest was the leading theme of cartoon treatments of them in the *Review*. Following the change of Government policy that authorised female membership of the Garda, directly sceptical treatments no longer featured, and the theme of amorous interest dominated treatments of the subject.



A PEEP INTO THE FUTURE ?
You're a "smashing" police driver * @ * ! !

Figure 22: Policewomen anticipated in 1956.[100]

The Joint Committee approached all female members of the Sixteenth Dáil, in which Fianna Fáil formed the Government. A delegation of J.C.W.S.S.W. members was received by female government deputies including Celia Lynch, at Leinster House in the June 1957, to discuss the issue of female police.[101] Lynch briefed the delegation of a discussion she had with an

[98] *Garda Review*, Dec. 1957, p. 89.
[99] *Garda Review*, May 1955, p. 527.
[100] *Garda Review*, Aug. 1956, p. 737.
[101] J.C.W.S.S.W., minutes, 27 Jun. 1957 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4).

unnamed senior Department of Justice official, who advised her that the 'Department was now very sympathetic toward the demand for women police,' but that: 'owing to the financial crisis nothing could be done this year.'[102] The J.C.W.S.S.W. sought to sustain political interest in the issue in the second half of 1957. It circulated a leaflet to members of Dublin Corporation on the subject in advance of a motion by Councillor Kathleen Swanton in August 1957, seconded by Mrs Kathleen Nix (F.F.).[103] The Corporation adopted Swanton's motion, 'deploring the delay in the recruitment of Women Police', which requested that the Minister for Justice 'take immediate steps for the establishment of a Women Police Force for the performance of duties concerning women, young persons, and children, where it is considered that they can render service which cannot be adequately undertaken by men.'[104]

The Labour Party's interest in the issue was sustained by Seán Casey, T.D. (Lab.), a representative for Cork city 1954-69.[105] Early in the Sixteenth Dáil, Casey simply 'asked the Minister for Justice if he intends to appoint women police and, if so, when'.[106] The new Minister, Oscar Traynor, T.D. (F.F.), struck an off-hand tone and responded that 'when an opportunity presents itself I will go into it'. Traynor's response belied serious engagement with the issue by the new Fianna Fáil Government. Cabinet records reveal that in advance of Casey's question it had been arranged that Traynor prepare a memorandum on the matter for Government.[107] The following day, the Justice estimates were under discussion, M.J. O'Higgins (F.G.), a solicitor who had been a member of Dublin Corporation 1945-55, said that subject of women police had been 'hanging fire, if you like, for a number of years'.[108] O'Higgins referred to 'a definite volume of opinion which feels that the establishment of women police here is necessary and that it would, in a number of ways, be beneficial.'[109] Traynor said he 'would be more or less sympathetic to the idea of a women's police force,' and clarified to the House that he would present a memorandum to Government on the issue.[110] 'What the Government would do I could not say. They might throw me and the women police out.'

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[102] J.C.W.S.S.W., minutes, 27 Jun. 1957 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4).
[103] J.C.W.S.S.W., minutes, 27 Jun. 1957 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4); Kathleen Nix (née O'Donoghue), former member of Cumann na mBan, Fianna Fáil councillor 1935-60, d.Oct. 1966 (*Irish Times*, 15 Oct. 1966).
[104] *Minutes of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin from the 1st January to 31st December 1957* (Dublin, 1957), p141 (12 Aug. 1957).
[105] 'Seán Casey', Oireachtas Éireann, Members Database, www.oireachtas.ie/members-hist (accessed Jan. 2014).
[106] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clxi, 127 (24 Apr. 1957).
[107] Cabinet Minutes, 23 Apr. 1957 (N.A.I., DT S16210).
[108] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clxi, 411 (25 Apr. 1957).
[109] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clxi, 411 (25 Apr. 1957).
[110] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clxi, 428 (25 Apr. 1957).

"Fighting the Case"
—for women police

Figure 23: The Oireachtas convened at Leinster House, and the card in the male figure's hat identified him as a ***Teachta Dála*** [member of the Dáil].[111]

It may be remembered that in 1955, Minister for Justice James Everett was incredulous at the suggestion that he would embark on a new departure in policy towards women in policing within a month of having assumed the position. However, his successor Traynor oversaw such a policy change. 'The Minister feels,' ran the memo, 'that the time has come when the appointment of policewomen cannot be further delayed if this country is not to be accused of falling behind in the humanitarian treatment of women and children.' Government authorisation was sought 'to take the necessary steps for the appointment of policewomen'. The female numerical strength proposed was in line with the formal recommendations and the Commissioner's request. The memo was initialled by Seán Lemass, Tánaiste and Minister for Industry and Commerce, on the date of its submission, 16th September. At a cabinet meeting on 23rd September: 'the Minister was authorized to take the necessary for the appointment of women as members of the Garda Síochána', on the understanding that the putative female recruits would be considered within the existent authorized numerical strength of the Garda, and that the Government remained intent on the continued reduction of the overall numerical strength.[112]

Policy change on female policing supports the perception of Lemass as a decisive figure in the determination of policy in the Sixteenth Dáil in advance of his election as Taoiseach in 1959.

[111] *Garda Review*, Sept. 1956, p. 849.
[112] Cabinet Minutes, 27 Sept. 1957 (N.A.I., DT S16210).

Lemass's initials on the memo prepared for Government in advance of its discussion at Cabinet indicate his interest in the resolution of this matter. His wish to resolve the issue was critical in leading the Government to define a viable policy position. Traynor's negligible interest in the matter is suggested by his note to the secretary of the Department in response to queries about policy detail. Traynor replied that he had 'no strong views on this subject, and am prepared to waive those which I have put forward to those of Mr Berry and yourself. 'My own belief,' he continued, 'is that the careers of these young women will be, perhaps, no longer than those of the air hostesses and the other type of uniformed glamour girls.'[113]

Chris Shepard's attention to the relatively brief interest shown by the C.W.F. in the campaign for women police may have been a factor in his deprecation of the crucial role of the J.C.W.S.S.W., whom it sought to rival.[114] Chris Shepard suggested that the introduction of the Garda Act 'had more to do with the rise of Lemass and incongruity with Northern Ireland, Britain and Europe than with the efforts of women's organisations'.[115] He modified that analysis in a recent article by writing that a 'change in opinion, in tandem with the campaigning of women activists' led to the appointment of policewomen. This draft chapter has demonstrated that feminist activism manifestly contributed to the 'change of opinion' to which Shepard referred. This draft chapter has demonstrated that the J.C.W.S.S.W. discharged a crucial role in stimulating political interest in the issue, although that role was sometimes not acknowledged. The J.C.W.S.S.W's interest was based on egalitarian principle, but the campaign advanced significantly when politicians related the issue to a practical putative mission for female police, with particular reference to child welfare and custody, and the police response to sexual crime.

Linda Connolly has remarked on a 'network of organisations [that] were collectively aiming to improve the position of women across Irish society in this period'.[116] The J.C.W.S.S.W. may be regarded as the lynch-pin of this network. Long after its opposition to the 1937 Constitution, it retained a commitment to progressive legislative and policy reform in the administration of justice. It constituted a strand of continuity between the political radicalism of feminisms of

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[113] Minister for Justice (Traynor) to Secretary (Coyne), 18 Mar. 1958, DJ 4/62/2, cited in Brian W. McCarthy, 'A history of the provision and reform of probationer education and training in the Garda Síochána, 1922-2007' [Vol.I] (Ph.D Thesis, University College, Dublin, 2008), p. 74.

[114] Shepard does not refer to the records of the Joint Committee of Women's Societies & Social Workers.

[115] Shepard, 'Women Activists and Women's Associations', p179.

[116] Linda Connolly, *The Irish Women's Movement: From Revolution to Devolution* (Basingstoke, 2002), p. 81.

the 1910s and the 1970s, during a period that has been characterised as one in which feminist activism was 'in abeyance'.[117] Public advocacy for the establishment of policewomen, particularly through arguments that invoked the child-stealing cases and the challenge of policing sex crime, were important. Popular coverage of crime and policing in newspapers read in Ireland facilitated debate about these subjects. Lemass's direct and decisive agency in the matter at cabinet is a cogent explanation as to how 'by 1957 ministerial thinking had transformed'.[118] Linda Connolly's analysis that 'the established women's movement has been successful in areas that closely complied with the State's agenda of modernisation,' is apposite to the area of female policing.[119] In discussing the Garda Act in 1958, one Senator regarded it as evidence of a 'liberalising tendency', a comment that Shepard seemed to endorse. This thesis will presently turn its focus to the implementation of the Garda Act, to suggest that whatever 'liberalising' potential it held was sharply circumscribed in its implementation.

[117] Connolly, *The Irish Women's Movement,* pp 56-86;
[118] Shepard, 'Campaign for women police', pp 578, 576.
[119] Connolly, *The Irish Women's Movement,* p. 225.

Chapter Six: From 'girls' to 'members': Ban Ghardaí, 1960-78.

'When I started out [in 1978] there was a them-and-us mentality, and the 'banners' had a separate room in the station. We were always at the edge of the action. We didn't do nights. We didn't work shifts. We didn't get equal pay, and we never got to drive the patrol car.'[1] The recollection of one career policewoman summarised a situation that prevailed for the first twenty years of female membership of An Garda Síochána ('the Garda'). Undoubtedly, significant changes occurred during this period. The number of policewomen more than doubled from its initial 'experimental' level of 12, all of whom were based in Dublin. Ban Ghardaí were deployed to five cities by 1976; and by 1977 there were 35 serving Ban Ghardaí.[2] . A few Ban Ghardaí fulfilled specialist plain-clothes and public relations roles, and in the mid-1970s several of them performed front-line duty in response to 'the security situation' created by terrorist activities. The Representative Bodies evinced an interest in the women members of the Garda in the early 1970s. Marginal improvements in their conditions of employment such as the payment of an allowance to Ban Ghardaí on night-time stand-by duty were accomplished. From 1974 women members were no longer required to resign when they married. However, it is posited that an appreciation of these developments does not undermine the periodisation adopted here.

The calendar year 1978 was a watershed period for women in policing in Ireland. That year major change occurred in the nature of their employment and their numerical strength. The sex-based pay differential ended following the acceptance of a recommendation by an Equality Officer of the Labour Court in 1978. A decisive departure was made in 1978 from the recruitment model that had had prevailed since the mid-1960s. Under that model, the numerical strength of women remained less than forty at any one time, and recruitment was sustained at a low level, sufficient to maintain a Ban Gharda group of that scale. Up to 1977, women never constituted more than 0.37 per cent of Garda membership. In 1978, with 35 serving female members, an additional 22 women began training in June, and a further 25 began training in November. This expansion was sustained in subsequent years. In 1979 Ban Ghardaí for the first time constituted over 1 per cent of the Garda, and by 1983 there were over 300 female members which constituted over 3 per cent of the force.[3] This chapter will illustrate that the developments that occurred in the period 1959 to 1977 were incremental and marginal relative to the

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[1]Assistant Commissioner Catherine Clancy, quoted in *WMB*, Aug.-Sept. 2006).
[2]*Garda Review* (Mar. 2006).
[3]Goretti Sheridan, 'Does gender impact on career progression in the Garda Síochána' (M.A. Thesis, Dublin Institute of Technology, 2009) p. 60, reproduced as Appendix III.

pay and recruitment developments of 1978. This interpretation suggests that the first twenty years of women in An Garda Síochána may be considered as a discrete period in the history of women in policing in Ireland.

This chapter examines women's role in An Garda Síochána from the completion of training of the first class to the implementation of equal pay for women in the Garda in 1978. It will analyse the most sensational episodes in which Ban Gardaí were involved in the first two decades of their operation and illustrate themes that may be said to have characterised their work and their professional identity. It will follow the narrative of women in policing to new bases in regional cities and on special assignments beyond major urban centres. It will focus on Cork as a minor case study of women in policing. It will treat the role of Ban Ghardaí in policing prostitution, sex crime, and juvenile delinquency, and will track their incursion into specialist work. It will conclude with an examination of the watershed developments of 1978 mentioned above.

Left behind by the Conroy Commission

Ireland enjoyed a period of relative prosperity in the 1960s, and during that decade policing was widely regarded as a relatively undesirable occupation. This applied even to those with a prior family affiliation to the Garda, such as Noel Harnett, who applied to join but withdrew his application shortly before he was due to report to Templemore to begin training. 'Prosperity was the key to everything,' one writer has remarked about Ireland in the 1960s, as 'the blinds were let up, the windows were thrown open, the doors were unlocked; and good, bad or indifferent, the modern world came in among us at last.'[4] The early 1960s saw intense discontent among the Garda, particularly in Dublin where there was a relatively high concentration of younger members. These younger members were unhappy with their lot, in particular with their earnings relative to the burden of work that fell to them and their impotence under an outdated disciplinary code and a conservative Department of Justice.

As detailed in a previous chapter, the generational rotation that occurred during Daniel Costigan's tenure as Commissioner (1952-65) produced an organisation of predominantly similar age profile and closely comparable police service. Although the size of the force remained steady, recruitment was sustained at a relatively high rate in the early 1960s. One of the effects of this was to diminish the

[4]Fergal Tobin, *The Best of Decades. Ireland in the Nineteen Sixties* (Dublin, 1984), pp 4-8.

promotion prospects of lower ranks. It was estimated by the Garda Representative Body in 1970 that over the subsequent fifteen years only 372 vacancies would arise in all ranks up to and including that of Commissioner through retirement from the Garda on the grounds of age.[5] One 25-year-old Garda with five years' service, said on his retirement in 1968 that 'It is essentially a young force and I cannot see much prospect of promotion in the next ten or twelve years.'[6] He was to continue his police career in South Africa. 'The time off given to gardaí was 'farcical,' he said, and conditions in most of the stations were intolerable.'

Particular tension existed between the lower ranks and senior officers in Dublin and elsewhere in the 1960s. This period of discontent is remembered in the institutional memory of the Garda in the shorthand of the 'Macushla Revolt', a prohibited meeting of Dublin Gardaí in a hired ballroom that led to the dismissal of a small number of the attendance. This well-documented episode was precipitated by dissatisfaction among the basic rank at the terms of a pay agreement concluded by the Representative Body.[7] Policemen of limited service had been ill-served by terms which benefitted their longer-serving colleagues. This writer has not found any reference to the attendance of any of the Ban Ghardaí at the Macushla meeting, or of their involvement in the agitation. The Commissioner, who had earnestly complained about the pay and conditions of the force to the Department, was directed to dismiss a small number of men regarded as organisers of the agitation. Subsequently he was directed to make a complete about-face and allow for the re-instatement of the dismissed men as part of the resolution of the episode.

The implementation of the report of the official commission on the Garda Síochána, which reported in 1970, greatly altered the police occupation and 'provided the Garda Síochána with a blueprint for its future development'.[8] The four-man commission was appointed to inquire into pay and conditions in the Garda, but under its Chairman, Judge J.C. ('Charlie') Conroy, it interpreted its terms of reference expansively.[9] Those terms specified 'the remuneration and conditions of service of the Garda Síochána' but Conroy included recommendations on related matters of: disciplinary regulations, recruitment, promotion, and the existent Conciliation and Arbitration Scheme between the Government and the

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[5] *Conroy Report*, para.885, p.148.
[6] *Kerryman*, 5 Oct. 1968.
[7] Conway, *Policing Twentieth Century Ireland*, p. 76.
[8] *Commission on the Garda Síochána: Report on Remuneration and Conditions of Service* (Dublin, 1970) [hereafter *Conroy Report*]; Brady, *Guardians* (1974), p. 244.
[9] Pauric J. Dempsey, 'John Charles ('Charlie') Conroy' in McGuire and Quinn (eds), *D.I.B.O.* (accessed May 2014).

Garda Representative Bodies. Conroy and his colleagues on the Commission adjudicated between a conservative Department of Justice ('the Official Side'), intent on largely preserving the status quo, and an assertive Garda Representative Body.

In addition to the improved general economic situation, an important factor that informed the Conroy Commission's work was the report of a Public Sector Organisation Review Group presented in 1969.[10] Although the Commission resisted drawing a direct parallel between the civil service and the police, it supported some of the practical measures it recommended by relating them to similar recommendations in this review, the Devlin Report. The most pronounced change introduced by the Commission was the recognition of a maximum working week and the recognition of work done in excess of that 42-hour limit as overtime. The imposition of a shortened working week necessitated the substantial expansion of the Garda, and during 1971-72 the Garda expanded by about 1,000. Garda pay at all levels and all ranks was substantially increased. The Commission recommended an approximately £2 increase on the previous rate for Garda and Ban Garda ranks with six or more years service, and a weekly increase of £3 or £4 on previous rates to Sergeants, Station Sergeants, and Ban Sergeants.[11]

The Conroy Report and the documentary records generated by the inquiry, present a useful overview of the role of the police in the decade that preceded it. The Report acknowledged that increased duties had fallen on the police consequent to 'the changing society'. The socially and sexually dynamic position of women in Ireland in the 1960s was certainly a factor in the social complexity referred to by Conroy, as will be demonstrated in the discussion below of some of the criminal cases that occurred during that decade. But despite an expansive interpretation of its brief the Commission took a rather narrow view of the challenges that 'the changing society' posed to policing. These were enumerated as: 'the enormous growth of road traffic', 'improvements in transport facilities and communications available to the criminal', and the policing challenge posed by street protests.[12] A rider to this was the recommendation for the formation of 'research and planning unit' in the Garda.[13] The Commission regarded the role of a Garda as 'unique' and questioned the use of comparators presented by 'the Garda side' to other workers in the State and to the police forces of other states. Having identified the distinctiveness of the

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[10]Public Services Organisation Review Group, *Report of Public Services Organisation Review Group, 1966-1969* (Dublin, 1969).
[11]*Conroy Report*, para.328 and para.396, tabulated as Appendix XIII, pp 267-8.
[12]*Conroy Report*, para.19, p. 5.
[13]*Conroy Report*, para.1194, p. 203.

role, Conroy upheld the strongly gendered terms in which that role was conceived: the 'role of a policeman and his place in the community'.[14]

While the effect of the Conroy Report on the institution of the Garda was of major importance, it is suggested here that this landmark in modern Irish police history was of only marginal importance to policewomen. The Commission did not evince any interest in expanding the role or numerical strength of Ban Ghardaí. Such matters may not have fallen within their stipulated terms of reference to 'pay and conditions', but they were certainly pertinent to issues of recruitment and promotion, policy areas on about which recommendations had been made by the Commission. These issues featured among the questions prepared by Conroy as a basis for deliberation by the Commission, as the documentary records of its operation illustrate.[15] Lower pay increases were recommended for Ban Gardaí than were recommended for Gardaí by the Commission, and the greater pay increases awarded following six or seven years service probably had limited effect for the Ban Gardaí of the 1960s and 1970s when a high rate of 'wastage' through retirement for marriage prevailed.

Bean Sergeant Sarah McGuinness, one of the 'Twelve Apostles', was among the thirty-four witnesses who appeared for the Representative Body for Guards.[16] The appearance of McGuinness under this category suggests the unusual position of the Ban Sergeant within the Garda hierarchy, as not just one of a small group of female members but moreover, as one of only five women in the Garda with a supervisory function. A distinct Representative Body for Inspectors, Station Sergeants and Sergeants presented nineteen witnesses. Two acknowledged specialist branches of the Garda that were in many ways comparable to the Ban Ghardaí, the Sub-Aqua Unit and the Dog Unit, presented two witnesses each. The distinct status of the Ban Ghardaí was evident to the Commission and was illustrated in its Report. But in this process, the distinctiveness was not accorded any 'specialist' status comparable to the Sub-Aqua Unit or the Dog Unit. Official correspondence referred to a 'Ban Gharda Unit' yet the Ban Ghardaí were not formally categorised as an operational unit. This reflected the status of women in the Garda: undoubtedly distinct yet non-specialist. Different pay and conditions of employment applied to the small female membership. It was repeatedly stated that the Ban Ghardaí specialised in work that involved women and children.

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[14]This was the title of Section I, Chapter II of the *Conroy Report*, pp 4-7.
[15] These records constitute two boxes of files, N.A.I., DJ 2005/147/232-244.
[16] *Conroy Report*, pp 225-7.

The improvements achieved by the Ban Ghardaí through the Commission were an increase in their salary and the potential for overtime pay to them arising from night-time call-outs. Compensation for stand-by duty was included in the Commission's proposed basic pay rate, but: 'If a member is called out while on stand-by duty away from a station, and is on duty for a period exceeding an hour then the period after the member was called out should be reckoned as overtime.'[17] The Commission declined the claim of 'equal pay for equal work'. It sustained the segregation of women in the Garda by upholding the principle of promotion in proportion to the number of female members. It remarked that: 'The question of the promotion of a Bean Sergeant to Inspector will only arise when the strength of the Ban Gharda section in the Force justifies the change in the hierarchy of officers.'[18] Its minor recommendations specific to Ban Ghardaí were neglected. Conroy recommended that a place be reserved for a female member on the District Committee of the Garda Representative Body of any Garda District where five or more women members were stationed. This had not been implemented by 1975, although it is not clear whether a disinclination among female members to participate may have been a factor in this.[19] The impact of the Conroy Commission was momentous, but the low numerical strength of female members and the perception of their role as marginal and non-specialist meant that it was not a vector for substantive change in the role or number of women in the Garda.

Organisational profile

The 'experiment' of Ban Ghardaí was initially restricted to Dublin, but deployment to other urban centres followed as small groups of new recruits completed training. As detailed in the preceding chapter, a late Ministerial directive to recruit and assign six Ban Ghardaí to Cork was not accomplished for want of suitable recruits.[20] Renovations were conducted at the Bridewell in Cork in September 1959 in anticipation of an allocation of Ban Ghardaí.[21] It was not until 1961 that Ban Ghardaí were assigned to Cork, to the central Union Quay station. A Bean Sergeant and five Ban Ghardaí were assigned there. In 1962, five Ban Ghardaí were the first policewomen to be assigned to Limerick. 'Accommodation difficulties' frustrated the intention to assign a Ban Sergeant and two Ban Ghardaí to Waterford. The Commissioner was advised by a Deputy Commissioner in January 1966 that 'The question of appointing

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[17] *Conroy Report*, para.755, p. 126.
[18] N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150.
[19] *Conroy Report*, para.1015, p.169 (N.A.I., DJ 2005/147/230).
[20] Recruiting for Women Gardai - first entrance examination Jan. 1959 (G.A., B.1545/58).
[21] G.A., History of policy on the first female members.

Ban Ghardaí to Waterford is still in abeyance and likely to remain so for lack of accommodation.'[22] It was not until 1976 that the distribution pattern of Ban Gardaí expanded with the assignment of two Ban Gardaí to Waterford and two to Galway in February 1976.[23] That was enabled by the completion of training by the largest single group of women, ten, since the first group of women entered training in in 1959.[24] The distribution of the policewomen followed the initial single-station deployment model of Dublin: both of the small groups of Ban Ghardaí were assigned to the central station of the cities they were based in: the Bridewell in Cork, and Edward Street Station in Limerick. This situation prevailed in 1978 in Cork and in Limerick, and was strongly endorsed by the Chief Superintendents in those cities.[25]

The place: Grafton street, Dublin—the day: yesterday—the first time the women police stepped out to meet the public. The girls were not shy of the camera—but were the men shy of the girls?

Figure 24: front-page news on their first day on uniform patrol[26]

[22] 'Appointment of Ban Ghardaí to the Force during financial year, 1.4.65 (G.A., B.1499/64).
[23] D. Devitt, Assistant Commissioner to secretary, Department of Justice, 14 Apr. 1977 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).
[24] Ibid.
[25] Rostering/allocation of Recruit Gardaí (G.A., Duties of Ban-Gardaí).
[26] *Irish Times*, 10 Dec. 1959.

Table 3: Female membership of the Garda, 1965, 1973, and 1976[27]

Date	Jun. 1965		Jul. 1973		Nov. 1976	
ranks	B/Sgts	B/Gdí	B/Sgts	B/Gdí	B/Sgts	B/Gdí
Dublin	3	14	3	16*	3	9
Cork	1	5	1	5	1	3
Limerick	1	3	1	4		5
Galway						2
Waterford						2
Headquarters				1		1
Limerick Prison					1	6
Portlaoise Prison						1
Totals	5	22	5	26	5	29
Total female membership	27		31		34	

*Included two Juvenile Liaison Officers and two female members assigned to the Drugs Squad.

What were the initial reported findings of 'the experiment' of women in policing? The failure to accord specialist status to what was effectively a 'Ban Gharda unit' does not seem to have been due to any reported disappointment with the initial findings from the 'experiment' of women in the Garda. Senior officers in each of the three districts in which the women served submitted brief reports in January 1964 about the performance of the Ban Ghardaí under their command.[28] By that time women had served in Dublin for over four years, in Cork for less than four years, and in Limerick just over one year. The outline criteria on which the women were assessed was similar to the 'return of work' criteria used in the appraisal of male members, as illustrated below. In addition, officers reported firstly on the general

[27] For 1965: Deputy Commissioner to Supt Sheehan, Recruiting Section, Jun. 1965 (G.A., B.1499/64); for 1973 & 1976: Memo for Minister for Justice for parliamentary question scheduled for 25 Jul. 1973 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).

[28] Ban Ghardaí - particulars of arrests made, summonses entered, 1960-63 (G.A., Review of work performed in divisions to which attached).

contribution of the women, and secondly on 'the sphere of work for which they are best suited i.e. with women, young persons and children'. Each report included a summary of six cases to which the women had contributed. All of the reports averred to the 'very definite', 'very useful' contribution of the women; and affirmed that they were 'best suited' to work that involved women and children. The reports from Limerick and Cork illustrated that the Ban Ghardaí did a broad range of work, and Chief Superintendent Chambers of Cork wrote that: 'While it may be said that they are best suited to deal with women and children, it can be said with truth that they have been found to be effective in dealing with crime or offence no matter what the type of crime or offence or person involved.' It is notable that this endorsement of the women's versatility was incorporated in more cautious terms by the Deputy Commissioner in his gloss to the three reports, which reported that they were 'capable of being utilised in the investigation or prevention of any type of crime or offence'.[29]

Table 4: Average number of arrests and summonses by female membership of the Garda by Division, 1960-63[30]

Division	1960		1961		1962		1963	
	Arrests	Summonses	Arrests	Summonses	Arrests	Summonses	Arrests	Summonses
Avg. Dublin	1.7	13.5	3	23	2.3	27.6	4.4	61.8
Avg. Cork			0.5	16	0.8	16	1.6	21
Avg. Limerick							3	66

Marriage and policewomen

Marriage was in many respects a decisive marker in the careers of male members of the Garda, particularly outside the Dublin Metropolitan Area. Historically, it occasioned a policeman leaving barrack accommodation or precipitated his relocation to a station where married quarters were available for him. Transferral away from the place of origin of the woman was necessary to satisfy police regulations.[31] Married men also qualified for higher rates of pay. The requirement that female members of the Garda retire on their marriage made it the decisive end point to policewomen's careers. Interviewed in the mid-1990s, Superintendent Phyllis Nolan, who began her career in the Garda in 1960,

[29]Deputy Commissioner, Crime Branch, to Commissioner, 24 Jan. 1964 (G.A., Review of work performed).
[30] Ban Ghardaí - particulars of arrests made, Summons entered years 1960-63 (G.A., Review of work performed).
[31]'Early Days - Jim Hayden, R.I.P.' p. 29, in Dalton, *From Civic Guard to Garda Síochána*.

emphasised the finality: 'Retire – not resign. If a male member left without having completed his 30 years of service he would resign – Ban Ghardaí were compelled to retire on marriage.'[32]

The police careers of many Ban Ghardaí were often shorter than the minimum years of service required to qualify for marriage gratuity. Of the thirty-eight women who had been recruited to the Garda up to 1964, ten retired to marry, and none of those ten qualified for the gratuity.[33] In 1964 the marriage gratuity entitlement was formalised: the gratuity was payable to women who had served six years and who married within four months of their retirement. It was set at one-twelfth of annual pay multiplied by the number of whole years of approved service, not exceeding twelve years.[34] The position was queried by the Representative Body for Guards on behalf of a Bean Garda in 1965.[35] In 1968 the qualifying period of service required of a Bean Garda to be awarded a marriage gratuity was reduced from six to five years.[36] In 1970, the Conroy Commission reported that: 'Of the twenty-three Ban Ghardaí who have left the Force to marry, only nine were entitled to the gratuity.'[37] The Department of Finance resisted any further reduction of the qualifying period as late as May 1972.

Some regretted the compulsory retirement demanded of them upon marriage under the marriage bar. One of the first Ban Ghardaí, Angela Burke, retired upon her marriage to a station colleague at Pearse Street. She reflected on her resignation: 'Because of the rules governing public servants at that time I had to leave once I got married, otherwise I would have continued on because I really loved the job'.[38] An account given of another Bean Garda's retirement for marriage strongly implied the finality of the decision and the influence of propriety in reaching it: 'Kathleen [McFadden]'s decision was made and doing what she knew was right she took the name of Kelly in 1962.'[39] Of the policewomen who did marry, a substantial proportion married Gardaí. Both Angela Burke in 1964 (later Leavy) and Kathleen McFadden in 1962 (later Kelly) married Garda colleagues, as did Mary Browne (later Gilmartin) in 1963, and Helena Hayden (later Sparrow) in 1963. It was reported in November 1963 that 'The first of

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[32] *Garda Journal*, (March, 1995) pp 4-7.
[33] Assistant Commissioner L. Ó Maonaigh to secretary, Department of Justice, 18 Dec. 1964 (G.A., Garda Síochána, women members of the force).
[34] Garda Síochána Pensions Order, 1965, S.I. 149 of 1965 (G.A., B.2888/64).
[35] Jack Marrinan, secretary, Representative Body for Guards, to Commissioner, 5 Mar. 1965 (G.A., B 2888/64).
[36] Marriage gratuities for Ban Gardai - reduction in the qualifying period (N.A.I., DJ 2005/147/273).
[37] *Conroy Report*, para.638, p. 105.
[38] *Leinster Leader*, 15 Jul. 2009.
[39] *IPA Journal*, Oct. 2009, pp 25-7. I am grateful to Mr Glenn Thompson and Ms Amber Green for a copy of this article.

Limerick's Bean Gardai to become engaged' was Dympna Moore, who was engaged to Garda Gerry Canning.[40] The first marriage of Sergeants also occurred between two Limerick-based members in August 1965: Bean Sergeant Peg Tierney married Sergeant Michael Brown, both of whom were reported to have joined the Garda in 1957 and both of whom had been assigned to different stations in Limerick city.[41]

According to the recollection of one of the first twelve Ban Ghardaí, only one of the group qualified for the marriage gratuity: Noeleen Cooke who completed six years service. Only one of the group resigned, rather than retired, from the Garda: Margaret Tierney, who resigned in 1965 at Bean Sergeant rank.[42] In the case of these women who did not qualify for a gratuity or a pension, it is probable that their marriage to a Garda consolidated and prolonged their affiliation to the police institution. Another of the group, Sarah McGuinness, also married a Garda colleague, but not until 1982, and retired in 1984 as Bean Inspector.[43] Just two of the first twelve Ban Ghardaí completed thirty years service: Bean Sergeant Mary O'Donnell who retired in 1990, and Bean Sergeant Josephine O'Dwyer, who retired in 1989.

A prohibition existed on the re-appointment of members who resigned from the Garda. But the Garda Síochána (Appointments) Regulations, 1945, allowed the Commissioner to override this rule with Ministerial consent, and re-appoint a retired member. Such an exemption was proffered to one Cork-based Bean Garda who retired in anticipation of her marriage but whose marriage was reported to have not taken place. In these circumstances, the Minister granted his approval of her re-appointment to the Commissioner in February 1968. However, correspondence from the Garda to the Department stated that the member cited 'unforeseen circumstances' as a reason for her non-attendance at a medical examination in advance of her re-appointment in May 1968, and Deputy Commissioner Flood reported that despite further correspondence to her, 'nothing further has been heard from her'.[44] No other instance of the application of this Ministerial prerogative has been found in the course of this research. A Bean Garda who retired upon her marriage in October 1973, made representations to be re-appointed.[45]

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[40] *Cork Examiner*, 14 Nov. 1963.
[41] *Cork Examiner*, 30 Aug. 1965.
[42] *IPA Journal*, Oct. 2009, p. 26.
[43] *Irish Times*, 18 May 1984.
[44] Applications for re-instatement from Ban-Ghardaí who resigned to get married (N.A.I., DJ 2005/23/118).
[45] Mrs Lawrence Reilly, formerly Ban Garda Ann Coyle, Pearse Street Station, D.M.A. (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).

It was 'not inconceivable' to Commissioner Costigan in 1959, 'that, in time, banghardai may be permitted to serve on after marriage.'[46] When the Department of Justice canvassed the view of a later Commissioner in February 1973, Commissioner Malone declared he was 'opposed to the retention of Ban Ghardaí after marriage'.[47] Malone considered that the policewoman's 'form of life would not be conducive to a happy family life and would inevitably reflect on their performance as Ban Gardai'. The marriage 'bar' was removed in January 1974 by the Garda Síochána (Retirement) (No. 2) Regulations, 1958 (Revocation) Regulations, 1974, following its removal in the civil service in July 1973.[48] In Northern Ireland, the marriage bar that applied from the admission of women as members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary in 1943, had been removed in 1968, and the first married member to join was a retired policewoman who had retired on marriage and re-joined in May 1969.[49] In England women who married had been permitted to remain members of the force since 1946.[50] The marriage bar had been waived for policewomen during the Second World War. Louise Jackson has written that while it may not have been required of women to resign on marriage subsequent to 1946, 'it was clearly expected that women officers should leave on marriage, particularly if their husbands were policemen'.[51]

The marriage bar that existed up to 1974, and the social convention of women's withdrawal from full-time work following marriage, contributed to sustain a low average age among women members of the Garda during the 1960s and 1970s. Jackson has noted that the marriage bar that applied in the RUC between 1943 and 1968 functioned to create a young age profile and that 62 per cent of the women left within five years.[52] The police generally place a high value on experience, and regard professional police experience as the best source to inform professional discretion. The autobiographical writings of Gardaí suggest that the value of experience was shared in the Irish police, and is often referred to as 'common sense', which some may only acquire through experience.[53]

However, it ought to be remarked that the specialist role assigned to Ban Ghardaí in the police response to, and investigation of, serious crime, often conferred acute professional experience on young

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[46] Commissioner to Assistant Commissioner 'B', 13 Jun. 1959 (G.A., B.1545/58).
[47] N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150.
[48] N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150.
[49] Cameron, *Women in green*, p. 70.
[50] Edith Tancred, *Women Police 1914-1950* (London, 1951) p. 32.
[51] Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 54
[52] Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 60
[53] Doyle, *Get up them steps*, pp 18, 119; Idem, *Peaks and valleys*, p. 196; O'Carroll, *The Sheriff*, pp 62, 90; Devitt, *Never Bet*, pp 60, 114.

members of low rank. One woman who joined the Garda in 1960 recalled in 1995 that 'in those early days' of women in the Garda, 'Ban Gardaí, even when recruits, were called on to participate in the investigation of serious crimes 'because women were involved in those crimes and in those days it was usually as the victim'. Another woman who joined in 1973 said that: 'There were so few women in the force when I joined that you sometimes got the unofficial opportunity of working with the Drugs Squad, the Photographic Section, the Crime Prevention Unit or whatever.'[54] The description of such work as 'unofficial' is salient. While some women members were assigned to work with specialist units on a consistent basis, detective status and the attendant financial allowances were not extended to women members who were engaged whole-time on such work, as will be discussed below.

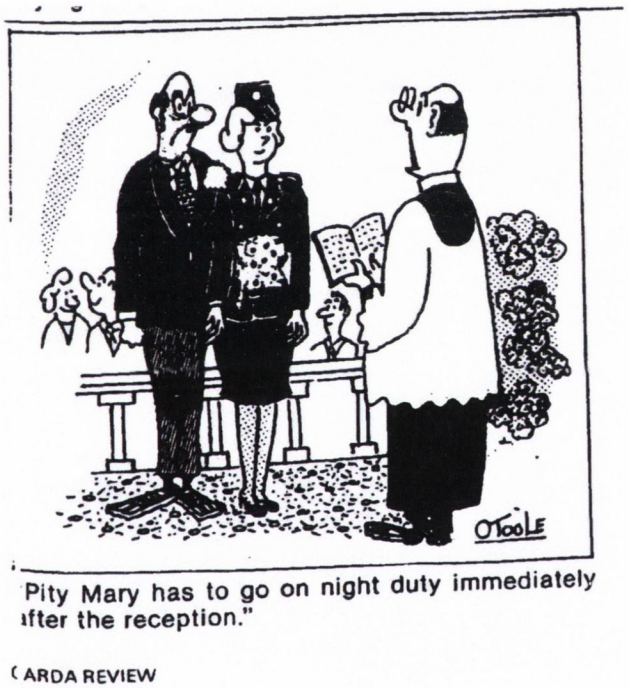

Figure 25: Married women were permitted to remain members of the Garda from 1974.[55]

When the Garda Bill was under consideration in the Dáil, one Deputy told the Minister that 'You might waste your time training them and then find they get married,' and wondered, 'Or will you prevent them getting married?'[56] In providing for the recruitment and training of policewomen, the Minister for Justice had remarked that: 'The marriage hazard is one of the things we have to accept.' Research to

[54] *Garda Journal*, (March 1995) pp 6-7.
[55] *Garda Review*, Dec. 1985, p. 27.
[56] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, clxviii, 628 (22 May 1958)

date suggests that despite the revocation of the marriage 'bar', the 'hazard' prevailed: the resignation of women members attributed to marriage remained high. Marriage remained the single greatest factor to precipitate the retirement of female members. It accounted for the resignation of all four Ban Ghardaí who resigned in 1976. Marriage was attributed as the reason for the retirement or resignation of forty-five of the total cohort of 143 policewomen recruited between 1958 and 1979.[57]

Status of women: Ban Ghardaí and promotion

Although the Conroy Commission of 1970 did not comment on the high attrition rate of Ban Ghardaí, it did address the matter of promotion. As noted above, the small number of female members was cited by Department authorities and supported by the Conroy Commission as a basis for the non-appointment of any woman above inspector rank. The actual strength of the Garda in February 1969 was 6,546 officers and men, of whom 4,986 were Gardaí and 102 were Inspectors, a ratio of approximately one Inspector to every fifty Gardaí.[58] A Bean Garda was quoted anonymously in a 1972 newspaper article about the position of women in the Garda, which contended that 'A Ban Garda's only real hope of promotion is when a Woman Sergeant marries and leaves the force.'[59] The first Bean Garda, Mary Browne, was accorded that listing because she had achieved the highest mark among female candidates in the entrance examination. She was among the first promotions to the rank of Ban Sergeant in May 1961.[60] Promotion regulations were waived to facilitate the promotion of selected members to Bean Sergeant rank up to April 1963, from which date the requirement to pass an exam in educational subjects and police duties and satisfy the Irish-language proficiency test applied to candidates for promotion to Bean Sergeant.[61]An important factor in promotion was the policy that a Ban Sergeant be based at Cork and at Limerick, the only districts outside Dublin where Ban Ghardaí were stationed. By 1976 Ban Gardaí operated at Galway and Waterford without a Bean Sergeant in either of those districts, as illustrated in Table 3 above.

The first women to achieve Bean Inspector rank were: Sarah McGuinness and Phyllis Nolan in 1981. Nolan was the first Bean Superintendent on her promotion in 1989. Both women had been promoted to

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[57]*Irish Times*, 25 Jun. 1996.
[58]*Conroy Report*, para.135, p. 25.
[59]*Irish Independent*, 16 Mar. 1972.
[60]*Irish Press*, 18 May 1961. Bean Sgt Browne resigned in Oct. 1962 on her marriage to another member of the Garda, Noel Gilmartin. She died in Jun. 2011.
[61]N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150.

Bean Sergeant early in their police careers: McGuinness in 1961, and Nolan in 1962; both after just two years' service. Inspector rank was regarded as a transitional position before appointment to Superintendent, and the appointment of a female inspector also raised issues of rank hierarchy and female seniority of rank over the mass of the Garda. Ten years after their admission as members of the Garda, 'the idea of Ban Garda officers having jurisdiction over men in the force was considered highly amusing by senior Garda officers,' wrote Mary McCutchan of the *Irish Independent*. One such officer was quoted to have said: 'I doubt that could ever happen.'[62]

Implications of organisational policies

The organisational policies that obtained in the 1960s had pervasive effects. In addition to the 'marriage bar' and the lack of specialist status recognition for Ban Ghardaí as a group or as individuals, there was no pre-eminent woman of rank in the Garda. In Britain and in Northern Ireland, women of high rank are attributed as having been pivotal to the development and expansion of female participation in those forces.[63] Doreen Prissick, the Liverpool City Police Sergeant who served as specialist trainer and friendly adviser to the first group of Ban Ghardaí, might have approximated that role had she been engaged by the Garda subsequent to the completion of training of the first group of Ban Ghardaí. Four more Ban Ghardaí were appointed on 23 June 1960, and another eight on 14 December. On 2 May 1962 a further eight candidates were appointed. The interview board that considered the first batch of applicants in 1959 included Dr Russell, a woman, and Barbara de Vitré, Assistant Inspector of Constabulary at the Home Office in London and a champion of women in policing in Britain. While the recruitment of women by the Garda continued in the early 1960s, no experienced policewoman was engaged in the selection process between Prissick's return to England and the assignment of a Bean Sergeant as a member of the interview board from 1966 onwards.

A professional female presence on Garda interview boards in the early 1960s was retained, but the role was fulfilled by a hospital matron, Miss M.C. Prunty of the Adelaide Eye and Ear Hospital, and an air hostess supervisor, Miss Blake of Aer Lingus.[64] These women had lesser professional status than those who had sat on the initial board, and obviously lacked any direct police experience. Neither of these women were available to participate as interview board members in early 1966, and in the case of Aer

[62] *Irish Independent*, 20 Feb. 1969.
[63] Stanley, *Profile of Barbara Mary Denis de Vitré*; Cameron, *Women in Green*.
[64] Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner, Jun. 1964 (G.A., B.1499/64).

Lingus, this was attributed to a decision by the employer against the participation of its staff.[65] An Acting Matron at St Laurence's Hospital, Miss J. O'Neill, agreed to serve on the board. It was stated that Costigan's successor, Commissioner William Quinn, 'would like to see a second lady on the board', and the Garda approached the state public transport authority, Córas Iompar Éireann (C.I.E.) to achieve this. Miss Joyce Duffy, a 'Sales & Training Officer' of C.I.E., joined Miss O'Neill as the second woman on the board. In May 1966 the Commissioner concurred with the suggestion of the Deputy Commissioner and directed that 'a selected Ban Sergeant should as a matter of future policy be appointed to assist the Selection Board instead of calling on outside assistance.'[66]

On the job: selected criminal case-work

The history of women in the Garda may be vivified by an analysis of the controversial exploits of their first ten years of their operation. These were: the Dunnes Stores affair of 1964-69, a 'sting' against kerb-crawling in Dublin in 1964, and two murder cases trials that involved female defendants: Kathleen Clogher, and Margaret Feehan; both of whom were eventually acquitted. These episodes precipitated widely-reported court proceedings in which the actual work of Ban Ghardaí was described, often by the women themselves in open court. In the two Dublin controversies, reports stimulated wider debate about the nature of the role and the propriety of police practices. These episodes are treated here to inform an analysis of the operational and non-operational police functions that they discharged. The episodes to be treated here became the subject of public attention and generated controversy, and consequently, these episodes affected the policies and posture of the Garda. It is posited here that they are invaluable for the purpose of this chapter in examining the first generation of Ban Ghardaí, as they furnish sharply-drawn illustrations of their role and position that are congruent with other sources, such as generalised discussion and a local case study of Cork.

The Dunnes Stores case

Allegations of concerted theft by a group of young female shop workers at Dunnes Stores led to a series of court hearings between 1964 and 1967. These cases were extensively reported on by the Dublin press. The reported proceedings suggested that regulations that prohibited second employment by

[65]'Appointment of Ban Ghardaí to the Force - 1966 (G.A., B.301/66).
[66]Appointment of Ban Ghardaí to the Force - 1966 (G.A., B.301/66).

policemen had been flouted by two Gardaí. The reports also produced an unfavourable impression of the treatment of young female suspects by these two men, and a Bean Garda colleague. Prosecutions for larceny were made against eight young female employees of Dunnes Stores at Dublin District Court in April-May 1964, and six girls were tried at the Central Criminal Court from April 1965 to 1967. Several of the young women repudiated statements taken at Dunnes Stores by Detective Sergeant Culloty, Garda Jeremiah Molloy, and Bean Garda Deirdre O'Reilly. The girls gave evidence that they had been compelled to undergo interrogation and to sign statements without being informed of their rights. One of the girls, Betty Dillon, took a counter-action against two Gardaí, Dunnes Stores, and two directors of Dunnes Stores. Dillon alleged that she had been falsely imprisoned at the store by them while the alleged theft was investigated. Dillon was awarded £5,000 by the High Court, but this decision was successfully appealed by to the Supreme Court.

While the Supreme Court ruled against Betty Dillon, the episode was damaging to the Garda. It was revealed that two members, Culloty and Molloy, had breached Garda regulations through their private employment as 'floor-walkers' at the time of their official investigation of theft at the Georges Street store. Culloty and Garda authorities initially invoked legal privilege, but this was subsequently waived, and a circular issued in 1964 that prohibited members from engaging in 'outside occupations' was read to the Central Criminal Court in January 1967.[67] The assignment of Culloty to investigate a complaint by Dunnes suggested that senior Garda authorities had acceded to a specific request to that effect from Dunnes, or that Garda authorisation was given retrospectively to what had been the initiative of the two part-time 'floor-walkers'.[68] Culloty was censured for the breach of regulations, transferred from Dublin to Ballinspittle, Co. Cork in 1967, and died in April 1970 with substantial outstanding personal legal expenses.[69]

The involvement of Bean Garda Deirdre Mary O'Reilly in the affair is of particular relevance to this research. As a seventeen-year-old, the future Bean Garda's first employment had been at Dunnes Stores' Henry Street outlet. O'Reilly had not breached the regulation prohibiting second employment, since unlike Culloty and Molloy, she had not been employed by Dunnes but rather had been ordered by Culloty to assist in the investigation.[70] O'Reilly worked closely with the detective branch during this

[67] *Irish Press*, 14 Jan. 1967.
[68] *Irish Press*, 20 Jan. 1967.
[69] N.A.I., DF 2004/4/306.
[70] *Irish Press*, 11 Jan. 1967.

period. She accompanied a Detective Garda to arrest a woman in London in September 1963.[71] She participated in the undercover investigation of an unlicensed dance club in September 1965.[72] She was at the Central Detective Unit office at Dublin Castle when Culloty telephoned and directed her to join him at Dunnes Stores, where she attended in plainclothes. She assisted in interviewing and taking statements from workers there over two successive days. Despite her role in the interrogations she was not included in Dillon's case for false imprisonment. However, her evidence on a specific point by which her departure from the store one evening could be reckoned was strongly challenged by lawyers for the shop workers.

When questioned about the propriety of a Garda engaging in private employment, O'Reilly made recourse to the concept of the organisational distinctiveness of the Ban Ghardaí. She told the Central Criminal Court that 'she thought the rule about gardaí accepting part-time employment applied only to male members of the force', although she later conceded that 'her opinion was that she would not be entitled to take up employment in Dunnes Stores' while employed by the Garda.[73] The description of O'Reilly's role in newspaper reports of the trials suggest that she had assumed a sisterly posture to the young women. She described how the girls confided in her of their shame at the wrong-doing at the store, and their concern as to how relations and boyfriends would react if they were to hear of the involvement of the girls in theft. In the District Court, defendant Marie Nolan denied that she had told Bean Garda O'Reilly 'that she was engaged and that if her boy friend heard about this he would break it off'.[74] Margaret Whelan said that O'Reilly 'told [her] that her boyfriend had been on the telephone looking for her and she had told him she (witness) was working late'.[75] Another defendant, Marie Ryan, testified that O'Reilly 'asked what she was going to tell her parents. She suggested: 'You could say you were working late.'[76] O'Reilly presented herself differently to shop workers than the two Garda part-time store detectives. Her reported attitude towards the young women differed perceptibly from the brusque authoritative references of her colleagues. It was alleged the Culloty had referred to the necessity of taking the women into custody and placing them under observation, and that these references caused the young women distress. It would seem that O'Reilly sustained the perception that to be taken to a Garda station, or for one's family home to be visited by a Garda, was a fearful prospect.

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[71] *Irish Press*, 17 Sept. 1963.
[72] *Irish Press*, 15 Sept. 1966.
[73] *Irish Press*, 11 Jan. 1967.
[74] *Irish Press*, 28 Apr. 1964.
[75] *Irish Independent*, 24 Jan. 1967.
[76] *Irish Press*, 25 Jan. 1967.

This instance indicated how a young policewoman might distinguish herself from male colleagues as a police stratagem, and suggested the deference to rank that was fundamental to the working identity of almost all policewomen, whose role in the interview process was circumscribed. It also suggests that the role of a Bean Garda towards a female suspect could be highly ambiguous: an alternative to the policemen, yet manifestly a member of the police.

The Clogher murder case

That facility to assume closeness with female suspects was also suggested by disclosures made to Ban Ghardaí by a suspect in a murder investigation. A forty-nine year old farmer George Clogher, died suddenly at his farm in Co. Roscommon on 28 December soon after he had eaten a meal prepared by his sister, Kathleen (Kate) Clogher, who lived with him at the farm. A friend of the deceased, Patrick Kelly, with whom he had eaten on the evening of his death, died in Birmingham on 17 January.[77] The Gardaí had maintained a presence at the Clogher household for a protracted period before Kate Clogher was charged with the murder and taken into custody. Two Ban Ghardaí remained continuously with Clogher for over three weeks before she was arrested and charged with murder in early February.[78] Reporters at the farmhouse noted the rotation of pairs of Ban Ghardaí at the farmhouse.[79] 'The Gardaí and especially the girls are here with me every day and almost every night,' Clogher told the press, 'but they are very nice.'[80]

The prosecution case against Kate Clogher opened with evidence of her comments to Ban Ghardaí. Bean Garda Mary O'Reilly testified that on returning from mass with her, Clogher said to her that it was possible that she had mistakenly shaken poison on the meal she prepared on the night of her brother's death. 'I will surely hang now,' she said to the Bean Garda, who she asked to pray for her. The same night around midnight Clogher repeated to Bean Garda Teresa Feeney that she might have shaken poison on the meal.[81] Written statements taken by a Detective Sergeant prior to these oral statements to the Ban Ghardaí were challenged by the defence on the basis that they had not been made

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[77] *Roscommon Champion*, 2 Feb. 1963.
[78] *Irish Independent*, 7 May 1963.
[79] *Irish Press*, 11 Jan. 1963.
[80] *Irish Press*, 16 Jan. 1963.
[81] *Irish Independent*, 7 May 1963.

voluntarily, and one of them was ruled inadmissible.[82] Clogher's comments to Ban Ghardaí days later were not disputed by her lawyers and were acknowledged by her under cross-examination on the final day of the trial.[83]

The kerb-crawling 'sting'

In 1964 a minor but dramatic controversy was caused by the deployment of Ban Ghardaí in plain clothes in a 'sting' operation against kerb-crawlers in Dublin.[84] The covert work of the Ban Ghardaí against kerb crawlers came to public notice through prosecutions by the Garda at Dublin District Court on 20 March against a number of men alleged to have propositioned Ban Ghardaí in plain clothes for the purpose of prostitution. The plain clothes Ban Ghardaí walked along Merrion Square and Nassau Street, streets where soliciting was known to have occurred at that time, and reported that men in cars asked them: 'How much?'; if they 'Wanted any lolly?'; had 'Any suggestions?'; or whether they would 'come with me for about 15 minutes?'.'[85] The *Irish Times* reported that: 'When the Ban Gardaí were being approached, Det-Sergeant James Walsh arrived.' Walsh was described in the *Irish Independent* as being 'in charge of the vice squad at College Station'. The men were convicted with using insulting words and behaviour, likely to have lead to a breach of the peace. Only one Dublin newspaper named the five men convicted.

The episode prompted letters to the *Irish Times*, an editorial article in that paper, and questions to the Minister for Justice in the Dáil the next month. The leader-writer perceived 'an insult to our womanhood' that 'in Ireland the State uses girls to act as decoys for randy men'.[86] Protection of the policewomen was the basis of the concerns of critics of the tactic, one of whom described the Ban Ghardaí as being 'from a very different environment indeed'.[87] Rather than city workers who had performed a role-play, these analyses treated the Ban Ghardaí as vulnerable country girls. It was suggested that the women: 'while acting as nothing other than prostitutes, could easily have been seen by people who knew them who could go back to their native villages and say that they were just

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[82] *Irish Independent*, 9 May 1963.
[83] *Irish Press*, 11 May 1963.
[84] Ivana Bacik, *Kicking and screaming: dragging Ireland into the 21st century* (Dublin, 2004); Ita Gannon, *Prostitution: the oldest male crime* (Dublin, 1980). I am grateful to Ms Giulia Ní Dhulchaointigh for sharing her work on this episode.
[85] *Irish Times*, 21 Mar. 1964; *Irish Independent*, 21 Mar. 1964.
[86] *Irish Times*, 25 Mar. 1964.
[87] *Irish Times*, 25 Mar. 1964.

prostitutes in the streets of Dublin.'[88] Minister for Justice, Charles Haughey was emphatic that the Ban Ghardaí that had been deployed 'had explicit instructions that it was essential that they should not give anybody passing-by any reason to think that they were women of easy virtue but that they should represent the average respectable girl walking along the street'. Haughey justified the action on the basis that 'numerous complaints' had been made to the Gardaí, but that, 'for various reasons, however, many of those affected would be unable to give evidence that would sustain a conviction.'[89] One letter writer to the *Irish Times* recounted that she had been accosted in the same area the preceding month despite the presence of apparent prostitutes soliciting nearby and her appearance bearing shopping and books.[90]

Policing prostitution

Policing on-street soliciting by prostitutes was listed by police authorities among the duties they expected policewomen would fulfil. In 1948, the Deputy Commissioner with responsibility for the D.M.D. included 'the detection of prostitutes loitering and soliciting for purposes of prostitution' among the duties for which women police had been intended, but which could not be fulfilled at that time.[91] A list of prospective duties for women compiled by the Garda in 1959 listed: 'Prostitution, procurement, living on immoral earnings, brothel keeping, prostitutes on licensed premises' as second to attending to victims of sexual crime.[92] However, it appears that the street-walking sting of 1964 was exceptional, and that besides that episode, Ban Ghardaí were not deployed for the purpose of policing on-street soliciting during the 1960s or 1970s. In March 1976 it was 'ascertained from the Commissioner's Office that, although duties connected with offences involving women are assigned to Ban-Ghardai, Ban-Ghardai do not normally deal with prostitutes. It has happened that Ban-Ghardai have, on occasion, been used on this duty but normally it is the Anti-Vice Squad (males) who deal with prostitutes.'[93]

'Prostitution' as a sub-category of non-indictable offence in the Garda Commissioner's annual *Report on Crime* was discontinued in 1958 and did not re-appear until 1974. It had been reported that 84 persons were prosecuted for 'prostitution' in 1957, and the number of persons prosecuted in 1974 was 70.

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[88] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, ccviii, 1204, (8 Apr. 1964). The questioner was Mr J.R. Leneghan, T.D. (Ind.).
[89] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, ccviii, 1204 (8 Apr. 1964).
[90] *Irish Times*, 31 Mar. 1964.
[91] G.A., History of policy on the first female members.
[92] N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150.
[93] N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150.

Following its reappearance, the number of persons proceeded against for prostitution increased substantially during the period 1976 - 1984. The statistic was subject to pronounced fluctuations during those years, but on average, over 340 persons were proceeded against each year, 1976 - 1984 inclusive.[94] In the absence of clear statistics as to the number of recorded offences or persons prosecuted during the period 1958-1973 inclusive, recourse may be made to the number of committals to prison on a yearly basis for prostitution, as presented in the *Annual Report on Prisons* compiled by the Department of Justice.[95] Most women convicted of prostitution would only have served a prison sentence in default of a fine payment, so the number of those committed to prison for such offences is a substantial understatement of the total number proceeded against. Furthermore, the 1960s were a decade of general affluence in which women convicted of the offence were more likely to pay the fine levied on them and so avoid imprisonment. The number of women imprisoned as prostitutes never exceeded 28 in any one year during the period 1955-75. Nonetheless, the reported number of prison committals for this offence suggests that a sustained increase in prosecutions occurred in the mid-1960s (1963-68). So, although the Garda continued to prosecute women for soliciting, and indeed appear to have sustained an increased level of prosecutions during the mid-1960s, the Ban Ghardaí had only a brief involvement in 'vice' work. This is all the more noteworthy since historically, recorded prostitution was a metropolitan phenomenon and Ban Ghardaí were based in the major cities by the mid-1960s. Detailed statistics for the entire State and for the Dublin Metropolitan Area for 1947-'49 indicate that virtually all of the offences recorded originated in the D.M.A.[96]

Dáil Debates illustrate that the non-deployment of Ban Gardaí on a consistent basis in the policing of prostitution was remarked upon. Seán Moore T.D. (F.F.) was a member of Dublin City Council since 1950, and had served as Lord Mayor in 1963-64.[97] As argued in the previous chapter, the support of the Council for the entry of women to the police was instrumental to the adoption of the policy by Government. Moore was well-placed to form an assessment as to how the deployment of the Ban Gardaí had met the objectives of those who had lobbied for the Garda Act of 1958. 'We must admit,' he said in July 1967,'that we have a grave problem in regard to prostitution and the ban-Ghardaí could help in solving it.' Moore told the Dáil:

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[94]Figures based on Garda Commissioner's annual *Report on Crime*, also summarised in O'Donnell, O'Sullivan & Healy, *Crime and Punishment in Ireland 1922 to 2003: A Statistical Sourcebook* (Dublin, 2005) pp 112-8.
[95]Department of Justice, *Annual report on prisons* [1929-97] (Dublin, *various*).
[96]N.A.I., AG 2002/17/25.
[97]Moore sat in the Dáil for Dublin South-East, 1965-82 (Oireachtas Éireann, *Members Database 1919-2002*).

> I have not been too happy about the position of the ban-Ghardaí in this city. Many years ago Dublin City Council petitioned the Minister to establish this Force and we had in mind that they would do social work among women who needed help. It makes me very annoyed at times to see ban-Ghardaí patrolling and doing ordinary police duty, for which they were not established, while at the same time we have a grave problem in regard to many young people who get into trouble.[98]

Prostitution in Dublin was treated on R.T.E. television's 'Late Late Show' in March 1976, and policing the problem was the subject of representations made directly to the Minister for Justice in 1977 by an unnamed 'public representative' for Dublin South-East. In May 1977, Moore asked the Minister to 'consider the expansion of the numerical strength of the Ban Gardai in the Dublin City area with a view to dealing more adequately with the problem of women who are charged or suspected of soliciting'. In response, Cooney said that 'extra gardai - that is, male gardaí - were recently assigned to this work', and told the Dáil 'there is at least a serious doubt about the proposition that Ban Ghardaí can be of more assistance in curbing it than male Gardaí'.[99] These developments coincided with the sharp increase in prosecutions for 'prostitution' reported by the Garda Commissioner and remarked on above. Similar dissatisfaction to that raised by Moore in 1967 was raised by Deputy Justin Keating of Labour in 1979, when he asked 'Would the Minister consider it unusual that a squad dealing almost exclusively with women apparently is staffed full-time exclusively by men?' Minister Gerry Collins told Keating that there were 'no ban-ghardaí assigned full-time to the unit [unofficially referred to as the 'vice squad'], but ban-ghardaí do of course assist the unit from time to time.'[100]

Other undercover and plain clothes work

One correspondent to the newspaper letter pages following the kerb-crawling 'sting' related that episode to 'an incident in the law court some time ago in which members of a club were prosecuted for holding a public dance without a dance licence'. The writer, who signed himself 'solicitor', recounted that a Garda and a Bean Garda in plainclothes had presented themselves at the event and asked an organiser if they could be admitted to the dance as friends of his, to which he agreed.[101] The admittance of non-members to such an event without a public licence was against the law. The use of a plainclothes

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[98] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, ccxxix, 1296. (5 Jul, 1967).
[99] Memo for Minister for Justice for parliamentary question from Seán Moore, T.D., for answer 5 May 1976 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).
[100] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, cccxv, 2588 (17 Jul. 1979).
[101] *Irish Times*, 31 Mar. 1964.

mixed-sex couples appears to have been a regular mode of investigation. A similar case was successfully prosecuted by the Garda in Dublin District Court in September 1966, in which Ban Ghardaí Deirdre O'Reilly and Mary C. Garvey had participated as purported 'beat' club goers.[102] The popularity of 'Beat' clubs, where disc jockeys played records, was a subject of public controversy and Garda criticism in the mid-1960s when they were a feature of most cities and some large towns. 'Unlike dancehalls, beat clubs were members clubs and therefore were not licensed under the Public Dancehalls Act.'[103]

A record of duties performed by the Ban Gharda corps at Store Street for a week in the summer of 1968, included in this chapter as Appendix I, listed one of the Ban Ghardaí, 'C[atherine] M. Barry', as 'Specially employed, C.D.U. [Central Detective Unit]' on four of the seven days, 12-18 August 1968.[104] In addition to Bean Garda Barry, others such as Deirdre O'Reilly, were regularly engaged in plainclothes work.[105] Short newspaper reports of prosecutions that resulted from observation and action by Ban Gardaí of at least one man with numerous convictions for theft suggest that they often patrolled in Dublin in plain clothes. Ban Gardaí Charlotte McCarthy and Deirdre O'Reilly were commended following the successful prosecution of Thomas Mills, who had numerous previous convictions for larceny, having kept Mills under observation in Grafton Street for some time before they arrested him.[106] A 1964 report said that Bean Sergeant Sarah McGuinness kept the same man under observation on Henry Street until she 'noticed Mills had his hand on the woman's handbag and she contacted a garda, who arrested him'.[107] Although neither report specified that the Ban Gardaí were in plain clothes on these occasions, it is probable that had they been in uniform Mills, who was an experienced Dublin thief, would have noticed them and desisted. In the mid-1950s, Woman Assistant Mary Barrins participated in the continual observation of Mills, which resulted in a successful prosecution. In retirement, a former Bean Garda recalled that in the 1960s in Dublin she and her colleagues undertook a substantial amount of surveillance work. 'We lost out because until 1973 we were not eligible for appointment to the position of Detective despite the fact that we operated in plain clothes. However we could arrest people on the

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[102] *Irish Times*, 15 Sept. 1966.
[103] Carole Holohan, 'Challenges to social order and Irish identity? Youth culture in the sixties' in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxviii, 151 (May 2013), p. 401.
[104] See Appendix I.
[105] *Irish Times*, 3 Feb. 1970.
[106] *Irish Independent*, 30 Nov. 1962.
[107] *Irish Press*, 10 Mar. 1964.

street and walk them down to the station without any of the hassle there is now.'[108] In fact it was not until 1980 that a woman was accorded detective status, as discussed below.

A specialist, plainclothes investigative role opened to women towards the end of the 1960s in the early years of the Garda 'drugs squad'. A parliamentary working party on drugs endorsed this probationary placement by recommending that a Bean Garda be attached to an expanded drugs squad.[109] A Bean Garda was first assigned to work whole-time as a detective in a probationary capacity in Dublin in September 1969. The first woman assigned to full-time detective work was assigned to the drugs squad.[110] At least one case of young women involved in the sale of drugs in pubs and nightclubs was proven by the Garda in 1968.[111] The girls were eighteen-year-old neighbours from Coolock and were both in employment. One of them had stolen drugs, syringes and needles from her place of work. In August 1971, the drugs squad section of the Special Detective Unit at Dublin Castle was described as the smallest of three specialised sections in the unit, but it was reported to have included a 'detective ban garda'.[112] This role was a major development of the established function of female searcher that the Ban Ghardaí continued to fulfil. Bean Garda Maura O'Byrne deposed in February 1963 how she had searched a female defendant: 'I took of all her clothes & searched them inside out, her stockings, her shoes etc.', before discreetly adding: 'I searched every part of her that I should.'[113]

The Bean Garda that worked whole-time with the Central Detective Unit was not accorded formal detective rank status, as female members were not considered eligible to be designated the rank of detective. Although it did not carry a higher basic rate of pay, detective members received additional allowances to uniform members and enhanced their long-term promotion prospects. 'As regards the assignment of women to Detective work,' wrote a Justice official in May 1975, 'it has not been the policy to appoint them to the Detective Branch; from time to time Ban Ghardaí have been detailed for plain clothes duty, but the need for a permanent appointment of a Bean Garda to the Branch has not arisen.'[114]Although women did fulfil full-time detective duties, they were 'not considered for promotion

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[108]*Garda Review*, Nov. 1995, p. 27.
[109]*Irish Press*, 5 Nov. 1969.
[110]*Irish Times*, 3 Feb. 1970.
[111]*Cork Examiner*, 7 Nov. 1968.
[112]*Irish Times*, 12 Aug. 1971.
[113] Deposition of Bean Garda Maura O'Byrne, State Files at Circuit Court Dublin, No. 101 of Feb. 1963 (N.A.I., 1C-96-152).
[114]N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150. There were no female members of higher rank than Bean Sergeant at this time.

within the main stream - they are promoted only within the Ban Garda Unit itself and the no. of Ban Sergeants (or higher rank) depends on the strength of the Unit.'[115]

A report in the *Garda Review* in 1976 about 'the case of the Bean Garda who has worked with the Drug Squad since 1970', suggested that she had become dissatisfied with her position relative to her colleagues because, according to the *Review*: 'Her duties were in every respect similar to those of the male members of that very active and hard working unit, but while they all were paid detective allowance she was not.'[116] The subsequent edition referred to the 'special loss' the Garda was to sustain due to the intended resignation of an unnamed Bean Garda who had 'worked for the past seven years at a very specialised Garda job but has never been given either the appropriate allowances or the security of tenure in her special appointment which apply to her male colleagues'.[117] The report said the Bean Garda attributed her resignation to poor career prospects 'should she remain with us'. Notices of resignations in the subsequent months included the resignations of two Ban Ghardaí based at Pearse Street: 'Fogarty, B., 00044B'; and 'Regan, J., 00043D'; either of whom may have been the woman whose resignation was discussed in the January and February editions.[118] Another Bean Garda, Margaret Loughnane, was appointed to the Drugs Squad in mid-1977, 'having worked occasionally for the unit while stationed at Pearse Street, Dublin'.[119] It was reported that she performed 'the same duty stints as the men, and once a month she works a week of nights ending at 3a.m.'. The first Bean Garda accorded detective rank was Catherine Clancy in 1980, who retired in 2008 as an Assistant Commissioner.[120]

Uniform foot-patrol

Although a substantial proportion of their work was done in plain clothes, Ban Ghardaí participated regularly in city-centre day-time street patrol and traffic duty in Cork, and to a lesser extent, in Dublin.[121] One of the first recruits remembered that in 1960 she and a colleague on foot patrol in uniform on O'Connell Street constituted a striking novelty: 'We were walking along and traffic slowed down and

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[115]N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150.
[116]*Garda Review*, Jan. 1976, p. 4.
[117]*Garda Review*, Feb. 1976, p4.
[118]*Garda Review*, Apr. 1976, p. 11; and May 1976, p. 11.
[119]*Irish Press*, 28 Jun. 1978.
[120]*Irish Times*, 13 Dec. 1980; *Sunday Times* (Ireland), 14 Sept. 2003; *Evening Herald*, 5 Sept. 2008; *Communiqué: An Garda Síochána Management Journal* (Dec. 2009), p. 22
[121]Only one tour of duty by one of the Store Street policewomen for 12-16 Aug. inclusive was listed as 'Beat Patrol', while it is probable that the Ban Sergeant listed 'Plain Clothes' every day performed plainclothes patrol duty. See Appendix I.

everything came to a standstill. At the windows by the Savoy and the Gresham Hotel there were people looking out. In our innocence we approached a guard and asked him, 'What's going on?' He said 'Would you go away from me, for heaven's sake, it's yourselves they're looking at.'[122] Yet by the end of the decade, a national newspaper feature writer could assert that: 'Pairs of uniformed women patrolling the streets of our large cities have become a familiar sight.'[123]

Irish Independent On the Beat. *Dublin*

Figure 26: Bean Sergeant Sarah McGuinness 'on the beat'.[124]

[122] *Garda Review*, Jul./Aug. 2009. See also: *Cork Examiner*, 10 Jul. 2009.
[123] *Irish Independent*, 19 Feb. 1969.
[124] Photo by an *Irish Independent* photographer, published in the *Irish Housewife*.

It was during this decade that electronic traffic light signals were introduced in the main streets of Irish cities. Prior to the advent of electronic traffic lights, members of the Garda were probably most conspicuous in cities when they performed as 'pointsmen' standing at the centre of busy junctions, wearing white gloves, managing the movement of vehicular traffic and pedestrians. 'Point duty' was probably perceived by city dwellers as the primary service fulfilled by the Garda. A photographer attended to capture the first occasion Ban Ghardaí performed point duty in March 1960 at Nelson's Pillar 'for a short period'.[125] A photograph of Sarah McGuinness performing point duty on O'Connell Street, shows several passers-by regarding her and suggests the visual impact of a policewoman in uniform (Figure 29, below). There was initial hesitation as to whether Ban Ghardaí ought to be assigned this duty, but they did perform it and, in Cork at least, the performance of at least one Cork Bean Garda drew complimentary public attention.

A holiday crowd watches a policewoman direct the traffic in O'Connell street, Dublin.

Figure 27: *Irish Times* photograph, published 18 June 1960.

[125] *Irish Press*, 5 Mar. 1960.

Although the sight of Ban Ghardaí in uniform on the streets of Irish cities was commonplace by the end of the 1960s, they continued to command attention and to excite a reaction from pedestrians. In 1970, Mary Cummins of the *Irish Times* reported that while walking from Store Street station with uniformed Bean Sergeant Sarah McGuinness, 'we got several second looks and a startling variety of inquiries'.[126] Bríd Wymbs (sworn-in 1959, retired as Sergeant in 1993) recalled: 'Women used to come up and talk to us on the streets and say they were delighted to see us, but it took a long time for people to get used to seeing women in uniform.'[127] The assertion of full police powers by uniformed women in busy central shopping streets was an undoubted change. These uniformed foot-patrol Ban Ghardaí were often the first to respond to the apprehension of a suspected shop-lifter in a retail store. They came upon parked vehicles parked causing obstructions. They also intervened in minor disputes on the street, and sometimes asserted police powers in doing so, as indicated by prosecutions for skipping bus queues.[128]

Ban Ghardaí and public relations

In addition to their conspicuous on-street presence in some urban areas, the public profile of the Ban Gardaí was cultivated by their performance of public relations work. A strong public curiosity was manifest in newspaper feature articles about them and the work they performed. That curiosity was met with varying degrees of access. The writer of a two-part feature about policewomen for the *Irish Independent* noted that she 'wasn't able to get permission to talk to Ban Gardaí about their feelings on their jobs because, the Commissioner told me: 'It is a long established rule not to give approval to the publicising of any particular members of the force.'[129] However, it appears that selected Ban Ghardaí were assigned public relations work.

Sarah McGuinness, Deirdre Killeen, and Catherine Barry, were among those who featured as a central subject in occasional features about Ban Ghardaí and their work. The record of duty presented by McGuinness to the Conroy Commission showed that Barry spent two days that week at a 'crime prevention exhibition' in Dundalk.[130] Public curiosity about the women is evident from these features, partly satisfied by the attention given to their county and place of origin, and in a few more extensive

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[126] *Irish Times*, 3 Feb. 1970.
[127] *Garda Review* (Jul./Aug. 2009) p. 12.
[128] Case numbers 798-9 of 13 Jan. 1972; and 1849 of 27 Jan. 1972, prosecuted by Bean Garda Renée Ryan in Justice's Minute Book, Cork District, Cork District Court, Jan. 1972 (N.A.I., CSER/DC/CK/97/60/223).
[129] *Irish Independent,* 20 Feb. 1969, and 19 Feb. 1969.
[130] Appendix I: Record of duty performed.

cases, their family backgrounds and their publicly stated thoughts about their work role. In a 1964 newspaper interview, Bean Sergeant Sarah McGuinness suggested this mediatory, liaison function when she referred to the fact that no female member lived in barrack accommodation, and added: 'We mix more with the public, and we know what they are thinking and doing. We never really lose touch, and we can act as liaison officers a lot of the time'.[131]

This strategic deployment of Ban Ghardaí was an element in the use of television by the Garda. Deirdre Killeen, one of the first corps of Ban Ghardaí, appeared on the American game-show programme, 'What's my line', in which a panel of contestants had to guess the occupation of the guests.[132] Killeen had appeared as the subject of one of the short programmes in a series about the work of Irish women in uniform, 'My job and I: The Bean Garda', first broadcast in on R.T.E. television in January 1962.[133] Some female members later achieved prominence on Irish television as presenters of the 'Garda Patrol' programme, a weekly 10-minute-long programme that served as a public relations instrument for the police: 'As long as we are seen to keep our best foot forward, the general public know that we are there trying our best, offering advice on the one hand and asking for their assistance on the other.'[134] A Detective Sergeant involved in the production of the programme in the early 1980s emphasised that despite their numerical minority, at least one of the metaphorical 'feet' being put forward ought to be female: 'It is important to have a balance. Ideally we would like to have a man and a woman reading [as presenters] each week.'

The use of uniformed female employees as public representatives of brands and organisations was a feature of the early 1960s, and was particularly apparent in the field of travel and tourism. It may be remembered that Minister for Justice Oscar Traynor had anticipated that the careers of policewomen would be similarly short to those of 'air hostesses and other uniformed glamour girls'.[135] Air hostesses were the most prominent example of this, but companies other than airlines also sought to project young, uniformed, female workers as a 'selling feature' of their services. Uniformed female employees were prominent in commercial promotion in the 1960s.These women in uniform featured in

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[131] *Irish Times*, 30 Mar. 1964.
[132] This was an Irish-themed edition of the programme, first broadcast on 17 Mar. 1963 on C.B.S. television (U.S.A). Killeen was the second member to appear on the programme. Chief Supt. Henry O'Meara appeared on first broadcast on 26 Apr. 1959, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XpM_FhFQ-t0
[133] First broadcast 24 Jan. 1962, no extant copy (Television Archive, R.T.E.)
[134] See *Garda Review*, Oct. 1982, pp 16-9, 29.
[135] Note by Minister for Justice (Traynor) to secretary (Coyne), 18 Mar. 1958 (N.A.I., DJ 4/62/2).

advertisements for products indirectly, as advertisers sought to associate products with them and with the glamour and other values associated with them in the popular consciousness. The prominence accorded to Ban Ghardaí in public appearances may be partly attributed to this theme in the public relations strategy. Uniformed female employees were strongly associated with service-related occupations. The strategic use of uniformed policewomen by the Garda might be interpreted as an effort to project the image of a police *service*, and might be related to the preference against a 'military-type uniform' evinced by some Ban Ghardaí, as will be discussed below.

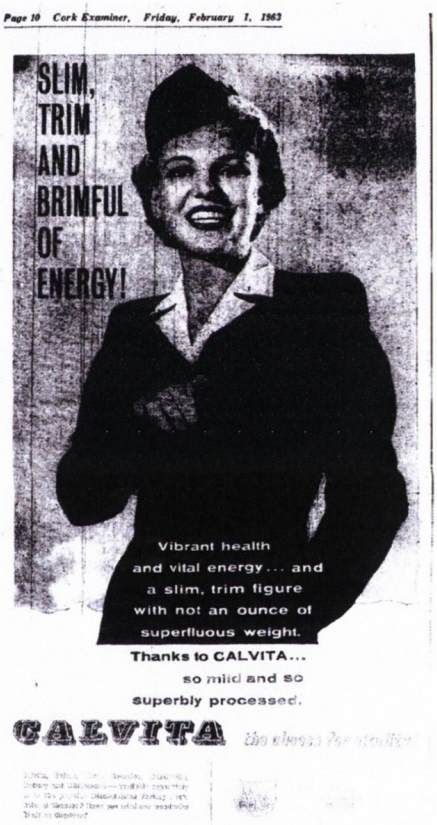

Figure 28: Uniformed female employees were considered chic and desirable.[136]

Agents of officialdom: the ethos of official respectability

A feature of their public professional personae was the espousal by several Ban Ghardaí of the markers of civic and social respectability historically associated with the Garda: the Pioneer 'pin' badge, and the

[136] *Cork Examiner*, 1 Feb. 1963.

fáinne [ring] badge. Special permission to wear these emblems was extended during O'Duffy's tenure as Commissioner, and they were characteristic of the ethos he had imbued in the Garda:

> The badge of total abstinence will be one of the decorations, and permission has been given the members to wear this distinction on their uniforms openly and publicly. It will be seen on their breasts with the Fáinne, the ring-symbol of the Irish speaker and the Irish Irelander. One can turn with confidence to the Guard on whose uniform these two emblems have pride of place.[137]

Figure 29: Bean Garda Helena Hayden passing out, wearing Pioneer 'pin' badge.[138]

Tim Leahy recalled from his training at the Depot in 1946 that members who passed the oral Irish exam were awarded a gold Fáinne and that all but three of his class became Pioneers.[139] A branch of the Association was based at the Depot, and the training officer [1950s-] Chief Superintendent O'Meara was a Pioneer.[140] The association featured among a number of societies and practices that demonstrated the conspicuous profile of organised religion in the force, referred to as organisations 'of which we may be proud':

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[137] Quoted [without further detail!] in Paul O'Mahony, *Criminal Chaos: seven crises in Irish criminal justice* (Dublin, 1996), p. 127.

[138] 'She is an outstanding recruit for she obtained the highest average of marks for a recruit, male or female, since 1952' (*Irish Times*, 5 Dec. 1959).

[139] Leahy, *Memoirs of a Garda Superintendent*, pp 65, 68.

[140] Garda Commissioner & O'Sullivan, *The Depot*, p. 210.

> 'We have our branch of St Joseph's Young Priests' Society, our branch of the Legion of Mary, our Catholic Obsequies Association, our Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, our annual Solemn Requiem Mass for our deceased members [...] a large Third Order membership and we have frequent week-end retreats organised within our ranks. We have the Dublin Metropolitan Police Sodality directed by the Jesuit Fathers at Gardiner Street and many religious functions directed by the Passionist Fathers at Mount Argus Retreat.'[141]

Several Ban Ghardaí were Pioneers, as is evident from photographs in which they are wearing the distinctively shaped badge on their uniforms.

Figure 30: 'Cork City's detachment of Ban Ghardaí march in the Pioneer rally in Bantry', 1965.[142]

A number of them also joined An Fáinne ['The Ring'], a scheme intended to encourage the speaking of Gaeilge (see Figure 33, below). Section 11 of the standard application form at the time the first women were recruited asked: 'Are you a member of An Fáinne?'[143] Membership of these organisations and the espousal of this ethos by young women had a particular valency in 1960s Ireland. During this period alcohol consumption increased, and the promoters of the Fáinne used newspaper display

[141] *Iris an Gharda*, Mar. 1958, pp 90-1.
[142] *Cork Examiner*, 14 Jun. 1965.
[143] G.A., B.1545/58.

advertisements to attract new members. In the late 1960s a press advertising campaign ran for An Fáinne Nua that featured a photograph of a young woman and postulated the appeal of the badge to 'the new generation'.[144] In 1963 the Pioneer Association publicly objected to what it regarded as the 'mis-use' of the Pioneer badge in a television drama. The Association regarded that the 'visual aid' of the badge had been used to denote the 'narrow-mindedness' of a particular character, 'strongly inclined to suspecting evil where it did not exist'.[145] The Association considered it necessary to publicly disavow 'that a pioneer was an extremist in British politics, and a prude to the point of making uncharitable judgments on others.' Along with continued references to the rural origins of the women, the adoption of the Pioneer pin and the Fáinne associated them in public perception with an establishment value system associated with a past era, and, in particular, associated them with the Garda as O'Duffy had sought to mould them.

Figure 31: 'Six Ban Gardaí get Fáinne', October 1961[146]

The Ban Ghardaí discharged a public relations role that was greatly disproportionate to their number and to their rank. Ban Ghardaí came to be deployed on public relations appearances in partnership with a male colleague. The Garda were involved in the promotion of Ireland internationally as a destination for tourists. It was anticipated in 1967 that 'the sight of a Garda and a Bean Garda directing traffic'

[144] *Cork Examiner*, 19 Nov. 1968.
[145] *Cork Examiner*, 22 Nov. 1963.
[146] *Irish Press*, 19 Oct.1961.

would 'cause a bit of a flap' in Paris, as part of a tourism promotion exercise by Bord Fáilte, the Irish tourism board.[147] Bean Garda Catherine Barry accompanied a male colleague who was a member of the specialist traffic section based at Dublin Castle on this trip. No Bean Garda completed the motor-cycle driving course, a requirement for a Garda motorcyclist, until 1984.[148] Ban Ghardaí presented to public audiences about their work, and also addressed audiences on subjects such as road safety decades before the advent of 'community policing'.[149] The script of an address to 'your ladies', about 'The work of the Ban Gardaí' referred to 'our own sex' as 'the biggest offenders' in inviting the attentions of the pickpocket, and 'the worst offenders' at shoplifting. 'If mothers taught their children, driving sons and daughters the rudiments of Road Safety,' ran the text,' it would go a long way towards making the roads safer,' and cautiously suggested that: 'An occasional word of advice to our men-folk would be a help.' The audience may have been gratified at the compliment that: 'Women are naturally more observant than men and I would appeal to each one of you if you see anything suspicious to please dial 999.'[150] This script may have informed a talk presented to the Irish Housewives Association in May 1962, as reported by the I.H.A. delegate to the J.C.W.S.S.W..[151]

Their ability to attract a favourable response from an audience appears to have been a major factor in the selection of Ban Ghardaí for this type of work. When the Garda presented a public stand to promote crime prevention at a trade show or to the general public, a Bean Garda was often among those assigned to the stand. Bean Garda Catherine Barry was on the crime prevention stand at the Spring Show in the RDS in May 1969.[152] Bean Garda Mary Garvey featured in a photograph taken at a shop equipment show hosted by a retailers' association in 1966.[153] A public relations office at headquarters was established by the Garda in 1971, and by the 1973 a Bean Garda had been assigned full-time to that section, one of only five Ban Ghardaí who fulfilled specialist roles.[154] All of the others were based in Dublin: two members of the Drugs Squad and two Juvenile Liaison Officers.

Policing children and childcare

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[147] *Irish Independent*, 26 May 1967.
[148] *Garda Review*, Sept. 1984, about Bean Garda Julie Moore.
[149] *Irish Press*, 10 Dec. 1965.
[150] G.A., History of policy on the first female members.
[151] J.C.W.S. S.W., Committee minute book, 1956-64 (N.A.I., 98/14/5/4).
[152] *Irish Independent*, 17 May 1969.
[153] *Irish Press*, 27 Sept. 1966.
[154] Briefing for Minister for question for answer on 25 Jul. 1973 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).

'You are a credit to your uniform,' a District Justice told two Ban Ghardaí who had arrested a pickpocket, 'and the women of the city should thank God that they have people like you.'[155] The terms of this commendation indicate that the perception that female members of the Garda performed a particular service to and for women and children. Some of this 'women's' work, such as the escort of children and the fulfilment of an official female Garda presence in court fell to Ban Ghardaí by default. 'Their main area of work in those early years,' says Supt. Phyllis Nolan, 'was dealing with women and children who were either the victims of crime or the perpetrators of it.'[156]

One policy area in which the Garda were to the forefront in the 1960s was the introduction of a structured alternative scheme to the prosecution of juvenile first-time offenders in the court system.[157] A small but proportionally significant number of Ban Ghardaí were involved in this work from about 1966 onwards, which was the first avenue through which female members of the Garda achieved specialist status. In 1963, on the initiative of Minister Charles Haughey, a juvenile supervision scheme was instituted by the Garda as an alternative to summoning the under seventeen year-old to appear before a District Justice at the convening of a special children's court session. Rather than a prosecution, a juvenile who admitted to a minor offence might be cautioned and referred to the supervision of a Garda Juvenile Liaison Officer until they reached the age of 17, when they were regarded as having completed the scheme.[158] The 'guiding principles' of the scheme were that: the young person admitted the minor offence, had not previously come to the attention of the Garda, and that their parents or guardians co-operated in the completion of the scheme by the juvenile, and that any party injured by the action of the juvenile did not object to a prosecution not being taken. The decision as to whether to apply the scheme or to prosecute rested, in theory, with a local Chief Superintendent, but in his study of practice in the late 1960s in Dublin, Shanley found that sometimes prosecutions were initiated by a detecting Garda without reference to the Juvenile Liaison Officer.[159] The scheme might be applied to young people regarded as 'potential delinquents' by the Garda, without their having actually committed any offence.

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[155] *Irish Independent*, 30 Nov. 1962
[156] *Garda Journal*, (March, 1995), pp 3-4.
[157] See: Garda Commissioner, *Report on Crime for 1967*, pp 4-6; and Peter Shanley, 'The Formal Cautioning of Juvenile Offenders', *Irish Jurist* 5, 1970, pp 262-79. For analysis, see Walsh, *Juvenile Justice*, Chap. 4.
[158] Garda Commissioner, *Report on Crime for 1967*, pp 4-6.
[159] Shanley, 'Formal Cautioning of Juvenile Offenders', p. 266.

The scheme marked the first occasion on which specialist status was conferred on police personnel who were directly involved with young people. Members designated as Juvenile Liaison Officers underwent specialist training for the work. It was established practice that J.L.O.s performed their duty in plainclothes, and given the nature of the role, it is probable that it could be effectively discharged within the standard working hours of Ban Ghardaí. In Dublin, a Juvenile Liaison office department was established at Pearse Street Station, which was also the base station for some Ban Ghardaí. A 1970 study of the operation of the scheme by Peter Shanley noted that the J.L.O.s were assigned responsibility for a geographic area of the D.M.A..[160] Shanley did not make any separate reference to female members of the Juvenile Liaison department, which would suggest that they were also assigned work on a geographical basis rather than assigned particular cases on the basis of the sex or age of the juvenile. 'The average case load of the Dublin J.L.O. officer is about 150 (the number of juveniles) 'on the books',' wrote Shanley in 1970. The D.M.A. was significantly expanded in 1964, and 'places as far apart as Balgriffin, Raheny, Clontarf and Coolock' were within a single J.L.O.'s area of responsibility in 1970.[161] Up to June 1965, no Bean Garda had been appointed as a J.L.O., but the following year, 1966, it was reported that one Bean Garda was among the nine J.L.O.s in the Dublin Metropolitan Area.[162] In his report for 1967, the Commissioner reviewed the first four years of the scheme in which he mentioned that four of the total twenty-six Juvenile Liaison Officers (JLOs) at that time were Ban Ghardaí, two in the Dublin Metropolitan Area and two elsewhere.[163] By 1975, thirty-one members were full-time J.L.O.s, including three Ban Ghardaí.[164]

An academic study of young offenders in Ireland published in 1981 remarked that 'The effectiveness of the Juvenile Liaison Scheme within the Garda force bears testimony to the fact that agencies primarily concerned with the control of offenders and the protection of the public may have some members who are more suited to preventive and rehabilitative work.'[165] The scheme was regarded as a model by R.U.C. personnel interested in emulating it in Northern Ireland. The initiative for a similar scheme was part of the work of an R.U.C. community relations branch that was established in 1970. R.U.C. Woman Sergeant E.K. Guy visited Pearse Street Station in Dublin as a guest of the Garda. 'During this visit [she]

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] *Irish Times*, 29 Apr. 1966 ('Young Offenders' pt.3).
[163] Garda Commissioner, *Report on Crime for the year 1967*, p. 5.
[164] Garda Commissioner, *Report on Crime for the year 1975*, p. 10.
[165] Helen Burke, Claire Carney and Geoffrey Cook, *Youth and Justice: Young Offenders in Ireland* (Dublin, 1981), p. 143.

was most favourably impressed by the amount of police involvement in the community there through the JL officers. Sgt Casey [her Garda host] spoke of how being a JL officer he could visit areas which were generally speaking hostile to police.'[166] The Women Police section of the R.U.C. was involved in the establishment of a Juvenile Liaison Scheme in 1975.[167] A 1984 Report by the National Economic and Social Forum remarked that the Garda had 'not adapted satisfactorily to contemporary conditions in inner city areas,' but noted that: 'The main exception to this is the J.L.O. Scheme.'[168] By 1991, Superintendent Phyllis Nolan had been appointed as the national coordinator of the Juvenile Liaison Scheme, having previously been Superintendent attached to the Community Relations Branch.[169]

Ban Ghardaí in Court

While Garda Women Assistants continued to attend the Children's Court in Dublin Castle, Ban Ghardaí also attended there and performed court duty at the standard sittings of Dublin District Court. This was a formalised, uniformed, expansion of the role that had been fulfilled by Women Assistants, as described in a previous chapter. Although it ranked lowly on a list of prospective duties drawn up in 1959, it was a staple of the working life of a Bean Garda.[170] The 1959 memo stipulated that the new policewomen were to 'attend Courts to give evidence in any such cases for hearing, keep in touch with female witnesses and generally assist the Gardai and Law Officers in presenting such cases in Court and ensure the safe custody of female prisoners appearing.'

In March 1960, Commissioner Costigan directed that 'arrangements should be made, so that in future whenever a female prisoner appears before the District Court in Dublin, she should be in charge of a police woman.'[171] The 1964 review of Ban Garda performance for the Dublin Metropolitan Division mentioned this work and the practice of weekly rotation of female personnel in the fulfilment of it. The 'Record of duty' of Ban Ghardaí at Store Street Station, Dublin, included as Appendix II to this chapter, listed one tour of duty at the District Court, in addition to two tours of duty 'Preparing file – State Solicitor'.[172] Regular court duty continued to be the practice in 1970. That year, Sarah McGuinness

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[166] W/Supt., W/Police HQ, 14 Nov. 1972 (P.S.N.I.A.).
[167] Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 161.
[168] National Economic & Social Council, *The criminal justice system: policy and performance* (Dublin, 1984), p. 184.
[169] *Irish Times*, 27 Nov. 1991; and 11 Dec. 1990.
[170] N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150.
[171] G.A., History of policy on the first female members.
[172] See Appendix I. The 'Record of Duty' related to Aug., when court sittings were less frequent.

mentioned in a newspaper interview that the Ban Gardaí at Store Street 'each do a week's court duty at a time'.[173] The Bean Garda assisted to maintain order in court and attended to women and children as necessary.

Ban Ghardaí in the Dublin District courts in the early 1970s occasionally featured in a celebrated newspaper column 'In the eyes of the law'.[174] The column appeared in the *Irish Times*, and was written by Nell McCafferty, a female journalist. McCafferty observed that the children of defendants, who had been brought to the court by their parents, were often entrusted to the care of a Bean Garda while their parent was before the court. McCafferty reported that a Bean Garda had suggested to the judge that on their court appearance, particular defendants 'bring children with them with the object of being released on bail.'[175] McCafferty observed that, on one occasion there was no Bean Garda at the court to fulfil the request of the judge to supervise such children. She remarked that the judge did not extend the request to the many policemen present in court.[176]

While the central preoccupation of McCafferty's reports was the often plaintive position of defendants and witnesses before the court, her reports also suggest the difficult position of Ban Ghardaí. Sometimes the judge showed himself sympathetic to the position of a female or youthful defendant against whom a Bean Garda presented evidence, and approximated the role of adviser to the defendant.[177] McCafferty's reports from the Dublin District Court suggest that the primary prosecutorial role of the Ban Ghardaí was in cases of alleged shoplifting. Some of McCafferty's reportage illustrated instances of compassion and support by Ban Ghardaí towards defendants.[178] In one instance, a Bean Garda's prosecution failed when she allowed a woman accused of shoplifting to leave the court with perishable foodstuffs, and consequently was unable to present the goods specified in court. In another report, McCafferty noted that Ban Ghardaí took a helpful interest in the homeward journey of a woman they had unsuccessfully prosecuted for shop-lifting. [179]

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[173] *Irish Times*, 3 Feb. 1970.
[174] A collection was subsequently published in book form: Nell McCafferty, *In the Eyes of the Law* (Dublin, 1981).
[175] *Irish Times*, 21 Feb. 1974.
[176] *Irish Times*, 21 Dec. 1973.
[177] *Irish Times*, 27 Mar. 1974 and 3 May 1975.
[178] *Irish Times*, 18 Dec. 1973, 3 May 1975, and 31 Jul. 1975.
[179] *Irish Times*, 31 Jul. 1975.

Associated with their presence in court was the role of Ban Ghardaí as escorts to young women and children in police custody. A 1964 newspaper feature mentioned that 'they do a lot of escort duty to and from courts, and to reform schools'.[180] At the commemoration to mark the 50th anniversary of her completion of training, 'Bríd Wymbs recalled taking two children, a seven-year-old girl and her four-year-old brother down to a children's home in Kilkenny, where they were split up from each other. 'Every time I think of that I get a lump in my throat,' she admitted.'[181]

Reports of court proceedings demonstrate that Ban Ghardaí were subject to assault by other women, and sometimes by men, in the course of their duty.[182] A case of assault of a Bean Garda occurred in the selected Cork District Court Justice's Minute Books, which resulted in a fine on conviction.[183] Two women named Byrne pleaded guilty at Dublin Circuit Court in October 1965 to the assault of Bean Garda Wymbs the preceding December.[184] Wymbs was the sole prosecution witness listed in the case which suggests that she was alone when she was assaulted by the two women. When a judge suggested that a Bean Garda be directed to make enquiries as to the family circumstances of a Traveller girl who faced charges of begging, a Garda Inspector interjected: 'She attacked the bean garda,' the Inspector reminded the judge. 'Whatever happens to Guards, when our own Ban Ghardaí are attacked we don't ask the mercy of the court,' he continued, an indication that there was a convention against supporting clemency towards any person accused of assaulting a female colleague. [185]

Case Study: Policewomen in Cork City

Research for this thesis based on court records and newspaper archives has informed a study of women in policing in Cork. Some of the findings that have emerged from this work relate closely to the themes that have been identified earlier in this chapter. It is difficult to form a firm assessment of how the work of Ban Ghardaí in Cork differed from the experience of female policing in Dublin and in Limerick during the 1960s. It is proposed to treat the Cork experience as a discrete case study at this point in the work.

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[180] *Irish Times*, 3 Mar. 1964.
[181] *Irish Examiner*, 10 Jul. 2009.
[182] *Irish Times*, 28 Jun. 1974, and 19 Nov. 1974. Other reported assault convictions included: assault by a 53-year-old army pensioner (*Irish Times*, 7 Sept. 1960); assault by 80-year-old company director (*Irish Times*, 7 Apr. 1964).
[183] Assault of Bean Garda Margaret Lohan by a woman also convicted of larceny: Case 133-6 of 6 Aug. 1963 (N.A.I., CSER/DC/CK/1/97/60/184).
[184] No.141 of 13 Oct. in County and City of Dublin Circuit Criminal Court Trials Record Book 1965 (N.A.I., catalogued 1D-2-156, but found at: v3a/1).
[185] *Irish Times*, 19 Nov. 1974.

The principal developments in policing in Cork during this period were: the policy of centralisation of city Garda stations, increased enforcement of road traffic legislation, and the delegation of some traffic management duties to civilian personnel and electronic traffic lights. A significant degree of public controversy attended some police matters in Cork in the 1960s. The death of a man in Garda custody at the Bridewell precipitated a statutory tribunal of inquiry into the event in 1967.[186] Relations between sailors and women 'going on the boats' docked at the Cork quayside was the subject of a television documentary programme, and two young women died on the Cork quays.

Pictured are Peggy Lohan, Breda Lee, Mary McKenna, Helen Heyden, Mary Riordan and Mary Molloy who were the first female members to arrive at the Bridewell Garda Station on 6th May 1961.

Figure 32: Cork's first corps of Ban Ghardaí[187]

A complete set of Justice's Minute Books from the District Court for Cork City from 1950 to 1970 are held at the National Archives. The books constitute a record of the proceedings of the District Court, and

[186] *Death of Liam O'Mahony. Report of the Tribunal appointed by the Minister for Justice on July 19th 1967, pursuant to a resolution passed on July 18th 1967, by Dáil Éireann and on July 19th by Seanad Éireann* (Dublin, 1968).

[187] Image by *Cork Examiner*, re-published in *Garda Review*, 2009.

were intended to record all of the cases listed for hearing; basic facts about the proceedings such as the names of witnesses, the name of the complainant (usually a Garda), and the Justice's order.[188] Although similar records of the Dublin Metropolitan District Court exist, they are retained at the courthouse in Dublin. While they were made available to a researcher for the Commission of Inquiry into Child Abuse they are not publicly available. The Cork District Court Justice's Minute Books are unique as a consistent, extensive set of publicly-available records from a metropolitan district court. Generally, in the 1960s, one minute book was used to record a single term's proceedings, so three or four such books exist for each year, but by 1972, a single year's proceedings required the use of almost an entire book for each calendar month. A single-side of the wide pages of the books is divided into four numbered cases. Each case is divided into columns for: the name of the prosecutor, often a Garda Superintendent at the suit of the Attorney General; the name of the defendant; the alleged offence; any witnesses that appeared before the court; and the ruling or 'order' made by the Justice.

A selective study was made of the Cork district court minute books with particular attention to any references to Ban Ghardaí as prosecutors or as witnesses. Secondary attention was given to criminal cases that directly involved female victims or perpetrators, in respect of which no Bean Garda was mentioned. The Minute Books for the years: 1963 (4 books), 1966 (3 books), 1969 (5 books), and 1972 (10 books) were studied. In addition to the District Court records books, the National Archives holds criminal trial record books for Cork City and Cork County sittings, and furthermore, the records of cases that originated in Cork but were forwarded to the Central Criminal Court are also available up to the mid-1960s. As previously remarked, Ban Ghardaí were assigned to be stationed in Cork from 1961 onwards. The existence of justice's minute books for Cork City, along with other criminal court records that relate to Cork, has provided a basis for a case study of the first decade of the female police experience in that city.

The study of court records was supplemented by a similar selective study of a daily regional newspaper published in Cork, the *Cork Examiner*, during the 1960s. The *Examiner* was a broadsheet newspaper printed in Cork. It was selected in preference to the Cork evening newspaper, the *Evening Echo*, because the *Examiner* afforded more extensive coverage to court reporting than the *Echo*. The lead story was usually based on international or national news, it generally carried at least one page of news from Cork and elsewhere in Munster, and it also featured a page of business news and extensive sports coverage.

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[188] See Robert L. Sandes, *Criminal Practice, Procedure and Evidence in the Irish Free State* (Dublin, 1930) p. 60.

It carried a good deal of display advertisements and regularly featured photographs.[189] All editions of the paper for the years 1963, 1965, and 1968 were surveyed for coverage of relevance to this project. Besides references to the evidence presented by Gardaí in court, the *Examiner* frequently reported on the enforcement of parking and road traffic legislation by the Garda, carried brief reports of promotions in the force, and occasionally carried short profile pieces about former Gardaí in the region on the occasion of their retirement or decease.

Road traffic and parking enforcement

The research suggests that the formal capacity in which members of the public were most likely to have direct interaction with members of the Garda in Cork in the 1960s was in the context of pedestrian and motor traffic regulation and parking regulation. The *Examiner* occasionally carried large photographs of traffic congestion in the city. It reported on administrative regulatory measures taken to address the related problems of traffic congestion and parking management in which the Garda were directly involved, such as the application of maximum stay periods on some streets and the prohibition on parking in other streets. The District Justice's minute books feature an increasing number of prosecutions for parking offences in the city, and demonstrate that Ban Ghardaí participated in this drive to regulate parking in the city centre.

In Divisions outside the Dublin Metropolitan Division, it was the practice during this period that Inspectors or Superintendents 'conduct as a matter of course all prosecutions in the District Court in respect of criminal offences detected by the Garda save in the exceptionally complex cases where the services of the State Solicitor is called in.'[190] However, in civil matters such as the enforcement of parking regulations, Ban Ghardaí, like their male colleagues, prosecuted people found to have breached the regulations. As the incidence of such prosecutions increased so did their share of those prosecutions. Almost all of the cases prosecuted by the Ban Ghardaí and others resulted in an order by the Justice that the motorist pay a small fine. In some cases, motorists who came to the attention of the Garda for breach of parking regulations were found to lack insurance or taxation which prompted additional charges to be laid against them. In the spring of 1968, civilian school traffic wardens began to

[189] Anne Kearney, *Remember when: pictures from the Irish Examiner archive* (Cork, 2010).
[190] Leahy, *Memoirs of a Garda Superintendent*, pp 113-4.

operate in Cork, and by the winter of that year, traffic wardens engaged in parking regulation enforcement also began to operate.[191]

Dissatisfaction at the enforcement of these regulations is indicated by the reported comments of public office-holders and associations, and by newspaper opinion pieces. Indications of a generalised dissatisfaction towards the enforcement of traffic and parking regulations by the Garda is in contrast to the affection and esteem that characterised the short profiles of individual long-serving, often low-ranking members of the Garda. Such profiles were occasioned by the retirement or death of the policeman. These profiles tended to deprecate the subject's function as a law enforcement officer, and usually cited their – relatively brief - participation in revolutionary activity that had preceded their long police career. Emphasis was lent to the perceived personal qualities of the policeman and his extra-professional activities.

The first statutory tribunal of inquiry to investigate Garda conduct was concerned with the death of a prisoner in a Cork city police station in 1967, and convened at Cork Courthouse.[192] No Bean Garda was mentioned in the tribunal report, which suggested the segregated nature of their work and official sensitivity to press criticism of the force. The incident cast light on the significant volume of Garda involvement with drunken male prisoners, some of which was not the basis of any formal proceedings, and much of which was performed at night, when Ban Ghardaí were summoned for duty only on an occasional basis. A 49-year-old male prisoner, Liam O'Mahony, died in Garda custody at the Bridewell in Cork in May 1967. An inquest determined that O'Mahony had sustained 'a direct crushing injury to the chest', and allegations of his ill-treatment by Gardaí were made by two other prisoners and by a visitor to the station.[193] The three-man Tribunal unanimously reported 'that beyond all doubt Liam O'Mahony sustained the fracture of his ribs and the rupture of his mesentery as a result of his falling on the stool in the Long Valley Bar'.[194] The tribunal members deplored 'the intemperate language used' in articles about the incident in the *Munster Express*, a provincial southern newspaper, and the London *Sunday Times*; articles which, it believed 'must have largely contributed to the public disquiet over the circumstances surrounding the death of Liam O'Mahony'.[195]

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[191] *Cork Examiner*, 11 Mar. 1968.
[192] *Death of Liam O'Mahony.*
[193] Ibid., p. 32 (4: 160); pp 19, 29.
[194] Ibid., p. 41 (6: 222).
[195] Ibid., p. 46 (6: 249).

Shoplifting in Cork

Along with parking prosecutions, the second most common type of case heard at the District Court that involved Ban Ghardaí were cases of theft by women from shops or from the person. Unlike parking offences, larceny cases were listed as prosecutions by a Superintendent, but the courtroom work was often conducted by an Inspector.[196] Ban Ghardaí feature in the witness listings of several such cases in the Justice's Minute Book.[197] It is likely that a Bean Garda would have been sought to respond in instances where shop personnel had apprehended a woman they believed had attempted to steal from the store. Most of these cases resulted in a fine, but in a minority of cases a custodial sentence was issued. 'This type of offence is very difficult to detect,' commented Cork District Justice D.P. O'Donovan having ordered an unemployed twenty-year-old woman to a sentence of three months' imprisonment. The woman had pleaded guilty to theft of books, clothing, groceries and sweets to the value of over £12, and appeared to have been stopped and questioned by Bean Garda Mary Molloy on suspicion that the goods had been stolen.[198]

It became common practice for large retail establishments in Cork in the 1960s to employ female 'floor walkers' who were tasked with the prevention and detection of theft from the premises. It was the practice in the statement of the offence that an employee of the shop from which the goods were taken was listed as the owner of the stolen property, along with or in the place of the company or shop name, and often that employee was a woman. Several women in Cork appear to have been employed as store detectives in the larger shops, such as Roches Stores, Dunnes Stores, and Buckleys. This suggests that the institution of a statutory police role for women in the late 1950s was followed in the 1960s by an expansion in the employment of women as store detectives in large city shops. A Justice's Minute Book for November 1972, mentioned several female store detectives: Anne Keohane (Dunnes Stores); Norma Clarke (Woolworths), Mary Quigley (Roches Stores), Marie Kelly (Roches Stores).[199] Ban Ghardaí continued to feature as witnesses in such cases in 1972, with two such cases in the Minute Book for January of that year. The Minute Book for February 1972 records several prosecutions for shop-lifting

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[196] As illustrated by Sept. 1963 conviction of 13-year-old for theft of purses, mentioned below. The Justice's Minute Book lists a Superintendent as the prosecutor, but a newspaper reported that an Inspector prosecuted the case.
[197] *Cork Examiner*, 14 Sept. 1968.
[198] *Southern Star*, 5 Feb. 1966.
[199] Nov. 1972 (N.A.I., CSER/DC/CK/97/60/231).

against female defendants without reference to involvement in these cases by a Bean Garda.[200] It may be that their role in the prosecution of such cases was less necessary on account of the presence of female store detectives, or it may be explicable by reference to the consistently small number of Ban Ghardaí, or to clerical inconsistency.

A young married woman established a private detective practice in Cork in the mid-1960s. Christine Fielding had professional experience as an agent of a long-established private detective firm in London. She did not launch the business out of economic necessity, and her interest in the work and the media interest she attracted suggested that there was a certain glamour associated with a woman performing this type of work. Her business venture was the subject of a short television programme, 'Lady Detective', in March 1965.[201] She reassured the television interviewer that her husband did not object to the enterprise, and that it did not interfere with her domestic obligations. However, she failed to attract custom and the venture was short-lived.[202] Less than ten cases for investigation were referred to her. After a few months, she vacated the upstairs room she had leased as an office. It was Christine Fielding's recollection that there was only one other – male - private detective based in Cork at this time. An account of a shop-lifting case heard at Limerick District Court in October 1968 reported the evidence presented by 'a blonde private detective'. She was reported to have been an employee of Lodge Services (Ireland) Ltd., an indication that women were employed in private security firms along with the retail detective work referred to above.[203]

Surveillance and supervision of young women in Cork

Ban Ghardaí were deployed in plainclothes to observe particular young women and girls who had previously come to the attention of the police. In a small number of cases noted in this research, the surveillance and prosecution resulted in custodial sentences. A thirteen-year-old girl against whom charges of stealing purses were proven was ordered to an industrial school by the District Justice in October 1963. Bean Garda Mary Lohan told the court she had seen the girl attempt to steal a purse from a basket as a wedding party gathered outside a church, 'while she was in plainclothes and her purpose

[200] Justice's Minute Book, Cork District, Cork District Court (Feb. 1972) (N.A.I., CSER/DC/CK/97/60/224).
[201] 'Lady Detective', first broadcast 8 Mar. 1965 (R.T.E. Television Archive).
[202] Interview with Mrs Christine Fielding, Mar. 2011, at Beacon Hotel, Dublin.
[203] *Cork Examiner*, 7 Oct. 1968.

there at the time was to watch defendant'.[204] A common source of employment arranged for young women who had spent time in residential institutions was in the kitchens and cafeterias of hospitals or as domestic servants. Cases of theft by young women from employers or colleagues in their place of employment seem particularly pathetic, as girls against whom allegations of theft had previously been proven were the obvious suspects. It was sometimes the lot of a Bean Garda to investigate the circumstances and take a statement from the accused woman.[205]

In March 1966, the deaths of two young women occurred in Cork within six days: nineteen-year-old Noreen Lane fell from a gangway into the water at Anderson's Quay in the early hours of Sunday, 13 March; nineteen-year-old Veronica O'Riordan was found dead at Morrisson's Quay on the morning of Saturday, 19 March, having been strangled the night before.[206] The deaths were linked by the quayside location where the bodies were recovered, and through personal acquaintance. Margaret Lane, a sister of the drowned girl, attended Union Quay Garda Station along with the murder victim on the day that she died to assist the Garda in their inquiries about a fight between seamen on a ship in Cork on March 15th.[207] Margaret Lane initially declined to testify before the Central Criminal Court and by way of explanation told the court: 'I was six weeks in prison for nothing.'[208] It was suggested by the prosecution at the murder trial that the victim, Veronica O'Riordan, and the witness Margaret Lane (sister to the drowned girl, Noreen Lane), were prostitutes.

These two deaths were associated with 'going on the boats': the apparently long-standing practice of frequenting ships docked at the quayside, and sometimes travelling aboard from Cork on a ship.[209] Unlike Dublin, Cork was an open port, where no physical boundary existed to prevent a city pedestrian from stepping off the street and mounting the gangway of a ship docked at the quayside, a point referred to by the Cork branch of the National Women's Council in its support for the employment of 'women police' in Cork in the 1930s, as discussed in Chapter Three. It was said that the Garda did not have authority to demand access to a ship, which was subject to maritime law. A Catholic priest, Fr Leo

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[204] *Cork Examiner*, 1 Oct. 1963. The case featured in the Justice's Minute Book (1963, Jul. - Sept) at: 1240-1 of 30 Sept. 1963 (N.A.I., CSER/DC/CK/1/97/60/184).
[205] *Kerryman*, 16 Dec. 1961.
[206] A verdict of manslaughter was returned against Veronica O'Riordan's killer, Stephen Patrick Kirwan, at the Central Criminal Court, 16 Jun. 1966.
[207] *Irish Press*, 15 Jun. 1966. Evidence of Sgt John Moriarty.
[208] *Irish Independent*, 14 Jun. 1966.
[209] Mr Hickey, shipping executive; and undisclosed female interviewee on 'Open Port', broadcast by R.T.E. (I.F.A., Dublin).

Lennon, campaigned publicly for the curtailment of young women 'going on the boats'. Fr Lennon was attached to St. Mary's Dominican Church, Pope's Quay, and also fulfilled the position of port chaplain. His campaign was conducted through public sermons on the issue, the establishment of a recreational club for seamen and the offer of a 'trained psychologist – a nun', as counsellor to teenage girls.[210] In an address at University College Cork, Fr Lennon said that: 'The maritime law supersedes the law of the land and the Gardaí are powerless once the girls go on board the foreign ships, unless the captain requests that the Gardaí take action.'[211] Central to Lennon's campaign was his contention that the only solution to the practice was to erect a wall along the quayside to block access to the ships. Lennon described the situation as an 'emergency', and likened it to the exceptional regulation of the movement of people to prevent the spread of foot-and-mouth disease.[212] A serious outbreak of that disease occurred in Britain the winter of 1967.[213] The Garda was involved in the enforcement of strict regulation of border points in the winter of 1967-68 which entailed long periods of outdoor duty on temporary transfer from their permanent station, a phase in the careers of a large number of the Garda but not its female members.

For our purposes, this episode suggests the limited non-prosecutorial role of the Garda, and in particular, of Ban Ghardaí. It appears that a consensus existed that unless a clear breach of the law occurred, the Garda had little if any role to play. This consensus seems to have prevailed despite the public comment and media interest that attended the subject in the late 1960s, which included coverage in the British-based newspaper the *People* and a celebrated 1968 television documentary, 'Open Port', produced by the Radharc programme-makers and screened on R.T.E.. Despite the public prominence of Ban Ghardaí in Cork, the issue was regarded as a moral one, and not one in which the police ought to take a strong interest. A report in the *Irish Press* in early December suggested that an interview with a Bean Garda on the subject had been broadcast on R.T.E., along with contributions from 'local public representatives' and 'a journalist'.[214] The Garda do not appear to have had any participation in the research of the celebrated Radharc documentary.

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[210] *Irish Press*, 30 Oct. 1968.
[211] *Cork Examiner*, 30 Oct. 1968.
[212] Transcript of interview with Fr. Lennon, (I.F.A., Radharc Paper Archive, Box 274, 08/2316).
[213] Abigail Woods, *A Manufactured Plague? The History of Foot and Mouth Disease in Britain* (London, 2004), p. 175, with reference to P.R.O., FCO 23/186.
[214] *Irish Press*, 5 Dec. 1968; no extant copy (R.T.E. Radio Archive).

Newspaper reports and transcripts of interviews with women by Radharc suggest that the police sometimes did board ships and removed women from them.[215] In April 1971, a Bean Garda told Cork District Court of the discovery of three girls reported missing aboard a ship in the port, and their removal against their will from the vessel. One was convicted of importuning for prostitution, another was convicted of being drunk and disorderly and of assault of the Bean Sergeant at the station, and the case of a fourteen-year-old was adjourned so that her behaviour might be reviewed.[216] Justice's Minute Books feature prosecutions taken by Ban Ghardaí against teenage girls found drunk on the quays. A prosecution against young women considered to have breached the foot-and-mouth restrictions by boarding a ship, suggested that such visits were regarded as morally dubious.[217] Although charged with breach of the foot-and-mouth order, their solicitor's assertion to the court that the defendants were 'women of good reputation and good character' was reported.

Notes of interviews taken by television researchers suggest that along with juvenile sexual precociousness, prostitution associated with motor cars was prevalent in Cork. When a Radharc researcher asked a female interviewee about other problems in Cork, the interviewee opined: 'I think there's a bigger problem of girls goin[sic] in business cars, but it's all covered up. [...] Some girls going on ships they don't get money, but the girls that's goin [sic] in business cars do get money.'[218] In January 1969, a city councillor noted that: 'The number of known prostitutes in the city is given by the Gardaí as 31, while the number of names of girls on the confidential lists of the port chaplain over two years is 82.'[219]

The primary purpose of my survey of Cork City Justice's Minute Books for selected years was to search for references to Ban Ghardaí. However, I did take a secondary interest in cases of sexual crime, and cases in which there was a female defendant. My survey noted only one prosecution for prostitution, listed in July 1969, in which a Garda and another man testified against a woman who was subsequently sentenced to six months imprisonment for soliciting at North Main Street.[220] In addition to 'going on the

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[215] *Irish Independent*, 16 Mar. 1967; Interview transcripts, Box 274, 08/2316 (I.F.A., Radharc Paper Archive).
[216] *Irish Times*, 8 Apr. 1971; also *Irish Press* 8 Apr. 1971. The case of the 14-year-old was finally disposed of under the Probation of Offenders Act, in Feb. 1972 (Justice's Minute Book, Cork District, Cork District Court, Feb. 1972, N.A.I., CSER/DC/CK/97/60/224).
[217] *Cork Examiner*, 3 Jan. 1968.
[218] Interview Transcript (I.F.A., Radharc Paper Archive, Box 274, 08/2316).
[219] *Cork Evening Echo*, 6 Jan. 1969 [cutting] (I.F.A., Radharc Paper Archive, Box 271, 08/2210).
[220] No.2297 of 28 Nov. 1969 (N.A.I., CSER/DC/CK/1/97/60/210).

boats', and soliciting at the roadside, there is evidence that women who were probably not categorized as prostitutes by the Garda sometimes provided sexual favour for cash return.[221] A male visitor from Bandon bought drinks for two women at the Market Bar in Kyle Street in November 1966. In a subsequent larceny prosecution he told the District Court that: 'One of the women invited me outside up a lane. This woman is the same woman we refer to as the accused. I accompanied this woman up a lane. I pointed out that lane the following day to a Garda. From other money in my possession I paid this woman 10 shillings and I may have paid her more. While I was in this lane she had her arms around me and I had my arms around her.' A Garda stated to the court that he apprehended the woman the next day close to Kyle Street with whiskey, beer, and rum in a shopping bag. Ban Sgt. Mary Riordan told the court that when she searched the woman at the Bridewell Station she 'found £4.3.2 on her. She said she got it from her son in England.'[222]Although prosecutions for prostitution were generally conducted at District Court level, Circuit Court prosecutions for theft from the person similar to the case referred to here sometimes featured an interaction clearly based on prostitution.[223]

Children and police in Cork

Along with policing females, policewomen in Northern Ireland, Britain, and the United States were generally prominent in policing children and their parents. As demonstrated in the previous chapter about 'Women Assisting' in the 1950s, the unattested policewomen of the Garda were extensively deployed on duties that involved the custody and supervision of children. General research on the Irish experience, and more detailed research on Cork City, indicated that Ban Ghardaí did not exert a primary executive role in this sphere of work. School attendance regulation in Cork, as in other counties that included metropolitan districts, was managed not by the Garda but by the local authority who engaged full-time school attendance officers for this work. Mr D. Dineen was appointed head school attendance officer for Cork County Borough School Attendance Committee in 1968.[224] Another influential figure in juvenile justice in Cork was the Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (I.S.P.C.C.)

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[221] Case number 26 of Feb. 1966 in Cork City, Criminal Court Records Book 1963-74 (N.A.I., v13-27-18).
[222]No.26 of 8 Nov. 1966 in State Files at Circuit Court 1966, City of Cork (N.A.I., v4B-12-24).
[223]One such case in which stolen cash was passed to Ban Garda Deirdre Killeen by a woman while in hospital may be found at: Indictment 44, 7 Mar. 1961, in State Files at Circuit Criminal Court, Dublin, 1961-62 (N.A.I., v14-15-32). Bean Garda Maura O'Byrne of Store Street Station travelled to Dún Laoghaire to fulfil a similar duty at the Garda Station there following a similar incident, as described in Indictment 101, 1 Feb. 1963, State Files at Circuit Criminal Court, Dublin, 1963 (N.A.I., 1C-96-155).
[224]*Cork Examiner*, 15 May 1968.

Inspector, William Callaghan. Although it was the convention that a Garda officer conducted all criminal prosecutions at District Courts outside the Dublin Metropolitan Division, my survey of Justice's Minute Books and local newspapers found that in the few cases of criminal prosecution of parents for neglect or ill-treatment of their children, both at District and Circuit Court, the lead role was taken by Callaghan of the I.S.P.C.C. rather than by the Garda.

In a 1965 District Court case the I.S.P.C.C. successfully prosecuted both parents of children for neglect, with evidence in support of their prosecution from a medical doctor and from the School Attendance Officer, without any recorded involvement by the Garda in the case.[225] Callaghan of the I.S.P.C.C. also successfully prosecuted a mother for assault of a thirteen year old boy, at Cork City District Court in 1972, which resulted in the committal of three children aged between seven and fourteen years old to Cappoquin Industrial School, Co. Waterford.[226] A male Garda was among the witnesses in this case, but no Bean Garda featured. In December, Callaghan prosecuted another Cork mother for child neglect and failure to exercise guardianship, which resulted in the committal of a twelve-year-old girl to St Colman's Industrial School, Cobh, Co. Cork, and the application of the Probation Act to the mother whom the case was proven. While the school attendance officer and a doctor presented evidence for the prosecution, there is no record of Garda involvement in the prosecution.[227]

The only direct evidence of engagement by Ban Ghardaí in this sphere of policing occurred in a 1967 Cork Circuit Court case, in which a young married couple were convicted of the wilful ill-treatment of their infant child, who had sustained injuries that included a fractured skull and bruising to his genitals, according to medical evidence.[228] Bean Garda Mary Molloy's stated that she had accompanied the I.S.P.C.C. Inspector Callaghan on two house visits to the child's home to enquire about the injuries the child had sustained. She detailed that she had 'heard Inspector O'Callaghan ask [the mother] to account for the injuries and I heard [the mother] say that they had been caused by the son striking himself with his feeding bottle.' She added that she was present at the Bridewell on a subsequent date, when Callaghan read over a statement made by the woman before she signed it. In his statement, Callaghan stated that he had cautioned the woman before she made this statement, all of which suggests that

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[225] *Cork Examiner*, 27 Apr. 1965.
[226] Case 1-2 of 3 Jul. 1972 (N.A.I., CSER/DC/CK/97/60/228).
[227] Cases 2114-5 of 18 Dec. 1972 (N.A.I., CSER/DC/CK/97/60/232).
[228] Cork City, Criminal Court Records State Book, 1963-74 (N.A.I., v13-27-18); and No. 5 of 1967 in State Files at Circuit Court, Cork City, 1967 (N.A.I., v13-30-6).

Callaghan acted as the lead investigator to whom the Bean Garda deferred. Five days later, the mother made a second statement at MacCurtain Street Station in Callaghan's presence, but this statement was in the handwriting of Detective Sergeant Thorne. This statement sharply revised the explanations offered by the parents up to this point. The statement taken by the Detective Sergeant featured direct quotations reported by the woman, and she signed the statement that detailed how her husband was 'responsible for the injuries to the child and in my opinion the child was terrified of him.' Charges were laid against the couple four days after this statement was taken. The present writer's reading of this case file suggests the decisive agency of a seasoned criminal investigator, and the juniority of the Bean Garda.

Ban Ghardaí and the police response to sexual offences in Cork

A similarly ancillary role for Ban Ghardaí in the policing of sexual offences is suggested by the survey of court cases in Cork during this period. The role prescribed for Ban Ghardaí in cases in which the victim of a sexual assault presented to the Garda does not seem to have altered from that which was on occasion fulfilled by the unattested policewomen of an earlier era: retrieval of a victim's clothing for technical examination, and accompanying the victim to be physically examined by a medical doctor. One factor in this continuity may have been that Garda criminal investigative practices were not substantially revised between 1946 and 1979. Deputy Commissioner W.R.E. Murphy's *Manual of Criminal Investigation*, first issued in 1946, was not superseded as the guidebook for Garda criminal investigative procedure until the issue of *Crime Investigation Techniques* in July 1979.[229] The *Manual of Criminal Investigation* devoted a chapter to 'Sexual crime' but made no reference to any role for a woman in the police response to an allegation of sexual assault or rape.[230] It is probable that the Garda adapted its procedural response according to differing perceived exigencies, and, a historical feature of police policy in Ireland was pronounced variation in policy within and without the Dublin Metropolitan Area. In February 2004, Garda Commissioner Conroy told an Oireachtas sub-committee that in the thirty years preceding 1974, Murphy's *Manual* had 'been changed twice', and that a third revision was in preparation at that time.[231]

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[229] *Commission of Investigation into the Dublin and Monaghan bombings of 1974: Final Report*, (Dublin, 2007) pp 47-8. On Murphy, see: Karl Murphy, 'An Irish General: William Richard English Murphy, 1890-1975', *History Ireland* xiii, 6 (Nov.-Dec., 2005), pp 10-11.

[230] An Garda Síochána, *Manual of Criminal Investigation* (Dublin, 1946). I am grateful to Mr John Henderson, Templemore, Co. Tipperary, for providing me with a manual (no.3500).

[231] *Parliamentary Debates*, Joint Committee on Justice, Equality, Defence and Women's Rights: Sub-Committee on the Barron Report, lii, p. 28 (10 Feb. 2004).

In 1981, subsequent to the issue of the *Crime Investigation Techniques* manual of 1979, Minister of State for the Department of Justice, Seán Doherty, told the Seanad that the Garda had 'detailed instructions on how to deal with rape complainants', which included an 'instruction that the complainant's statement should be taken by a ban-gharda [sic] where possible'.[232]

In the period treated here, prior to such detailed instruction being issued, it is possible that particular exigencies in different Divisions and variations in practice by senior officers may have contributed to the apparently lesser participation by Ban Ghardaí in the police response to sexual offences in Cork than in Limerick. While Ban Ghardaí had been based in Cork for a year longer than in Limerick, the particulars of cases in which they had contributed to for Limerick included two rape cases and the serious assault of a wife by her husband, while all of the cases listed in the report returned from Cork were prosecutions of women for larceny.[233] The common function of unnamed Ban Ghardaí in the three cases referred to here was in taking statements from victims: one taken in hospital from the wife who had been attacked; one taken from an 11-year-old rape victim; and one taken from a rape victim 'who had not been helpful when questioned by Gardaí'.[234]

Few references to Ban Ghardaí occur in the witness lists of the cases catalogued in the State Book at Circuit Court for Cork City, 1963-74, or the corresponding book for Cork County.[235] Bean Garda Breda Lee was listed as a witness in a rape case tried at Cork Circuit Court in November 1965. The statements in the corresponding case file indicate that the Bean Garda Lee accompanied the victim and a Garda Inspector to the country roadside where the victim said the offence had occurred, accompanied her to a doctor's surgery to be examined, and later accompanied her to her home where she took possession of items of underwear from the victim to be retained for forensic examination. Sometimes no Bean Garda was mentioned in the account by a Garda of interviewing the victim of a sexual crime and retrieving personal possessions for use as evidence. In a statement prepared for a failed indecent assault prosecution, a Sgt Eugene O'Shea, Mallow Rd. Station, Cork, told the court that three days after a victim of a sexual assault had presented on the day of the alleged offence to Shandon Street Garda Station

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[232] *Seanad Éireann deb.*, xcv, 1345 (1 Apr. 1981).
[233] G.A., Ban Ghardaí - particulars of arrests made.
[234] Supt. J. Murphy for C/Supt. NE, 30 Jan. 1964 (G.A., Ban Ghardaí – particulars of arrests made).
[235] Cork City, Criminal Court Records 1963-74 (N.A.I., v13-27-18); County of Cork, Criminal Court Records 1963-74 (N.A.I., v13-26-34). I am grateful to Mr Ken Robinson of the National Archives for sourcing these uncatalogued volumes for my consultation.

with her mother, he: 'interviewed her at her home on 10th July 1969. She gave me a pink slip the side of which was torn and which I produce.'[236] No Bean Garda was referred to in the case.

The non-fulfilment of night duty by Ban Ghardaí was also a factor that determined the nature of their involvement in cases of sexual violence, some of which were 'detected' by the Garda late at night when a victim was conveyed to, or presented at, the Station. Ban Ghardaí were not required to fulfil regular hours of duty beyond 18.00 until May 1980, and then only up to 01.00 hours.[237] In Northern Ireland, night duty by female members of the R.U.C. was only fulfilled on a regular rostered basis from 1967, and then only in Belfast City.[238] Policewomen fulfilled night duty on a call-out basis in response to a special circumstance, such as the victim of a sexual offence presenting at a station. It is evident that when a victim presented at the Station late at night a Bean Garda may have been called from her home to attend, but the investigation proceeded in her absence. Sergeant J.B. Long of Union Quay Station told Cork Circuit Court that when on duty at 00.10 hours, he was advised that a woman who had been conveyed to the Station had resisted an attempted rape by three men: 'I met the woman in a room in the station. Garda D. Tobin was with her in the room. She was crying and looked very distressed. She appeared shocked when she spoke and I also got the impression that she had a lot of drink taken. [...] She was given a cup of tea and improved somewhat. I took a statement from her outlining her movements prior to and including the incident. She stated that her underclothes were torn by the culprits. I asked her if she would give the underclothes she was wearing to a Ban Garda and she agreed.'[239] Bean Garda Sally O'Keeffe arrived on duty at Union Quay around 01.00 to fulfil this work and to escort the distressed woman home.

Ban Ghardaí and the police response to sexual crime nationally

Limited evidence from court records from Dublin courts, along with references in newspaper interviews, suggest that Ban Ghardaí in Dublin were involved in the police response when sexual offence against a child had been detected. The record of an incest conviction in Dublin Circuit Court in October 1962 for offences against a twelve-year-old girl included a reference in the Trial Record Book to 'Elizabeth Dixon Bean Gda' among several prosecution witnesses, but the relevant file does not include any reference to

[236] No. 54 of 1970, State Files at Circuit Court, Cork City, 1969-70 (N.A.I., V13-30-8).
[237] G.A., Duties of Ban-Gardai.
[238] Cameron, *Women in Green*, p. 69.
[239] No. 6 of 1974, State Files at Circuit Court Cork City 1974 (N.A.I., V13-30-8).

her work on the case.[240] Bean Garda Mary O'Reilly appeared on two occasions in the unsuccessful prosecution of a man for the rape of a fifteen-year-old girl, when the case was heard at the Dublin Circuit Court in March and April 1963.[241] Bean Sergeant Mary Nolan was listed as a witness in an unsuccessful rape prosecution along with two doctors and other witnesses, tried in March 1965. Yet no reference to her work in this case was included in the file related to the case.[242] Bean Garda Mary O'Donnell featured as a witness in the unsuccessful prosecution of a man for the rape of a fifteen to seventeen-year-old girl in March 1966, along with two medical witnesses and four male Gardaí.[243] A rare instance of the deployment of a Bean Garda in plainclothes in the investigation of a rape complaint was described to Dublin Circuit Criminal Court in October 1967. The victim reported that the alleged rapist was a stranger she had met at a dance at Barry's Hotel. Two nights later, Bean Garda Moira O'Beirne of Store Street Station attended the same venue in plainclothes along with the victim. O'Beirne told the court: 'In the ballroom I remained a few paces away from [the victim]. After a few minutes she returned to me and told me that she had positively identified the man who had assaulted her on the previous night. She pointed out this man to me and I told her to keep him under observation while I contacted Sgt. Curran & D/Gda. O'Sullivan.'[244]

As an interviewee quoted in a number of features about Ban Ghardaí and their work, Bean Sergeant Sarah McGuinness made a number of references to their involvement in the police response to cases of sexual violence against women. She was listed as a witness in the unsuccessful prosecution of a man for rape first listed for hearing in December 1966, but adjourned twice to April 1967, when the jury failed to reach a verdict. When the case was re-tried in December 1967, the accused was found not guilty.[245] A February 1970 newspaper featured based on 'A day in the life of a Ban Garda [sic]' suggested that by that time, in the Dublin Metropolitan Division at least, Garda policy required that a Bean Garda be involved in the police response when a crime of sexual violence was 'detected': 'But the phone rang, a call from a station on the north side. They had a girl who had been assaulted, and Sara had to go and

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[240] No. 11 of 26 Oct. 1961, County and City of Dublin Circuit Criminal Court Trials Record Book 1961-2 (N.A.I., v14-16-18); and case file (N.A.I., v14-16-11).
[241] No. 83 of 29 Mar.1963, County and City of Dublin Circuit Criminal Court Trials Record Book 1963 (N.A.I., 1C-96-152).
[242] No. 28 of 19 Mar. 1965, County and City of Dublin Circuit Criminal Court Trials Record Book 1965 (N.A.I., catalogued 1D-2-156, found at v3a/1); and case file (N.A.I., 1D-2-169).
[243] No. 65 of 21 Mar. 1966, County and City of Dublin Circuit Criminal Court Trials Record Book 1966 (N.A.I., v4B-12-6).
[244] State Files at Circuit Court 77-95, Oct. 1967 (N.A.I., v4B-11-26).
[245] County and City of Dublin Circuit Criminal Court Trials Record Book, 1967 (N.A.I., v4B-12-7).

interview her and be available if a medical examination was necessary.'[246] It was reported that 'The small force of Ban Garda [sic] in Dublin are automatically called in a case of this nature. They take the initial statement from the girl, which can involve hours of work, and then pass the case on to the station involved.' Such a presentation seems to overstate the centrality of Ban Ghardaí in cases of sexual violence against women when related to the process documented in court records, particularly in cases such as that in which Bean Garda Sally O'Keeffe worked in Cork in 1974. In a report of the hearing of a 1977 fraud case, a Garda detective attached to the Central Detective, the élite investigative section of the force, told the Central Criminal Court that 'he had not considered it necessary that there should be a ban garda present' when he interviewed a female suspect. He contended that 'Ban Gardaí were used only where it was necessary to search a person and did not take part in interrogations'.[247]

The two women who achieved highest rank during the first forty years of women's membership of the Garda contributed to the formulation of policy on the response to sexual violence against women and children. 'Where sexual assault is concerned, the unfortunate victim, especially if it is a child, will more readily talk to a woman than to a man,' it was stated in a newspaper feature which attributed several direct quotations to McGuinness.[248] While attached to Dublin Stations throughout the 1960s, McGuinness also fulfilled work at the Garda Training College. Phyllis Nolan, the first woman promoted to Superintendent, lead a course at the Garda Training College in the 1980s to train members to respond to cases of sexual violence.[249] Nolan's membership of international police associations informed her perspective. Nolan has suggested that, by the late 1970s, experience of and expertise in responding to sexual crime became concentrated in the 'Ban Garda Unit': 'The women's section became a specialised unit which covered the investigation of sexual crime and domestic violence. Through the years with the integration of women into policing in general (in the various units and specific areas), that resulted in the disbandment of the Ban Garda Unit – there was no longer this core group of Ban Gardaí available to respond to calls for such investigations.'[250]

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[246] *Irish Times*, 3 Feb. 1970.
[247] *Irish Times*, 5 Mar. 1977.
[248] *Irish Times*, 30 Mar. 1964.
[249] *Irish Times*, 5 Mar. 1993.
[250] *Garda Journal*, March 1995, p. 5.

While only of Detective Garda rank, Catherine Clancy is reported to have 'prepared a study for the force on its response to child sexual abuse' in the late 1980s.[251] In 1993, a Domestic Violence and Sexual Assault Investigation Unit (D.V.S.A.I.) was established, and similar to the disbanded Ban Gharda unit that had been involved in much of this work, it was centrally based in the Dublin Metropolitan Area – at Harcourt Square – and was staffed by a high proportion of women. A recent study noted that one of functions of the unit was 'To perform its duties in liaison with the Community Relations Section and Juvenile Liaison Officers.'[252] The liaison relationship indicated here suggests the female ambit of policing that existed since the late 1960s, long before the formation of task-based sections such as Community Relations or D.V.S.A.I., politician Gemma Hussey sought to create a procedural requirement that a Bean Garda be present when a woman made an allegation of rape to the police. Hussey introduced an unsuccessful private members bill to reform the law on sexual offences in 1980 while a Senator, and was critical of the Government's Criminal Law (Rape) Bill for not incorporating this, and other measures she had proposed.[253] A submission by the Rape Crisis Centre on legislation and investigative procedures made in November 1983 made no reference to the role of Ban Ghardaí in the investigation process.[254]

Ban Ghardaí and the 'security situation': frontline duty and expanded recruitment

Violent crime in the 1970s posed a major challenge to the criminal justice apparatus in Ireland and had a particularly profound effect on the work role and professional profile of Ban Ghardaí. The control of a small number of women convicted of participation in serious crime was one dimension of the challenges posed. Two female prisons operated at this time in sections of the prisons at Mountjoy in Dublin and at Limerick, which was the oldest prison in the state. The construction of a new female prison at Kilbarrack in Dublin had been planned since 1972.[255] The management of a small number of women who had perpetrated serious crime, most of whom were affiliated to the illegal violent nationalist Irish

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[251] *Irish Times*, 29 Oct. 1997.

[252] Darren Kinsella, 'Is the Domestic Violence Policy 1996 (and related legislation) being utilised effectively by Gardaí and does it provide adequate powers to deal with Domestic Violence in Ireland?'(B.A. Dissertation, Garda College, 2009) pp 23-4.

[253] See *Seanad Éireann deb.*, xci, 1079, 4 Apr., 1979; and rejection of Hussey's bill (*Seanad Éireann deb.*, xcv, 1345, 1 Apr., 1981. Not discussed in Gemma Hussey, *At the cutting edge: Cabinet Diaries 1982-1987* (Dublin, 1990); nor in *Idem, Ireland Today: Anatomy of a Changing State* (London, 1993).

[254] Rape Crisis Centre Dublin, 'Submission from Rape Crisis Centre Dublin on Rape Legislation and Investigative Procedures' [typed, bound text of submission to Women's Affairs and Family Law Reform Inter-Departmental Working Party, and Oireachtas Joint Committee on Women's Rights].

[255] Mary Rogan, 'Prison Policy in Ireland 1922-1972: Subversion, Stagnation, and Social Change' (Ph.D Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2008).

Republican Army, caused Ban Ghardaí to be deployed on whole-time duty within Limerick, and later, in Portlaoise prison. In their report for 1975, the visiting committee of Limerick Prison were stated to 'feel in common with public opinion, that Limerick prison is unsuited for female subversives and their presence has a disturbing effect on all other prisoners and the prison officers and staff.'[256] Ban Ghardaí worked in Limerick prison from 1975 to May 1977.[257] In a briefing in late 1976 for the Minister, a department official sought to make a distinction that 'Ban Ghardaí are at present engaged on police duties [emphasis in the original] in prisons - there are no Ban Ghardaí assigned to prison officer duties; they are there on the direction of their authorities for security reasons.'[258] The deployment of Ban Ghardaí to prisons occurred despite a sustained 'large-scale' recruitment drive for prison staff in 1973-74.[259]

This deployment was the subject of many objections. The Representative Body questioned the policy, and it was queried in the Oireachtas. The number of Ban Ghardaí assigned to work in prisons was the subject of a question to the Minister for Justice in 1976. The Department of Justice proposed that the number of Ban Ghardaí assigned to work in prisons not be disclosed 'on security grounds', and referred to the Garda Commissioner's agreement to this posture.[260] A memorandum prepared for the information of the Minister on this subject illustrates that of the thirty-four Ban Ghardaí in service in December 1976, one was based at Portlaoise Prison, and six more were based at Limerick Prison, where in addition, a Bean Sergeant was said to combine 'prison' duty with other Garda duties'.[261]

The situation at Limerick Prison deteriorated during the period that Ban Ghardaí were deployed there. They became the target of animus and violence from a small number of women who were serving long sentences at the prison. In 1975 three Ban Ghardaí were attacked by five prisoners who threw boiling water on them in a kitchen at Limerick Prison.[262] Ban Sergeant Delia McTigue, who had been seconded from Cork for duty at Limerick, was severely injured in the attack.[263] In 1976, 'the continued refusal of

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[256]Department of Justice, *Annual Report on Prisons and Places of Detention for the year 1975*, p. 11.
[257] A former Limerick Prison Officer's recollections of some of these prisoners is quoted in: Christina M. Quinlan, *Inside: Ireland's Women's Prisons, past and present* (Dublin, 2011), p. 55.
[258] 'Note for the Minister's information' (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).
[259]Department of Justice, *Annual Report on Prisons and Places of Detention for the year 1974,* p. 9.
[260] 'Note for the Minister's information', (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).
[261] Garda Síochána: recruitment of Ban Gardaí, 1967-77 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).
[262]Rose Dugdale injured Ban Sergeant McTigue. The other prisoners who participated in the disturbance were: Marion Coyle, Rita O'Hare, Marie Murray, and Angela Dufferin.
[263]McTigue was awarded £3,500 compensation for her injuries by the High Court (*Irish Times*, 24 May 1977).

some of the female prisoners to pass the Ban Ghardaí who were on duty in the prison' caused those prisoners to forego outdoor exercise for five months up to April 1976.[264] The *Garda Review* remarked that year that 'although we have Ban Gardaí in theory, in practice we don't have them any more for any task outside those immediately connected with the security situation.' The writer considered 'it wasn't too bad taking them off the streets and uniformed patrols because there were so few beats being done anyway,' but that 'where they are really missed and where they are indispensable are in detective work and investigations'.[265] In January of 1976 the Representative Body for Guards called for the Ban Ghardaí to be 'relieved of their present liability to perform duty inside Limerick prison.' It was reported in May 1977 that 'following prolonged agitation by the Garda authorities' they had been withdrawn from duty in Limerick Prison.[266]

But by 1978 a pronounced expansion in the number of Ban Ghardaí occurred. The number of Ban Ghardaí approximately doubled in late 1978, to a total of 93 members.[267] The largest party of Ban Ghardaí assigned to a non-metropolitan area was the group of four attached to the Louth-Meath Division, which included the jurisdictional border on a major route towards Dublin. The text of an undated speech about the history of women in the Garda explained this policy departure by reference to 'the increase of subversive activity and the fact that public health nurses who were being used by the Gardaí for the searching of female prisoners were being threatened by the subversive organisations'.[268] The expanded recruitment was said to have been intended to achieve the assignment of a female member to every Divisional headquarters. The expanded recruitment of Ban Ghardaí was a latter feature of substantial expansion of Garda numerical strength in the 1970s.[269] Between 1974 and 1978 just over 1,000 members were stationed consistently 'in Border Stations'. In the two years 1977-1978, the numerical strength of the Garda increase substantially: from 8,456 in December 1976, to 8,821 in December 1977, to 9,387 in December 1978. A salient element of this expansion was a proportionally significant expansion of the 'Detective Force', in Dublin and other Divisions, from 818 members in December 1976 to 1,144 members by December 1978.

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[264] Department of Justice, *Annual Report on Prisons and Places of Detention for the year 1976*, p. 23. For a treatment of prisoner-staff relations sensitive to the experience of prisoners, see: Mary Corcoran, *Out of Order: the political imprisonment of women in Northern Ireland, 1972-98* (Cullompton, 2008) pp 153-70.
[265] *Garda Review*, Jun. 1976, p. 8.
[266] *Irish Times*, 11 May 1977 and 20 May 1977.
[267] Garda Síochána Strength Returns, Jan. 1974 - Dec. 1979 (N.A.I., DJ 2005/23/170).
[268] Typescript of untitled, undated speech (c.1988), G.A..
[269] Garda Síochána Strength Returns, Jan. 1974 – Dec. 1979 (N.A.I., DJ 2005/23/170).

Ban Ghardaí and equality: 'In deference to femininity'

Substantial change occurred in the terms of employment of Ban Ghardaí in 1978 that were not directly attributed to the greater number of women in the force. The principal changes included the extension of equal pay to female members and the beginning of an era of integration of women into the mainstream of the Garda. These changes are attributable to a development outside the criminal justice system: the faltering espousal of an employment equality agenda by the State in the 1970s.[270] National Wage Agreements of 1972 and 1974 contained a clause that proposed that the pay differential between male and female employees be reduced. The Agreement of 1972 prescribed a reduction in the differential in pay terms in cases where 'men and women are doing the same or equal work or work of equal value'.[271] The Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act, 1974 followed. It established a legal right to equal pay for men and women employed on 'like' work by the same employer.[272] It stipulated that disputes on the application of equal pay were to be referred for investigation and recommendation by a designated Equality Officer, a civil servant officer of the Labour Court. In the event of either party being dissatisfied with the recommendation, the case would be heard by the Labour Court whose determination of the case was binding.[273]

A 1967 Department of Justice memorandum noted that 'the pay for the female ranks is roughly one-seventh less than that for the males.'[274] It may be recalled that in 1931, Garda Commissioner Eoin O'Duffy proposed that 'women police' be accorded parity of pay to male colleagues.[275] While the Garda Bill was in preparation, Senator Davidson (Lab.) had proposed that the new policewomen receive equal pay to their male colleagues.[276] The Garda Representative Bodies represented the interests of members to the officials of relevant Government departments through the mechanism of a Conciliation Council. The *Garda Review* averred that the representative body was attentive to the needs of Ban Ghardaí, a 'tiny minority' who, it acknowledged, 'may often feel that their welfare gets little enough Representative Body attention'.

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[270]Yvonne Galligan, *Women and politics in contemporary Ireland* (London, 1998) pp 68-89; Pádraic Doyle, 'Equal pay in Ireland: ten years of legislation' (Ph.D Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1987).
[271]Deirdre Curtin, *Irish Employment Equality Law* (Dublin, 1989), pp 99-100.
[272]Curtin, *Employment Equality Law*, p. 113.
[273]Curtin, *Employment Equality Law*, pp 294-8.
[274]Equal pay for equal work - male and female members of Garda Síochána, 7 Jun. 1967 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).
[275]Garda Commissioner submission to Carrigan Committee (N.A.I., DJ H247/41A). 'Salary at least initial salary of Guards 50/-.'
[276]Labour Party, *Report of the Administrative Council for the year 1957-'58* (Dublin, 1958).

In the winter of 1973, the representatives bodies sought to extend the employment equality agenda to the Garda. They invoked the National Wage Agreement at conciliation. This claim followed the provision of the National Wage Agreement, and sought the diminution – rather than the elimination - of the sex-based wage differential in the Garda. The claim was deferred for almost a year, during which time it was altered from a claim for diminution of the differential to a claim for its *elimination*, following the enactment of the Anti- Discrimination (Pay) Act, 1974.[277] Equal pay for Ban Gardaí is supported by this Department,' an internal Department of Justice of April 1975 noted, 'but it has not yet been sanctioned by the Department of the Public Service.'[278]

In addition to the opposition of the Department of the Public Service, successive Garda Commissioners disputed that the work of female members of the Garda was similar or of equal value to that of male members. In 1975 the Department of Justice was in consultation with Garda leadership about the position of the Garda under the 'Anti-Discrimination (Equal Opportunities in Employment) Bill 1975 (subsequently amended to Employment Equality Act 1977. Deputy Commissioner McAleenan told the Department in August 1974 that the duties performed by Ban Ghardaí were 'similar or equal to those performed by the male members but because of physical limitations and in deference to femininity the scope of their duties and the manner in which they are called to exercise their powers and functions are limited'.[279] Commissioner Malone wrote in June 1975 that 'The Ban Ghardaí have the same statutory powers as male Gardaí but in practice their role is more restricted.'[280] In a memorandum on female membership of the Garda prepared in September 1975, discriminatory practice was denied and Acting Commissioner McAleenan defined 'the police duties considered outside the role proper to a Bean Garda' as 'those whose inherent requirements demand that they be performed by men'.[281] McAleenan argued against any change to promotion or recruitment policy and contended that 'It certainly would effect [sic] efficiency and morale if women inspectors or sergeants were placed in charge of male members of lower rank in dealing with police functions, particularly those functions which could only be carried out by male members.' There is no record of objection by the Garda leadership to equal pay for

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[277] *Garda Review*, Apr. 1974, p. 12.
[278] [Miss Griffin?] to Mr Wallace, Department of Justice, 16 Apr. 1975.
[279] Dep.Commissioner J. McAleenan to Secretary Department of Jus, 30 Aug. 1974 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/140/143). I am grateful to Margaret Ayres for referring me to this file.
[280] Garda Commissioner to Secretary, Department of Justice, A. Ward, 10 Jun. 1975 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/140/143).
[281] J. McAleenan, Deputy Commissioner, Acting Commissioner to Secretary Department of Jus, 2 Sept.1975 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/140/143).

female members, but these statements, made around the same time, express a similar view to that on which the equal pay claim was unsuccessfully contested.

In a memo to the Minister in September 1975, the secretary of the Department of Justice anticipated that Ban Ghardaí were 'about to be paid as well as men', but this proved premature.[282] Equal pay claims were advanced by the two representative bodies that represented female members: the Representative Body for Guards and the Representative Body for Inspectors, Station Sergeants and Sergeants. A memo prepared in advance of a parliamentary question scheduled for May 1975 reported that 'there was a somewhat similar claim on behalf of another public service group - Post Office telephonists - being considered by the Equal Pay Commissioner of the Labour Court' and that the government side 'wished to reserve their position pending the outcome of the Post Office case.'[283]

The equal pay claim for female telephonists was rejected in a published report by the Equal Pay Commissioner in July 1975.[284] An equal pay claim for the Garda, evidently opposed by the Department of the Public Service, was refused at conciliation in 1975.[285] The first official appointed by the Labour Court to make recommendations on equal pay, Equal Pay Commissioner, Mr Maher, was conservative in his application of the legislation. By November 1975, a Justice official wrote that it had been provisionally agreed at Conciliation that, contrary to the wish of that Department, the equal pay claim would be referred to an Equality Officer of the Labour Court for a recommendation.[286] This was an equal pay claim advanced by the Representative body for Inspectors, Station Sergeants and Sergeants that listed five Ban Sergeants as the claimants. With the Sergeants claim under investigation by a Labour Court Equality Officer, the official (government) side rejected a claim by the Representative Body for

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[282]'AW' [Andy Ward], Secretary, Department of Justice to Minister for Justice, 6 Oct. 1975 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/140/143).
[283]'Note for the Minister's information', parliamentary question from Lemass, for answer 7 May 1975 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).
[284]*Report of the Equal Pay Commissioner (under clause 10 of the National Agreement the Employer/Labour Conference) to the Labour Court and the General Council of the Civil Service Conciliation and Arbitration Scheme on the question of whether women in their grade of Telephonists in the Department of Posts and Telegraphs are performing the same or similar jobs of equal value as men in their grade of male night telephonists in that Department* (Dublin, 1975).
[285]'JBO' [probably J.B. Olden], Department of Justice, to Secretary, Department of Justice, 4 Nov. 1975 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/140/143). The document referred to stated: 'We have again put it strongly to DPS [Department of Public Service] that the claim should be conceded at Conciliation and not sent to the Equal Pay Commissioner where it would have to be opposed by both the Minister for Justice and the Minister for Public Service.'
[286]'JBO' to Secretary Department of Justice, 4 Nov. 1975 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/140/143).

Guards in the summer of 1977. 'No good reason was ever given by the Official Side as to why the claim should not be conceded by them,' the *Garda Review* complained.[287]

The Representative Body for Inspectors and Sergeants pressed ahead with its 'five female Sergeants' claim. This claim was characteristic of the first band of cases referred to the Equality Officers in that it was based on a small number of employees, and was grade-based on Sergeant rank. 'It appears to have been a common practice simply to submit a claim on behalf of only a small number of workers with the understanding that the resulting recommendation or determination would apply to many more workers not directly named in the claim.'[288] The recommendation was issued in January 1978.[289] The employer contended that the claimants were not liable for regular night-duty, and did not perform the entire range of duty than men were capable of performing. The Representative Body challenged the contention that the women did not work at night, and argued that not all male members of the Garda performed regular night-duty. As the record of duty presented in evidence to the Conroy Commission illustrated, Ban Ghardaí regularly performed 'long hours of stand-by duty', and an agreement for an allowance payment for such work had been finalised at Conciliation in October 1973.[290]

The Equality Officer was convinced that the work performed by the Ban Sergeants was similar and of equal value to that of male Sergeants, being of equal value 'in terms of the demands it makes in relation to such matters as skill, physical or mental effort, responsibility and working conditions'. The recommendation of an Equality Officer was not binding, but the Government did not avail of recourse to the Labour Court, the determination of which would have been binding. The acceptance of this recommendation by the official side precipitated the end of sex-based pay discrimination in the Garda. Although the recommendation was concerned only with Sergeant ranks, equal pay was extended to Ban Ghardaí at the next meeting of the conciliation council. The award was reported rather coyly by the *Garda Review* and apparently overlooked by the national press. 'Agreement was finally reached on our

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[287] *Garda Review*, Jul. 1977, p. 4.
[288] Pádraic Doyle, 'Equal Pay in Ireland: ten years of legislation' (Ph.D. Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 1987), p. 192.
[289] See Appendix II for the Equality Officer's report and recommendation. I am grateful to Andrew O'Shea of the Labour Court for this material. 'Department of Justice and Department of Public Service v Representative Body for Inspectors, Station Sergeants and Sergeants', Equality Officer's Recommendation No.2/1978, E.P. 77/14.
[290] Appendix I: 'Record of duty', listing for 'Reserve 6p.m. to 9.45a.m.'; *Conroy Report* para.717, p. 120; *Conroy Report*, para.755, p. 126; *Garda Review*, Nov. 1973, pp 9-10.

claim for equal pay for Ban Gardaí,' said the *Review*, without reference to the crucial recommendation by the Labour Court Equality Officer.[291]

The second plank of anti-discrimination legislation was the Employment Equality Act, 1977, which outlawed sex-based discrimination in recruitment, training, and promotion. The Garda leadership opposed the application of this measure to the Garda, and cited motor-cycle patrol and riot control work as examples of work that they believed should not be assigned to women. Along with the practical issues such as a perceived increased prospect of physical danger, and the inadequate facilities for women at many Garda stations, the Department believed that the application of the draft legislation to the Garda would have an injurious effect on the morale and self-image of the police. 'The Commissioner and his senior officers have made it clear,' wrote the Secretary of the Department of Justice, 'that they believe firmly that very many male Gardaí see themselves as members of a 'male Force' whose main work must, in the nature of things, be done by men and who would resent being under the command of female superiors with a consequent fall-off in efficiency and morale.'[292] The statements made in 1975 by the Garda leadership quoted above were made to support their request that an exemption be made for the Garda from this measure. The Department supported the request for an exemption, which was incorporated in the Act.

Under section 27 of the Act, the Defence Forces, the Garda and the prison service were granted a limited exemption. The Garda were permitted to assign a male or a female member where this was regarded as 'essential' for reasons of personal privacy, or to address a violent situation.[293] The effect of the exemption was to allow latitude to the Commissioner to direct deployment and recruitment to satisfy those two specified circumstances according to his discretion.[294] The specified exemptions for the Garda and for the Prison Service were challenged by a number of Deputies when the Bill was presented to the Dáil.[295] Two Deputies spoke in support of an amendment by Gene Fitzgerald, T.D. (F.F.), that these sections be deleted. Máire Geoghegan-Quinn, T.D. (F.F.), told the Dáil that 'Ban gardaí cannot be categorised and therefore, they cannot be told to do a certain job within the Garda Síochána or that they cannot cope with a riot situation, as mentioned by the Minister, or the present security situation.'

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[291] *Garda Review*, May 1978, p. 6.
[292] Secretary, Department of Justice to secretary, Department of Labour, undated [Photostat] in reply to communication of Jan. 1975 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/140/143).
[293] Marguerite Bolger and Clíona Kimber, *Sex Discrimination Law* (Dublin, 2000), pp 380-2.
[294] For an interpretation of the current - largely unchanged - position, see Dermot Walsh, *The Irish Police*, pp 22-3.
[295] *Dáil Éireann deb.*, ccxcviii, 1564-8 (27 Apr. 1977)

Seán Moore, T.D. (Lab.) said that 'The fact that this section of the force was not expanded is a disappointment to us all.' Fitzgerald's amendment was voted down, forty-eight to fifty-three.

Notwithstanding the limited exemption secured under the Employment Equality Act, 1977, the cumulative effect of the imposition of an equality agenda in the Garda ushered in a new era in the history of women in policing in Ireland, an era of formal integration. A conference of officers that convened in December 1978 resolved that it was 'desirable that Ban Gardaí should be given every opportunity of gaining experience in all aspects of police work and must be considered equally capable with their male colleagues of doing all types of duty.'[296] However, the Chief Superintendent had significant latitude in the implementation of the resolution. 'Ban Gardaí are not excused from duty at any particular time (including night-time) but this does not mean that you must assign them to a night 'relief' if you do not consider it necessary or advantageous.'[297] The Minister for Justice was briefed in spring 1979 that 'Present policy is that Ban Gardaí be given every opportunity of gaining experience in all aspects of policework so that they be equally capable with their male colleagues of doing all types of duty. Actual rostering and delegation of duties is left to local management.'[298] Local officers at Cork and Limerick were resistant to the suggestion that the metropolitan 'Ban Garda Unit' stationed at a single city Garda station be dispersed among other city stations.[299]

In December 1978, two Dublin-based Chief Superintendents discussed Ban Gharda duties and rostering with Bean Sergeant McGuinness 'C' District (Store Street) and Ban Sergeant Josephine Dwyer 'B' District (Pearse Street). The Ban Sergeants said that the female membership was 'anxious to be employed on the 4-unit [roster] system,' but wanted 'to continue to do what 'Miss McGuinness' described as 'Community Work':

> Miss McGuinness explained that she and some of the Ban Gardaí visit women with social problems and help them to re-adjust. Some of this work is done in their own time and some of it, depending on the circumstances, while on duty. They would also wish to be available to go to other Stations in the Dublin Metropolitan Area when required to assist in the investigation of certain types of crime, particularly rape and serious indecent assaults against women. [300]

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[296] Memo of Conference, 5 Dec. 1978 (G.A., Duties of Ban-Gardaí).
[297] Ibid.
[298] G.A., Duties of Ban-Gardaí.
[299] Correspondence from Chief Supt P.F. Spillane, Limerick, and P.G. Power, Chief Supt Cork, in spring 1979 (G.A., Duties of Ban-Gardaí).
[300] J. Sheehan, Chief Supt, D.M.A., to Assistant Commissioner D.M.A., 20 Dec. 1978 (G.A., Duties of Ban-Gardaí).

The officers 'informed them that when employed on the 4-unit system they would simply be considered as ordinary members of their particular Unit, available for any duties which may arise', and that consequently, the Ban Sergeants 'were not prepared to say' that a female member would not be at serious risk if deployed on beat duty, alone, up to 02.00 at night, as they had initially suggested. Chief Superintendent Sheahan recommended that Ban Ghardaí not be rostered for regular duty any later than 22:00, and noted that 'Ban Gardaí are not issued with Batons and if they are to be employed on very late duty they may need some means of protecting themselves.' However, in May 1980, Assistant Commissioner 'B', E. Flaherty, informed officers in Dublin that the Garda Commissioner had agreed to the adoption of the Garda Representative Association's proposed roster for Ban Ghardaí in the D.M.A., under which they were regularly rostered to work up to 01:00 hours.[301] It is evident that local variations persisted, however, such as at Wexford, where in 1982 the 'night tour' performed by the five Ban Ghardaí of the Wexford Division was from 16:00 hours to midnight.[302]

As late as February 1980, Ban Ghardaí in the Dublin Metropolitan Area were not integrated into the established roster. That month, the Assistant Commissioner for the D.M.A. wrote that he 'would personally not favour this as I would fear for the safety of B/Gardaí patrolling alone in any street in the D.M.A. on night-duty and I see no justification for "doubling" them with male members simply to provide protection for them.'[303] The Garda Representative Association proposed an alternative roster for Ban Ghardaí in the D.M.A. under which they would be rostered for regular only up to 01:00 hours at night. 'It is obvious,' wrote the Assistant Commissioner, 'that the reason for the request to roster the B/Gardaí is to enable them to benefit from night-duty and weekend allowances.'[304]

The integration of policewomen into police forces is regarded as a challenging phase for the police organisation, and sometimes a difficult transition for the policewomen involved. The two most senior and probably most influential policewomen in the Garda, Sarah McGuinness and Phyllis Nolan, repeatedly asserted that their femininity was crucial to their police function. Their commitment to the fulfilment of female police service to the victims of sexual crime and to social welfare and preventative work with women is demonstrated by the position they adopted in discussion of the terms on which

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[301] Assistant Commissioner 'B' to Chief Supts, D.M.A., May 1980 (G.A., Duties of Ban-Gardai).
[302] Sgt T.L. Cantwell, Chief Supt's Office, Wexford, to Assistant Commissioner at Commissioner's Office, Dublin, 3 Jun. 1982 (G.A., Duties of Ban-Gardaí).
[303] Assistant Commissioner, D.M.A., to Commissioner 'B', Feb. 1980 (G.A., Duties of Ban-Gardaí).
[304] Ibid.

integration was to be implemented. 'An important part of our work,' stated the text of a brief public address on the work of Ban Ghardaí 'is the rehabilitation of girls who may be inclined to take the wrong road. [...] There are unlimited opportunities for the practice of moral welfare, and to help the less fortunate of our class.'[305] In a 1984 interview, McGuinness said that Ban Ghardaí 'took a particular interest in girls. Girls apprehended for shoplifting, for instance, were often pregnant. They might be quite along, and we would put them in touch with help and visit them.'[306] In a 1974 interview, McGuinness referred to the case of a woman who was to serve a short prison sentence following her conviction for shop-lifting:

> 'I arranged it so that her neighbours thought she had just gone away to stay with her sister. For a long time afterwards I kept in touch and took her for drives now and then, always trying to persuade her to see her doctor, but without success. Then I went down the country on holiday and wrote to her from there to say that it would really please me if she could bring herself to go to her doctor. The letter finally broke her. She confided everything to her next-door neighbour who escorted her to the doctor. He arranged for her to have psychiatric treatment.[307]

McGuinness and Nolan exerted a strong influence in the formation and character of Bean Gardaí on account of their seniority and their position as instructors to female recruits in training. The *Garda Review* of January 1980 featured a photograph of 'A recently graduated class of Ban Gardaí with their instructor, B.Sair. Sarah McGuinness.' On promotion to Bean Inspector rank in 1981, a columnist commented that 'their contribution to the Garda Síochána cannot be overstated'.[308] As they interpreted the role, 'In the field of policework her femininity will be one of her greatest assets.'[309] Bean Superintendent Nolan 'firmly' told an interviewer in 1989 that 'A bean gharda should never be treated like one of the lads. By virtue of her femininity she has special qualities and can give something different to the force.'[310] This conception of the Irish policewoman did not challenge the conventional role prescribed for women, that of 'caring mothers and selfless assistants'.[311] To public audiences, the most senior female members of the Garda, Nolan and McGuinness, articulated a professional persona that was characterised by gender: 'By the proper use of her natural talents a policewoman can deal with these matters without embarrassment to herself or the person with whom she is dealing.'

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[305] 'Work of the Ban/Gardai' 8-page undated, unattributed script (G.A., History of policy).
[306] *Irish Times*, 18 May 1984.
[307] *Garda Review*, Oct. 1973, pp 26-7.
[308] *Garda Review*, May/Jun. 1981, p. 13.
[309] 'Work of the Ban/Gardai' 8-page undated, unattributed script (G.A., History of policy).
[310] *Irish Times*, 27 Feb. 1989.
[311] Louise Ryan, '"In the line of fire": representations of women and war (1919-1923) in the writings of republican men', in Louise Ryan and Margaret Ward (ed.s), *Irish women and nationalism- soldiers, new women, and wicked hags* (Dublin, 2004), pp 45-61.

This concept of the work of a policewoman lent itself to victim-centred attentiveness, not just to victims of sexual crime but also in incidents that caused injury and fatality on a large scale. Three years before the Garda Act, 1958, a Department of Justice official had noted to the Minister that 'where the police have to break bad news to members of the public who are women it would be much more humane to have women to do it.'[312] Sarah McGuinness fulfilled such victim-centred work in her engagement with people directly affected by the Dublin-Monaghan bombings of 1974, for which one newspaper-writer characterised her as a 'type of "Florence Nightingale" in police uniform', and with similar work following the fire at the Stardust nightclub in Artane, Dublin, in 1981.[313] Controversially, no criminal prosecutions were advanced following these incidents which caused large loss of life. The capacity to liaise and engage appropriately with survivors of such events and the relatives of the dead was an acute aspect of a broad range of service-oriented duties that women were disproportionately deployed on.

Resistance to some of the perceived implications of integration of women into the mainstream of the Force is suggested by their attachment to a distinctively feminine uniform. The delayed and limited provision of uniform to female members of the Garda was a practical inconvenience and a symbolic slight. The first trainees 'wore a type of blue "boiler suits" for a substantial period of the course while their new uniforms were being designed and made' .[314] It continued to be a feature of the occupational experience of Ban Ghardaí into the early 1990s.[315] As an era of integration dawned in 1978, consideration of the Garda uniform included the suggestion that the uniform for female members include trousers.[316] A columnist in the *Garda Review* queried the continued use of the prefix 'Ban' to denote female members of the Garda in 1978, and wondered 'why can't they wear trousers?'[317] An all-troursered Force would have diminished the distinctive visual image of Ban Ghardaí who were skirts as uniform issue .

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[312] Note for the Minister for the answer to Parliamentary Question from Maureen O'Carroll, 9 Nov. 1955 (N.A.I., DT s16210).
[313] *Irish Independent*, 25 Nov. 1978; *Irish Times*, 18 May 1984.
[314] Garda Commissioner and O'Sullivan, *The Depot*, p. 151.
[315] Patricia Ellen Ahern, 'On Your Guard: Women in An Garda Sìochàna' (M.A. Thesis, National University of Ireland, University College Cork, 2005), p. 111.
[316] *Irish Times*, 25 May 1978.
[317] *Garda Review*, Jul. 1978, p. 8.

Although much of their work was performed in plain clothes, some female members emphasised the distinctiveness of the skirt as a marker of femininity. In an account of how she calmed a distressed child who was found wandering on the street, McGuinness described how 'The little thing broke loose from the two women and came and buried her face in my skirt. She clung to me like grim death all the way to the station.'[318] An *Irish Press* reporter wrote in 1978 that 'Bean Sgt. Sarah McGuinness has no intention of wearing slacks on the beat and doubts that many of the other girls would don them either.'[319] Another member, Bríd Wymbs was quoted in the same report: 'most of us want to preserve the feminine image', while Margaret Loughnane of the Drugs Squad said she didn't 'fancy a military type uniform with slacks'. The revised female uniform of 1982 included a shoulder bag, which prompted some incredulity from some younger members. 'Are they people connected with the modelling business?' a letter to the *Garda Review* asked: 'The shoulder-bag reminded me of something one would see in a drapery shop.'[320] It was not until 1992 that trousers were included in the female uniform, and then, the regulations stipulated that it would only be from October to May, 'or at the discretion of the divisional officer'.[321]

The case made in support of improved terms and conditions for Ban Ghardaí in the *Garda Review* sometimes suggested a dependant if not supine group. 'Within our ranks,' wrote a columnist in January 1977, 'there is no group more vulnerable and more at the mercy of their employers than the Ban Ghardaí. They are few in number, they are not very vocal as a group, they do not get promoted into senior and influential ranks.'[322] The paternalism of some senior officers in the 1960s was appreciatively remembered by some policewomen. 'Some of the older gardaí almost looked on us as their daughters and were very protective of us,' recalled Phyllis Nolan in 1989. 'It was nice.'[323] In 1979, with the integration of Ban Ghardaí into the four-roster-system, it was considered necessary to remind Divisional Officers that 'It is for you to decide, but it must clearly understood [sic] that Ban Gardaí are not allowed to select particular hours of duty to suit their own convenience.'[324] The grade-based nature of the equal pay claim that finally succeeded, and the fact that it was sponsored by the representative body rather than by individual claimants, meant that no Bean Garda was identified as a champion of equal pay.

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[318] *Garda Review*, Oct. 1973, pp 26-7.
[319] *Irish Press*, 28 Jun. 1978.
[320] *Garda Review*, May 1982, p. 23.
[321] Gemma Hussey, *Ireland today, anatomy of a changing State* (London, 1993), p. 140.
[322] *Garda Review*, Jan. 1977; see also: *Garda Review*, Jan. 1976, p. 4, and Jul. 1977, p. 4.
[323] *Irish Times*, 27 Feb. 1989.
[324] Directive from Commissioner to Each Divisional Officer, 4 Jun. 1979 (G.A., 'Duties of Ban Gardai')

Indeed, in a 1984 interview, Sarah McGuinness, who was directly affected by the claim as a Bean Sergeant in 1978, distanced herself from the process. She reflected in 1984 on 'the gains that have resulted on the relatively equal position' by saying: 'Yes, they had to be fought for. I didn't fight; I'm not that kind of person. But other people did. But I felt we were entitled to it as we were doing the same job as the men.'[325]

Ban Ghardaí were a minority of relatively low rank within a disciplined and strictly hierarchical organisation, but they were not silently subservient. Although she deprecated her role in the 'fight' for improved terms and conditions of employment for Ban Ghardaí, McGuinness had been an advocate for such, particularly as a witness at the Conroy Commission in 1969. She voiced a number of moderate proposals to the Commission. The Secretary to the Commission noted that 'There was a request from Bean Sgt McGuinness that women should not have to resign on marriage.'[326] Although 'She claimed that they [Ban Ghardaí] should only be used for duties for which women would be more suitable than men,' when she appeared before the Commission, she also suggested 'that all sections, including detective, should be open to Ban Gardaí, 'and that 'women should have the same pay as men and they should be allowed to remain on after marriage, as in England.'[327] Such a clearly stated demand of 1970 tends to distinguish policewomen from the female employee cohorts studied by Doyle, who found that 'equal pay was not a 'grass roots' demand from women workers'.[328]

McGuinness concluded her evidence to the Conroy Commission with the proposal that the Bean Sergeants, such as herself 'should also be eligible for promotion to Inspector', the first officer grade. In 1966, McGuinness was the first female member to pass the examination for promotion to Inspector. The first promotions to Bean Sergeant rank were accelerated under special conditions. Up to April 1963, appointees to Ban Sergeant rank were not required to sit a written examination.[329] During the period 1940 – 1970 'promotees to sergeant rank have practically all had 15 year's service upwards'.[330] In 1970 it was stated that the Conroy Commission observed that 'in practice in recent years the minimum service

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[325] *Irish Times*, 18 May 1984.
[326] J. Chadwick to Chairman, 27 Oct. 1969 (N.A.I., DJ 2005/147/238).
[327] Meeting of Commission,19 Feb. (N.A.I., DJ 2005/147/241).
[328] Doyle, 'Equal pay in Ireland'.
[329] (Article 5 (3) Promotion Regulations, 1960 as amended), referred to in Jus 2006/132/150: Garda Síochána: recruitment of Ban Gardaí, 1967 – 1977.
[330] *Conroy Report*, para.343.

as station sergeant has been 7 years' before promotion to Inspector rank.'[331] The promotion of women to Bean Inspector rank occurred in 1981.[332] Relative to the aggregate length of service for promotion to Inspector there was no marked delay in the duration served by McGuinness and Nolan before their appointment as Bean Inspectors. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, the Ban Ghardaí were treated and regulated as a distinct section within the Garda. The non-appointment of a female to officer rank was significant to the subjugation of the female membership as a 'force within a force'.

'Traditionally the range of duties of the Garda Síochána has been regarded as involving a very large element of work appropriate only for men,' a Department of Justice official reflected in 1975.[333] That view prevailed, despite the operational effectiveness demonstrated by policewomen in the Garda in a range of duties, including plainclothes detection work and juvenile liaison work. But in the late 1970s, through recourse to employment legislation, the role of Bean Garda, and by implication, the role of Garda, began to be formally remodeled from segregated single-sex roles. This change is mainly attributable to political and legislative developments outside policing and criminal justice: the implementation of an equality agenda in the context of domestic party-political change and the imperative for change that devolved from membership of the European Economic Community.[334] The pivotal aspect of this change was the concession of equal pay to women in the Garda in 1978. This change was preceded by a series of reforms such as the discontinuation of the requirement to retire on marriage. While the implementation of equal pay marked the beginning of an era of integration in the Garda, this was a gradual process. The major disparities that persisted were firstly, a higher minimum age for putative female recruits at 20 years, two years above the male age; and secondly, the deprivation of detective rank and entitlements to female full-time members of detective units.

'The Commissioner's view' of 1976 was 'that if there is to be an increase in strength it should be in the number of male Gardaí - because overall a male member is more effective than a female.'[335] When the minimalist level of female recruitment was departed from in 1977-78, it was due to operational policing exigencies rather than egalitarian principles. The Garda was compelled to adapt itself to the challenge posed by violent female nationalists, particularly the threat which they posed to other female public

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[331] *Conroy Report*, para.338.
[332] *Garda Review*, May/Jun. 1981, p. 13.
[333] Department of Justice to secretary, Department of Labour, 24 Apr. 1975 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).
[334] Yvonne Galligan, *Women and politics in contemporary Ireland* (London, 1998), pp 68-89.
[335] 'Overall' was inserted in pen in this typed 'Note for the Minister's information', Spring 1976 (N.A.I., DJ 2006/132/150).

servants such as prison warders and public health nurses. In the 1970s, the criminal justice system struggled to cope with a grave 'security situation' and the Garda was enlisted in the frontline of that struggle. The unprecedented demands made of policewomen exposed them to similar trauma to that endured by policemen in this turbulent period. Sarah McGuinness was directly involved in the Garda effort around the corner from Store Street Station following the Amiens Street explosion of the Dublin – Monaghan bombings of 1974. A newspaper report of 1978 said 'she was showered with praise for her pains-taking and time-consuming work in caring for the various needs of maimed and distraught victims – elderly and young alike – for several months afterwards.'[336] Delia McTigue was grievously injured by an I.R.A. prisoner at Limerick Prison. The wider effect within the Garda of this commonality of experience is difficult to assess, but it seems probable that it contributed to the solidarity shown towards female colleagues by the representative bodies and encouraged the process of integration that began in 1978.

The marginal occupational profile of the Ban Ghardaí contrasted sharply with the visual impact of their presence in uniform and their social conspicuousness whether in uniform – or indeed even whether on duty - or not. The novelty and valency of uniformed, sworn-in policewomen was striking in the 1960s. The Ban Ghardaí were the object of a widespread, pervasive social interest which was very evident to the policewomen themselves. It emerged in the Dunnes Stores case discussed earlier in this chapter that although Bean Garda O'Reilly attended the shop in plainclothes, two of the shop workers recognised her: one who knew her through her former job as receptionist at a dental practice, and another who recognised her as a Bean Garda from uniform foot-patrol in the city.[337] As was discussed earlier, the Ban Ghardaí played a disproportionate role in the public promotion of the Garda, particularly on television and at visitor stands at public shows. While some policewomen may have enjoyed this aspect of their conspicuousness, it was not always welcome.

As mentioned above, up to 1974 regulations dictated that all female members of the Garda were unmarried. The public knowledge that all Ban Ghardaí were unmarried probably contributed to their being the object of amorous attention. 'When Ban Garda Noleen [Lang, a presenter on 'Garda Patrol'] got a letter from Wicklow' from a male admirer she was teased about it in the *Garda Review*.[338] 'To her great embarrassment and to the great amusement of the Crime Prevention Unit, he wrote to tell her of his great 'admiration' for her. He went on to tell her all about his farm in Wicklow, its acreage, his future

[336] *Irish Independent*, 25 Nov. 1978; also *Irish Times*, 18 May 1984.
[337] *Irish Press*, 5 Nov. 1966.
[338] *Garda Review*, Jun. 1974, pp 31-2.

prospects, his friends among the guards down there ... and the possibility of his imminent visit to Dublin.' In 1979 the *Review* commented that 'Whistles of appreciation have their uses but they're seldom welcome along Grafton Street or Patrick Street or wherever,' but along with national print media, it also published photographs of policewomen on the basis of their physical attractiveness.[339] While the *Review* was resigned to 'human nature being what it is', it acknowledged that 'things can't be all that easy for the girls in blue' because 'it's one thing to do your job in plainclothes and its quite another out there in full view of the sometimes-not-too-kind general public.'

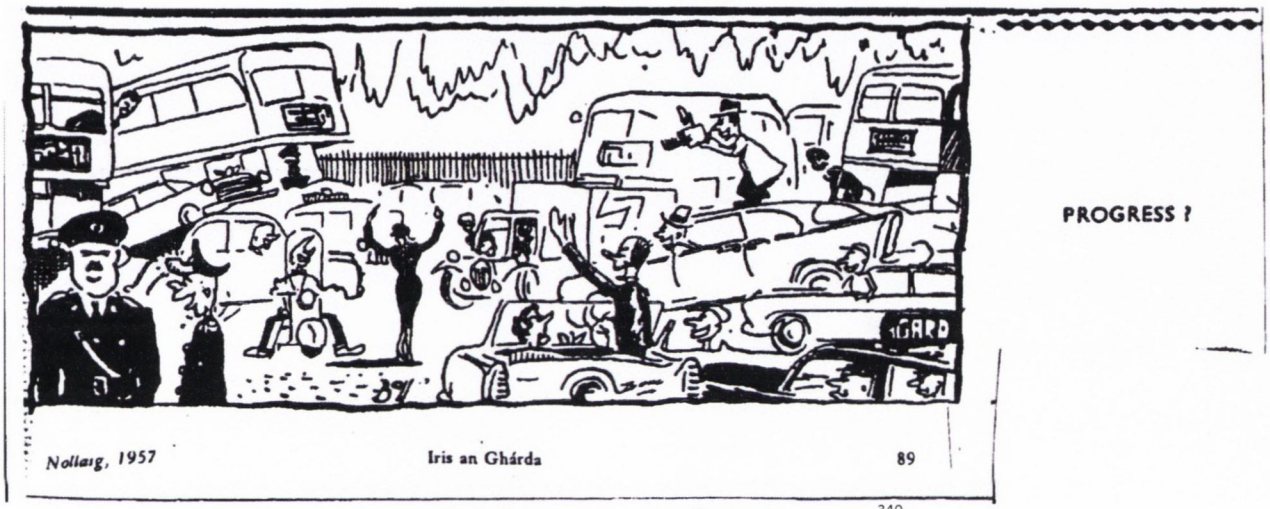


Figure 33: Policewoman as ineffectual spectacle[340]

The lack of privacy and the pervading interest in her on account of her occupation was the 'one little draw back' of being a Bean Garda, according to by Sarah McGuinness.[341] 'You are known all over Ireland. No matter where you go to a dance someone comes up to you and says, 'Aren't you a Bean-Gharda?' And it's no good pretending you're not because someone else is bound to come along and give you away.' She described to an interviewer in 1974 how she had to overcome this phenomenon. 'I really used to get fed-up, being constantly recognised everywhere I went,' Sarah said. 'I couldn't go to a dance without my partner saying, 'Aren't you a Ban Garda?' Or I'd notice people pointing me out to their partners. For about two years it was a nuisance, but gradually I got so that I didn't care.'[342]

[339] *Garda Review*, Dec. 1979, p. 9.
[340] *Garda Review*, Dec. 1957, p.89.
[341] *Irish Times*, 30 Mar. 1964.
[342] *Garda Review*, Oct. 1973, pp 26-7.

Conclusion

The history of women in policing in Ireland is not a narrative of incremental development but a series of somewhat discontinuous phases. Louise Jackson's study of UK female police referred to the progress of important individual female police careers, and to the formation of an occupational ethos, during a period of ostensible stasis in the position of women in UK policing. Similar features do not figure in the Irish case until the conferral of police membership on women, and, then, such developments as occurred in this vein seem modest. Although some of the small number of Dublin policewomen had long careers, the accomplishments and experiences of each cohort of policewomen does not appear to have contributed to the situation of their successors. Further research would be necessary to assess the extent to which developments during the first two decades of female membership of the Garda may be regarded as having contributed to subsequent relevant developments.

The statist basis of the Irish police and the direct control of the police by government were major underlying factors to the history of female police in Ireland. The employment of the D.M.P. Women Patrols, the attachment of women to paramilitary police agencies, and the deployment of female police on non-civil police work were rapidly achieved as political imperatives dictated. Similarly, political sensitivity to national self-image in relation to Northern Ireland was crucial to the decision to provide for the recruitment of women to the Garda in the 1950s. Some senior police leaders were favourably disposed to calls for 'women police' as a 'police aid'. However, central government was not convinced by police interest in the formation of female police, and two long-serving ministers of the department, Kevin O'Higgins and Gerald Boland, firmly opposed the development of a female police. The primacy of the Minister for Justice over the Garda Commissioner is evident from how strong support by Commissioner Costigan for the establishment of female police did not result in any change to policy.

This thesis allows for policy and practice with regard to female policing in independent Ireland to be related to other aspects of the criminal justice apparatus, such as the prison and probation systems. In her study of prison policy in independent Ireland, Mary Rogan noted a cautious and conservative style of the Department of Justice up to the latter 1950s.[1] Rogan attributed the largely unchanged and under-developed nature of prison policy during this period to the conservative financial posture of central

[1] Mary Rogan, 'Prison Policy in Ireland 1922-1972: Subversion, Stagnation, and Social Change', Ph.D Thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2008.

government, and to an inertia among policy-makers that was shaken only when a threat to the preservation of the State was perceived. Rogan posited that 1958 marked a watershed in Irish prison policy, and that the period 1958 to 1964 was one of innovative development in prison policy, but also observed a perceptible reversion to an insular, conservatism from the mid-1960s. The non-established status, small number, and exclusive Dublin basis of the probation service until the 1970s bears obvious similarities to the history of female policing.[2] The basic probation officer position became an established civil service position in 1957, a year before comparable status was conferred on policewomen with the Garda Act, 1958. A modest increase in the number of probation officers occurred in 1965, before significant expansion occurred in 1969. It was not until 1972 that probation officers were available outside the Dublin Metropolitan District.

The identity and function of women in policing was related to wider policy dispositions beyond criminal justice policy. The minimalist, sub-formal, and provisional nature of female policing in independent Ireland from the 1920s to the 1950s was indicative of a climate that was not favourable to paid female employment. The provisional and small-scale employment of sub-formal policewomen might be associated with the substantial extent to which the regulation and reformation of young people in State care was assigned by the State to religious societies who retained significant autonomy in discharging that function. The escort of children by policewomen was a rather ambivalent gesture of maternal primacy in circumstances in which children were often being conveyed to the custodianship of school managers or the superiors of religious houses. Despite a consensus view with regard to female primacy in childcare and child development, those women officers involved in the administration of juvenile justice generally had no executive discretion. The incorporation of women in the administration of this system, with, in the policewomen's case, little if any executive agency, would appear to have been based on a blend of practical and political reasons that tended to sustain the system as it obtained.

The high degree to which social welfare work, particularly in the spheres of juvenile justice and childcare, was treated as the rightful sphere of Catholic organisations was highly consequential to the under-development of facets of the justice apparatus, including female police. The probation service was extended through voluntarism in the 1940s, and did not expand on a professional basis until the mid-1960s. While the wives of policemen sometimes acted in a medial role where the police sought

[2] Patrick O'Dea, 'The Probation and Welfare Service: its role in criminal justice' in O'Mahony, *Criminal Justice in Ireland*, pp.635-54.

female assistance in the countryside, in large cities it was often to female religious communities that the Garda generally turned to when female assistance was sought outside the station itself. Catholic religiosity was integral to the official occupational identity of the Garda from its establishment. The official Garda crest was based on a celtic cross, indicative of the importance of religion in the official organisational culture of the force. A reliance on religious organisations by the police and by the criminal justice system was undoubtedly related to instances of marked deference to church and religious authorities, as illustrated in the Murphy Report into official responses to allegations of abuse by priests in the Dublin Archdiocese. The reliance on organised religion in the administration of the juvenile justice system was also evident in the statements and reflections of a long-serving judge of the children's court, Henry A. McCarthy. Close relation between organised religion and female policing was also evident in Northern Ireland. A report about the working-life of R.U.C. policewoman Jane Bell remarked on difficulty in identifying a firm division between Bell's police work and her role as a Presbyterian Deaconess, particularly due to the centrality of juvenile court proceedings to her work.

Although the position of women in policing was undoubtedly related to broader aspects of state policy, this thesis has shown that the admission of women as members of the Garda did not constitute a 'liberalisation of Irish social policy', as Shepard suggested. The admission of women to the Garda in 1958-'59 was not accompanied nor followed by any major change in policy or practice directly related to female policing up to 1978. The introduction of the juvenile liaison scheme was a signal development in the sphere of juvenile policing, but female police participation in that scheme was very limited during the period of study of this thesis. The admission of women to the Garda is best explained as a feature of modernisation, as one dimension of the technological development of the Garda between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s. It reflected a shift in the organisational ethos to the extent that it was an aspect of the re-orientation of the Garda as a contra-crime agency, sensitive to public perception, conversant with international police administration practice. The operational integration of the female membership of the Garda was an implication of an external, arbitrary process concerned with parity of pay between male and female members, rather than an explicit objective of policewomen or their representatives. The application of operational integration was moderated by local police commanders.

This thesis has undercut the primacy of statutory police membership that is a feature of conventional police histories. It has demonstrated that significant and substantial police duty – in terms of volume, duration, and delicacy - was discharged by some who were excluded from membership of the police. In

doing so, this thesis has developed a theme in relation to innovations in Irish police administration such as the Auxiliary Division, Royal Irish Constabulary; the C.I.D.; and the 'Broy Harriers'. These groups, to which women in policing were affiliated, did not conform to conventions of police establishment and composition. The statutory police welfare system, and the Garda conception of the 'police family' extended beyond membership of the force to include the families of policemen, as forcefully illustrated by the case of the Garda widows that featured in this thesis. This thesis has observed the operation of the 'police family', particularly with regard to the selection and retention of the Women Assistants. In that episode, some influential policemen managed the fulfilment of institutional and operational needs while also serving informal, fraternal interests. When membership expanded to include women, the families of Garda members were a source of female recruits. The analysis of the first decades of female membership of the Garda has deflated the significance of technical female membership as an indicator of substantive, practical change. The relative juniority of the female membership, their minority relative to the total force, their permanent attachment to a few urban stations, and their informally segregated status in the Garda, circumscribed the import of their statutory membership of the police.

No woman in policing emerged to social prominence as an advocate-exponent of female policing in the Garda. The slight public profile and mere existence of the sub-formal policewomen had implications inimical to change or development in the area. Histories of female police in other police forces and in other countries have often attributed a significant role to particular individual policewomen, such as Marion MacMillan in the case of the R.U.C.. Given the small number, insecure tenure of employment, and sub-formal status of the policewomen up to the Garda Act, 1958, the non-emergence of a policewoman champion or exemplar of female policing is not surprising. The absence of an experienced policewoman from the management of the Ban Ghardaí following the completion of the training of the very first group, tended to diminish the prospect of female influence and participation in the Garda until female members acquired the requisite occupational status themselves. The short careers of most Ban Ghardaí also limited the prospect of the emergence of a female police champion. As in the accounts of other police forces, operational integration of the female membership appears to have aroused concern and reservations rather than enthusiasm.

The campaign for female police was initiated and sustained by feminist activists and lobbyists but an appreciation of the efficacy of feminist agency in this history is tempered. Feminist activism was instrumental to the formation, recruitment, and some of the early interests of the Dublin Metropolitan

Police Women Patrols. Yet, despite the central role of organised feminism in the formation and selection of these women, there is no record of any participation in or association with, feminist politics by any of the women in the course of their lengthy police service. The executive of the Irish Women Patrols demonstrated a continued commitment to feminist interests subsequent to its role as a pool for the recruitment of women to the D.M.P.. However, such interests do not feature in any records or family memories of the women who entered police employment through the feminist-inspired Women Patrol movement. The remarkable collaborative relations between organized feminism and the D.M.P. that underpinned the early development of the D.M.P. Women Patrols were over-taken by the assertion of police primacy in the management of the women. It was from about this time that the brief, remarkable coalescence of policing and organised feminism began to sunder.

Figure 34: Bean Garda Deirdre Killeen with tutor, Sgt Doreen Prissick, Liverpool City Police.[3]

If Anna Maria Haslam is to be considered as the progenitor of female police in Ireland, then Mary Kettle may be regarded as her successor as the leading advocate of the concept. The egalitarian and secular basis of Kettle's argument inhibited its prospect of success. Her invocation of the W.A.S. as a source of information and influence was impolitic to the campaign for the expansion of a civil policing role for

[3] *Irish Times*, 10 Aug. 1959.

women in nationalist Ireland. The re-orientation of the J.C.W.S.S.W. campaign in the early 1950s to solicit support for the concept of female police from local government assemblies proved a very effective strategy, for which large measure of credit may be attributed to Kettle. Maureen O'Carroll's persistent interest in the issue was significant to the adoption of female police as party policy by the Labour Party, which shortly preceded its implementation by a Fianna Fáil government.

The history of women in policing may be said to conform in broad terms to the observation in the wider literature that change in police administration may be attributed to developments and agency external to the police. The employment of Women Patrols by the police was an international initiative, and its implementation in Dublin may be attributed to a large extent to the inclusive, tenacious, and astute agency of some Dublin-based feminists. A sustained political lobbying campaign, the practice in other major Anglophone police forces, satisfaction with the employment of women in policing, and the favourable opinion of the bureaucracy were not, of themselves, sufficient to precipitate the conferral of police membership on women. A dramatic public scandal that arose from Garda impotency in response to the baby abductions of the mid-1950s was crucial as a proximate factor to change. However, a significant qualification to this analysis of police conservatism is that both in the case of the D.M.P. Woman Patrols in 1917 and the establishment of the Ban Garda in 1958, a highly-supportive role was played by the leading police officer: Chief Commissioner Johnstone and Commissioner Costigan respectively.

The feminist campaign contributed significantly to the policy decision to confer police status on women, but that constituted no more than the attainment of its object only to the most basic extent. The campaigners expressed disenchantment at an early stage of the process at the manner that the legislation was implemented. The terms in which the act that provided for female membership of the police was implemented would confirm the basis of feminist misgivings. The decision to discontinue involvement by experienced female police officers, or indeed any personnel with a significant experience in managing female induction and participation in policing, was significant and consequential. The absence of participation by experienced policewomen on any direct or consistent footing subsequent to the return to Liverpool of Woman Sergeant Prissick stunted the development of the female membership of the Garda, both on an individual and an organisational level. In an occupation in which experience was highly esteemed, reliance on relatively inexperienced female Garda members for supervision and training of other policewomen did not tend towards the development of the female

police role nor best serve the longer-term development of individual policewomen. Ban Ghardaí were not solely deployed in work related to women and children, and the non-availability of Ban Ghardaí in such instances was a matter of complaint in Dublin. The more restricted hours of duty of Ban Ghardaí goes some way to explain why no female members were attached to the detective team concerned with policing prostitution in Dublin.

A chivalric attitude towards women in policing, particularly younger women, has been a feature of this history. The first phase of female policing indirectly challenged chivalry through female participation in police activities, and through the female pursuit of redress. But the pioneer female police of the D.M.P. were widely regarded as 'ladies' rather than simply as female colleagues. The chivalry exhibited towards the Woman Assistants in the 1950s was devolved from police fraternalism, a strain of fraternalism that was inflected by a shared political background. Chivalry was evident towards women as members of the Garda. This may be partly explained by reference to the official perception of them as conspicuous, totemic models of respectable femininity.

What difference, if any, did the presence and participation of women in policing make? Female police constituted an additional technology for the police institution both for operational and for public relations purposes. It ought to be acknowledged that the existence and service of female police personnel is likely to have contributed towards the comfort, welfare, and dignity of numerous police 'clients' and at least some victims that presented to the police, to an extent to which male police were less likely to. The escort of very young children by a lesser paid police agent spared a policeman from the task, but it is likely that it was discharged more effectively by the Woman Assistants than it might have been by an all-male police escort. The involvement of policewomen in cases of reported sexual crime against women and children was not mandated nor widely practised, but there were certainly instances in which female police agency made a distinct contribution to the process. While only modest development occurred in the role of women in policing during the period studied by this thesis, pronounced advances in the number of women in policing and of their status and advancement in the force did occur subsequently, particularly in the latter 1990s. In the formal, structured context of personnel policy in the Garda, it is likely that significant continuity, influence, and occupational inheritance occurred between women in the Garda subsequent to periods of pronounced expansion in the late 1970s and latter 1990s.

Figure 35: Depiction of Minister for Justice Frances Fitzgerald, T.D., and Acting Garda Commissioner Noirín O'Sullivan, following controversies that precipitated the resignation of the Garda Commissioner, Martin Callinan (March 2014) and the resignation of Alan Shatter, T.D., as Minister for Justice (May 2014).[4]

The second major contribution of female police was in the field of police-public relations, and must be considered in the context of the socio-cultural impact of policewomen. The disproportionate projection of female members of the Garda for explicit public relations purposes obviously catered to a popular fascination with female police. The Garda was largely successful in modulating how female police were presented to a public audience, but discordant notes were occasionally, and anonymously, attributed by press reporters to policewomen. The episode of agitation during training by the first group of policewomen indicated their consciousness of their importance to the public image of the Garda. The basis for additional and particular public interest in the policewomen may be partly explained by reference to their novelty, accentuated by the public and socially-oriented basis of major aspects of their uniformed role. However, the greater interest in policewomen relative to comparable female occupational groups was due to their variance from prevalent gendered associations of authority and dominance.

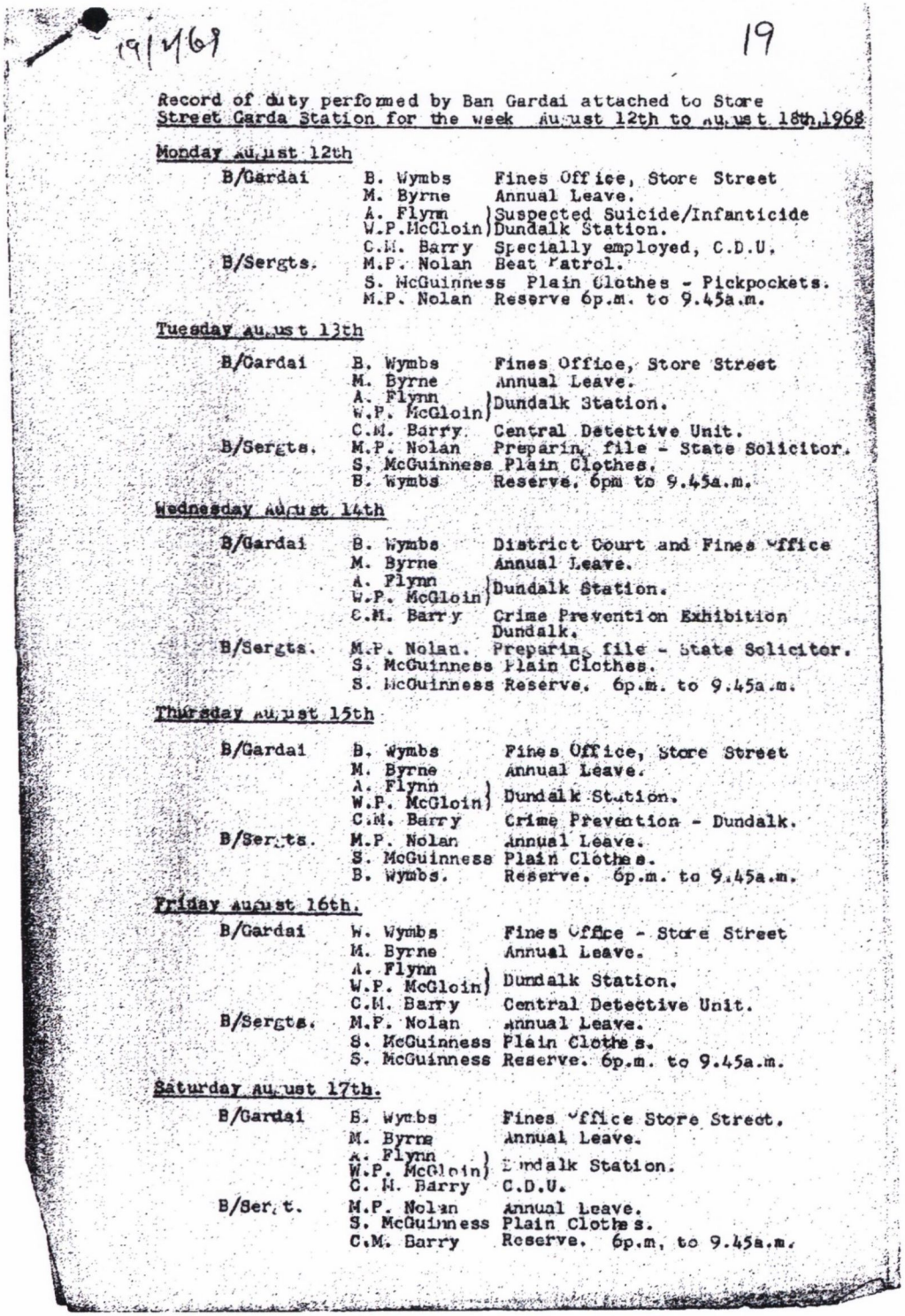
[44] *Irish Times*, 9 May 2014.

The importance of symbolism and representation to the maintenance of police authority, and the prominence of the police as a social institution, lends particular significance to the socio-cultural impact of uniformed policewomen. The disproportionate public relations role of some of the small number of female members of the Garda was not merely a 'window-dressing' exercise because it also bore significant implications for the conduct of police 'trade'. The importance of symbolism and representation to the Garda, as to other police forces, meant that any pronounced change to its public presentation had widely-felt implications. The substantial extent to which the symbolism of the Garda, as other police forces, was vested in highly-gendered associations, also accentuated the impact of the re-assignment of the public police role to women, even on a slight numerical scale.

This thesis has drawn into focus a number of areas for potential further research. It repudiates Conway's suggestion that the work of Brady, McNiffe and Allen, has left no valid object for further historical research into the first thirty years of the Garda's existence. Two major subjects suggest themselves as areas for further study: firstly, the more recent phase of female police history since the late 1970s, mentioned above; and secondly, the role of masculinity in the history of the Garda and with respect to the wider history of crime in Ireland. As McGarry observed, a gaelicised 'manliness' formed a major component of the mythos of the Garda produced during Eoin O'Duffy's tenure. Elements of that 'manliness' remained integral to Garda identity and moral authority in subsequent decades, as suggested by institutional attachment to the breast-badges of civil and religious societies: the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association and An Fáinne. While the management and tutelage of young children was regarded as a female sphere, the response to criminal male youths was regarded as the domain of men, and accounted for a substantial amount of police activity. The quasi-martial aspect of the Garda's inheritance from the R.I.C. was renewed in the force during the 1940s. The *Garda Review* cartoons surveyed in the research for this thesis would suggest that the prospect of female co-members elicited a sharp reaction among the membership which revealed sensitivity to the gendered basis of the Garda identity. The concept of 'manliness' was closely linked to the unarmed, and selectively armed, status of the force; and to perceptions of the propriety of violence as dispensed by the Garda, issues that became acute when terrorist action escalated in the 1970s.

Appendix I: 'Record of duty'

(Commission on Garda Remuneration Minutes, N.A.I., 2005/147/241)



19/4/69 19

Record of duty perfomed by Ban Gardai attached to Store Street Garda Station for the week August 12th to August 18th,1968

Monday August 12th

B/Gardai	B. Wymbs	Fines Office, Store Street
	M. Byrne	Annual Leave.
	A. Flynn, W.P.McGloin	Suspected Suicide/Infanticide Dundalk Station.
	C.M. Barry	Specially employed, C.D.U.
B/Sergts.	M.P. Nolan	Beat Patrol.
	S. McGuinness	Plain Clothes - Pickpockets.
	M.P. Nolan	Reserve 6p.m. to 9.45a.m.

Tuesday August 13th

B/Gardai	B. Wymbs	Fines Office, Store Street
	M. Byrne	Annual Leave.
	A. Flynn, W.P. McGloin	Dundalk Station.
	C.M. Barry	Central Detective Unit.
B/Sergts.	M.P. Nolan	Preparing file - State Solicitor.
	S. McGuinness	Plain Clothes.
	B. Wymbs	Reserve, 6pm to 9.45a.m.

Wednesday August 14th

B/Gardai	B. Wymbs	District Court and Fines Office
	M. Byrne	Annual Leave.
	A. Flynn, W.P. McGloin	Dundalk Station.
	C.M. Barry	Crime Prevention Exhibition Dundalk.
B/Sergts.	M.P. Nolan.	Preparing file - State Solicitor.
	S. McGuinness	Plain Clothes.
	S. McGuinness	Reserve. 6p.m. to 9.45a.m.

Thursday August 15th

B/Gardai	B. Wymbs	Fines Office, Store Street
	M. Byrne	Annual Leave.
	A. Flynn, W.P. McGloin	Dundalk Station.
	C.M. Barry	Crime Prevention - Dundalk.
B/Sergts.	M.P. Nolan	Annual Leave.
	S. McGuinness	Plain Clothes.
	B. Wymbs.	Reserve. 6p.m. to 9.45a.m.

Friday August 16th.

B/Gardai	W. Wymbs	Fines Office - Store Street
	M. Byrne	Annual Leave.
	A. Flynn, W.P. McGloin	Dundalk Station.
	C.M. Barry	Central Detective Unit.
B/Sergts.	M.P. Nolan	Annual Leave.
	S. McGuinness	Plain Clothes.
	S. McGuinness	Reserve. 6p.m. to 9.45a.m.

Saturday August 17th.

B/Gardai	B. Wymbs	Fines Office Store Street.
	M. Byrne	Annual Leave.
	A. Flynn, W.P. McGloin	Dundalk Station.
	C. M. Barry	C.D.U.
B/Sergt.	M.P. Nolan	Annual Leave.
	S. McGuinness	Plain Clothes.
	C.M. Barry	Reserve. 6p.m. to 9.45a.m.

Record of duty continued/

Sunday August 18th.

B/Gardai	B. Wymbs	Fines Office - half tour.
	M. Byrne.	Annual Leave.
	A. Flynn W.P. McGloin	Dundalk Station.
B/Sergts.	M.P. Nolan	Annual Leave.
	S. McGuinness	Croke Park 12.30pm to 6pm.
	C.M. Barry.	Reserve 9.45am Sunday to 9.45a.m. Monday 19th.

N.B. The member shown as employed in the Fines Office also covered the investigations into all cases of Shoplifting for that week and the subsequent court proceedings relative thereto. This would also include completion of J.L.O. Files.

Appendix II: 'Female Garda Strength'
(reproduced from Goretti Sheridan's M.A. Thesis)

Female Garda Strength-Figures as at 31st December 1970 – 2009 (May)

		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE		FEMALE
YEAR	**1970**		**1971**		**1972**		**1973**		**1974**		**1975**		**1976**	
TOTAL	4390	8	4632	8	5341	8	5779	12	6217	14	6525	22	6588	22
%		0.18%		0.17%		0.15%		0.21%		0.23%		0.34%		0.33%
YEAR	**1977**		**1978**		**1979**		**1980**		**1981**		**1982**		**1983**	
TOTAL	7021	26	7624	66	7884	81	8270	120	8380	171	9299	227	9797	266
%		0.37%		0.87%		1.03%		1.45%		2.04%		2.44%		2.72%
YEAR	**1984**		**1985**		**1986**		**1987**		**1988**		**1989**		**1990**	
TOTAL	10103	308	10283	347	10537	373	10521	380	10457	380	10401	380	10635	417
%		3.05%		3.37%		3.54%		3.61%		3.63%		3.65%		3.92%
YEAR	**1991**		**1992**		**1993**		**1994**		**1995**		**1996**		**1997**	
TOTAL	10867	486	11038	560	10928	613	10828	687	10810	804	10823	866	10960	949
%		4.47%		5.07%		5.61%		6.34%		7.44%		8.00%		8.66%
YEAR	**1998**		**1999**		**2000**		**2001**		**2002**		**2003**		**2004**	
TOTAL	11233	1093	11456	1250	11640	1411	11814	1543	11899	1704	12018	1848	12209	2058
%		9.73%		10.91%		12.12%		13.06%		14.26%		15.38%		16.86%
YEAR	**2005**		**2006**		**2007**		**2008**		**2009**					
TOTAL	12264	2181	12954	2508	13755	2834	14435	3132	**May** 14426	3196				
%		17.78%		19.36%		20.60%		21.70%		22.15%				

Source :Human Resource Management, Garda Headquarters, 2009.

Appendix III: Extract from Equality Officer's Recommendation

Representative Body's Case

(i) The Representative Body submits that ban sergeants are performing similar work and work of equal value to that performed by male members of the sergeant rank.

(ii) The Representative Body submits that there is no distinction drawn in the Garda Siochana Code as between the duties of male and female members of the force. Ban sergeants are liable to be called on to perform the same range of duties as that performed by men.

(iii) Ban sergeants are not only liable for night duty; they do in fact perform it. Owing to the small number of women in the sergeant rank, ban sergeants are required for duty during the day and are, therefore, not available for night duty to the same extent as men are. Likewise the reason why the range of duties which ban sergeants, in practice, perform is narrower than the range of duties performed by men is not because the women are unwilling to perform them or incapable of doing so, but because they are required for particular duties i.e. drug squad and juvenile liason officer duties and, therefore, are not available for other duties.

(v) With regard to the employer's statement that the men have a wider range of duties and perform more night duty than the women, the Representative Body submits that a large proportion of the men have an even more limited range of duties than the women, e.g. station clerks who are confined exclusively to office duties, weights and measures inspectors and P.S.V. inspectors. These men perform only occasional night duty as do many male sergeants stationed in rural areas. The Representative Body also points out that only one-third, approximately, of male sergeants are rostered at any given time for twenty four hour round the clock duty.

Recommendation

The equality officer, having considered the case made by each party, is of the opinion that the work performed by ban sergeants is equal in value to that performed by male sergeants in terms of the demands it makes in relation to such matters as skill, physical or mental effort, responsibility and working conditions. Therefore, under the provisions of Clause 3(c) of the Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act 1974 ban sergeants are entitled to the same rate of remuneration as male sergeants.

Emer Kilcullen
Equality Officer.

24th January, 1978.

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iii. Parliamentary papers and official publications

iv. Newspapers

v. Periodicals

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(d.) Interviewees

Mrs Mary Barrins, former Garda Woman Assistant (at Kiltipper Care Home, Dublin, Jun. 2009).

Mrs Barrins shared some detailed memories of her police service with me in the company of her son, Michael. She exhibited strong fidelity to the Garda and its organisational culture ('No publicity!'), and expressed strong opinions towards particular colleagues and about the public outcry that arose from the publication of the C.I.C.A. *Report*.

Retired Det. Sgt Michael Barrins, son of Mrs Mary Barrins, Garda Woman Assistant (at Terenure, Dublin, May 2009 and Jun. 2009).

Mr Barrins was a former Secretary of the Garda Historical Society, and held an undergraduate degree in history from Trinity College, Dublin. Mr Barrins received me at his home on two occasions despite poor health. He shared his memories of his mother's career and reflected on how his family's police background had influenced his boyhood and career. He facilitated my interview with his mother and made his mother's work papers and logbook available for this research.

Mr Noel Harnett, son of Mrs Teresa Harnett, Garda Woman Assistant (at Bewley's Cafe, Dublin, Feb. 2011)

Noel recalled his childhood memories of his mother's work, and loaned his mother's notebooks for consultation for this research.

Musgrave Family Interview: Mr Michael Musgrave and Mrs Rita Clarke, née Musgrave (at Drimnagh, Dublin, Oct.2009)

The Musgraves shared recollections from their youth of their mother's work, and Michael generously provided copies of photographs for this research.

Mr Tom Woulfe, formerly of the Department of Justice (at Rathgar, Dublin, Dec. 2010).

Mr Woulfe was a former private secretary to Minister for Justice, Gerald Boland, T.D.. He shred his impressions and insights regarding the personalities and personal-professional relationsips between various senior personnel in justice administration and government in the 1950s ad 1960s, including Daniel Costigan, Thomas Coyne, and Peter Berry.

Mr Paddy Terry, formerly of the Department of Justice (at Clonskeagh, Dec. 2010)

Mr Terry was a former Assistant Secretary of the Department of Justice. Mr Terry, who draed the Garda Bill, 1958, shared his impressions of senior colleagues, Ministers for Justice, and ajor policy issues during his career at the Department. Mr Terry offered me a typescript of a dra memoir of his career, but asked that it not be directly quoted in this thesis.

Mrs Christine Fielding, Cork, former private investigator (at Beacon Hotel, Dublin, Mar. 2011).

Mrs Fielding worked in a private detective agency in London before her marriage, and for a short period sought to establish a private detective agency in Cork city in the early 1960s. Se asked not to be directly quoted in this thesis.

Ms Maura O'Looney, Clontarf, Dublin, Legion of Mary and formerly Probation Service (at Trinity Col ge, Dublin, Feb. 2011)

Ms O'Looney was a member of the Legion of Mary, with whom she performed probation wrk, and transferred from another position in the civil service on her appointment as a probatio officer in 1966. Ms O'Looney emphasised the maternal interest of female religious in the welfare and development of young women beyond the period during which they were dirctly in their care. Ms O'Looney had no recollection of the Garda Woman Assistants and said thashe had limited professional relations with Ban Ghardaí.

(e.) Databases

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John Johnston-Kehoe, 'Women in policing in Ireland, with reference to the Dublin Metropolitan Police, Royal Irish Constabulary, and An Garda Síochána'.

Abstract

This thesis is a pioneering historical study of the history of the employment of women on full-time police duties, including the matter of political lobbying on the issue. The thesis argues that although Ireland was in the vanguard of a voluntary female police initiative during the First World War, policing was consolidated on exclusively male terms by the Free State government. The thesis demonstrates that the official negation of a female police role belied significant sub-formal practice in Dublin, where a small number of policewomen remained in service on police duty from the 1920s to the 1950s. The thesis argues that a feminist campaign for a regularized, expanded female police role during the middle-third of the century contributed significantly to policy change by central Government on the issue. While some police leaders and Department of Justice officials supported the concept of a female police role, Ministers for Justice did not favour the proposal. Political lobbying led by the Joint Committee of Women's Societies and Social Workers, attracted political support for the proposal, which stimulated by events such as the admission of women to the police force of Northern Ireland in 1943, and the resolution of a series of child abductions in the 1950s. The thesis demonstrates that fraternal, institutional and political affiliations featured in the continuation of sub-formal policing in the years preceding the Garda Act, 1958. Seán Lemass, T.D., was instrumental to the decision by Government to establish female membership of the Garda on a statutory footing in 1958. The thesis argues that the number, function, and status of female members of the Garda were substantially unaltered until the late 1970s. The expansion of female recruitment in the latter 1970s coincided with the implementation of an equality agenda and the introduction of gender integration in the Garda.