rather distant relations between including the GDR during the Cold War, and the second part examining the role of the East German intelligence, Ministerium für Staatssicherheit (the Ministry of State Security)—the notorious Stasi—in monitoring Irish affairs and specifically the Troubles in Northern Ireland from 1969 on. The book is written by Jérôme aan de Wiel,

difficult by proclaiming the manstem boo trine," whereby it would sever its diplomatic relations with any country that extended diplomatic recognition to East Germany. Ireland hoped to export agricultural produce to East Germany and found a way to sell goods without extending diplomatic recognition, but the Germans always sold more in Ireland than the Irish were able to

Ireland and never planted any agents or in the Irish Republic. Indeed, they seem to have got most of their information about Ireland from their numerous and well placed agents in West Germany and from the West German newspapers. In short, they were simply relieved that the British NATO forces opposite them in Germany were re-

from the United States. This is a fascinating book and an important contribution to our growing understanding of the role of espionage and intelligence in Irish history. •

-St. John's College University of Manitoba

Rebel and Socialist

BY MAUREEN O. MURPHY

through their association with James ington not only as MacCann in Portrait but as the victim of murder by Captain Bowen Sheehys were also the nationalist family later for Louth/Meath. The four Sheehy daughters made their own marks in twentieth century political and cultural history. Joyce's muse Mary Sheehy married the polymath Thomas Kettle: barrister, economist, journalist and poet who died on the Somme with the Royal Dublin Fusiliers on September 9, 1916. (His name is on the Thiepval memorial.) Kathleen, a teacher of Irish who was the model for Miss Ivors in Joyce's "The Dead," married the journalist Frank Cruise O'Brien and was the mother of the diplomat, government minister, journalist and critic Conor Cruise O'Brien, and Margaret, an actress, moved to Montreal in

1922. It was the oldest Sheehy daughter, the pacifist/suffragette Johanna (Hanna) who EADERS OF ILS know the Sheehys was the most significant Sheehy sister. Hannah Sheehy Skeffington. Suffragette and Joyce and know Francis Sheehy-Skeff- Sinn Féiner, judiciously edited by the feminist historian Margaret Ward, brings together the unfinished memoir and politi-Colthurst during Easter Week of 1916. The cal and cultural writings of this twentieth century Irish feminist icon. Ward conwhose father, the Tipperary mill owner textualizes the texts and provides a chro-David Sheehy, became an MP for Galway, nology, introductions to each section and

Margaret Ward, Editor.

HANNA SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON. SUFFRAGETTE AND SINN FÉINER. HER MEMOIRS AND POLITICAL WRITINGS. UNIVERSITY COLLEGE DUBLIN PRESS, 2017. DUFOUR EDITIONS. \$57.00.

Hanna credited Francis Skeffington who argued for "social liberty and equality among all classes and sexes" with converting her from her family Fenianism and her identification with the Land League, "a

defining moment," to the international cause of suffragism. She joined the Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association in 1902 and married Skeffington the following year. As a mark of his commitment to feminism, he took her name, and both were known as Sheehy Skeffington. Still loyal to parliamentary nationalism, Hanna joined the Young Ireland branch of the Irish Parliamentary Party in 1905; she was a member until 1912, the same year she spent two months in Mountjoy for smashing a window in Dublin Castle. (Hanna's granddaughter Micheline broke a window in 2012 to mark the 100th year of suffrage.)

Both Hanna and Constance Markiewicz identified with Joan of Arc. Markiewicz appeared as Joan of Arc in Francis Sheehy Skeffington's suffrage play The Prodigal Daughter, a Irish Women's Franchise League fund raiser in 1914. (The Sheehy Skeffingtons founded the League in 1908.) In her "Memories of Countess Markiewicz" chapter, Hanna noted that "her temperament for i suited rebel and heroic parts"; in a 1936 article in The Irish Press she called

Markiewicz "a magnificent Joan," and she recalled that when she saw the Countess wearing her Irish Citizen Army uniform at the College of Surgeons in 1916, the earlier vision of Markiewicz flashed in her memory. Hanna herself signed some of her work "Joan," her own middle name, and a mark of her admiration for Joan of Arc.

It was the 1916 Rising that turned Hanna into one of the fierce mourning women who made up the "Easter widows" and who campaigned against the Treaty as a way of protecting the idealism of 1916. For Hanna, the Proclamation promised citizenship rights for Irish women, and she honored James Connolly for his part in the guarantee of a woman's right to the vote. According the Ward, Hanna defended Connolly's friendship with Francis Sheehy Skeffington, a friendship that embraced Irish nationalism as well as socialism, to Sean O'Casey who had called Skeffington "a socialist martyr" and criticized Connolly for involving the Irish Citizen Army in the

The story of the death of Francis Sheehy

Skeffington is well known. Less well known is Hanna's work after the Rising. In December 1916, she made the first of her four lecture tours to America. In her eighteen months in the United States, Hanna spoke to more than 250 groups and had interviews with Henry Ford and with President Wilson. She was the only Irish Republican accorded that meeting, and she used the occasion to present Wilson with a Cumann na mBan petition calling for Irish independence and for Ireland to be considered among the "small nations" whose future would be the subject of the peace talks after World War 1. "British Militarism as I have Known It," her major speech of that tour, was published as a pamphlet in 1917.

When she returned to Ireland in the summer of 1917, she was elected to the Sinn Féin executive during the War of Independence. Micheline Sheehy Skeffington includes an undated private letter to Louise Bennett with whom she co-edited the *Irish Citizen* saying, "if Ireland were to have the opportunity to be free for ever from British rule by a swift uprising—use of arms would be justified. Yet, I should still be radically opposed to war and militarism." During those years, Hanna met Michael Collins in connection with the money she raised in America. While she admired his intelligence, bravery and industriousness, she

disliked his political views, and of course, they differed about the Treaty. When the Civil War ended, Hanna went on another speaking tour to America where she was appointed a "special correspondent" for the *Irish World* between 1923-1929 which became an outlet for her criticism of the Irish Free State. In November 1923, de Valera sent Hanna to Paris in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the League of Nations to withhold recognition of the Irish Free State.

Based on the responsibilities he gave her, it is clear that de Valera valued Hanna; however, when Fianna Fáil entered the Dáil Éireann in 1927, Hanna resigned from the executive and from the party. The resignation was consistent with Hannah's character; however, it was probably a mistake. The causes she championed would have had a better chance had she been able to debate them in the context of parliamentary politics. Her father, who had been a member of Parliament, and her son, who had made valuable contributions as a member of the Seanad Éireann, knew that debate with its need to negotiate and to compromise could lead to progress. Even her husband knew the promise of persuasion when he died trying to convince looters to stop their pillaging in the interest of a greater good. Instead, Hanna devoted her energies to organizations that cham-

the Congress of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the National Aid Association (for unemployed Republicans), the Women's Prisoners' Defense Committee, and the Irish Housewives Association, and she became involved in international organizations like the Friends of the Soviet Union and the Irish Friends of the Spanish Republic. The second half of Suffragette and Sinn Féin document that part of Hanna's life.

Hanna and Women's Social and Progressive League opposed de Valera's marginalization of women in the draft of his constitution; however, her "The Irish Constitution" (1937) and her warning of a new revolt in Ireland in her interview with Dorothy Thomas in Independent Woman (1938) lack the force of Gertrude Gaffney's, "The Death Knell of the Working Woman" which was published in the Irish Independent on May 8, 1937. "Women are the majority in this country, and if they let themselves be robbed of the rights that it has taken so long to win they're not only themselves going to suffer for their indifference, but their daughters will suffer more for their chances of securing work in the future will be reduced by more than half of what they are at present and bringing them up at all will be a sheer liability."

(Gaffney was a reporter for the Irish Independent.)

Hanna's reputation as a suffragette and a political and social agitator is secure, but as feminist historians examine the work of their predecessors, they must take into account the difficulty of looking an individual from an earlier historical period through the lens of current theory. The degree to which the position of women was or was not realized in post-independent Ireland remains a question, a question that the historian Margaret MacCurtain posed at the end of her essay "Women, the Vote and Revolution," (1975), an essay which included the reminiscences of the 1916 survivors Máire Comerford, Eithne Coyle and Sighle Ní Dhonnchadha. MacCurtain concluded "when the victories were won, and women won the right to vote, to hold office and to organize and manage trade unions, the question is, why then were they content to remain subordinate in a society they had helped to create?"

Hanna's life and work now made available in this definitive collection was certainly a model for women, but the question remains why did the model fail to engage Irish women until the later generation of Irish feminists?

—Hofstra University