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The Dangers and Temptations of the Street: Managing female behaviour in Belfast during First World War

Concerns about the 'modern girl' posing a social threat can be traced back to at least the early nineteenth century.¹ The common concern centred on the perceived growing independence of working-class girls, which was seen as leading to moral deterioration.² Urban growth, migration, expanding female employment opportunities, fears over white slavery, the World Wars, fears of modernity and the changing position of women in society, all invoked responses and changes in attempts to protect, regulate and direct female sexuality and behaviour in the early decades of the twentieth century.³ In particular, changes in women's work, combined with the disruption brought about by the First World War generated considerable anxieties about the increased visibility of young women in public spaces and an associated decline in moral standards.⁴

This article focuses on the city of Belfast and the concerns generated about female behaviour during the First World War, placing these in a wider pre-war context. It suggests that due to the particular circumstances in Belfast, of rapid industrialisation and high levels of female employment, the anxieties concerning young working-class women existed before the outbreak of war and the methods and organisations involved in trying to control behaviour during the war years were those of continuity rather than change. Rather than a radical altering of behaviour and attitudes, ideas of rescue and reform were maintained through the war years. Also, in Belfast during this period the focus of concern was the working-class girl on the

streets, rather than the VD-spreading prostitute or 'amateur' prostitute that occupied concerns elsewhere.⁵ Nonetheless, the experience of war did alter attitudes and led to fundamental changes in the organisations involved in trying to reform female behaviour generating a greater emphasis on prevention rather than cure in the post-war period.

By the end of the nineteenth century Belfast had much in common with other British cities, having experienced industrialisation and a rapid growth in population.⁶ It entered the twentieth century as the only industrialised part of Ireland, with one of the largest shipyards in the world as well as a variety of other thriving industries.⁷ The growth and development of Belfast was in contrast to that of Dublin, which, while remaining the political capital, lacked major industrialisation.⁸ Belfast was also, by the end of the nineteenth century, a women's city. By 1901 there were 1,290 adult women for every 1000 men, and over one quarter of households were headed by women.⁹ It was the migration of young women from rural areas seeking work in Belfast, and their experiences when they arrived, that exercised concern from religious, charitable authorities in particular. In 1911, nearly half of the female labour force in Belfast was under twenty-five, and over ninety per cent of those between fifteen and twenty-four years of age were single.¹⁰

Belfast attracted so many young women due to its ready availability of jobs, with women making up over forty per cent of the workforce in 1911, compared with thirty per cent in England.¹¹ This high rate of employment was largely due to the textile industry and in particular the linen industry that employed three-quarters of working women in Belfast. This compared to a small proportion of women employed in domestic service, less than 10 per cent in 1911.¹² Female employment

opportunities in the linen industry grew during the First World War as demand from the military for tents, haversacks, hospital equipment and aeroplane fabric increased and numbers employed in the linen industry grew from 76,000 in 1912 to 90,000 in 1914.¹³ During the war years a number of women were also employed in munitions production, with many moving from the linen industry for better pay. Work patterns, therefore, and the numbers of women employed in Belfast during the First World War, were not as radically altered as in other parts of the UK.¹⁴

In the decades prior to the First World War Belfast was a city where women predominated and where young single women were a very visible presence on the streets. However, Belfast was markedly different from other British cities in that sectarian divisions and violence had marked its history and the issue of Home Rule dominated the political landscape by the early twentieth century.¹⁵ These religious and political divisions also permeated philanthropy and charitable work in the city, including those concerned with the fate of the young working girl whose independence was seen as dangerous, and the assumption emerged that financial independence and sexual immorality were closely related.¹⁶

A variety of organisations were established by the first decade of the twentieth century that reflected these concerns with female morality and also the religious divisions within the city.¹⁷ These included a number of institutions founded with a remit to rescue and reform prostitutes that were affiliated to all the major religious denominations, such as the Catholic Good Shepherd Sisters and their Home for Destitute Penitents, the Church of Ireland run Ulster Magdalen Asylum and the Ulster Female Penitentiary, re-named the Edgar Home, which was affiliated to the Presbyterian Church. A Protestant run non-denominational Midnight Mission operated from the 1860s and in 1905 the Salvation Army established a rescue home in

Belfast.¹⁸ It is evident that by the early twentieth century these institutions were not populated with prostitutes but more often unmarried mothers, girls whose behaviour caused their parents or guardians concern, or those in trouble with the police.¹⁹

There were also a variety of organisations with a more preventative focus that tried to ensure girls did not end up in the various rescue homes or would direct them to the institutions if their behaviour was felt to warrant it. These included a Church of Ireland Rescue League, a Girls' Help Society which offered assistance to 'bewildered and frightened girls ...unable to find their way about a strange city'.²⁰ Other assistance and accommodation for young women and girls new to the city was provided by the Girls' Friendly Society who operated a Lodge in Belfast from the 1880s as well as a Presbyterian Hostel which opened in 1908.²¹ The Catholic Church provided a variety of accommodation as well, with a Home for Working Girls' established in 1900 under the care of the Sisters of the Most Holy Cross and Passion in east Belfast, however the class of girls it was hoping to attract may have changed by 1916 when it became a 'Home For Business Girls'.²² Catering to the needs of Catholic mill girls in West Belfast, St Vincent's Home for Working Girls opened in 1901.²³

In Belfast, as in many other cities anxieties about women working in factory conditions had long been a concern for the authorities, both governmental and religious.²⁴ Factory work in particular was seen as damaging for both bodies and minds, as girls, it was felt, were exposed to the 'low tone' of a factory floor. Women Factory Inspectors had been introduced in parts of Britain in 1893, however it was not until 1905 that Hilda Martindale was appointed as the first Lady Factory Inspector in Ireland, becoming a senior inspector, based in Belfast in 1908.²⁵ During the First World War following the increase in the number of women employed in

industry and more particularly munitions, anxieties about the health of women and the nature of factory work increased.²⁶ The Government responded to these concerns with the appointment of women welfare supervisors whose job it was to ‘attend to the facilities, uniforms, health, efficiency and general welfare of the greatly expanded number of women in industry’.²⁷ However, these welfare workers do not appear to have played a large role in Belfast factories. Arguably the slow integration of women inspectors in Belfast led to this situation. While Hilda Martindale and Mary Galway, the General Secretary of the Textile Operatives Society of Ireland, drew attention to the issues with physical working conditions and pay, a wider concern was not exhibited about welfare work within the factories and mills themselves.²⁸ Belfast both before and during the war years appeared to lack the level of welfare supervision within factories that existed in factories in other parts of Britain with religious and philanthropic organisations appearing to shoulder the responsibility for the moral welfare of working girls.²⁹

Many factory, warehouse and mill jobs were laborious and monotonous, and it was felt by those engaged in philanthropic work with girls that they had little opportunity to ‘let off steam’. This increased the desire to alleviate boredom and to escape after work and encouraged involvement in ‘dangerous’ entertainments, which led a number of philanthropic organisations to provide places that girls could go to that offered an alternative to the public house, music hall and cinema.³⁰

The Rev H.W. Stewart³¹, Church of Ireland Rector of Knockbreda Parish Church in Belfast, explained at the Annual Meeting of the GFS Diocesan Lodge in Belfast in 1894 how the Lodge offered girls a ‘refuge from the terrible temptations, which meet them too often in their places of business and always on the streets’. As he explained ‘those who best knew the state of morals in the warerooms and mills knew the

enormous importance, the priceless boon, [...] to have a lodging in such a place as this'.³² Unusually, Rev Stewart appealed directly to the 'wealthy men of the city who employed female labour, who were streaming forth from their doors day by day tens or hundreds of girls, to have thought for them, to consider where they lodged, and how they spent their hours of recreation'. He continued:

These girls need recreation. They had been working hard all day. If they were to be healthy, strong, intelligent, bright, happy workers they much shave suitable recreation. They should take care that they had such, and not thoroughly, carelessly, leave them to the weary strolling up and down the streets, amidst the foolish jesting and immorality that there abounded.³³

However, as suggested above it does not seem as if many employers embraced the idea that they should provide recreation and preferred to leave this to voluntary bodies. The Belfast Female Mission, from the 1860s was providing classes for the instruction of the girls working in the mills, 'all of whom require much constant care, and watching and tending'. The Mission's Annual Meeting in 1872 further recorded how these girls were 'exposed to dreadful dangers in our warerooms and our factories. Who that meets them as they throng our streets, but must see the urgent need for wise counsel?'.³⁴ Similar sentiments about the need to provide guidance and rest for those who had such laborious jobs continued to be expressed at the GFS Lodge annual meetings throughout the pre-war period and these concerns were also behind the formation of the Belfast Girls' Club Union (BGCU) in Belfast in 1908, the amalgamation of eight clubs formed in previous years. The first club, established in 1904, was supposedly started when 'the Hon. Ethel MacNaughton, who had been engaged in Settlement work in London, was walking down the Shankill one evening when she met a party of young girls, talking, singing and enjoying themselves in a rather rowdy way'.³⁵ She spoke to them and invited them for tea and from this a Time and Talents Club was formed. By 1916 there were 24 affiliated clubs across

Belfast.³⁶ A number of denominationally specific clubs were also established. The Presbyterian Women's Union founded in 1905 provided a room where a girls' club was held and classes were provided,³⁷ and the Catholic Church established its own separate clubs, including one as part of the Convent of Mercy on the Crumlin Road.³⁸ In 1912, the *Irish Citizen*³⁹, the Irish suffrage paper, carried a report about the BCGU explaining that most of its members worked in mills and factories for twelve hours a day and then had to return home to clean the house. It was then no surprise that they sought 'a little excitement after the long day's monotony, by walking the noisy, crowded streets, gazing into the flaring shop windows, or visiting low-class picture saloons'.⁴⁰ The BCGU was there to offer an alternative and keep girls from the temptations of the street. The belief in the need for charitable and religious organisations to offer such alternative entertainments for working girls continued thorough the war years. As the Rev William Park, minister of Rosemary Street Presbyterian Church in Belfast, a former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland and an active member of a range of Church and philanthropic organisations,⁴¹ speaking at the Annual meeting of the Belfast Midnight Mission in 1915 explained, 'the war would not change the passions and lusts that arose from evil and with these it was the duty of Christian people to earnestly contend'⁴². The Church of Ireland Rescue League in 1916 continued to lament the lack of suitable entertainment for girls and how 'the only bright spots in many of our monotonous streets were the public houses, how then could it be any wonder that people gathered there?'⁴³ Similarly in 1917, the Presbyterian magazine *Witness*, reported the opening of a new girls' club and explained how this was a way in which young girls could find social enjoyment and be protected from the dangers and temptations of the streets. The article explained:

It is a fact that many young girls on account of the lack of home or other pleasant association patrol the streets in the evening and are thus liable to unsafe and unsatisfactory companionships. This club is one way in which young girls who are either strangers to the city or who find little comfort in their drab lives or association can be most carefully guarded or guided.⁴⁴

The aim was to 'provide pleasant social evening for girls...where they can engage in games and other entertainments to attract them and brighten their lives'.⁴⁵

Certificates of character, from employers, Churches or from time spent in a rescue home, would be required before admission and this it was felt would ensure that 'association will be safe for all'.⁴⁶ There was ecumenical agreement on the need to supervise and curtail working class women's leisure time and across the denominations 'good character' was considered an essential requirement. .

The necessity to prove good character and behaviour had a long tradition in the philanthropic work with girls. The Girls Friendly Society Lodge 'required girls to be of good character and therefore it was not possible to admit to lodges those who came without reliable references or whose appearance or account of themselves was unsatisfactory.'⁴⁷ For those girls who were unable to provide certificates or references a period spent in a reform home would be one way of achieving these important documents. However, it is clear that the need for such a certificate of character was changing through the war years, and impacted directly on institutions that would have offered reform. At the 1921 Annual Meeting of the Edgar Home, it was discussed how the great unrest caused by the war had made itself felt in the Home and other similar institutions, leading to a reduction in the number of those 'who sought sanctuary within its walls.'⁴⁸ It was believed that this was largely due to the ready availability of jobs in factories and the difficulty in obtaining domestic servants, which made it easy for situations to be obtained without a character reference. The number of girls continued to fall and it was suggested in the Annual Meeting of the

Edgar Home in 1923 that girls who previously may have gone into the Home having failed to get employment could now get jobs. However, it was suggested that these girls made very poor employees: 'the situations thus easily got are not kept and the girls run about from place to place, but it is only when compelled by poverty or disease that they can be induced to seek the shelter of a Home and listen to friendly advice'.⁴⁹ Unfortunately for the Edgar Home, the impact of the war was lasting and the changes in employment and societal attitudes led to it closing its doors in 1926. There were fewer girls who had need of the Home to gain employment and those donating to the Home were also declining as greater importance was given to the role of preventative rather than reformist organisations in the post-war years.

Allied with concerns about providing suitable alternative entertainment for girls, the immediate pre-war years saw growing fears about the White Slave Trade. While the realities of the White Slave Trade are questionable, it clearly aroused public concern and strengthened the cause for tighter 'protective' controls on young women particularly in travel. It reflected the 'fears generated by the changing role of women, domestic and international migration and rapid urban industrial growth'.⁵⁰ The idea that young women were being taken against their will created the image of women as helpless and in need of protection. It maintained the idea of women being seduced and forced to engage in sexual activities and increased the need for vigilance and social control of those felt to be at greatest risk.⁵¹

Belfast, like many other British cities, was a city of immigrants, the majority of whom had travelled relatively short distances. In 1911, 78 per cent of the population had been born in Belfast or Counties Antrim or Down in which Belfast was situated.

Eleven per cent came from other Ulster counties and only 3 per cent from other parts of Ireland. What does set Belfast aside from other British cities is the small

percentage who had been born elsewhere in the UK, just over 7 per cent, and only 0.8 per cent of the population came from outside the United Kingdom.⁵² Migrants had travelled small distances often from rural areas and the high number of young women, 56 per cent of the 20-24 age group in 1911, gave an added impetus to discussions about White Slavery and the vulnerability of young women in a large city. It would appear that in Belfast however, the references to the White Slave Trade were more focused on the dangers of the city, rather than the media portrayal of girls drugged and abducted to foreign brothels.⁵³ Samantha Caslin-Bell demonstrates a similar situation in Liverpool, however, where Belfast differs from Liverpool and other British cities as well as Dublin is that vigilance associations did not become established in the early twentieth century.⁵⁴

The 1880s saw a number of social purity groups established concerned with campaigning on a variety of issues relating to sexuality and behaviour. The two major groups were the White Cross Army and the National Vigilance Association (NVA).⁵⁵ Branches of these organisations were established across the British Isles, including Dublin where a Church of Ireland Purity Society was established in 1885 followed by a Dublin White Cross Vigilance Association and the two societies were amalgamated soon after.⁵⁶ While there were a number of calls to establish similar organisations in Belfast, this does not appear to have happened. The *Belfast Newsletter* in August 1891 reported that a meeting had been held whereby it was unanimously agreed to 'inaugurate a branch of the National Vigilance Association for Belfast. The object of the association is the suppression of vice and crime and the protection of girls and women'.⁵⁷ Mr Coote of the London NVA visited Belfast the following month with the purpose of 'stirring up into more vigorous action the local committee'.⁵⁸ This does not seem to have been particularly successful and there is no

evidence for the activities of any such vigilance committee in Belfast. This is not to say that the concerns of the vigilance organisations did not exist in Belfast or that what was considered to be ‘vigilance’ activity did not take place, however, it was carried out through the pre-existing rescue and preventative religious and charitable organisations.⁵⁹

The Annual Reports of the Belfast Midnight Mission, which went out onto the streets at night to try and persuade women to enter their rescue house, refer to their work as ‘vigilance’ work from the 1890s.⁶⁰ From 1913 onwards the Girls Friendly Society in Belfast also apparently had two workers engaged in ‘vigilance work’ and the Annual Meeting of the GS Diocesan Lodge in 1916 recorded how the money collected for this work had come to an end but it was felt that they should ‘not cease their work at present at such a critical stage’.⁶¹ Also in operation by 1913 was a Girls Help Society who directed girls to its shelter and did not require the references the GFS did.⁶² The focus of this vigilance work was not targeting brothels or those engaged in prostitution as elsewhere, but rather the working girl who needed guidance and who was without friends in the city. As suggested above the GFS expressed particular concerns about girls coming to the city and the threat of the White Slave trade. At the Annual Meeting of the GFS Diocesan Lodge in 1913 the Rev TG Collins, Church of Ireland Rector of St. James, Belfast who went on to become Dean of Belfast and Bishop of Meath, articulated the view that:

It was appalling to think that girls might come up from country parts without knowing the dangers of a great city. They were placed within reach of unscrupulous men or women who would bring them to lodgings where they would soon fall into bad company to say the least of it.⁶³

Hariot, Lady Dufferin, Dowager Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava, expressed similar concerns at the same Annual Meeting. She hoped that ‘revelations about the White Slave Trade would urge their own workers to greater efforts in promoting welfare and

safety of their members'.⁶⁴ Clearly exercised about the subject Lady Dufferin spoke of her concerns at the Annual Meeting of Belfast Midnight Mission in the same year and explained that:

...few had any idea of the widespread nature of this evil, or often callous cruelty, ingenuity of wickedness with which the trade was carried on. It was with perfect horror that they thought of those inhuman men and woman who, influenced by greed, entrapped innocent girls and forced them into a life of misery ending in an early death.⁶⁵

She felt that it was therefore of the utmost importance that in Belfast they should 'strive to cleanse the streets to purify their little corner of the world, to save girls from falling and rescue those that had fallen'.⁶⁶ The Committee of the Edgar Home also recorded its support of the Bill to stop the White Slave Trade. It was felt that 'much more might be done by those in authority in the State to prevent innocent girls being decoyed away and ruined'.⁶⁷ Obviously the debates surrounding the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, known as the White Slave Act in 1912 added to the concerns and as Maria Luddy suggests, the image of a vulnerable girl needing protection was furthered.⁶⁸

The advent of the First World War saw the continuation and development of the image of the vulnerable girl who needed protection and guidance. The absence of vigilance associations and the importance of religious and charitable organisations in 'vigilance' work took on added resonance and altered the way in which the issues generated by the war were dealt with in Belfast. As suggested above, Belfast had a long tradition of young women on the streets at night, and had in place a variety of organisations who were attempting to offer alternative entertainments, safe accommodation or the chance to regain lost respectability. While the numbers employed did increase, this was not so dramatic as elsewhere.⁶⁹ Belfast also arguably had been under a period of extreme political unrest and pressure in the years leading up to 1914 that may have tempered

the impact of the outbreak of war. However, the presence of large numbers of soldiers across Britain and Ireland generated concerns about the behaviour of young women on the streets at night and their interactions with soldiers. In response Women Patrols were established and by October 1915 there were over two thousand women patrols in 108 places in Britain and Ireland.⁷⁰ Their establishment was prompted by fears surrounding what was termed ‘khaki fever’ where ‘young women, it seemed, were so attracted to men in military uniform that they behaved in immodest and even dangerous ways.’⁷¹ Angela Woollacott has demonstrated how the discourse surrounding khaki fever ‘showed the first world war as a climactic time of concern about young women’s social and sexual behaviour’.⁷² As she further suggests, this echoed previous concerns but was ‘exacerbated by the excited atmosphere of the war’.⁷³

It is evident that the scenes associated with khaki fever in England were believed not to be found in Ireland⁷⁴, as the *Irish Citizen* contended, Ireland was not:

so directly under the influence of the militarist wave as in England, this country has not manifested any such scenes of pernicious “enthusiasm” for the troops on the part of the girls as was seen in England.⁷⁵

Similarly, the *Irish Times* in 1915 reported how girls in Belfast had not ‘gone off their heads about soldiers as was the case in English cities’.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, Patrols were set up in 1915 in both Belfast and Dublin under the aegis of the National Union of Women Workers’ (NUWW) and a group of ‘anti-prostitution vigilantes’ operated in Cork between 1917-18.⁷⁷ In other British cities these patrols were organised by two separate organisations, the NUWW and the Women Police Volunteers (WPV, renamed the Women Police Service in 1915).⁷⁸ Conflict arose between the various groups organising the Patrols, as some desired a professional female police force

rather than voluntary female patrols and the historical debate has focused on how these wider aims were compromised or altered as the war progressed.⁷⁹ These differences of opinion can be seen in the arguments of the *Irish Citizen* concerning the setting up of patrols in Ireland. As it was felt that the situation in Ireland regarding 'khaki fever' was not as severe as in England, they could resist the hasty establishment of patrols and hold out for the organisation of professional female police. The fear was also expressed that if the patrols failed they would be used as an example of female incapacity and would hinder the development of a female police force.⁸⁰

While both the NUWW and WPS differed in how they saw the role of women in the police force, they did agree on the need for properly trained women officers and a distancing from voluntary charitable work.⁸¹ However, while the NUWW 'disclaimed rescue work in an attempt to dissociate itself from female philanthropy', there existed in Belfast close connections between rescue and reform work and the Women Patrols, particularly in the personnel involved.⁸² An appeal for women to join the Belfast Patrol in 1918, explained that what was needed were 'women of tact and judgement with kindly sympathetic powers of discrimination and observation with some experience of work amongst girls'.⁸³ This is in contrast to the situation elsewhere with the NUWW in 1915 rejecting an applicant for patrol work as she had previously been employed as a police court missionary, which 'defined her as a rescue worker'.⁸⁴ This is also in contrast to the situation in Dublin where Pašeta has shown that the majority of the organisations which formed the Patrol's joint Committee 'were overwhelmingly drawn from the reformist rather than the overtly rescue and religious wings of the broader philanthropic movement'.⁸⁵ Maria Luddy has also shown how the Patrols in Dublin were firm in their declaration that they were

not engaged in rescue work, but that their work was 'purely preventative'.⁸⁶ This distinction was clearly not rigidly adhered to in Belfast with a number of those involved in the establishing the women's patrols also engaged in running voluntary organisations designed to rescue and reform women and girls. The lack of a social purity or reformist tradition in Belfast and the strength of the religious philanthropic rescue tradition appears to have influenced the development of the Patrols in Belfast and the volunteers involved. Miss Elizabeth Curran, who attended the Annual Meeting of the Edgar Home in 1916 to discuss her role in organising Patrols,⁸⁷ was also a deaconess with the Methodist Belfast Central Mission and was also involved in the Church of Ireland Rescue League. She went on to become a probation officer in Belfast after the war and was active in a number of voluntary organisations, including the Church of Ireland Moral Welfare Society.⁸⁸ Her work in the Women's Patrols was described as bringing 'strength of courage and that wide knowledge of human nature and tolerant kindness that makes her work invaluable'.⁸⁹

This career transition from working with voluntary organisations involved in moral reform and rescue work to employment in a government funded professional role in the post-war period has been identified as a common experience for many middle-class women involved in Women Patrols.⁹⁰ Allied with the growing professionalization of social work, the emergence of official policewomen in the post-war period was also intimately associated with Women Patrols.⁹¹ In Belfast this was also closely related to having experience in rescue work in the pre-war period. Jane Bell, who was one of the first official paid policewomen in Belfast in 1918 and worked with the Women Patrols, (she is shown along with Mary Fallon, her Catholic counter-part, in a photograph of the Women Patrol in the *Belfast Telegraph* in October 1918) exemplifies this connection. Bell had trained as a Deaconess in the

Presbyterian Church in 1912 and had been involved in running the Presbyterian Girls' Hostel in Belfast before resigning to join the Royal Irish Constabulary in 1918.⁹² She transferred to the Royal Ulster Constabulary in 1922 and while working as a policewoman continued to work with destitute girls and prisoner reform.⁹³

The work of the Patrols was also discussed at meetings of a number of the rescue and religious organisations by women who were involved in both the patrols and these philanthropic organisations. At the 1915 Edgar Home annual meeting, Mrs JC White, wife of the High Sheriff of Belfast and a member of the Belfast Women Patrol by 1918,⁹⁴ reported that she was at present working on a scheme for women patrols. The work of these patrols, she felt, would lessen the necessity for institutions such as the Edgar Home in the future.⁹⁵ At the annual meeting of the next year Elizabeth Curran detailed the preventative work of the patrols and the necessity of such efforts.⁹⁶ The connection between the work of a rescue and reform home such as the Edgar Home and the work of the Patrols, indicates that those involved in the Patrols saw their work as more than simply preventative. As Pařeta has suggested, there is much less known about the Belfast Patrol in comparison with the Dublin Patrol and it appears that while they started in 1915, by 1916 they appeared to have stalled.⁹⁷ This is given further credence by the comments made by the Hon. Mrs Ethel McNaughton (who was also involved in the BGCU) at the Church of Ireland Rescue League Annual Meeting in 1916 that Belfast would benefit from the women's patrols which were organised across England.⁹⁸ They appear to have been revived by 1917 and in 1918 Curran, spoke at a conference held under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church Social Service Committee in 1918, where she appealed to the ladies of the Church 'to give them all the assistance in their power because this was truly a woman's work'.⁹⁹

Populated by women from philanthropic backgrounds, the Belfast Patrols bore limited resemblance to the description of them as ‘female vigilantes...[patrolling] red-light districts to prevent prostitutes plying their trade’.¹⁰⁰ Rather, the members of the Patrol described their work in very different terms. One newspaper article on the Patrols in 1918 described their focus of concern as being with ‘young and innocent girls whose only faults may be high spirits and love of fun which they seek in our streets, having nowhere else to go and, therefore maybe in danger.’¹⁰¹ The methods employed by the Patrols were also similar to those used in rescue work; as they had no powers to arrest or caution they relied on persuasion, giving advice and the ‘sheer persistence of their presence’.¹⁰² The rhetoric employed in Belfast concerning the patrols also reflects the language of Christianity, expounding ideas of rescue and redemption, where ‘a bright, patient, all-forgiving hopefulness [is] brought to bear upon even the “black sheep”’. Another chance, a gentle word of warning, and untiring watchfulness are the methods employed’.¹⁰³ These descriptions formed part of a large feature in the Woman’s Column of the *Belfast Telegraph* dedicated to the work of the Women Patrol in Belfast, which characterised it as ‘God’s work’, which further served to emphasise their religious basis.

One clear way of meeting these needs was in directing girls to suitable clubs and societies, which as discussed above, would offer alternatives to immoral distractions on the streets. It was felt that in time, and as the patrol workers became better known, girls would actively come and seek help and guidance.¹⁰⁴ Girls who might be tempted to lower their standards would see the Patrols, realise the error of their ways and be saved from harm.¹⁰⁵ Dr Marion Andrews, speaking about the work of the Women Patrol movement at a conference in February 1917 in Belfast, organised by the Conference of Women’s Workers to consider the best means of co-ordinating

women's temperance and social work in Ulster, suggested the aim was to check on the conduct on the part of the girls that might not be very harmful but yet might lead to worse things.¹⁰⁶ The priority of the Belfast patrols was therefore not punitive, but had not only a preventative role but a rescue and reform agenda too. The hope of the Patrols was that if 'even one here and another there was saved from going into the abyss of utterly wasted lives it is worth a lifetime of work'.¹⁰⁷

It is unclear how many women were involved in the Belfast Women Patrol. Miss Curran in 1918 described the work of the Patrols and said there had been fifty patrols in one month¹⁰⁸. A newspaper report from earlier in 1918 referred to fifty volunteers in Belfast, however this number may have been exaggerated, or referring to the number of patrols rather than actual numbers of women, as an image of the Belfast Women Patrol Workers from October 1918 is of nineteen women.¹⁰⁹

The Patrols did, however, have a more direct relationship to the police than other rescue workers.¹¹⁰ They went on 'appointed beats in couples' carrying a card signed by the Commissioner of Police. They were to be 'plainly and suitably dressed' and they were to 'wear a badge and have a little book of simple rules'.¹¹¹ One of the interesting differences between the Patrols in Dublin and Belfast was the concern in Dublin that patrols were religiously mixed, consisting of one Catholic and one Protestant woman.¹¹² Although one quarter of the population of Belfast in 1914 was Catholic, there does not appear to have been the same concern about the requirement for religious equality. Pařeta suggests that the lower profile of the Belfast Patrol may have 'reflected the difficulty in enforcing such denominational strictures'.¹¹³

However, the detailed newspaper feature on the Belfast Patrols in October 1918 does not mention this issue and it may well simply reflect the strong tradition of female

Protestant philanthropic involvement in work with girls in Belfast and the links that those involved in the Patrols had with these organisations. Arguably with a Protestant majority in the population of Belfast the fear of Catholic claims of proselytization was not as serious an issue as it may have been in Dublin. Similarly, with the existence of a range of denominational organisations, girls could be directed to one that matched their religious persuasion. Nonetheless there were a number of Catholic women recorded as being involved in the Women Patrols in Belfast, most prominently Mrs Marcella Nagle, the wife of Garrett Nagle a resident magistrate in Belfast. That there was some attention to the sectarian division, however, is evident in the appointment of the first two policewomen in Belfast, with Mary Fallon the Catholic counterpart of Protestant, Jane Bell.¹¹⁴

While the tradition of rescue and reform was maintained in the operations of the existing organisations in Belfast during the First World War, there were undoubtedly a number of changes caused by the war conditions. The records of the Salvation Army Home in Belfast indicate that despite an overall trend of lowering admissions from 1913 there was a spike in numbers in 1916-17. The First World War years also added a new dimension to the case histories of those admitted who had been 'seduced under the promise of marriage'. This phrase grew in popularity from around 1913 to explain the situation of women who had had sexual intercourse with the expectation that marriage was to follow. In a number of cases the woman had become pregnant and had been abandoned by the man involved¹¹⁵. The enlisting of men in the army in a number of cases left a pregnant single woman behind who ended up in the Salvation Army Home. In one case, Rachel M., a twenty-three year old, was admitted in 1915 from Portadown, Co. Armagh, where she lived at home and helped her mother. She

'gave way to her young man under the promise of marriage' and became pregnant. Her 'young man' had joined the army, and had written from France to say that he would support the baby and marry Rachel when he got time off.¹¹⁶ However, Rachel's father, reflecting the common contemporary stigma attached to illegitimacy, was anxious that her condition was kept a secret within her village and sent her to her sister who lived in Belfast.¹¹⁷ Her baby was born in the Union Infirmary and then Rachel came to the Salvation Army Home. After staying in the Home for just over five months she left with her sister, taking her baby with her.¹¹⁸ Lucy C., also twenty-three and from Downpatrick, Co. Down, found herself in a similar situation in 1916.¹¹⁹ She met a soldier who 'under the promise of marriage wronged her'. His regiment was called up to the Front and he had promised that on his first leave he would come back and marry her. He wrote regularly for three months and then stopped, and following the baby's birth in the Union Infirmary, Lucy came to the Home for ten months before being recorded as having gone to a situation and doing well.¹²⁰

Of course it is impossible to know if these men deliberately stopped contact to avoid responsibilities or whether they were in fact killed or injured and unable to respond. Given the incredibly high mortality rates for soldiers during the First World War, there is a high probability that a number were unable to maintain contact.¹²¹ The language used to describe their sexual encounters reflected the blame onto the man involved and the woman was generally 'wronged or seduced', reinforcing the idea of a passive female sexuality and generating sympathy for a woman abandoned and betrayed.¹²² This fitted with the preferred images that those involved in rescue work had of innocent victims and the long tradition of women in need of rescue from male aggressors.

While Belfast did not have a tradition of engagement on a large scale with social purity and vigilance organisations, the last years of the war did see some increased engagement with issues relating to social hygiene and the fear of what might occur with the ending of the war. An article by George Armstrong, writing in the *Irish Presbyterian* in 1917, entitled ‘After the War, What?’ reflects some of these concerns about young women:

The war has brought about the emancipation of women. The hosts of women and girls with money in their pockets, smart clothes, the lure of the cinema before their eyes; the eternal parade in newspapers of the gay lively doings of finer people, particularly of the dramatic and bohemian classes, is an object of profound thought and a tremendously serious factor in the future of the nation.¹²³

The freedom that women were seen to have gained during the war was regarded as a threat, not only for the women themselves, but also for the future of the race. The concern with future generations and the harm young women were seen to be causing with their seemingly reckless behaviour was a feature of a wider discussion that perceived women to be the ‘guardians of the race’. The ideas of the Social Hygiene movement, and particular concerns during the war years about Venereal Disease (VD), further fuelled about the consequences of the immoral behaviour of young women.¹²⁴ In the immediate post-war years, in an Ireland facing internal division and physical partition, the appearance and morality of women took on even more importance as both Protestant and Catholic Churches and communities extolled the virtues of female purity and the role of women as moral guardians.

In 1917 regulations were issued by the Local Government Board, which required councils to establish treatment schemes for VD. The issues associated with the establishment of these VD schemes in Belfast are discussed elsewhere.¹²⁵ However, there was clearly some engagement with the growing governmental concern with VD

on the part of a range of women's' organisations in Belfast. The National Council for Combatting Venereal Disease (NCCVD) was responsible for publicity and propaganda concerning the dangers of VD and a branch was established in Belfast in January 1917.¹²⁶ As part of the first efforts at educational work, Mrs Kingsley Tarpley from the London NCCVD branch was invited to carry out propaganda work in Ulster for six weeks and she addressed over twenty meetings including a number with the Girls Friendly Society, Health Visitors and Midwives, Child Welfare Centres and the Women Patrols.¹²⁷

The Church of Ireland Rescue League in 1918 also discussed the associated issues of prostitution and VD with Lady Kennedy moving a resolution expressing horror at the existence of *maisons toleree* at certain army camps in France. The League felt that these encouraged vice and that while the subject was a disagreeable one it was one to which they could shut their eyes no longer.¹²⁸ However, it would appear that their concern did not extend to the situation closer to home, when at a meeting of the Executive Committee in May 1918 a resolution was proposed to protest against Regulation 40D arguing that it involved a 'recognition of the double standard of morality and was a grave menace to the safety of all women'. This resolution was unsuccessful.¹²⁹ Regulation 40D was passed in March 1918 due to the pressure from the Allied forces on the British Government to act to prevent the spread of venereal disease among the troops. It made it an offence for any woman suffering from VD to have sexual intercourse with a soldier or to solicit a member of the forces to have sex with her. Any women suspected of this could be detained for examination, treatment and imprisoned if suffering from VD.¹³⁰

This legislation was regarded as a return to the Contagious Diseases Acts (CDAs) of the nineteenth century, with women again penalised for the sexual behaviour of men.

¹³¹ *The Irish Citizen* in August 1918 recorded how the first prosecution of a woman in Ireland, under DORA 40D, had taken place. She was sentenced in Belfast to six months imprisonment with hard labour for ‘communicating the disease to a Canadian soldier’.¹³² Letters calling attention to the effects of this regulation on female ‘liberty and honour’ had apparently been sent to three Dublin newspapers that had suppressed them. The article went on to argue that the Regulation was merely an attempt to reintroduce the CDAs and that:

...it largely increases the danger of disease by giving men a false sense of security, while it constitutes an outrage in the honour and self-respect of women, and is the gravest possible menace to their individual liberty. It also gives enormous power for blackmail and intimidation and the real object of its promoters is to make the practise of vice safe for men by degrading and befouling women. English suffragists are carrying on spirited campaign against Regulation 40D and it is up to Irish-women to fight the evil thing here.¹³³

While Regulation 40D generated considerable opposition from suffrage and other feminist groups who drew comparisons with the CDAs, there was no opposition from any of the women’s police organisations.¹³⁴ Philippa Levine suggests that as the NUWW saw its ‘principal duty as looking after young girls...dealing with women already putatively diseased ...was thus beyond its scope’.¹³⁵ This attitude may well explain that refusal to pass the resolution protesting about Regulation 40D by the Church of Ireland Rescue League and the lack of any discussion about the Regulation by other organisations.

Conclusion

The disruption to society, in particular the dramatic changes brought about with conscription and the changes in female employment, caused by the First World War, were not as extreme in Belfast as they were in other cities in Britain. Concerns about female behaviour, particularly that of the working class girl living away from the

influence of her family and employed in some form of factory work, her appearance on the street at night, and her choice of leisure activities, generated anxiety from the end of the nineteenth century in Belfast. The high levels of women in employment and in particular of young women in industrial jobs had a long tradition in Belfast and the changes to employment that took place, particularly regarding women taking up men's jobs and work in munitions were not a feature of the Belfast employment landscape. Belfast also had a long tradition of religious philanthropic work with women and girls, in the form of rescue and reform homes and preventative work, and had limited engagement with the vigilance organisations of the Victorian period. This led to a reduced development of organisations with an avowedly feminist or social reform focus, which in turn ensured that the women involved in organisations like the Women's Patrol were from a very different background than their Dublin counterparts.¹³⁶ While women like Isabella Tod in the mid-nineteenth century had campaigned for a variety of women's rights, the dominance of Home Rule in politics had led many women to focus their attentions on opposing or supporting it at the expense of suffrage and other feminist issues.¹³⁷ The importance of religion in a divided city was reflected in the continued importance of religious philanthropy and its influence can be seen in the Belfast Women Patrol, which, with its explicitly Christian aims and agenda, set it apart from the wider Women Patrol movement in Britain and Ireland. The First World War did undoubtedly bring changes to how many organisations functioned, particularly in the immediate post-war period. Both the Edgar Home and the Ulster Magdalen Asylum had closed by 1926, and concerns were refocused on the unmarried mother and preventative work. The unique social and political circumstances in Belfast ensured that the impact of the First World War was different than that experienced in other British and Irish cities and the attempts to

manage female behaviour on the streets were a continuation of pre-war practice, dominated by religion and philanthropy.

¹ Pamela Cox (2003) *Gender, Justice and Welfare: Bad Girls in Britain, 1900-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan) p.3.

² *Ibid.*, p.4

³ For more about these concerns in Ireland see Maria Luddy (2007) *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) Chapter 5.

⁴ Penny Summerfield (1995) Women and War in the Twentieth Century in June Purvis (Ed.) *Women's History in Britain, 1850-1945* (London: Routledge) p. 315; Philippa Levine (1994) 'Walking the streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should': Women Police in World War 1, *Journal of Modern History*, 66(1), pp. 34-78; Angela Woollacott, (1994) 'Khaki Fever' and its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Home Front in the First World War, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 29 (2), pp. 325-347.

⁵ See for example, Levine, 'Walking the streets'; Woollacott, 'Khaki Fever'; John Borgonovo, (2012) 'Exercising a close vigilance over their daughters': Cork women, American sailors, and Catholic vigilantes, 1917-18, *Irish Historical Studies*, 38 (149), pp. 89-107.

⁶ A.C. Hepburn (1983), Work, Class and Religion in Belfast, 1871-1911, *Irish Economic and Social History*, 10, p.33.

⁷ Stephen Royle (2012), 'Workshop of the Empire, 1820-1914' in S.J Connolly (Ed.) *Belfast 400: People, Place and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press) pp. 207-213.

⁸ For more on Dublin see, Mary Daly (1984) *Dublin The Deposed Capital: A Social and Economic History, 1860-1914* (Cork: Cork University Press).

⁹ S.J Connolly and Gillian McIntosh (2013) Whose City? Belonging and Exclusion in the Nineteenth Century Urban World, in Connolly (Ed.) *Belfast 400*, p. 256.

¹⁰ Margaret Neil (1996) *Women at Work in Ulster, 1845-1911* (PhD, Queen's University Belfast), p. 267.

¹¹ *Census of Ireland, 1911*; Elizabeth Roberts (1995) *Women's Work: 1840-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) p. 9.

¹² Neil, *Women at Work in Ulster*, p. 33.

¹³ D.S. Johnson (1985) The Northern Ireland Economy, 1914-39, in Liam Kennedy and Philip Ollerenshaw (Eds.) *An Economic History of Ulster* (Manchester: Manchester University Press) p. 184.

¹⁴ For more on the experiences of women and work in the First World War see for example, Gail Braybon (1981) *Women Workers in the First World War* (London: Croom Helm); Susan R. Grayzel (2002) *Women and the First World War* (London: Longman); Deborah Thom (1998) *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War 1* (London: Tauris).

¹⁵ For more on the sectarian divisions in the city see, Mark Doyle (2009) *Fighting like the Devil for the Sake of God: Protestants, Catholics and the origins of Violence in Victorian Belfast* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); Catherine Hirst (2002) *Religion, Politics and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Belfast* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002); Sean Farrell (2000) *Rituals and Riots: Sectarian Violence and political Culture in Ulster, 1784-1886* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky)

¹⁶ Carol Dyhouse (1981) *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, (London: Routledge) p. 113; Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare*, p.3.

¹⁷ For more on charity and philanthropy in Belfast see Alison Jordan (1993) *Who Cared? Charity in Victorian and Edwardian Belfast* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies). For a discussion of the women accessing charity and using the workhouse in nineteenth-century Belfast see Olwen Purdue, Surviving the Industrial City: the Workhouse and the Female Poor of Late-Victorian Belfast, *Urban History*, forthcoming. My thanks to the author for providing me with a copy.

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- ¹⁸ For more on these institutions see Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society*, Chapter 3; Leanne McCormick (2009) *Regulating Sexuality: Women in Twentieth Century Northern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press) Chapter 2.
- ¹⁹ McCormick, *Regulating Sexuality*, p. 38.
- ²⁰ *Belfast Newsletter*, 3 June 1916.
- ²¹ Report of the Committee of Social Service, Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 11 June 1909.
- ²² *Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac*, 1916
- ²³ *Irish Catholic Directory and Almanac*, 1902.
- ²⁴ Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up*, pp. 106-7.
- ²⁵ Helen Jones (1988) Women Health Workers: The Case of the First Women Factory Inspectors in Britain, *Social History of Medicine*, 1:2, p. 169.
- ²⁶ Vicky Long and Hilary Marland (2009), 'From Danger and Motherhood to Health and Beauty: Health Advice or the Factory Girl in early Twentieth-Century Britain', *Twentieth Century British History*, 20:4, p. 458.
- ²⁷ Angela Woollacott (1994) Maternalism, professionalism and industrial welfare supervisors in World War I Britain, *Women's History Review*, 3:1, p. 20.
- ²⁸ Departmental Committee on Humidity and Ventilation in Flax Mills and Linen Factories. Minutes of evidence, 1914, Cd. 7446, Mary Galway, 12 September 1912, qq 248-351; Harriet Martindale, 26 October 1912, qq 2663-2789.
- ²⁹ Long and Marland, 'From Danger and Motherhood to Health and Beauty', pp. 459-61.
- ³⁰ Dyhouse, *Girls Growing up*, p. 107.
- ³¹ Rev. Stewart was actively involved in a wide range of charities, religious and state run organisations in Belfast and had considerable experience of the various bodies working with young women. These included, in addition to the GFS, Industrial Schools, Temperance organisations, Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Ulster Magdalene Asylum, Ulster Hospital for Women and Children, Protestant Orphan Society. See for example, *Belfast Newsletter*, 19 Feb. 1875, 16 May 1882, 28 April 1882, 25 Sept. 1884, 5 Nov. 1891, 7 March 1893.
- ³² Annual Report GFS Diocesan Lodge Belfast, *Belfast Newsletter*, 17 March 1894.
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ Belfast Female Mission, Annual Meeting 1872, *Belfast Newsletter*, 11 Jan. 1872.
- ³⁵ Sam McCready and Richard Loudon (2015) *Investing in lives: The History of the Youth Service of Northern Ireland (1844-1973)* (Belfast) p. 12.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.13.
- ³⁷ Alison McCaughan (1990) 'Cherchez la femme': Women in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland and in Society, 1840-1990 in RFG Holmes and R. Buick Knox (Eds.) *1840-1990: A Celebration of Irish Presbyterian Witness During a Century and a Half* (Belfast: The Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland) p. 121.
- ³⁸ Legion Adoption Society, Mater Dei hostel, Historical background Leaflet (n.d.c.1970).
- ³⁹ The *Irish Citizen* was a suffrage paper published weekly between 1912 and 1916 and then monthly until 1920. It was designed to cater for both militant and non-militant suffragists throughout the whole of the thirty-two counties.
- ⁴⁰ *Irish Citizen*, 13 July 1912, p. 59.
- ⁴¹ Presbyterian Church in Ireland (1982) *A History of Congregations in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1610-1982* (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society) pp. 80, 198. As well as the Midnight Mission Rev Park was involved in a range of Church home and foreign missions, including, Temperance organisations, Belfast Charitable Society, Belfast Female Mission, Edgar Home, Prevention of Cruelty to Children, see for example, *Belfast Newsletter* 17 Sept. 1879, 30 June. 1882, 6 June 1892, 30 Nov. 1898.
- ⁴² Belfast Midnight Mission, Annual Meeting, *Northern Whig*, 13 March 1915.
- ⁴³ Church of Ireland Rescue League, Annual Report, 1916.
- ⁴⁴ *The Witness*, 26 October 1917, p. 2.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

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- ⁴⁷ *Northern Whig*, 13 March, 1913.
- ⁴⁸ Annual Meeting, Edgar Home, 1921.
- ⁴⁹ Annual Meeting, Edgar Home, 1923.
- ⁵⁰ Eric Bristow (1977) *Vice and vigilance: purity movements in Britain since 1700* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan), p. 175.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- ⁵² Liam Kennedy, Lucia Pozzi, Matteo Manfredini (2010) Marriage, Fertility, Social Class and religion in an Irish Industrial City: Belfast 1911, *SIDeS*, 2, pp.86-7.
- ⁵³ Lesley Hall, (2013) *Sex, Gender and Social Change in Britain Since 1880* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan) pp.74-75.
- ⁵⁴ Samantha Caslin-Bell (2013) 'The "Gateway to Adventure": Women, Urban Space and Moral Purity in Liverpool c. 1908-c. 1957' (PhD, Manchester University) pp. 126-7.
- ⁵⁵ Paula Bartley (2000) *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860-1914* (London, Routledge) pp. 155-9.
- ⁵⁶ Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society*, p. 152-4.
- ⁵⁷ *Belfast Newsletter*, 4 August 1891.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid* 23 September 1891.
- ⁵⁹ For more on the white slave trade and protective organisations in Belfast see McCormick, *Regulating Sexuality*, Chapter 3; and for Irish Free State/Eire see Jennifer Redmond, (2015) Safeguarding Irish Girls: Welfare Work, Female Emigrants, and the Catholic Church, 1920s-1940s, in C. Brophy and C. Delay (Eds.) *Women, Reform and Resistance in Ireland, 1850-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan) pp. 55-76.
- ⁶⁰ See for example, Belfast Midnight Mission Annual Report, *Belfast Newsletter*, 18 December 1891.
- ⁶¹ Annual Meeting, GFS Diocesan Lodge, *Belfast Newsletter*, 13 April 1916
- ⁶² *Northern Whig*, 13 March 1913.
- ⁶³ GFS Annual Meeting Diocesan Lodge, *Northern Whig*, 13 March 1913, p. 10.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *Northern Whig*, 15 March 1913, p.11.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ Committee Minutes of Edgar Home, 1913.
- ⁶⁸ Luddy, *Prostitution and Irish Society*, 166.
- ⁶⁹ Woollacott, Maternalism, professionalization and Industrial Welfare, p. 32.
- ⁷⁰ Woollacott, 'Khaki Fever' and its Control, p. 335.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 325.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ Senia Pašeta, (2014), 'Waging War on the Streets': the Irish Women Patrol, 1914-22, *Irish Historical Studies*, 39:154, p.258
- ⁷⁵ *Irish Citizen*, 13 February 1915.
- ⁷⁶ *Irish Times*, 15 April, 1915
- ⁷⁷ Pašeta, 'Waging War on the Streets'; Borgonovo, Exercising a Close Vigilance, p. 93.
- ⁷⁸ Louise Jackson, (2006) *Women Police: Gender, Welfare and Surveillance in the Twentieth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press) p. 18.
- ⁷⁹ For more on the establishment of Women Patrols and Women Police and the conflicts between organisations see, Levine, 'Walking the Streets' and Lucy Bland (1985) In the Name of Protection: The Policing of Women in the First World War in C. Smart & J. Brophy (Eds.) *Women in Law: Explorations in Law, Family and Sexuality* (London: Routledge), pp. 23-49.
- ⁸⁰ *Irish Citizen*, 13 February 1915.
- ⁸¹ Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 21.
- ⁸² Levine, 'Walking the Streets', p. 42.
- ⁸³ *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 October 1918, p. 5.
- ⁸⁴ Levine, 'Walking the Streets', p. 56.
- ⁸⁵ Pašeta, 'Waging War on the Streets', p. 263.

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- ⁸⁶ Luddy *Prostitution and Irish Society*, p. 174.
- ⁸⁷ Annual Meeting, Edgar Home, 1916.
- ⁸⁸ Brendan Fulton and Trevor Parkhill (2009) *Making the Difference: An Oral History of Probation in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: Probation Board for Northern Ireland) p. 11.
- ⁸⁹ *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 October, 1918.
- ⁹⁰ Woollacott, 'Khaki Fever', p. 334.
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 338.
- ⁹² Margaret Cameron (2011) The Multi-tasking Deaconess, *Wider World Magazine*.
- ⁹³ For more on the role of Deaconesses see Janice Holmes and Philippa McCracken Holmes (2008) *A Century of Service: Celebrating the Role of Deaconesses in the Church* (Belfast: 10Publishing).
- ⁹⁴ She appears in a photograph of the Belfast Patrol in *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 October 1918.
- ⁹⁵ Annual Meeting, Edgar Home, 1915
- ⁹⁶ Annual Meeting, Edgar Home, 1916
- ⁹⁷ Pašeta, 'Waging War on the Streets', p. 254.
- ⁹⁸ Church of Ireland Rescue League Annual Meeting, 1916
- ⁹⁹ *The Witness*, 15 October 1917.
- ¹⁰⁰ Borgonovo, 'Exercising a Close Vigilance over their Daughters', p.93.
- ¹⁰¹ *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 October 1918, p. 5.
- ¹⁰² Jackson, *Women Police*, p. 172.
- ¹⁰³ *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 October 1918, p. 5; Bland, *In the Name of Protection*, p. 40.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁵ Women Patrols were re-introduced in Belfast in 1943, following similar concerns about the behaviour of young women on the streets of the city centre.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Northern Whig*, 14 February 1917.
- ¹⁰⁷ *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 October 1918, p. 5.
- ¹⁰⁸ *The Witness*, 15 Nov. 1918.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 October 1918.
- ¹¹⁰ John Johnston-Kehoe, (2015) 'Whenever a woman was needed': Garda Women Assistants in 1950s Dublin, in J. Redmond, S. Tiernan, S. McAvooy and M. McAuliffe (Eds.) *Sexual Politics in Modern Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press) p. 91; Redmond, *Safeguarding Irish Girls*, p. 66.
- ¹¹¹ *Belfast Telegraph*, 26 October 1918.
- ¹¹² *Irish Examiner*, 17 April 1915. Pašeta, 'Waging War on the Streets', p. 257.
- ¹¹³ Pašeta, 'Waging War on the Streets', p.257.
- ¹¹⁴ Margaret Cameron (1992) *The Women in Green: A History of the Royal Ulster Constabulary's Policewomen* (Belfast: RUC Historical Society) p.2.
- ¹¹⁵ Salvation Army Home, Belfast Entrance Registers, 1913-19.
- ¹¹⁶ Salvation Army Home, Belfast, Entrance Register, 1915.
- ¹¹⁷ For more on issues relating to illegitimacy concerns in Ireland see for example, Maria Luddy (2001) *Moral Rescue and Unmarried Mothers in Ireland in the 1920s*, *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 30, pp. 797–817; Elaine Farrell (2014) *A Most Diabolical Deed": Infanticide and Irish Society, 1850–1900* (Manchester, Manchester University Press); Leanne McCormick (2009) *Regulating Sexuality: Women in Twentieth Century Northern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press); Cliona Rattigan (2011) *What Else Could I Do? Single Mothers and Infanticide, Ireland 1900–1950* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press).
- ¹¹⁸ Salvation Army Home, Belfast, Entrance Register, 1915.
- ¹¹⁹ Salvation Army Home, Belfast, Entrance Register, 1916.
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.* It isn't recorded what happened to the baby, but given that she went to a situation; the baby was most likely either fostered or adopted.
- ¹²¹ For more on the First World War and Irish soldiers see for example, Keith Jeffery (2000) *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- ¹²² Regina Kunzel (1993) *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890–1945* (Yale, Yale University Press) pp.20–22.
- ¹²³ George A. Armstrong, 'After the War – What?', *Irish Presbyterian*, 23 April 1917, p. 3.

¹²⁴ Lucy Bland (1982) 'Guardians of the Race' or 'Vampires Upon the Nation's Health'? Female Sexuality and its Regulation in Early Twentieth Century Britain, in E. Whitelegg et al (Eds) *The Changing Experience of Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) p. 375.

¹²⁵ See McCormick, *Regulating Sexuality*, Chapter 4 and Leanne McCormick (2010) The treatment and prevention of VD in interwar Northern Ireland, in M. Luddy and C. Cox (Eds) *Cultures of Care in Irish Medical History 1750-1950* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan) pp. 191-206

¹²⁶ Minutes of the Ulster Branch NCCVD, 13 October, 1917, LA/7/9BB/12, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI)

¹²⁷ Minutes Ulster Branch NCCVD, 13 May 1918, LA/7/9BB/12, PRONI

¹²⁸ Church of Ireland Rescue League, Annual Meeting, 1918.

¹²⁹ Church of Ireland Rescue League, Executive Committee, May 1918.

¹³⁰ For more on the issues surrounding VD and the First World War see for example, Lucy Bland, *In the Name of Protection*; Lutz Sauerteig (1998) Sex, Medicine and Morality during the First World War, in R. Cooter, M. Harrison, and S. Sturdy (Eds.) *War, Medicine and Modernity* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing) pp. 167-188.

¹³¹ Bland, *In the Name of Protection*, p. 32; Woollacott, 'Khaki Fever', p. 334.

¹³² *Irish Citizen*, August 1918, p. 617.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Levine, 'Walking the Streets', p. 52

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Paşeta, 'Waging War on the Streets', p. 264

¹³⁷ For more on women and politics in Belfast see, Diane Urquhart (2000), *A History Not Yet Told: Women in Ulster Politics 1890-1940* (Dublin, Irish Academic Press).