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Four Nations Feminism: Una Troy and Menna Gallie

This paper considers the relevance and meaning of the four nations context for Irish and Welsh women's writing in the turbulent 1960s and identifies some of the ways in which archipelagic relationships are reimagined by two writers in particular: Munster writer Una Troy and Menna Gallie, born into a mining community on the western edge of the South Wales coalfields. Both Troy and Gallie wrote novels that deploy plots of female friendship to interrogate the relationship between gender and national affiliation in a four nations context. Critical attention to these texts can help to answer John Kerrigan's call 'to recover the long, braided histories played out across the British-Irish archipelago between three kingdoms, four countries, divided regions, variable ethnicities and religiously determined alliances'.[1] Yet to the extent that these are women's novels, questions of sexual and artistic identity are further 'braided' within texts that address British-Irish history in gendered terms.

The novels I discuss are unusual in their refusal and interrogation of the endogamous forms of family-oriented realist fictions, the dominant mode of women's writing in this period in both Ireland and Wales. They also share a brittle, even damaged, tone that often falls back on an uneasy form of humour in its effort to confront bodily realities. Troy and Gallie imagine forms of national relationality that are based in individual, even isolated, bodily experiences; specifically the experiences of sexually or socially vulnerable women in their forties, whose predicaments in turn speak to the forms of political community that they inhabit. The novels of Troy and Gallie practise a form of national allegory, of a kind familiar from the Romantic-era national tale, but adapted in these fictions for a set of variable relationships that include those between Ireland and Wales, women and men, and violence and the state. Novels by such nineteenth-century writers as Maria

Edgeworth, Sydney Owenson in Ireland and Anna Maria Bennett and Amy Dillwyn in Wales took their home countries as their topic and setting, while reimagining national history via marriage or seduction plots that addressed wider issues of dispossession and inheritance. The dominant mode of these fictions is allegory, with the transition from private to public meanings most often figured in terms of sexual plots. The novels on which I focus here reinvent these nineteenth-century modes in the context of their own times. In what can seem an unlikely move for readers more accustomed to thinking about British-Irish relations in the narrow terms provided by political history, novels by Troy and Gallie depict women's desires as existing in intricate relation to the four nations framework that connects Ireland, Wales, England and Scotland. Community, these novels suggest, is a matter of intimacies and immediacies: relationships between bodies, friends and neighbouring nations shape and are shaped by unavoidable histories that press upon sexual identity in the present.

Una Troy, *Esmond* (1962) and *The Other End of the Bridge* (1960)

The author of *Esmond* began her writing career as Elizabeth Connor in 1936 with a revisionary big house novel, *Mount Prospect*, banned in Ireland by the Censorship of Publications Board. She published as Una Troy from the mid 1950s and continued writing novels through the 1970s.

Esmond, the sixth of the Una Troy novels, may be read as a late modernist reinvention of the Celtic in relation to the thematics of national marriage. The novel mixes several modes: it is part *künstlerroman* or novel of artistic identity, part national romance and part four nations fiction. Its narrator is a thirty eight year old woman named Mary Murphy, who reconstructs the details of her life for her readership along the twin axes of her desire to become a professional writer and her polygamous adventures in multicultural marriage.

The novel threads an intradiegietic fiction concerning an impossibly dashing romantic hero named Esmond into a tale of the heroine's search for an actual husband who could match her fantasy man. The search leads her into concurrent marriages to husbands in Ireland, England and Wales (named Patrick, George and Dafydd). She marries them, she briefly explains early in the novel, because of her upbringing and her mother's silence on the subject of sex: 'When I read contemporary novels where girls seem perpetually to tumble in and out of beds — though even today I doubt if they tumble so much in Ireland — the reticence between Mother and myself amazes me. It must be my early training that has kept me so strictly to marriage beds.'[2]

On her travels, she continues to write a romantic novel about her ideal man, Esmond; has some success as a writer of short romantic fiction for magazines aimed at 'the women of Great Britain and Ireland';[3] and, finally, finishes the novel which we are given to understand we are reading. *Esmond* concludes with the narrator aged forty, two years after the twentieth anniversary of her first marriage (to Patrick), living in a bedsit in a loosely realized city that might be Glasgow or Edinburgh: 'this place that is in none of the countries where I was a wife. I have a small room at the top of a shabby old house. From my window I see the backs of other old houses, railway tracks and, on fine Mondays, lines of washing. I have been writing this book since I came here, so naturally I am often thinking of my husbands.'[4] Scotland completes the four nations framework and allows the heroine a vantage point from which to survey the two intense years she has lived as wife of Patrick, George and Dafydd.

In a narrative twist, the ending however duplicates itself: the page that follows the words 'THE END' offers a supplementary ending, as follows:

> When I had typed those two words, I realized gladly that they are the only really false ones in this book. Because whatever harm the past years have done me, at least they have taught me what I hadn't yet learned on that momentous twentieth wedding anniversary; they taught me that there is no end for me until another hand than mine must record it. Every day that I'm alive, I can look forward to a future. I'll keep looking forward. Some day I may even begin to believe in something again and that would be fine. I might even believe again that The End could never be written at all.
>
> I'll go out now and post my two parcels. I'll walk briskly and I won't feel the cold and I'll admire the city and I'll have a good meal with wine in a good restaurant to celebrate the completion of *Esmond*.
>
> Because even if this book won't bring me back to Patrick, perhaps it will bring me somewhere. I'd love to see New York.[5]

Troy's self-reflexive narrative strategies encourage us to think about how Irish women writers of the mid twentieth century 'helped', as Paige Reynolds puts it, 'to fashion and promote high modernism's formal and thematic innovations.'[6] Here, a faith in writing as a guarantor of identity at once evades the Ireland of the narrator's upbringing and affirms the importance of the neighbouring nations she has visited. New York holds the promise of a further flight from the nets of nationality, yet remains tied to the Ireland of her memories via the Scotland from where she writes. Troy's invocation of the four nations in this context captures the contours of an intimate form of exile imagined by a writer whose own life remained bounded by the Munster of her birth, yet whose published work travelled widely within international cultural circuits, and whose 'fictional portraits of the Irish woman writer encompass imprisonment, isolation, marginalisation, self-expulsion, flight and loneliness'.[7]

Like Troy's modernism, her Celticism is searching and experimental. The four nations context is realized in a number of ways, most obviously via the plot of the polygamous marriages to Patrick, George and Dafydd. Patrick (who was once capped for Munster) buys Mary her engagement ring in Dublin 'on the day Ireland played Scotland at Landsdowne Road. Or it might have been Wales.' This early reference to rugby is one of the ways in which Troy begins to sketch in the relationship between the 'home nations' — the component parts of what had been the United Kingdom — as they impact on the romantic and artistic life of her protagonist.

Mary's first escape from her marriage takes her to the 'great city' of London. With her children at college and a small inheritance from her mother securing her freedom, she embarks on a 'holiday' from her marriage and takes a room in 'a cheap hotel near Paddington Station'. Reviewing this episode she imagines it as an apprenticeship in writing: Mary eavesdrops 'expertly', records 'snippets' of conversations and reflects on the varieties of English heard in Ireland, England and Wales. Mary also practices a form of romantic ethnography, recording Patrick's rarely uttered endearments in relation to George's liberal use of 'darling'; both surpassed by Dafydd's heartfelt and musical use of 'Mary, bach'. In such moments, the narrator's writerly and romantic desires are fused. Each relationship also brings with it certain narrative or generic demands: as the wife of a dentist in Carigeen, Mary's life has a kind of small town realism of a sort we might associate with Mary Lavin. Married to George, however, she finds herself enmeshed in a plot that properly belongs to the English tabloids: the solicitous George, it transpires, is a serial murderer of wives who lures her to Fulham with a view to making the uprooted and unconnected Mary his next victim. Dafydd's story is all wild poetry and romance, with Dafydd himself a bohemian sub-Dylan Thomas figure who despairs of Mary's bourgeois tendencies but nonetheless marries her.

As Kalene Kenefick shows, *Esmond* fuses aspects of *Madame Bovary* (the protagonist's romantic fantasies and her longing for a lover who exists only in books) with the search for a writerly identity in Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*.[8] Kenefick establishes that the title *Esmond* is borrowed from the moment in Woolf's lecture when she describes being denied permission as an unaccompanied woman to see the manuscripts of Thackeray's *Henry Esmond* in the Bodleian. *Esmond* displays a similarly self-conscious interest in Matthew Arnold's lecture on Celtic literature, updated here for Troy's mid-century moment.

Mary meets her Welsh lover, later husband, Dafydd, in a bar of a Llandudno hotel. Arnold of course opens his famous lecture on Celtic literature with the view from one such Llandudno hotel, describing what it means to look eastward to 'the Saxon invaders from Liverpool' or towards Wales and 'the eternal softness and mild line of the West'. The Flintshire novelist Emyr Humphreys wrote a scathing attack on Arnold's essay in 1978, in which he identifies the row of hotels invoked by Arnold (and later Troy) as St George's Crescent in Llandudno. His own essay, 'Arnold in Wonderland', memorably describes this crescent as 'an architectural scimitar lying across the dragon's throat'.[9]

What is for Arnold a mystical and metaphorical invocation of what it means to be located between Ireland, England and Wales and for Humphreys an outright expression of colonialism, is converted by Troy into a narrative that partakes of the flux of modern travel. Not for her the disembodied intellectual who gazes across to Liverpool, then, but a traveling Irish woman en route to Holyhead, who sits in a hotel bar drinking sherry, gets chatted up by a handsome boy called Dafydd and ends up spending a fortnight with him and his bohemian friends. At the conclusion of this adventure, she finds herself married to the desirable Dafydd, as well as possessing a new freedom for her writing self: already, introducing her self in Llandudno, she says 'I'm Mary Murphy … I'm Irish. I write.'[10] It

is at this point of the novel that 'Mary Murphy' begins writing the narrative that we are given to understand we are reading.

We first encounter Dafydd and his artistic friends —a bearded painter and some greasy haired 'arty-tarty sluts' named Bronwen and Dilys — deep in a drunken conversation about philistinism, recalling Arnold's comments on the 'philistinism of our middle class' and 'of our Saxon nature'.[11] Their Celtic sentimentalism would seem to bear out Arnold's account of the Welsh as unburdened by the 'intellectual side of Protestantism', inspired instead by 'devout, emotional' feeling. Their emotionalism is targeted and trivialized by the narrator, who glosses Dafydd's fervent call to live life and 'drag it from your guts' as follows: 'I had already gathered that this young man was keenly sensitive to the sufferings of others, red, black, brown, yellow and, though of course to a lesser extent, white, all over the globe. As one or more of these is always suffering somewhere, I pitied the young man for the constant vicarious agony he must endure'.[12] Here, romantic and Arnoldian models of sympathy are held up for the narrator's stern scrutiny, as a four nations form of affect emerges in implicit opposition to Dafydd's more extensive but less nuanced form of cultural difference.

Although we don't know whether Troy was a reader of the national romances of Maria Edgeworth or Lady Morgan, it seems appropriate to read *Esmond* as reinvention of the genre of the national tale, with a distinct four nations inflection. For further evidence of Troy's revisionary interest in the genre, we might consider her 1960 novel, *The Other End of the Bridge*. The novel features two rival Irish towns, Waterville and Corkbeg, separated only by a narrow strip of the river Dara across which stretches a bridge. The plot sees inter-town competition become particularly intense as each lays claim to its role as birthplace of the eighteenth-century poet, Brian O'Rourke, whose bicentenary is being celebrated. Waterville and Corkbeg are differentiated by each representing different

strands in the invasion of Ireland (Danish and Spanish) and each town also has an antiquarian figure — Waterville's James Arnold, a schoolteacher, and Corkbeg's Miss Harriet Wilson, the owner of an antique shop.

The novel freely borrows from the thematics of the national romance, with a highly contrived love affair between the Mayor of Corkbeg's daughter and the Mayor of Waterville's son attempting to advance the cause of inter-community harmony against a backdrop of suspicion and social disapproval. In a distinct nod to the invented biography of Lady Morgan, the author of *The Wild Irish Girl* who claimed that she was born neither in England nor Ireland but mid-way across the Irish Sea, the poet Brian O'Rourke is discovered to have been born not in either town at all but in a river boat, crossing under the bridge between the two towns.

It is however *At the Other End of the Bridge's* contemporary resonances that make Troy's revision of the thematics of national romance most striking: among the earliest victims of the escalated hostilities are the two town prostitutes, who are threatened with expulsion. Most remarkably modern is the character of the Apostle Blaney, a kind of messianic figure who assumes a darker and more dystopian cast as the novel progresses. The Apostle lives inland, in a disused mill located mid-way between the two towns. He refuses to give his allegiance to one place or the other, and is equally scathing of all the churches and chapels in the vicinity. 'Soon', the narrator tells us, 'it became obvious that the man had been through some fearful experience; he spoke often of death and destruction in the past, and prophesied worse horrors in the future'.[13] When he emerges from the 'Gothic gloom' of the mill, the Apostle is given to apocalyptic pronouncements concerning the destiny of the conflict between the towns, based, we learn, on his own experiences during the Blitz. 'Towns as lovely as these, as peaceful as these, have ended

in blood and ruin', says the Apostle, going on to recount the bombing of a London hotel in graphic detail.[14]

The character of the Apostle might be read as a modernist declension of the national romance's thematics. Rather than representing harmony or the possibility of communication, his role is as an alienated and damaged voice that warns the two communities against perpetuating a cycle of historical violence. The Apostle's predictions, of 'sudden death and creeping death and death shrivelling all the globe', are brought to bear on Irish partition, via a sub-plot which invokes the Irish Republican Army's border campaign of 1959-1962 and implies an escalation of violence that will transcend Corkbeg/Waterville disputes.[15] *The Other End of the Bridge* identifies only to satirize an allegorical mode that would connect towns or lovers to one another.

The Apostle finally blows up both himself and the bridge that separates the two towns, whereupon the townspeople descend into a welter of sentimental feeling towards their lost prophet and each other. In a curious concluding twist, the apostle's umbrella — distinctive because it features a 'great bird's head' atop a mangled frame covered in scarlet silk — is seen floating down the river. The sight of it quite suddenly and shockingly precipitates the first outbreak of actual violent conflict between the townspeople, who begin to hurl missiles at one another. Trapped in the crossfire are some British tourists — 'English trippers' — who become helplessly isolated amidst the 'turbulent natives'.[16] The final focus on the uncanny object of the umbrella further draws the novel into Paige Reynolds' account of the 'late modernism' of Irish women's writing of the 1960s, and her discussion of the way in which material objects come to 'refuse … security and meaning' in fictions such as Elizabeth Bowen's *Eva Trout* (1968).[17] That the damaged body of the Apostle is replaced by the surreal and mangled object that is the

umbrella suggests a particular focus on the hostility that results when relations of meaning break down.

Menna Gallie, *You're Welcome to Ulster* (1970)

Menna Gallie wrote about Northern Ireland as one who knew it well. Reviewing the novel for *The Listener*, Tom McIntyre admires her knowledge of 'the politics of the situation' while at the same time wondering if 'the whole thing' is not 'too clamorous, too current, too unresolved'.[18] Familiarity and its perils informs the thematics of all of Gallie's fictions, which are in general marked by a distinct interest in intimacy: from the crowded pubs and houses of her Valleys novels, to the small twin bedded room shared by the protagonists of *Travels with a Duchess* (1968), in which a Cardiff schoolteacher and dentist's wife goes on a package holiday to Yugoslavia and loses her luggage en route. She ends up sharing a room and a wardrobe with a Northern Irish Catholic woman from Ballyduggan, who has left her barrister husband and large family at home. That novel features a series of vividly realised and uncomfortably prolonged close encounters: the Welsh protagonist's red suede suit impresses its colour and texture on the cream wool dress worn by another woman against whom it is pressed in a queue for an airport toilet; once in Yugoslavia, she finds herself trapped into sharing a single bed with an older American man, lying in embarrassed silence as they watch his roommate have sex with a prostitute.

You're Welcome to Ulster will be reissued later this year, by the Welsh publishers Honno, with an introduction written by the historian Angela V. John and myself. The novel opens with an extract from the Special Powers Act of 1922. A subsequent 'Prelude' was added to the US edition of the novel, probably at the request of Joan Kahn, Gallie's editor at Harper and Row.[19] The Prelude features a pub discussion between members of the Free Wales Army who are waiting for some IRA men to turn up and sell them explosives, and

who argue about the relevance of Northern Ireland for their own struggle: 'Don't forget it's our cash they want', says one, 'whatever crap they may talk about our Celtic nationalism putting up a united front against British tyranny'.[20]

This suspicion of nationalism sounds throughout *You're Welcome to Ulster*, where an interest in ethnic and religious conflict in Northern Ireland is articulated alongside the Labour and leftwing convictions of her heroine. Menna Gallie's husband was a professor of philosophy (later political science) who held posts in the universities of North Staffordshire, Belfast and Cambridge. His academic career took her to Northern Ireland between 1954 and 1967; they lived in County Down, where Gallie began her writing career. From there, she produced her important industrial fictions, *Strike for a Kingdom* (1959) and *The Small Mine* (1962). The South Wales that she imagined from Northern Ireland has been praised for its liberal use of 'the viewpoints of women and children' and for giving 'breadth to the normal narrow male focus of the Valleys novel'.[21]

You're Welcome to Ulster draws Northern Ireland into a framework of what I'm identifying here as four nations feminism (the latter, incidentally, a term of which neither Gallie nor Troy were fond). Gallie shares with Troy a decided interest in the sexual desires of women in their forties. Gallie's though is a notably more frank form of writing about these issues, which draws confidently on late twentieth-century psychoanalytic discourses. In her last novel, *In these Promiscuous Parts* (published in 1986 and written when Gallie was in her late 60s), she establishes a connection between Ireland and sexual freedom, writing about North Pembrokeshire as a place somehow infected by Ireland, with a 'strange, endearing tolerance of debauchery and sexual licence' that 'sprang from Fishguard, the port for vessels from the Irish Republic'. [22]

The widowed Welsh protagonist of *You're Welcome to Ulster* is a Cambridge-based civil servant who has found a lump on her breast, and goes to Northern Ireland because she wants to have a meaningful and pleasurable sexual experience before undergoing the much dreaded mastectomy and the 'remedial corsetry' that will follow. Writing in an early issue of the radical Northern Irish magazine *Fortnight*, Nini Rodgers is clearly amused by Sarah's excursion to Ulster in search of sexual pleasure, which she compares to someone who 'has chosen to go to Siberia for a holiday, or travelled to Mecca in search of alcoholic refreshment, or gone to the Falls to buy a union jack'.[23] In particular, Sarah wishes to engineer an encounter with a man named James McNeil, a 'Protestant journalist who wrote diatribes against the Ulster government for the more left-wing British newspapers'. Despite his being married and a family man, Sarah Thomas thinks of herself has having 'new rights' along with her 'new weaknesses' and travels to a fishing village outside Belfast with a view to renewing her relationship with 'Ulster's most articulate symbol'.[24]

Reading Gallie via the lens of the national romance, this seems a striking reinvention of the early nineteenth-century plot of the Englishman who comes to Ireland or Wales to find a truer version both of the country and of himself. Gallie's narrative however moves beyond metaphorical connections to suggest material connections between sexual and national forms of politics. In the novel, Sarah Thomas' ill and ageing body serves as the primary register of external political conditions: her tiredness, her hunger, her thirst for alcohol or desire for sex all at different points of the novel determine and shape her vivid account of Ulster in the week around the twelfth of July, 1969.

And vivid it is. Gallie's novel is among the very earliest Troubles novels. The action occurs in the immediate aftermath of the Burntollet Bridge incident, where People's Democracy marchers were attacked by loyalists who met no resistance form the watching

RUC men. The novel ends with a lengthy discussion of the rights and wrongs of armed resistance, and the crushing injustices inflicted on Northern Ireland's Catholic population via the Special Powers Act.[25]

Lost en route to the home of her Catholic friends, Sarah finds herself hijacked by some young IRA men on their unofficial patrol: told to 'move over' and let one of them drive her hired Mini, her discomfort is acute:

> Clumsy, tired and feeling her years, Sarah wriggled from under the steering wheel, almost sat on the gear lever and with undignified haste scrambled into the passenger seat, too shocked to talk back. Her skirt rode up, exposing her broadening thighs, with small, purple, broken veins, to their bright young eyes. Even in those alarming circumstances she was woman enough to mind, to be shamed to humbleness.[26]

These same young men, who suspect her of some form of official surveillance of their activities, quietly terrorise the house and family of her local friends and confirm Sarah's horror in a 'positive exultation in violence' that she cannot forgive or find a connection with, even as expressed by those she knows to be most wronged by the British state. Gallie's novel seeks to draw its readers into a deepening understanding of the plight of Ulster's Catholic minority. At the same time, however, its cynical and edgy protagonist repeatedly repels any cosy Celticism. Out to see the Unionist bonfires on the night of the twelfth, Sarah Thomas meets a young Welshman on the run from both the authorities and the IRA men who have been giving him shelter (Sarah's friends from earlier). Given rather comic treatment, he is a member of the Free Wales Army, who thinks that he has blown up the constable in his village while targeting a phone box. This section of the narrative refers back to the Prelude and makes specific reference to the Free Wales

Army's actions that took place in the week before Sarah travels to Ireland, in the days leading up to the investiture of the Prince of Wales in Caernarfon.
The boy, named Mabon Vavasour, and Sarah engage in a conversation about nationalism that threads through the final chapters of the novel and hinges on their different invocations of the life of his mother. Here, we increasingly come to see, if not quite his point of view, then the way in which Sarah's thirsty and tired body interferes with her ability to contest his convictions.

In a final melodramatic twist that swerves between the modes of lush romantic fiction and fast-paced political thriller, Sarah's lover is assassinated, moments after they have had al fresco sex in the driveway of her friends' house. The police invoke the Special Powers Act to block an inquest or an inquiry and an angry exchange of views ensues: Sarah is 'ravaged', 'cancelled out, reduced and paper thin'. Yet the novel's concluding focus falls rather more calmly on the spectacle of Sarah and the Welsh boy Mab as they depart Belfast's Aldergrove airport together:

> Colum and Caroline, up at the high windows, watched them come out onto the apron. Mab, in his dark-red sweater and his shabby jeans, carried Sarah's little bag. She walked beside him; you would never have known that she was any different from the rest. The sun shone on her lovely, heavy hair, on his red head, and they mounted the steps and went on, into the airplane.[27]

The reminder of Sarah's breast cancer suggests ominous outcomes, perhaps political as well as personal. We are reminded though that her weakened status and departure 'meant more than yet another symbol of victory for the Special Powers Act'. At once invoked and rejected, allegory returns here as a relationship that enables the crossing of generational as well as national contexts.

CONCLUSION

In nineteenth-century studies, we have begun increasingly to see how women's novels of nationhood revise and reinvent the Burkean model of nationally-bounded feeling and propose instead a model of community founded on affects that are transnational in scope. It might similarly be argued of Troy and Gallie that they too organise affective models of identity that cross national borders. Rather than Lady Morgan's Portuguese, Greek or Belgian romances, however, or Maria Edgeworth's cosmopolitan French and German fictions, Troy and Gallie both mobilise a more modest version of transnational affect as it moves between Ireland, Scotland and Wales. There are clear ironies here, as well as some difficult questions, and it is on these that I will end.

Troy and Gallie were writing in a time of improved transport and communication links; indeed at the very outset of the jet age on which Elizabeth Bowen muses in *A World of Love* and *Eva Trout.* Yet despite these increased travel opportunities, and indeed in their very midst as in the Menna Gallie novel about a package holiday, they each seek to reimagine the ties that bind the four nations via the embodied figures of forty-something women made restless by sexual desire. At the same time, however, their concerns link them to international feminist fictions such as Erica Jong's *Fear of Flying* (1973) or Margaret Atwood's *Lady Oracle* (1976), where female authorship and artistic identities are realized in relation to national locations and dislocations, and treated in similarly comic ways.

I began by suggesting that Troy and Gallie demand contemporary interest for the way in which they imagine intimate forms of interconnection that bypass the oppressive familial dynamics of other Irish and Welsh women's novels of the period. The history of British-Irish relations cannot be circumvented, however, and nor are oppressions in the present

ignored. Uncertain forms of humour seem to offer a way of allowing a fuller range of affective experience to inhabit allegorical structures while also keeping open the relationship between sexual identities and political histories within the intimate confines of the four nations.

Notes

Thanks to Katie Gramich, Angela V. John, Rebecca Munford, Paige Reynolds and Diana Wallace for helpful comments on this essay.

[1] John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 2.
[2] Una Troy, *Esmond* (New York, 1962), p. 19.
[3] Troy, *Esmond*, p. 103.
[4] Troy, *Esmond*, p. 249.
[5] Troy, *Esmond*, p. 250.
[6] Paige Reynolds, 'Colleen Modernism: Modernism's Afterlife in Irish Women's Writing', *Eire Ireland* 44:1-2 (Fall / Winter 2009): 94-117.
[7] Kalene Kenefick, 'Una Troy's Fiction: the Figure of the Irish Woman Writer'. unpublished PhD thesis, University College Cork, 2008, p. 14. Cited with the author's permission.
[8] Kenefick, 'Una Troy's Fiction', pp. 134-7.
[9] Emyr Humphreys, 'Arnold in Wonderland', *Powys Review* (Summer 1978), p. 49.
[10] Troy, *Esmond*, p. 136.
[11] Arnold, 'On the Study of Celtic Literature', p. --
[12] Troy, *Esmond*, p. 134.
[13] Una Troy, *The Other End of the Bridge* (London, 1960), p. 38.
[14] Troy, *The Other End of the Bridge*, pp. 48-49: 'A bomb came down the lift-shaft. They had been dancing. Mostly young people. They were all scattered about like some hellish jig-saw puzzle. The pretty dresses were torn and soaked in blood. Portions of some bodies I helped to scrape off the wall,' said the Apostle levelly and madly, 'and more were shovelled off the floor'
[15] Troy, *The Other End of the Bridge*, pp. 68.
[16] Troy, *The Other End of the Bridge*, pp. 266, 270.
[17] Reynolds, 'Colleen Modernism'.
[18] *The Listener*, 29 October 1970.
[19] Angela V. John, 'Gallie Proofs': http://www.honno.co.uk/edchoicemennagallie.php. Date accessed: 17.3.10. John quotes from the original reader's report:

> The religious controversy, the events stemming from it, the young Welsh runaway and the red-bearded Catholic militant – their relationship to Sarah still seems a little murky to me. Their *meaning* for her, as well as the death at the end, doesn't seem adequately explained – and since this, rather than the controversy itself, is the core of the book, I feel that the novel itself isn't fully realized. (Harper & Row Correspondence, Box 101, Reader's Report, Rare Books and Manuscripts, Butler Library, Columbia University).

See also Angela V. John, 'Politics, Place and History: The Life and Novels of Menna Gallie', *Llafur*, 9, 3 (2006): 46-57.
[20] Menna Gallie, *You're Welcome to Ulster* (New York, 1970), p. xi.
[21] Stephen Knight, 'The Uncertainties and Hesitations that were the Truth': Welsh Industrial Fictions by Women', in H. Gustav Klaus and Stephen Knight (eds.), *British Industrial Fictions* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), pp. 163-180 (p. --).
[22] Menna Gallie, *In These Promiscuous Parts* (New York, 1986), p. 4.
[23] Nini Rodgers, Review of *You're Welcome to Ulster*, *Fortnight*, September 1970.
[24] Gallie, *You're Welcome to Ulster*, p. 3.
[25] Nini Rodgers remained unimpressed regarding Gallie's efforts to 'inform the reader about the then present (July '69) state of Ulster': an early scene in which Sarah attends a party at the house of her friends the Moores reminds Rodgers 'of "The Archers" radio dialogue where fictional local gossip is interspersed with extracts from Ministry of Agriculture handouts'.
[26] Gallie, *You're Welcome to Ulster*, p. 14.
[27] Gallie, *You're Welcome to Ulster*, p. 256.