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Introduction

A Stage of Emancipation

*Marguérite Corporaal
and Ruud van den Beuken*

In his introduction to *Irish Drama and Theatre since 1950* (2019), Patrick Lonergan outlines the genealogy of the #WakingTheFeminists movement, which began as a contestation of how the Abbey's 2016 *Waking the Nation* programme marginalised female playwrights and directors, but quickly expanded to raise awareness about the precarious position of women in the Irish theatre scene more generally. By also charting earlier attempts to challenge gender inequalities, Lonergan reveals a disturbing history of forgetfulness, if not outright disregard, so that 'each iteration [of defiance] occurred as if for the first time.'¹ Indeed, in the face of this negligence by both historiographers and the wider cultural sector, Lonergan appeals to 'theatre scholars [to] think about the choices we make when we document the past.'²

The present volume takes this plea to heart in an attempt to recover these and other types of marginalised histories and to demonstrate how the Dublin Gate Theatre played various emancipatory roles in Irish culture and society over the course of its long history. Founded in 1928 by Hilton Edwards, Micheál mac Liammóir, Desirée 'Toto' Bannard Cogley, and Gearóid Ó Lochlainn, the Gate quickly became a cosmopolitan mecca in the strongly insular Irish Free State. As Robert Hogan already described in his contribution to the demi-centenary Festschrift *Enter Certain Players* (1978), their new venture provided Ireland with 'expertise and craft, education and a honing of taste, a growth of urbane tolerance and a lessening of parochialism, a series of masterpieces that inspired terror,

¹ Lonergan, *Irish Drama and Theatre*, 4.

² Lonergan, *Irish Drama and Theatre*, 5.

a series of nonsenses that evoked delight.³ The catholicity of Hogan's enumeration – and his stress on the emancipatory quality of the Gate's efforts – is also illustrated in a more comic vein by an incident that the architect Michael Scott recounts in the same volume. When the Gate acquired the Rotunda's concert wing in 1930, mac Liammóir told Scott that he wanted the toilet doors to be 'painted black with the words "Fir" and "Mna" in gold leaf,' but a building inspector protested that the English words for *men* and *women* should be used instead. Mac Liammóir's response illustrates a particularly tenacious streak to his cosmopolitan sentiments: 'Micheál was so insensed [*sic*] at the Corporation's insistence on English that he instructed the painter to put the two words in eight languages.'⁴

While this retaliation might seem rather capricious, it is actually emblematic of the emancipatory remit that the Gate accorded itself: to promote multiplicity and to embrace difference, especially when it flies in the face of authority.⁵ Two of the most important achievements of the Gate as a socio-political – rather than purely cultural – project in this regard include creating a covert safe space for gay and lesbian actors in a country that did not decriminalise homosexuality until 1993, and putting women centre stage both literally and figuratively. Meriel Moore, Coralie Carmichael, and Betty Chancellor, for example, were the Gate's leading actors for many years, while the violinist Bay Jellett directed the orchestra and the playwright Mary Manning edited the Gate's official journal, *Motley*, for its entire run.⁶ By escaping the mainstream of Irish society, which designated the place of women as 'within the home' in an infamous article of the 1937 Constitution, women could find a degree of freedom and appreciation at the Gate that was largely unimaginable in most other societal contexts.⁷ This contrast also serves to contextualise the intense camaraderie that Manning, who was also one of the Gate's most successful original playwrights, describes in retrospect: 'There was a freshness, a joyousness about it which matched the spring of our own years when the writers, the directors, the actors and the design all merged together in perfect unison.'⁸ Such conjunctions are also reflected in many

³ Hogan, *Untitled*, in *Enter Certain Players*, 18.

⁴ Scott, *Untitled*, 20.

⁵ Van den Beuken, *Avant-Garde Nationalism*, 206–9.

⁶ See also Van den Beuken, *Avant-Garde Nationalism*, 60, 208.

⁷ Quoted in Luddy, 'A "Sinister and Retrogressive" Proposal,' 194. See also Meaney, O'Dowd, and Whelan, *Reading the Irish Woman*, 196–97.

⁸ Manning, *Untitled*, 37.

contributions to this volume, which not only pay tribute to the significant roles that women played throughout the Gate's history as directors, actors, stage designers, and playwrights, but also establish how intersections of class, ethnic, sexual, and linguistic identities at the Gate enabled emancipatory community formation.

As Nicholas Allen has argued, then, it is important to place the Dublin Gate Theatre in a larger societal framework, since its 'background in experimental theatre [...] fed from the energy of a culture whose political space was not yet accepted as the proper forum for active debate.'⁹ His claim that 'the Gate Theatre was a central location for projects that tried to refigure Ireland after revolution' likewise offers an important reminder of the politicised nature of the Gate's incursion into the Dublin cultural scene.¹⁰ This book accordingly emphasises the emancipatory potential of such theatrical ventures, thereby seeking to further consolidate the recent academic recognition of the Gate's infrastructural importance to Irish theatre and society more generally. The last few years have seen the publication of the first book-length studies of the Gate: the collections *The Gate Theatre, Dublin: Inspiration and Craft* (edited by Clare, Lally, and Lonergan, 2018) and *Cultural Convergence: The Dublin Gate Theatre, 1928–1960* (edited by Pilný, Van den Beuken, and Walsh, 2021) as well as the monograph *Avant-Garde Nationalism at the Dublin Gate Theatre, 1928–1940* (Van den Beuken, 2020).¹¹ At the same time, it must be acknowledged, as Cathy Leeney does with regard specifically to the way women are framed in Irish theatre, that rediscovering marginalised identities is only the first step in redressing historiographical wrongs. Indeed, the greater difficulty lies in truly realising – in both senses of the word – 'how reassessment in gender terms has the potential to unbalance existing models of how Irish theatre operated, has energized or stultified the fluid thing that is the nation.'¹²

Such acknowledgements of – and interventions in – the fraught relationship between cultural infrastructures and marginalised (or otherwise contested) identities have characterised important recent developments

⁹ Allen, *Modernism, Ireland, and Civil War*, 98. See also Van den Beuken, 'MacLiammóir's Minstrel and Johnston's Morality,' 12.

¹⁰ Allen, *Modernism, Ireland, and Civil War*, 109. See also Van den Beuken, 'MacLiammóir's Minstrel and Johnston's Morality,' 12.

¹¹ For a more detailed discussion of the Gate's academic reception, see Pilný, Van den Beuken, and Walsh, 'Introduction,' 2–4; and Van den Beuken, *Avant-Garde Nationalism*, 6, 24–33, 207.

¹² Leeney, 'Women and Irish Theatre before 1960,' 269.

in the field of Irish theatre studies. Donald E. Morse's introduction to *Irish Theatre in Transition* (2015) offers a concise characterisation of this sea change: discussing Christopher Murray's seminal scholarship, he comments on how key issues in Irish drama have been changing 'from national identity, faith and cultural values to economics, sex, gender, and demographics.'¹³ The concomitant 'renegotiation and pluralizing of Irish theatrical traditions' that Melissa Sihra has advocated and spearheaded with regard to the roles and positions of women has also been politicised in the Northern Irish context by Fiona Coleman Coffey, who argues, for example, that 'women's dramatic writing and performance have often contradicted mainstream narratives [of the Troubles].'¹⁴

There is, then, a sense of multiplicity, of disputing monolithic constructions of meaning and power, that marks a wide array of recent Irish theatre scholarship. To a large extent, this hermeneutic stance is inherent to its emancipatory politics, as Fintan Walsh's intersectional approach to the performance of queerness in Irish theatre also demonstrates. Walsh interprets 'the affective and phenomenological work that the interconnected experiences of dissent and disorientation do' in the productions that he analyses 'both as symptoms of exclusion and upheaval, but also as strategies of resistance and sustenance, which can effect real social, cultural and political change.'¹⁵ While the conceptual fluidity of queerness intrinsically posits a challenge to authority, Michael Pierse has shown that literature and drama that engage with trenchant class divides can be equally ex-centric: 'The fiction and plays of working-class Dublin after O'Casey represent an enduring lineage of class struggle through art, a literary disruption, contestation and subversion of the established order.'¹⁶ A final important illustration of this critical approach to hegemonic structures is provided by Charlotte McIvor's research on the performance of migrant identities in the Republic of Ireland. McIvor's simultaneous adoption and contestation of new interculturalism as a theoretical paradigm allows her to establish 'how community can be appropriated as a discourse by the state, but still used as a site of performative protest from below.'¹⁷

¹³ Morse, 'Introduction: *Irish Theatre in Transition*,' 2.

¹⁴ Sihra, 'Introduction: Figures at the Window,' 10; Coffey, *Women in Northern Irish Theatre*, 5.

¹⁵ Walsh, *Queer Performance*, 16.

¹⁶ Pierse, *Writing Ireland's Working Class*, 257.

¹⁷ McIvor, *Migration and Performance*, 18. See also McIvor's problematisation of new interculturalism in a global(ised) context in 'Introduction: New Directions?' 1–16, 22–23.

There is a clear emancipatory thrust, then, behind such groundbreaking scholarship, and this volume seeks to extrapolate this approach in a diachronic manner to scrutinise how the Dublin Gate Theatre has functioned as an infrastructural hub in this regard: for over ninety years, dramatic engagements with marginalised identities of all kinds have taken place on its stage. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that this is not a straightforward endeavour, and that the *change* and *progress* that the subtitle of this book signals have not been unequivocal or ubiquitous. Many theatre scholars and practitioners will know that in November 2017, the Board of the Gate Theatre commissioned a report on workplace conditions during Michael Colgan's tenure as the Gate's director (1983–2017) after the *Irish Times* published on a wide range of allegations that had been made by former staff members.¹⁸ A few months later, the resulting report found that there was 'a case to answer' regarding inappropriate behaviour, abuse of power, and undermining the dignity to work.¹⁹

In light of these issues, it should be stressed that the title of this volume aims to reflect the precarious nature of change and progress: as the various chapters will illustrate, there have been many different impulses transforming the Gate into a stage of emancipation, but it is no less important to realise that this project is always only *at* a stage, and that the dangers of regression, complicity, and exclusion are real and tangible. The title is thus aspirational, not blindly celebratory: it is an invitation to recognise and assess the emancipatory endeavours of people as diverse as Micheál mac Liammóir and Selina Cartmell, Mary Manning and Brian Phelan, whose efforts to foster progress and change should provide vital warnings against complacency in such matters.

Gender, History, and Power: On and Off the Stage

Of course, any attempt to facilitate such revisions must be predicated on a broader understanding of both the historicity of Irish theatre and the power dynamics that enforce marginalisation more generally. While this volume focuses on different types of emancipation – including contexts of class, ethnicity, sexuality, and language – the ways in which the politics of gender have been contested throughout the history of Irish theatre offer particularly salient insights into the processes involved in fostering emancipation. One striking fact, for example, is that the first performance

¹⁸ Mackin and Gallagher, 'Seven women allege abuse and harassment by Michael Colgan.'

¹⁹ Cunningham, 'Gate Theatre: Confidential Independent Review,' 10.

of a play in English by a woman writer took place in Dublin rather than London. Katherine Philips's translation of a play by Pierre Corneille, *Pompey, a Tragedy*, originally intended as closet drama, was performed at Dublin's Smock Alley Theatre in 1663, a production arranged and directed by Philips's Irish friend, Roger Boyle, the Earl of Orrery.²⁰ Remarkably, this was a few years before the first play by a woman writer made it to the London stage: Frances Boothby's *Marcelia; or the Treacherous Friend* (1669).

Indeed, the Smock Alley Theatre played a significant role in advancing the careers of eighteenth-century female actors and dramatists as well. Eliza Haywood began her career at this prestigious Dublin playhouse around 1714, performing in, among others, Thomas Shadwell's adaptation of Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*, before moving to London around 1716.²¹ Additionally, Welsh-born but Dublin-raised Elizabeth Griffith made her acting debut as Juliet in 1749 on the Smock Alley stage, of which her father Thomas Griffith was the manager.²² Afterwards, she became a very successful dramatist for Drury Lane and Covent Garden during the 1760s and 1770s. Peg Woffington is another famous actress who performed at the Smock Alley Theatre, with David Garrick, after she had previously played parts at the Theatre Royal and the Lilliputian Theatre in Dublin.²³

During the early nineteenth century, Sydney Owenson, Lady Morgan, contributed a libretto to the comic opera *The First Attempt of the Whim of a Moment*, which was performed at the Theatre Royal on 11 March 1807.²⁴ As her father had worked as an actor-manager in Ireland for years and she had accompanied him during tours across the country, it was not entirely unexpected that Owenson would find a stage for her work as well. Her close friend Alicia Sheridan Le Fanu, who came from a family of actors and dramatists, wrote a five-act comedy that made it to the London stage: *Sons of Erin; or Modern Sentiment*. The play was performed at the Lyceum in 1812 and aimed to counter current stereotypes about the Irish in England. While Le Fanu did not write for the Irish public stage, we know that she had held 'plays in the drawing room of

²⁰ See Corporaal, 'Katherine Philips: *Pompey, a Tragedy*,' 158–62.

²¹ Meaney, O'Dowd, and Whelan, *Reading the Irish Woman*, 42–43. See also Ingrassia, *Authorship, Commerce, and Gender in Early Eighteenth-Century England*, 190.

²² Finberg, 'Introduction,' xxvii.

²³ See, amongst others, Curtis, *Temple Bar*, chapter 13. Many thanks to David Clare for this suggestion.

²⁴ Donovan, *Lady Morgan and the Politics of Style*, 62.

Le Fanu house on Cuffe Street in Dublin' for years prior to this public performance of her comedy.²⁵

During the rest of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Irish women's drama often did not make it to the professional stage. Instead, women's plays appeared in print or were performed in the setting of private theatricals. While Eva Gore-Booth was closely associated with W.B. Yeats, the many plays she wrote (which often re-explored gender representations in Irish mythology) were not staged by the Irish Literary Theatre. *A Daughter of Eve* (1891), a political burlesque, was written for private performance at her family home, Lissadell House. Plays such as *The Triumph of Maeve* (1902) and *The Buried Life of Deirdre* (1908–12) came out in print posthumously in 1930.²⁶ Maud Gonne played the lead role in the premiere staging of W.B. Yeats's and Lady Gregory's *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* at Theresa's Hall, Clarendon Street on 2 April 1902.²⁷ However, her play *Dawn* only found its way to audiences in print, in *The United Irishmen* of 29 October 1904, and remained unstaged. This was due to her resignation as vice president of the Irish National Theatre Society as a result of its gender-biased enactments of Irish peasant women, and her granting the exclusive rights of performance to Inghinidhe na hÉireann.²⁸

The fact that *Dawn* was never performed on the public stage unfortunately means that it had less impact in its day than, for example, W.B. Yeats's *The Countess Cathleen*, which also first appeared only in published form in three editions in 1892 and 1895,²⁹ but was staged on 8 May 1899 as the inaugural production of the Irish Literary Theatre. Gonne's play is set in a village in the northwest of Ireland at a time of severe famine, which has been designated by some critics as the 1898 Mayo famine during which Maud Gonne herself offered relief,³⁰ but which might as well refer to the Great Famine (1845–49). The opening of the one-act play evokes the memory of the notorious relief schemes, showing that Mike O'Hara and Neil Durkan, who have been 'nine hours on the works, and the hunger on us all the while,' only receive a small bag of Indian meal and are close to collapsing from fatigue and weakness.³¹ The

²⁵ Taylor, 'Sydney Owenson, Alicia Sheridan Le Fanu and the Domestic Stage of Post-Union Politics,' 158.

²⁶ Leeney, *Irish Women Playwrights, 1900–1939*, 61–62.

²⁷ Sihra, 'Introduction: Figures at the Window,' 7–8.

²⁸ Quinn, 'Ireland/Herland,' 898.

²⁹ For a detailed discussion of these published versions see, amongst others, Morash, "Where All Ladders Start," 119–37.

³⁰ See Meaney, *Gender, Ireland and Cultural Change*, 50.

³¹ Gonne, *Dawn*. All references are to this digital edition.

play, however, primarily focuses on the plight of Bride and her daughter Brideen. Abandoned by their son and brother Seumas, who has joined the British Army, and by Brideen's husband Eoin, who is seeking his fortune in the New World, the two women have been chased from their land by the 'Stranger' – a character epitomising both the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy and British imperial rule – and are facing deprivation and famine.

As Antoinette Quinn points out, the tableaux of which the play consists 'invite a symbolic reading,'³² and Bride can clearly be interpreted as a Cathleen Ni Houlihan figure representing the emerald isle who calls for people's commitment to fight for the return of her lands: she is called 'Bride of the Sorrows' by old Michael and described by him as a 'queen' to whose 'service' he has committed himself and to whom he has 'been faithful.' Foregrounding how men who take up the fight for Ireland, personified by Bride's husband and son Patrick and old Michael, lose their lives while others, such as Seumas, betray the nation's cause, the famine can be read as the backdrop to Gonne's promotion of a dawning era in which the Irish will reclaim their land, with 'bright swords ... that clash the battle welcome.' While Gonne's nationalist play seems to be similar to Yeats's and Gregory's *Cathleen Ni Houlihan* in its politics and directions as well as its allusions to a female mythological figure as an emblem for masculine sacrifice, Gonne revises gender roles in significant ways. As Joseph Valente observes, *Dawn* presents a 'double-woman formula,'³³ with on the one hand a feminine Ireland that can always be regenerated when people defend her rights, and on the other hand the image of the faithful female subject in the form of the daughter Brideen, who is more loyal to Ireland than her brother or husband.

Despite its political engagement, Gonne's work remained marginalised, and this is also true for other early twentieth-century Irish women writers: in many cases, it is at best uncertain whether their plays were ever performed. For example, the Cork dramatists Geraldine Cummins and Susanne R. Day wrote *Fidelity* (1914), a play dealing with rigid social structures and the limited choices available to women, but, as Melissa Sihra points out, there are no reviews available, so it seems likely that the play was never performed.³⁴ At the same time, the actor-director Florence Farr was instrumental to the success of the Irish Literary Theatre, while Lady Augusta Gregory contributed significantly to the repertoire of the Abbey Theatre as a playwright in her own right, but also by seeking out suitable

³² Quinn, 'Ireland/Herland,' 898.

³³ See Valente, *The Myth of Manliness in Irish National Culture*, 112.

³⁴ Sihra, 'Introduction: Figures at the Window,' 14.

drama by other authors.³⁵ Her own plays and her astute management helped to keep the Abbey afloat in its early days. Nonetheless, the role of women as actors, directors, designers, and playwrights in those early years of the Abbey was limited. While surviving prompt books suggest that Dorothy Macardle's *Ann Kavanagh* (1922) was produced by the Abbey, as Cathy Leeney states, her plays *Witch's Brew* (1928) and *Fenian Snow* (1924) were rejected by this theatre.³⁶ In 1932 she found a stage for *Dark Waters* at the Gate – her only play to be performed there – but, sadly, and symptomatically, no copies of the text seem to have survived.³⁷ Interestingly, the early years of the Gate saw more women turning to this theatre rather than the Abbey: Mary Manning, who had been trained at Sara Goodall's theatre school at the Abbey as an actor, chose to have her drama performed at the Gate, while Christine Longford designed costumes, managed productions, and wrote plays such as *Mr Jiggins of Jigginstown* (1933) for the Gate.

From our contemporary perspective, the recent repeal of the Eighth Amendment (2018) and the legalisation of same-sex marriage in the Republic of Ireland (2015) and Northern Ireland (2020) have marked significant strides in the acceptance of marriage equality as well as societal recognition of women's autonomy over their own bodies. However, we must also realise that, in preceding decades, Irish theatre had already adopted a leading position in fuelling debates over birth control, abortion, and the constraints faced by queer communities. One of the most prominent cases of an Irish theatre production stirring controversy was the Pike's staging of Tennessee Williams's *The Rose Tattoo* as part of the first Dublin Theatre Festival in 1957. Before its first performance, director Brendan Smith had received letters from the League of Decency complaining about the upcoming production, because the play advocated birth control.³⁸ As reconstructed by Patrick Lonergan, the company was formally accused of obscenity when the play's run began, allegedly because the Irish police accused the Pike of using a condom on stage.³⁹

Themes such as restrictions on birth control and abortion would go on to be addressed in Irish theatres more frequently in recent times. Bill Whelan and Arthur Riordan's *The Train* (2017), staged at the Abbey, is a

³⁵ Remport, *Lady Gregory and Irish National Theatre*, 10–11.

³⁶ Leeney, *Irish Women Playwrights, 1900–1939*, 102–3.

³⁷ Leeney, *Irish Women Playwrights, 1900–1939*, 104. See also Van den Beuken, “Three Cheers for the Descendancy!”, 142, for examples of lost plays.

³⁸ Sweeney, *Performing the Body in Irish Theatre*, 43.

³⁹ Lonergan, *Irish Drama and Theatre since 1950*, 50.

comedy focusing on a group of forty-seven women who travel from Dublin to Belfast in 1971 in order to get contraceptives forbidden in the Republic. Marina Carr's *The Mai*, set in the Midlands, performed at the Abbey in October 1994 and revived by the Peacock in 1995, critiques the gatekeepers of morality in Ireland by depicting how a group of women ostracise the character Beck on the basis of rumours of her aborted pregnancy.⁴⁰ Just a few years earlier, Patricia Burke Brogan had addressed related issues of societal exclusion and incarceration in *Eclipsed* (Punchbag Theatre, 1992), which is set in a Magdalen Laundry in the 1960s. This time-frame recalls one of the most controversial plays in its own time, Máiréad Ní Ghráda's *An Triail*. First performed at An Damer on 22 September 1964, it appears initially to stage the court case of Máire Ní Chathasaigh, a young single mother who, rejected by society, kills her child and then commits suicide. However, as the play progresses, it becomes clear that this Irish-language play rather puts the restrictive society in which she lived on trial.⁴¹

The problems that women face with regard to legal restrictions on abortion are also central to Amanda Coogan's *The Fountain* (2001) and Tara Flynn's *Not a Funny Word* (2017). Coogan's performance during *Marking the Territory*, a three-day international performance event at the Irish Museum of Modern Art, dramatises the tragic story of Ann Lovett, a fifteen-year-old who died while giving birth alone in a grotto in Granard, Co. Longford in 1984.⁴² *Not a Funny Word* is an autobiographical monologue, staging Flynn's account of having to travel out of Ireland for an abortion. Likewise, the stage adaptation of Roddy Doyle's *The Snapper* (2018) centres on Sharon, who becomes pregnant and refuses to name the father. When the possibility of abortion is mentioned, the play deviates from the original novel in that it is 'not wholly repudiated,' nor compared to murder, as Peter Crawley claims.⁴³ Its theme is very similar to Rachel Trezise's *Cotton Fingers*, which premiered at the Belfast MAC in May 2019, and centres on a nineteen-year-old Belfast girl who becomes pregnant against her will. Aoife embarks on a journey to Wales to terminate her pregnancy – a theme that is still relevant in Northern Ireland, where abortion was only decriminalised in October 2019.

⁴⁰ See also Sihra, *Marina Carr*, 81.

⁴¹ See De Fréine, 'On Trial.'

⁴² Mannion, 'Live Art in Ireland,' 95.

⁴³ Crawley, 'The Snapper Review.'

Volume Outline

Part I of this volume – ‘Liberating Bodies’ – demonstrates how this ongoing engagement of Irish theatre-makers with issues surrounding contraception and abortion also extends to the Gate Theatre. As Deirdre McFeely’s chapter demonstrates, the Gate has a long-standing tradition of addressing issues related to female sexuality and birth control that go back to the early 1950s. McFeely shows how Maura Laverty’s trilogy of Gate plays *Liffey Lane* (1951), *Tolka Row* (1951), and *A Tree in the Crescent* (1952) were well ahead of their time in their portrayal of women and their reproductive rights. *Tolka Row* in particular was revolutionary in its frank discussion of the rhythm method of birth control at a time when the Censorship of Publications Act prohibited any books and periodicals advocating the prevention of conception. Furthermore, the play problematises women’s lack of control over procreation as well as finances, thereby criticising the ways in which existing gender roles aggravate the plight of lower middle-class women, even as issues of gender and class inequality also intersect on various levels.

The Gate’s productions of Maura Laverty’s controversial plays illustrate how the theatre, under the directorship of Edwards and mac Liammóir, was willing to invest in the promotion of female dramatists as well as plays that sought to subvert gender expectations. Further evidence of this policy can be found in the fact that the Gate imported foreign drama by female playwrights that was pioneering in its exploration of queer sexualities. An example in case is the Gate’s production of *Children in Uniform* (1934), a German play by Christa Winsloe that Mary Trotter examines in her contribution to this volume. Theatre, as Simon Shepherd writes, is concerned with the social, political and moral values attached to bodies.⁴⁴ Mary Trotter’s chapter accordingly illustrates how the physical presence of leading female actors such as Ria Mooney and Betty Chancellor in this homoerotically charged German play created a production that shifted existing moral perceptions, and was inspiring to both liberal Dublin playgoers and to the actors themselves. Indeed, the queer dramaturgy of Winsloe’s play allowed the Gate to create a space for queering the increasingly oppressive notions of gender both on and off most Irish stages in the 1930s. In contrast to the Abbey, which became more conservative by the 1930s, Trotter argues, the Gate was offering talented women not only the opportunity to expand their range as actors, but also roles that challenged existing notions of femininity and heteronormative sexuality, thus liberating female bodies on stage.

⁴⁴ Shepherd, *Theatre, Body, Pleasure*, 1.

The fact that the Gate was groundbreaking in both creating space for the work of upcoming female dramatists and addressing alternative sexualities also becomes clear from its production of Mary Manning's *Youth's the Season—?* on 8 December 1931. Although Manning had been trained as an actor at the Abbey, she found the experimental Gate a more suitable platform for her artistic visions.⁴⁵ Her very successful black comedy *Youth's the Season—?* not only provided alternative models of femininity through the character of Deirdre (who has no romantic conceptions at all of love and marriage), but also touches upon queer sexuality. In Part II, 'Emancipating Communities,' Grace Vroomen's chapter discusses how the implied sexual Otherness of characters such as Toots, Desmond, and Terence intersects with their conflicted gender identities. Furthermore, as Vroomen notes, queerness operates on various levels in the play, and also figures in terms of social isolation and artistic disconnection. While Manning's play satirises Dublin's vapid middle class and its values, it also critically interrogates the lack of space that the Irish Free State grants to deviating forms of masculinity.

Staging Manning's tragicomedy and Winsloe's tragedy in the 1930s, the Gate was clearly at the vanguard of exploring alternative sexualities. As Brian Singleton observes, addressing homosexuality on the Irish stage was a fraught process until relatively recently. Thomas Kilroy's *The Death and Resurrection of Mr Roche* (Olympia Theatre at the Dublin Theatre Festival, 1968), Brian Friel's *The Gentle Island* (Olympia Theatre, 1971), and Micheál mac Liammóir's *Prelude in Kazbek Street* (Gate Theatre, 1973) were plays that paved the way in this regard, followed by Aidan Mathews' *Diamond Body* (Operating Theatre, 1984).⁴⁶ In the 1990s, the canon of queer drama was significantly expanded by the work of Geraldine Aron. Her play *The Stanley Parkers*, produced by Druid in 1990, stages a mature Irish-Greek gay couple lying in bed, for instance.⁴⁷ Frank McGuinness's dramatic oeuvre also played a fundamental role in staging homosexuality, and in 2002 he wrote a play, commissioned by and staged at the Gate, about the gay relationship of its founders, Edwards and mac Liammóir. This play, *Gates of Gold*, looks at mac Liammóir's final days and celebrates homosexual love.⁴⁸ In view of the Gate's pioneering role in representing homosexuality, both through the drama it produced and in light of the lifestyle of its founders, this play was a fitting tribute to its emancipatory politics.

⁴⁵ Leeney, *Irish Women Playwrights, 1900–1939*, 127.

⁴⁶ Singleton, *Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre*, 110. Many thanks to David Clare for his useful comments on this section.

⁴⁷ Singleton, *Masculinities and the Contemporary Irish Theatre*, 111.

⁴⁸ Lojek, *Contexts for Frank McGuinness's Drama*, 578.

While Vroomen's chapter engages with a play that can thus be shown to stand in a larger tradition of contesting the marginalisation of queer identities, Part II also comprises two chapters that emphasise the Gate's role in emancipating other types of marginalised identities. Both Ian R. Walsh and Barry Houlihan write about the ways in which productions on the Gate stage drew attention to the living conditions of financially precarious social groups. In the summer of 1939, at a time of high unemployment and dire housing conditions in Dublin, the Edwards–mac Liammóir Company produced *Marrowbone Lane*, a play written by the outspoken paediatrician Robert Collis. Walsh analyses this play as a piece of theatre for social change. As Walsh reveals, *Marrowbone Lane* not only explicitly staged the intense suffering and harrowing circumstances of the working-class inhabitants of Dublin's tenements, but also stimulated the creation of a fund that contributed, *inter alia*, to the Fairy Hill Home established in Howth, Co. Dublin, for the treatment of children from Dublin's tenements who suffered from tuberculosis, and to the formation of the National Association for Cerebral Palsy, known today as Enable Ireland.

Barry Houlihan's chapter engages with the production and presentation of plays at the Gate Theatre that reflected political concerns relating to working-class identities during the 1960s and 1970s, of which *The Signalman's Apprentice* (1971) by Brian Phelan, directed by Chloe Gibson, was most prominent. In his discussion, Houlihan specifically focuses on the important work done by Phelan and Gibson in bringing socialist and feminist agendas to the Gate stage. Gibson especially is an often-overlooked figure in the study of direction at the Gate, and this chapter illustrates how her artistic contributions helped shape the Gate's societal engagement. While Irish and Northern Irish working-class drama, such as, for instance, Frank McGuinness's *The Factory Girls* (the Abbey, 1982) and Christina Reid's *Tea in a China Cup* (the Lyric, Belfast, 1983) have received much acclaim,⁴⁹ Gate plays that foreground class struggle and poverty in such poignant ways deserve further critical attention. One such play focusing on Dublin tenement life would also include Maura Laverty's *Liffey Lane*, produced by Edwards and mac Liammóir in May 1951.

The Gate's commitment to championing marginalised communities is also borne out by its engagement with issues of language. In *Speaking in Tongues: Languages at Play in the Theatre* (2009), Marvin Carlson examines the politicisation of minority languages by theatre companies, arguing that the function of speech as an instrument of 'cultural control' has encouraged

⁴⁹ For further reading, see Pierse, ed. *A History of Irish Working-Class Writing*.

theatres in postcolonial societies to give a stage to marginalised, indigenous languages.⁵⁰ Ireland's theatrical history reveals that especially the period between the foundation of Douglas Hyde's Gaelic League (1893) and the early years of the Free State saw a significant rise in drama in Irish. Douglas Hyde's *Casadh an tSúgáin*, performed at the Gaiety Theatre on 21 October 1901,⁵¹ is generally considered to have been the first professional stage production in Irish as well as the Irish Literary Theatre's first 'peasant' play. This production was preceded by amateur productions in Irish, such as the staging of P.T. MacGinelly's *Eilís agus an Bhean Déirce* by Inghinidhe na hÉireann at the Antient Concert Rooms, Dublin, in August of that year.⁵²

Often acting groups or playhouses that committed to staging plays in the Irish language initially relied on translations of international plays into Irish. This was certainly the strategy of Galway-based theatre An Taibhdhearc (1928), the country's first Irish-language theatre, which often relied on translated plays for its stage productions in its early days. Nonetheless, as Christopher Morash notes, the theatre's opening play was *Diarmuid agus Gráinne*, written and directed by Micheál mac Liammóir, and An Taibhdhearc was soon 'nurturing a whole new generation of Irish-language playwrights.'⁵³

Mac Liammóir's strong involvement in An Taibhdhearc in Galway ran parallel with the foundation of the Gate Theatre, and, while leading the Gate with Hilton Edwards, he would write many essays as well as translating plays into Irish. Additionally, the fact that the Gate opened its stage to the Irish-language company An Comhar Drámaíochta reveals that we should also examine the Gate's role in the emancipation of minority languages. It is therefore vital to compare the Gate as an emancipatory stage for minority languages to the work conducted by theatres such as the Peacock and An Damer in the 1960s. The two chapters in Part III, 'Staging Minority Languages,' are devoted to this largely under-researched aspect of the Gate's long history. Radvan Markus's chapter assesses various aspects of mac Liammóir's engagement with the Irish language, as well as his promotion of translation as a means to enrich Irish-language drama, in the context of his defence of the autonomy of art. As Markus reveals, mac Liammóir's support for Irish drama actually incorporated a critique of nationalism. In a paradoxical way, mac Liammóir envisaged opportunities

⁵⁰ Carlson, *Speaking in Tongues*, 105.

⁵¹ Murphy, *Hegemony and Fantasy in Irish Drama*, 44, 48.

⁵² Morash, *A History of the Irish Theatre*, 121.

⁵³ Morash, *A History of the Irish Theatre*, 178.

for reconciling localism and cosmopolitanism by integrating a local minority language with avant-garde artistic experimentation inspired by international models.

Feargal Whelan and David Clare subsequently discuss Micheál mac Liammóir's collaboration during the early Gate years with An Comhar Drámaíochta, which saw him directing translations of plays originally written by Anton Chekhov, Sacha Guitry, Gregorio Martínez Sierra, and Molière, among others. What is more, their contribution draws relevant and hitherto unexplored analogies between the Gate as a theatre of cultural and language emancipation and Barcelona's Teatre Lliure. As Whelan and Clare observe, both theatres benefitted from the central involvement of female, LGBTIQ+, and migrant theatre-makers, and both have promoted translations of international, cosmopolitan drama in the local minority language.

In this sense, their chapter also points forward to future possibilities of placing the Gate Theatre in a broader trans-European context of drama companies that put language emancipation on their artistic and political agendas. One could think, for example, of the Théâtre Populaire Breton, established in Sainte Anne d'Auray in 1909 by Job Le Bayon and Louis Cadic,⁵⁴ as well as the Théâtre populaire de Bretagne, founded in 1963 by Jean Moign and contributor to many regional theatre festivals.⁵⁵ Another example of a theatre that could be compared to the Gate as a stage of language emancipation is the Frisian Tryater, which, since its foundation in 1965, has played a prominent role in shaping regional identities through engagements with international repertoire, including Frisian adaptations of plays by John Osborne, Jean-Paul Sartre, Henrik Ibsen and Shakespeare, as well as in providing a platform for original plays in the Frisian language.⁵⁶

Part IV, conversely, incorporates *non*-textual engagements by analysing the deconstructive aesthetics that underlie intersections between various artistic practices and the politics of identity. As both chapters in this section reveal, the Gate offered key opportunities to the female stage designer Molly MacEwen and the homosexual composer Frederick May, who in turn shifted aesthetic boundaries in significant ways. In his chapter, Mark Fitzgerald addresses the contributions that May – a student of Ralph Vaughan Williams – made to the Gate's productions of Padraic Colum's *Mogu of the Desert* (1931) and Denis Johnston's *A Bride for the*

⁵⁴ Wardhaugh, *Popular Theatre*, 88–101.

⁵⁵ Cadiou, *Emsav*, 4.

⁵⁶ Dykstra et al., 'Van Steen des Aanstoets tot Boegbeeld,' 263–302.

Unicorn (1933). As a young gay Irishman, May had to navigate a cultural infrastructure in which opportunities for composers were scarce, but at the Gate he was given the chance to develop his talents in a new field, as well as to experiment with musical forms in a high-profile setting. Siobhán O’Gorman completes this section with a chapter that questions received ideas about mac Liammóir’s artistic centrality at the Gate. Indeed, she reveals that Molly MacEwen, a Scottish-born designer, produced a wide range of scenography for the Gate, from *Hollywood Pirate* in 1938 to *The Importance of Being Oscar*, mac Liammóir’s famous one-man show about Wilde, in 1960. O’Gorman not only charts MacEwan’s work at the Gate, but also outlines her legacy to the Scottish cultural revival more broadly after the Second World War.

The fifth and final part of this book – ‘Contesting Traditions in Contemporary Theatre’ – takes a flight in time, launching us into the present era of Selina Cartmell’s artistic directorship. The two chapters in this part of the book discuss recent Gate productions: Yaël Farber’s adaptation of *Hamlet* (2018) and Nancy Harris’s *The Red Shoes* (2017), which is based on Hans Christian Andersen’s fairy tale of the same name. In her introduction to *Feminist Theatrical Revisions of Classic Works* (2009), Sharon Friedman discusses the phenomena of genre-bending and plot revision in adaptations of classical works as ‘deconstructive approaches to probe constructions of gender.’⁵⁷ This bending of plots and genre is what also characterises Harris’s *The Red Shoes*, as Marguérite Corporaal reveals. In her chapter, she shows how Nancy Harris’s reworking of Hans Christian Andersen’s fairy tale for a contemporary audience exposes the at times brutal class and gender politics of the original narrative, while maintaining an engagement with traditional concepts of sin, resilience, and recovery. Harris’s production lays bare gender and class inequalities that persist in present-day Ireland, but the play also stresses the role of ethnic bias and its intersections with gender stereotyping, as protagonist Karen’s mother is judged even more severely because of her exotic background. Corporaal also discusses Farber’s *Hamlet* production, starring Irish-Ethiopian actress Ruth Negga, in connection with issues of marginality, empowerment, and processes of in- or exclusion, demonstrating how particular aspects of the staging open the play up to interpretations of contemporary gender roles in relation to politics and globalisation.

Justine Nakase also addresses Farber’s important *Hamlet* production, but instead focuses on issues of ethnicity. As Nakase argues, Negga’s casting can be read as an acknowledgement of Ireland’s increasingly

⁵⁷ Friedman, ‘Introduction,’ 1.

diverse population, and demonstrates a willingness to engage with new understandings of what it means to be Irish. Furthermore, her chapter situates Ruth Negga's *Hamlet* performance in the Gate's long history of Shakespeare productions, tracing four distinct iterations of racial performance on the Gate stage: cross-racial appropriation, imported authenticity, hidden histories, and emerging interculturalism. Performances of *Othello* during the Edwards–mac Liammóir years, and an adaptation of *Jane Eyre* (2003) under Michael Colgan's artistic directorship, as well as its revival with the casting of Black Irish actors Mary Healy and Donna Anita Nikolaisen as Bertha Mason, are analysed in this regard.

As this final part of the book reveals, then, cultural diversity and social emancipation can very well be expected to remain on the Gate Theatre's political agenda for years to come. After all, as Fintan O'Toole already wrote in the *Irish Times* of 30 June 2012, 'the long-term effects of inward migration will start to make themselves felt as the children of migrants become performers, directors and writers.'⁵⁸ Just as in the days of Edwards and mac Liammóir, Gate productions are travelling abroad: in February 2020, Ruth Negga and the rest of the *Hamlet* started their New York tour, which was unfortunately cut short by the Covid-19 pandemic. The fact that Cartmell chose to tour this specific production in a city known for ethnic diversity suggests that the Gate also seeks to contribute to discussions about race beyond Ireland. Furthermore, the aborted 2020 season was also set to exhibit such multiplicity: it opened with a reimagined version of *Medea* by Kate Mulvany and Anne-Louise Sarks, directed by Oonagh Murphy, followed by Nancy Harris's *Our New Girl*, which only had a short run before theatrical venues were shut down. Innovative stagings of Lillian Hellman's *The Little Foxes*, directed by Blanche McInture, and Seán O'Casey's *The Shadow of a Gunman*, directed by Louise Lowe, had to be cancelled altogether. Nevertheless, as Cartmell has stated in the *Irish Times*: 'I hope the staging of these important plays by four talented women can guide us towards being stronger and more courageous in our own lives.'⁵⁹ This volume illustrates both the historical dimension of this commitment to emancipation of all kinds – and certainly future engagements with other forms of inequality, societal marginalisation, and quests for liberation will follow suit.

⁵⁸ O'Toole, 'If Ireland has changed so much, why hasn't theatre kept pace?'

⁵⁹ Falvey, 'Ruth Negga takes Hamlet to New York.'

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