

# Irish Economic and Social History

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## Review article

### Festschrifts for Irish historians

**Niall Ó Ciosáin** NUI, Galway

John Bradley, Alan J. Fletcher and Anngret Simms (eds), *Dublin in the Medieval World: Essays in Honour of Howard Clarke* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, 584 pp., €55 hardback)

Bernard Browne (ed.), *The Wexford Man: Essays in Honour of Nicky Furlong* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2007, 231 pp., €20 hardback)

Terence Dooley (ed.), *Ireland's Polemical Past: Views of Irish History in Honour of R.V. Comerford* (Dublin: U.C.D. Press, 2010, 223 pp., €50 hardback)

Patrick J. Duffy and William Nolan (eds), *At the Anvil: Essays in Honour of William J. Smyth* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2012, 784 pp., €45 hardback)

Raymond Gillespie and R. F. Foster (eds), *Irish Provincial Cultures in the Long Eighteenth Century: Making the Middle Sort. Essays for Toby Barnard* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, 272 pp., €50 hardback)

James Kelly, John McCafferty and Charles Ivar McGrath (eds), *People, Politics, and Power: Essays on Irish History 1660-1850 in Honour of James I. McGuire* (Dublin: U.C.D. Press, 2010, 261 pp., €50 hardback)

Felix M. Larkin (ed.), *Librarians, Poets and Scholars: A Festschrift for Donall O Luanaigh* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007, 370 pp., €55 hardback)

Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland, 1550-1700: Colonization and Its Consequences. Essays Presented to Nicholas Canny* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011, 374 pp., €55 hardback)

Festschriften are one of the enduring conventions of academic and scholarly life. In Ireland, despite the relatively small size of the scholarly community, they appear regularly and constitutes a healthy sub-genre of academic publication. The eight books under review here have been published since 2007 and represent by no means all the festschriften even in history alone. Five of the eight are dedicated to academic historians (Toby Barnard, Nicholas Canny, Howard Clarke, R. V. Comerford and James McGuire), and one each to a historical geographer, a librarian and a local historian (William Smyth, Donal O Luanaigh and Nicholas Furlong respectively).

Collections of essays are in general difficult to review, largely due to their heterogeneity, and the difficulty is compounded in the case of a festschrift, where often the only unifying element among the contributions is the personality and interests of the dedicatee. Reviewers rely on phrases such as ‘The book clearly reflects the many-sided interests of Professor X’, for example, or ‘Its contributions range over a wide variety of subjects symbolizing the breadth of Dr Y’s interests’. This diversity is a particular problem for librarians, and the difficulties of cataloguing festschriften means that their contents can rapidly become inaccessible or unknown.

As a result, work published in a festschrift can often disappear from view, never to be read, making it, in a phrase that has been repeated by most writers on the festschrift, ‘the graveyard of scholarship’.<sup>1</sup> There can be a feedback process here, whereby contributors’ awareness of the ephemeral impact of the festschrift means that they might be tempted to submit work on minor subjects or of an inferior standard. Moreover, the way the festschrift has been assembled, with contributors approached by the editors and generally known by them, makes it impossible to reject such an article. A great many reviews of festschriften begin with these observations, one particularly outspoken version being that of Thomas Bartlett:

Festschriften generally deserve shortshrift by the book-buying public, the spectacle of the unpublishable contributed by the unscrupulous to be foisted on the unsuspecting being neither edifying nor diverting.

In most reviews, however, including Bartlett’s, criticisms such as these are followed by the statement that the work under review is a splendid exception to this general lamentable trend. Moreover, the librarians and bibliographers who refer to ‘graveyards’ do so in order to suggest better systems of cataloguing and indexing in order to make the first-class contents of festschriften more easily

<sup>1</sup> Françoise Waquet, ‘Les ‘mélanges’: honneur et gratitude dans l’Université contemporaine’, *Revue d’Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 53 (2006), 100–21; Edwin S. Gleaves, ‘A Watch and Chain and a Jeweled Sword; or, The Graveyard of Scholarship: The Festschrift and Librarianship’, *Reference and User Services Quarterly*, 4 (1985), 466–73; Michael Taggart, ‘Gardens or Graveyards of Scholarship? Festschriften in the Literature of the Common Law’, *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies*, 22 (2002), 227–52; R. Pick, ‘Some Thought on Festschriften and a Projected Subject Index’, *German Life and Letters*, 12 (1959), 204–10.

accessible. Criticism of festschriften in general, it appears, has as its rhetorical purpose the praise of an individual instance, and it is rare, though far from unknown, to read a review that actually criticizes an entire festschrift severely on the grounds of quality, though individual contributions can be singled out – ‘Some of the pieces in this book have a bottom-of-the-drawer look’, for example, or ‘Only one or two of the essays seem to belong to that class which so often accumulates as the by-product of a scholar’s work, unplaceable except in some local journal or in a festschrift.’<sup>2</sup> Of course a reviewer may be reluctant to criticize an entire volume since it would be ungracious to its recipient, who bore no responsibility for the standard of the contributions.<sup>2</sup>

The primary purpose of a festschrift, in other words, is social as much as scholarly. It is a tribute of friendship from colleagues and the acknowledgement of a personal and professional debt by former students, and is normally initiated informally by a group of these. It is partly a form of social reproduction, the handing over by one generation to another at retirement. The reproduction is also institutional, particularly so when the dedicatee has spent a good proportion of her or his career at one place, and the institution will often support the book financially or through publication by its press. The genre does not have official recognition, however, unlike, say, a pension or an honorary degree, and is the expression of a community of scholars rather than that of an institution. It should be pointed out that the social and the scholarly aspects of the festschrift are mutually supportive. In this environment intellectual quality has a high value, so that for a tribute to have any meaning, articles must reach at least a minimum standard, and they almost always do.

The social aspect was in one way clearer at the origins of the festschrift, when it was linked with a significant anniversary connected with the dedicatee, usually a sixtieth or seventieth birthday. This was normally the case in the milieu of the German universities of the mid- to late nineteenth century, when the festschrift, along with other standard features of modern academic life, such as the Ph.D. thesis and the research seminar, originated. It was a birthday present from a group of friends, and some scholars consequently received two or even three festschriften. The German academic model was widely imitated, in France, the United States and elsewhere, and the practice of the festschrift with it.

One early example of a festschrift in English is of interest here, since it honours an Irish-born academic and features contributors and subscribers from Ireland. This is *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway on his sixtieth birthday, 6 August 1913* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913). Ridgeway was born in Offaly in 1853, studied at Trinity College Dublin, was professor

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Bartlett, review of *The Use of Tradition: Essays Presented to G. B. Thompson*, *Linen Hall Review*, 6 (1989), 27; Arthur Goldberger, review of *Econometrics and Economic Theory: Essays in Honour of Jan Tinbergen*, *Journal of Economic Literature*, 14 (1976), 468; E. J. Hobsbawm, review of *Studies in the Industrial Revolution: Essays presented to T. S. Ashton*, *Population Studies*, 14 (1960), 173.

of Greek at University College Cork from 1883 to 1892, and from 1908 was Disney Professor of Archaeology in Cambridge. The preface makes the balance between the social and the scholarly very clear:

The number of Professor Ridgeway's friends and the extraordinary range of his interests made a choice of contributors both necessary and difficult.

The papers in the book are preceded by poems addressed to Ridgeway in Greek and English, the latter a skit on classical scholarship (by A. D. Godley, an Oxford classical scholar born in Co. Cavan) that ends:

Of tedious pedants though the world be full,  
While RIDGEWAY lives, Research can ne'er be dull!

Between the papers and the index, moreover, is printed the menu of the dinner in Ridgeway's honour, along with the seating arrangements of the four tables of guests – his birthday party, in effect. Four of the guests were newspaper correspondents, and their reports of the speeches and toasts encapsulate much of the purpose of the occasion, as well as pointing to its German origins:

The speakers at last night's banquet dwelt naturally upon the personal aspect of their gathering, the debt of gratitude owed to a master teacher by his pupils and companions who trace to him much of the inspiration of their own work ... [He] relaid the foundations of economic history in his 'Origin of currency and weight standards'... Mr Quiggin [the editor] asked the chairman to present to the guest a festschrift prepared in honour of the occasion, to which there were 40 contributors, and of which every German university had taken a copy. Copies were also being taken by German provincial and municipal libraries.<sup>3</sup>

Given these German origins, it is not surprising that the earliest example of a festschrift for a scholar working in Ireland (or at least the earliest that I have found) is in the field of Celtic Studies, which had always had very strong links with Germany – indeed, in some ways it originated there. This was *Féil-sgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill / Essays and Studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill D.Litt. on the occasion of his 70th birthday* (John Ryan, ed.), which appeared in 1940. It was very probably modelled on the Ridgeway volume, which it resembles in title and layout and with which it shares three contributors. It is worth dwelling for a while on this book, its content and appearance, as an embodiment of a typical and influential festschrift in an Irish context.

It is, first of all, a beautiful artefact. MacNeill was lucky in that one of his colleagues in University College Dublin, also among the contributors, was Colm O Lochlainn, the foremost publisher, printer and book historian of the day. The book was published by O Lochlainn at his 'Sign of the Three Candles' shop, used a gaelic typeface of O Lochlainn's own design for some of the contributions in Irish, and has many technically brilliant illustrations as well as an unusual amount (for its time) of very well reproduced photographs of

<sup>3</sup> *The Times*, 1 August 1913.



vernacular houses and archaeological remains. A birthday present or a retirement gift should be a handsome object, and this book set a very high standard.

The second feature is an effusive acknowledgment of the eminence of the dedicatee. This is more explicit in the apparatus and form of the book rather than in the scholarly essays themselves. There is a bibliography of MacNeill's publications at the end of the book, confined to his more substantial scholarly writing but with short references to his many brief reviews and notes, effectively an academic curriculum vitae, as well as a very brief preface and a letter from Douglas Hyde, at the time president of Ireland and a distinguished Celtic scholar in his own right. These encomia are a combination of the strikingly modern, such as an emphasis on MacNeill's international standing and the interdisciplinary nature of his work, and the more traditional, such as the wish with which the preface ends, that heaven will be the destination of all who aided and supported the book and its editor John Ryan SJ. Then there is the geographic spread of the contributors, ranging from Wisconsin to Lund, via Boston, Aberystwyth, Cambridge, Paris, Brussels, Berlin and Copenhagen. A few of the essays also contain some explicit recognition of the dedicatee. Rudolf Thurneysen of the University of Bonn, the undisputed doyen of Celtic Studies at the time, contributed a short study of the semantic range of the term 'sochor' in the law tracts, ending as follows:

Dinneen's *Foclóir* [Dictionary] gives many meanings for sochar, e.g. profit or source of profit, benefit, advantage ... asset, increase, produce ... relief, comfort, ease, prosperity. While we cannot be sure if they have all grown out of the legal meaning, this much at least is certain: that they describe just a few of the good things we all so heartily wish Eóin Mac Néill.

There is one other feature of MacNeill's festschrift that strikes the reader as soon as the book is opened. There are two title pages, one in Irish and one in English. The Irish one comes first, and opposite it is a studio photograph of MacNeill in his trademark wing collar, looking sternly straight at the camera. The English language title page comes next, its text the equivalent of the Irish one, and opposite it there is a photograph of University College Dublin, where MacNeill had been a professor since 1909. This is a celebration of an academic figure identified with a strictly institutional context, therefore, and not of a public figure, a distinction that in MacNeill's case was notably difficult to sustain. The bibliography omits his political writings, for example, even 'The North Began' of 1913, the single published text of MacNeill's that had the most impact. This layout, incidentally, was followed to the letter in the immediate successor to MacNeill's festschrift in Celtic Studies, *Féilscribhinn Torna: Essays and Studies presented to Professor Tadhg Ua Donnchadha* (1947). Here also there was a personal photograph facing the Irish title page and a drawing of University College Cork facing the English. Ua Donnchadha had been a professor in UCC since 1916, and the institutional dimension is even stronger in this book. He posed for the personal photograph in academic robes, and the book was published by Cork University Press.

If we compare the books under review with MacNeill's festschrift, we can get an idea on the one hand of the enduring nature of the genre and its forms and on the other of its adoption and popularization outside the strictly academic context.

In the first place, as regards appearance and quality, the recent books have by and large nothing to fear from a comparison with MacNeill's. *Irish Provincial Cultures*, for example, whose essays all address aspects of eighteenth-century material culture in Ireland, has fifteen immaculate reproductions of painted portraits and gold boxes, as well as a cover that you could happily hang on your wall; an essay on William Petty in *At the Anvil*, a sumptuous collection of articles mostly by historical geographers, is illustrated by colour reproductions of various Down Survey maps; one of the contributions to *Dublin in the Medieval World* is a modern calligrapher's version of a passage from the medieval *Book of Rights*; and so on. All are produced by Irish publishers and Colm O Lochlainn would, I think, be deeply impressed by their quality.

The list of publications is also a feature of all the recent books, but some differ from MacNeill's in including a far greater range of material, down to short book reviews, conference talks and newspaper articles. Some of these lists are so substantial that the compiler is named and given credit. One might be inclined to attribute this to the recent pressure to publish and to make a public 'impact', were it not for the example in 1947 of *Féilscríbhinn Torna*, mentioned above. This had a 33-page bibliography of about 600 items, extensive enough to need its own table of contents and a named compiler, and including every individual poem or translation of a poem that Ua Donnchadha published (though not, inexplicably, his contribution to the MacNeill festschrift!). Most of the recent books, by contrast with MacNeill's, Ua Donnchadha's and Ridgeway's, include much more explicit tributes to their recipients in the form of essays of appreciation by their colleagues, sometimes indeed several such essays. The tone of these tributes is more personal than the somewhat austere tone of the earlier books, and brings to mind the trend towards a similar tone in the acknowledgements to scholarly books, which these days take account of personal and domestic life in a way that was unknown fifty years ago, or the inclusion of a more intimate eulogy, not necessarily religious, in the contemporary funeral. The warmest such tributes are in fact often found in the posthumous festschrift, an early example being that for the historian of Renaissance diplomacy Garrett Mattingley, published in 1965, in which the personal appreciation begins 'No one can replace Garrett Mattingley in the hearts of his friends.'<sup>4</sup>

The institutional setting of the festschrift shapes the newer volumes as much as it did MacNeill's, but in a slightly different form. The only one of them that identifies the person with the institution in the same way is the volume

<sup>4</sup> Charles Howard Carter (ed.), *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: Essays in Honor of Garrett Mattingley* (New York, 1965), p. 7.

in honour of Donall O Luanaigh, whose cover art is a 1904 postcard of the National Library in Dublin. Many of the articles in the book were first given as papers to the Friends of the National Library association, one of whose founding members was O Luanaigh, and some of the articles are about the library itself, its holdings and history. The connection is less explicit in other volumes, but strong nevertheless. Indeed what comes across in these books is the length and strength of association between scholars and their place of work. O Luanaigh worked in the National Library for over forty years, Howard Clarke taught at UCD for about forty years, while Nicholas Canny, Vincent Comerford, James McGuire and Toby Barnard taught at Galway, Maynooth, UCD and Oxford respectively for about thirty years each. The last four, moreover, had all been undergraduates at the same institutions. This results in a tiny, but telling, difference from the MacNeill and Ridgeway volumes – the recent books were all (as far as the reader can tell) produced to mark a retirement, the severing of the strictly formal connection with the institution, rather than a birthday. What is being celebrated is the teacher as well as the published scholar, and many of the contributions are from those who studied and researched under his guidance.

A partial exception here is *Irish Provincial Cultures*, which is a tribute from Barnard's Irish colleagues and collaborators rather than one that emerged from the college in which he taught, and in which the emphasis is on the scholar rather than the teacher. A total exception is *The Wexford Man*, dedicated to the local historian and polymath Nicholas Furlong. Half of its articles are academic studies that are on a level with anything in the other books, while half are personal recollections from those who worked with him in journalism, opera and other areas. It is, as the foreword says, a *Liber Amicorum*, an example of a genre closely related to the festschrift, but more focused on the recipient as a social person. It is the only one of these books with a photograph of the dedicatee on the dust jacket, for example, rather than inside.

The typical recipient of a festschrift, therefore, has had a long association with one institution, long enough to build up a network of colleagues and students. It is no accident, either, that these books honour those whose careers saw an enormous expansion in the university sector in Ireland, a development referred to in the introductions to the volumes for McGuire and Comerford. A professor who was active in the 1940s and 1950s, particularly in one of the smaller colleges, would therefore have been far less likely to get a festschrift. There were exceptions to this, of course, most notably Theodore Moody and Robin Dudley Edwards,<sup>5</sup> as well as an unusually strong tradition of festschriften in the history department in Queen's Belfast. In the 2007 volume in honour of Peter Jupp,<sup>6</sup> who taught there for forty years, the bibliography of his publications

<sup>5</sup> F. S. L. Lyons and R. A. J. Hawkins (eds), *Ireland Under the Union: Varieties of Tension. Essays in Honour of T. W. Moody* (Oxford, 1980); Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish History, Presented to R. Dudley Edwards* (Dublin, 1979).

<sup>6</sup> Allen Blackstock and Eoin Magennis (eds), *Politics and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland, 1750–1850: Essays in Tribute to Peter Jupp* (Belfast, 2007).

includes four articles in festschrifts, three of which were for colleagues or ex-colleagues in Queen's and one of which was edited by Jupp himself.<sup>7</sup>

One other aspect of the genre is worth noting – all eight are for men, and as Susan Pedersen put it in a recent review, 'festschrifts have always been mostly for men'.<sup>8</sup> This was certainly the case at the start. All of the contributors to the Ridgeway volume are male, as one might expect. What is less expected is the total absence of women from the table plans for the dinner – Mrs Ridgeway (Lucy Samuels from Kingstown, now Dun Laoghaire) wasn't at her husband's birthday celebration despite the fact that, according to the DNB, she 'was hardly less interested than he was in his work'. It comes as no surprise to discover that, as the official history of Cambridge puts it, 'Ridgeway has the melancholy distinction of leading the campaign which delayed the admission of women to the university.'<sup>9</sup> In MacNeill's festschrift, by contrast, two of the fifty contributors were women, which seems like an enormous advance. At the same time, however, Celtic Studies was an area that was unusually hospitable to women, and there are at least three distinguished female scholars, all established and published by 1940, whose absence is noticeable (Eleanor Knott, Cecile O'Rahilly and Kathleen Mulchrone).

The representation of women is far more substantial in the recent books, almost reaching half in the Barnard and Comerford volumes (6 contributors out of 13 and 5 out of 11 respectively). In the others it is sometimes considerably lower, and a particular gender division of labour is expressed by the fact that in the seven volumes where the compiler of the dedicatee's bibliography is named, five cases are women. Of course, the eight books under review were not the only festschrifts for historians published in recent years, and a volume for the Trinity College Dublin medievalist Christine Meek was published in 2010.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, it seems to be the case, in Ireland as elsewhere, that a festschrift for a female academic is less typical than one for a male. A keyword search under 'festschrift' in the library catalogue of NUI, Galway, produced 230 titles, by no means all of the festschrifts in the library, but a good sample nonetheless. Of the 230, 17 (7 per cent) were for women; moreover, two of these had the only informal or jocose titles of the 230. These were *That Woman!*, in honour of Mary 'Paul' Pollard, keeper of early printed books in TCD,<sup>11</sup> and *Skeletons*

<sup>7</sup> John Bossy and Peter Jupp (eds), *Essays Presented to Michael Roberts: Sometime Professor of Modern History in the Queen's University of Belfast* (Belfast, 1976).

<sup>8</sup> Susan Pedersen, 'Festschriftiness', *London Review of Books*, 6 October 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Brooke (ed.), *A History of the University of Cambridge: 1870–1990* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 320.

<sup>10</sup> Conor Kostick (ed.), *Medieval Italy, Medieval and Early Modern Women: Essays in Honour of Christine Meek* (Dublin, 2010). An earlier example is Maryann Gialanella Valiulis and Mary O'Dowd (eds), *Women and Irish History: Essays in Honour of Margaret MacCurtain* (Dublin, 1997); Sean Duffy (ed.), *Princes, Prelates and Poets in Medieval Ireland: Essays in Honour of Katharine Simms* (Dublin, 2013) appeared after this article had been written.

<sup>11</sup> Charles Benson and Siobhan Fitzpatrick (eds), *That Woman!: Studies in Irish Bibliography. A Festschrift for Mary 'Paul' Pollard* (Dublin, 2005).

*in her Cupboard* for Juliet Clutton-Brock, an archaeozoologist in the Natural History Museum in London.<sup>12</sup>

We could characterize the above as dealing with the ceremonial and political aspects of the *festschrift*. What about their academic or scholarly status? Most of the commentary on the genre sees its miscellaneous nature as a major disadvantage, leading to inferior work appearing, as the comments at the beginning of this piece suggest.

This emphatically is not the case with most of the books under review. One of their most striking features is precisely their coherence. All of the essays in *Reshaping Ireland* concern colonisation and political conflict in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Ireland; *Irish Provincial Cultures* is a very tight collection of essays about material culture in eighteenth-century Ireland; *Dublin in the Medieval World* speaks for itself. Moreover, the articles consistently cite the work of the other contributors to the book, as well as the publications of the recipient. Indeed *Reshaping Ireland* is presented by the publishers as a conventional book; the name of the dedicatee does not appear on the cover, and it is only when the book is opened that its origins become apparent.

This is in marked difference to practice in continental Europe. A recent example would be the 2010 volume honouring Jean-Pierre Poussou, who taught in Bordeaux and Paris, and whose doctoral thesis was one of the great regional demographic-economic studies so characteristic of French historiography in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>13</sup> This book runs to 1,800 pages and 130 contributors, all extremely eminent (Ireland is represented by Louis Cullen and Cormac Ó Gráda). The topics, however, are as varied as late Latin inscriptions, church organs in the sixteenth century, the 1807 Treaty of Tilsit and seaside resorts. Many essays have nothing in common even with their neighbours, and the third of three sections in the book is explicitly titled ‘*Toutes les histoires*’. The usual French term for a *festschrift*, ‘*Mélanges*’, is particularly appropriate here, with its slightly pejorative overtones of disorder and confusion.

The contrasting tightness of the books under review may well be related to the small size of the academic community in Ireland and its relative self-sufficiency, with a substantial concentration on the production of Irish History. It is striking that all eight of the books concern Irish history, and that *festschriften* for those who taught British or European history in Irish universities are rare (in practice, given the size of history departments until quite recently, undergraduate courses in non-Irish history were frequently taught by scholars whose own primary research area was Ireland). Moreover, the contributors are overwhelmingly based in Ireland and Britain, with a scattering from North America. Unlike the MacNeill volume, there is not a single contributor based

<sup>12</sup> A. T. Clason, Sebastian Payne and Hans-Peter Uerpmann (eds), *Skeletons in her Cupboard: Festschrift for Juliet Clutton-Brock* (Oxford, 1993).

<sup>13</sup> Reynald Abad, Jean-Pierre Bardet, Jean-François Dunyach and François-Joseph Ruggiu (eds), *Les Passions d'un Historien: mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-Pierre Poussou* (Paris, 2010).

in continental Europe, nor an article in a language other than English. Standing on its own in this context is the volume for Nicholas Furlong, in which all contributors are from County Wexford and whose focus is Wexford. Indeed the list of contributors constitutes a good claim for the pre-eminence of that county in history (Louis Cullen, Kevin Whelan, Tom Dunne, Patrick Corish) and literature (Colm Tóibín, Billy Roche, John Banville), as well as hurling and opera.

The close focus of the Irish historical festschrift results in a greater emphasis than normal on the book rather than on the recipient of the book, and this is all to the good as far as the reader is concerned. It does, however, have the minor disadvantage of not always doing justice to the versatility and the breadth of influence of the recipient. Nicholas Canny's articles on Edmund Spenser as a colonizer, for example, had a major impact within English studies, but there is no literary scholar in the collection in his honour. Another case in point would be the late Breandán Ó Buachalla, whose studies of Jacobitism have been very influential among historians, but none of them feature in his festschrift, which was entirely written by scholars of Irish.<sup>14</sup>

In the end, though, the production of a coherent book that looks less like a tribute and more like a conventional book of essays on a single theme, while it may in the short term seem to downplay the prestige of the recipient, may in the longer term be more favourable to his or her memory and reputation, since it is more likely to be read. Here again, it seems to me that the Irish historical festschrift defies type, and is far from being a graveyard of scholarship. On the contrary, many of the standard and most frequently cited articles in Irish history appeared in festschriften and are still read. T. W. Moody's famous account of the 'New Departure' in Irish politics in 1879 first appeared in a festschrift for the Queen's historian James Eadie Todd in 1949 (and this is probably the only context in which Todd's name is known to many readers).<sup>15</sup> The agenda for studies of temperance and nationalism was set by Elizabeth Malcolm and Hugh Kearney in the volumes for Moody and Dudley Edwards.<sup>16</sup> Other examples that come to mind include Kevin Whelan's classic account of the regional impact of Catholicism, published in a festschrift for the geographer T. Jones Hughes.<sup>17</sup> In the last year, my own undergraduate reading lists have included articles from the Dudley Edwards volume and from the posthumous

<sup>14</sup> Aidan Doyle and Siobhán Ní Laoire (eds), *Aistí ar an Nua-Ghaeilge in ómós do Bhreandán Ó Buachalla* (Dublin, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> T. W. Moody, 'The New Departure in Irish Politics, 1878–9', in H. A. Cronne, T. W. Moody and D. B. Quinn (eds), *Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd* (London, 1949), pp. 303–33.

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth Malcolm, 'Temperance and Irish Nationalism', in Lyons and Hawkins (eds), *Ireland Under the Union*, pp. 69–114; H. F. Kearney, 'Father Matthew: Apostle of Modernisation', in Cosgrove and McCartney (eds), *Studies in Irish History*, pp. 164–75.

<sup>17</sup> Kevin Whelan, 'The Regional Impact of Irish Catholicism 1700–1850', in William J. Smyth and Kevin Whelan (eds), *Common Ground: Essays on the Historical Geography of Ireland. Presented to T. Jones Hughes, M.A., M.R.I.A.* (Cork, 1988), pp. 253–77.

festchrift for K. H. Connell,<sup>18</sup> while I can still remember seeing the MacNeill volume for the first time, writing a final-year essay in medieval Irish history whose booklist included the formidably titled ‘Medieval medico-philosophical treatises in the Irish language’ by Francis Shaw, at that point forty years in print and still unsurpassed.<sup>19</sup>

It is obviously too early to say the same for the books under review. But going on past experience, it is certain that many of the essays in them will stand the test of time and continue to honour their dedicatees well into the future.

<sup>18</sup> J. M. Goldstrom and L. A. Clarkson (eds), *Irish Population, Economy, and Society: Essays in Honour of the Late K.H. Connell* (Oxford, 1981).

<sup>19</sup> In John Ryan (ed.), *Féil-sgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* (Dublin, 1940), pp. 144–57.

## Reviews

Juliana Adelman and Éadaoin Agnew (eds), *Science and Technology in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011, 180 pp., €55 hardback)

It is difficult to examine science in a social vacuum. Scientific discovery and progress are very often driven by communal demands and needs that affect wider society. *Science and technology in nineteenth-century Ireland* is a diverse study into how organisations and the public of this period tried to make sense of a world of knowledge that was transforming radically around them and how this integrated, sometimes uncomfortably, into their strict Victorian social order. Divided into three distinct sections – innovations, individuals and institutions – this book echoes many themes throughout, primarily related to religion, sex, industry, technology, education and public access to science in general.

Charles Darwin's publication of *On the origin of species* (1859) had a radical effect on Victorian society. Not only Darwinism but also competing period evolutionary theories trying to connect main-stream religion with natural history are examined throughout *Science and technology*. Thomas Duddy's essay gives a fascinating account of the multiple viewpoints held in Ireland towards Darwinism. These ranged from passionate support, to the outright rejecters who showed no room for compromise and who insisted on a literal interpretation of Genesis. Importantly, Duddy also covers the wide middle ground between these extremes – acknowledging accommodators who argued for an early form of what may now be called intelligent design and the compartmentalists who saw religion and science (or rather ethics and biology) as two very different and separate subjects. Another essay on the subject of Victorian-period Irish views on evolution and the bible is Patrick Maume's discussion on Dominick McCausland's evangelical theory of a direct link between geological epochs and the seven creation days in the bible. McCausland, holding a position between religion and science, believed that each species was fixed as it was created and that evolutionary theory in all forms, whether from Darwin,



Huxley or Lubbock, was incorrect. These essays give a wonderful insight into the discussions and ethical trauma some went through to connect their religious and scientific beliefs at the time.

One key aspect to *Science and technology* is its look at discredited science and theories. This is most prominently seen in Elizabeth Newald's essay on hydrotherapy, a form of medical treatment involving water baths, in nineteenth-century Cork. Newald's essay explores how such methods came to be at odds with ongoing formalisation of medical practice and therapeutic treatments in Ireland as well as the clashes that occurred between major metropolitan medical bodies and regional practitioners in the establishment of professional standards.

The nineteenth century saw a massive leap in technological advancements and Ireland had its part to play in this. Ian Elliott's fascinating essay on the Grubb family, who specialised in optics and telescopes, shows how Irish technologists played a key role in Victorian scientific development. Based in Observatory Lane, Rathmines, Thomas Grubb and his son Howard were responsible for some of the world's most pioneering astronomical telescopes from the 1840s onwards. Their work included the Great Melbourne Telescope (1868) and the Great Vienna Telescope (1873), both amongst the world's largest at the time. Sherra Murphy's essay on the 1857 British Association meeting held in Dublin also highlights the shared identity science and technology took on in the nineteenth century and the exposure of Irish practitioners to the scrutiny of the wider British scientific establishment. These important essays show international reaction to Irish scientific contributions as opposed to Irish response to external scientific development.

A topic repeatedly touched upon in this book is education – namely public access to science in nineteenth-century Ireland and the potential barriers many members of society faced in this respect. The role that science played in both second level and third level education is covered by the essays of James H. Murphy and Clara Cullen respectively. Murphy examines the use of science subjects in Castleknock College, a catholic institution that demonstrated its wide scientific capabilities with educational showcases at the end of each school year. The Royal College of Science for Ireland is the subject of Cullen's essay. Based in St Stephen's Green, Dublin, it granted third level scientific education to those who could not gain access to Ireland's universities. The college's aim was to support industry and manufacturing, and provide science teacher education in an atmosphere free of religious and sectarian discrimination. Cullen masterfully charts its history from a slow and shaky start to high levels of overcrowding in the college in the 1890s, the impact that World War I had on its level of student numbers and the political instability following Irish independence.

Yet access to scientific material or facilities was not always as open as Castleknock or the RCSI as noted by several contributors to this book. Vanda Costello describes how from the 1840s onwards a popular movement began that urged gardens, museums and picture galleries to open on a Sunday for

the benefit of the general public, despite the vocal objections from members of the upper classes and some religious groups. Costello examines how the Botanical Gardens in Glasnevin were urged to provide access to their grounds on a Sunday, and the arguments that raged about such public access. Sexism in Victorian society also restricted women's access to science. This is skilfully displayed in Éadaoin Agnew's essay about polymath Mary Ward who, encouraged by a supportive family and friends, wrote extensively on several scientific subjects before her tragic death.

Seán Ó Duinnshléibhe's essay on the literary works of Dáibhí de Barr related to weavers in early nineteenth-century Cork highlights not only how technological impacts were recorded at a local level in Ireland but how they affected existing industries and social structures. The documentation of society in nineteenth-century Ireland is also the subject of an essay by Tadhg O'Keeffe and Patrick Ryan. Using a combination of Ordnance Survey maps, valuation reports and street directories they display how the Victorian passion for record keeping means that a complex picture of a disappeared community can be gained when examining small areas of cities and towns, in this case the Monto neighbourhood of Dublin.

*Science and technology in nineteenth-century Ireland* provides an engaging cross-section of many aspects of the country and its people during this time. The recurrent themes that transcend much of the subject matter reinforce not only the radical changes science and technology brought to Irish society but also the deep connection that Ireland had to these subjects.

Finnian O'Cionnaith NUI Maynooth

Jonathan Bell and Mervyn Watson, *Rooted in the Soil: A History of Cottage Gardens and Allotments in Ireland since 1750* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, 224 pp., €45 hardback, €24.95 paperback)

This book is much welcomed. The history of allotments and gardens is a subject of increasing interest to historians but has not hitherto attracted much attention in Ireland. Bell and Watson offer a long-span narrative of the subject from the mid-eighteenth century to the present day, arguing that throughout this period, 'well-intentioned people' have advocated small plots of land as physically, morally, socially and politically beneficial. The book has many strengths. It is based on extensive primary source research, making much use of pamphlets, newspapers, journal articles and official reports. It shows a nuanced awareness of the wide range of arguments for allotments and gardens and presents these in a balanced way (although less attention is given to those who were hostile to allotments – more detailed treatment of the views of nineteenth-century economists and employers would have been interesting in this respect). Bell and Watson are at their best in exploring some fascinating initiatives in more depth. Some of these, such as the cooperative community at Ralahine, are quite well known but nevertheless gain from being placed in a wider gardening context.

Others subjects are much less familiar, such as the role of the Vacant Land Cultivation Society and then the United Irish Plotholders Union in campaigning for allotments in early twentieth-century Dublin, the curious mix of communitarianism and individualism in the Mount Street Club (Dublin) and the influence of English garden city ideas on allotments at Merville Garden Village, County Antrim, one-time residence of (and subject for) Stanley Spencer.

The book provides rich information about cultivation methods, including the use of lazy beds and the loy, and crops, far more diverse it would seem even in the nineteenth century than might be imagined. There is perhaps less from the perspective of plot holders themselves, although this is partly because relevant sources are hard to come by, and the attractive photographs of contemporary allotments and their holders do go some way to make up for this. Another particularly interesting section of the book relates to the origins of allotments in Ireland. Bell and Watson demonstrate that the Labourer's Friend Society, the leading element in the English allotment movement in the mid-nineteenth century, played an active role in Ireland too, sending an agent over from London to promote allotments. This had some success as landowners such as Grogan Morgan at Johnstown (Wexford) and Lord Clonbrock in County Roscommon provided allotments for their labourers. However, Irish advocates of allotments like the Wexford writer Martin Doyle were, unsurprisingly, especially sensitive to Malthusian fears about the allegedly population-increasing effects of the subdivision of land, and were emphatic that allotments should not be large enough to enable labourers to dispense with paid employment. Among the other interesting themes explored are the early development of urban allotments in Dublin and Belfast in the first half of the twentieth century, the provision and use of school gardens and the links between the cooperative and allotment movements in twentieth-century Ireland (Sir Horace Plunkett was a keen advocate of both).

Throughout the book, and particularly in the last chapter, the crucial question of where allotments and gardens should be placed ideologically is raised. They were capable of appealing to 'well-known agricultural improvers, some landlords, co-operators, socialists, nationalists, unionists, various Christian groups both Catholic and Protestant, leaders of the garden village and allotments movements, and more recently, environmentalists and New Age activists' (p. 11). The authors rightly emphasise that the curious intermingling of individualist and communitarian elements characteristic of allotments (especially) is relevant to this, a rich theme that deserves fuller exploration than is possible within the confines of such a wide-ranging general history.

There are, as always, one or two respects in which the book is less satisfactory. There is a lack of engagement with the wider literature on allotments and smallholdings – neither Barnett's pioneering article of 1967, Archer's article of 1995, nor the major studies by Crouch and Ward (1988), Burchardt (2002) and Burchardt and Cooper (2010) are mentioned, either in the text or the bibliography. The bibliography is, frankly, very poor: major works, cited frequently in the text, are not included (e.g. Cullen's study of Dublin allotments); some

names are misspelt (including my own); and it is unsatisfactory that primary and secondary sources are listed under a single heading. The index is also disappointing: again, names mentioned frequently in the text such as ‘Caldwell’, ‘Alexandra School’ and ‘Merville Garden Village’ are not listed.

More seriously, the narrative format adopted by the book, while allowing it to represent the diverse views of those interested in gardens and allotments, hinders it from assessing these views in a systematic way. Did allotments and gardens have the moral benefits that were claimed for them, for example? Did they foster population growth? How far did they serve to alleviate unemployment in the 1930s? Were their ecological and health benefits as great as more recent advocates have claimed? One of the reasons the book is unable to shed much light on these questions is the lack of systematic data about allotments and gardens, either spatially or in other respects. *Rooted in the soil* is admirable as a qualitative study but many of the most important questions regarding the significance and value of allotments and gardens in Irish history can only be answered quantitatively. Bell and Watson are unable to tell us, at least until the mid-twentieth century, how many allotments and gardens there were in Ireland, how large they were, what their geographical distribution was, including even such basic questions as whether they were more common in urban or rural areas, the frequency with which different crops were grown, what yields were obtained, and, consequently, how significant an increment to living standards they provided. All these questions have been not only asked, but to a large extent answered in relation to nineteenth-century English allotments, and in principle it should be possible to do the same for Ireland too (gardens, being so variable and out of the public eye, are admittedly more difficult). There are other important gaps in this account – we learn very little about the effect of the Famine, to the extent that it is unclear whether allotments may not in effect have disappeared from Ireland in the second half of the century; and similarly the period from the Second World War to the 1980s is glossed over very quickly.

Despite these reservations, this is a most interesting and enjoyable book, which should be on the shelves of anyone with a serious interest in the history of Irish allotments or gardens. The authors modestly acknowledge that their book is ‘an introduction, rather than a definitive account’ and it is to be hoped that it will stimulate much further research into this fascinating and neglected aspect of Irish history.

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D. George Boyce and Alan O’Day (eds), *Gladstone and Ireland: Politics, Religion and Nationality in the Victorian Age* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010, 307 pp., £63 hardback)

Mary E. Daly and K. Theodore Hoppen (eds), *Gladstone: Ireland and Beyond* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011, 208 pp., €45 hardback)

The bicentenary of the birth of W. E. Gladstone, in December 2009, provided the occasion for a number of historical reappraisals of the man, his ideas and his legacy. These two collections of essays focus on his relevance to Ireland, and although the emphasis is more on politics and ideas than economic and social history, his significance in shaping modern Ireland might be cited in justification for reviewing them for this journal.

*Gladstone: Ireland and beyond* is a collection of twelve essays, with a Foreword by Martin Mansergh and an Introduction by Theodore Hoppen and derives from the proceedings of a conference held at St Deiniol's Library in Hawarden in September 2009. It is divided into four broad themes: 'British dimensions', which place Irish issues in a broader context; 'Irish settings', which address more directly Gladstone's relationship with Ireland; 'Matters of the mind', which examines the intellectual underpinnings of Gladstone's politics, and 'The world beyond', exploring Gladstone's attitude to imperialism in general and India in particular. In a postscript Paula Murphy recounts the history of the bronze statue of Gladstone, originally intended for Dublin but eventually installed at St Deiniol's.

Since Gladstone's death in 1898, there have been a considerable number of biographical studies and reinterpretations, historians drawn perhaps by the centrality of his role in shaping late nineteenth-century British politics, the range and depth of his mind and the subtlety of his approach to government. To Alvin Jackson, writing of 'Gladstone, Ireland, Scotland and the "Union of heart and spirit"', he 'embodies or symbolizes the British-Irish relationship in its complexity' (p. 23).

In appraising his own political career, Gladstone identified four occasions on which he displayed striking political gifts. Two were related to Ireland, namely disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1868 and the Home Rule bill of 1886. For Irish historians his enduring legacy is his sustained commitment to grappling with Irish issues, even at great cost to his own party. His motivations remain the subject of lively debate: while on the one hand, Gladstone treated Irish policy as a branch of Christian ethics, his support for Home Rule has been linked by other historians to his anxiety to reduce the cost of Irish administration to the Exchequer.

It is striking that despite Gladstone's preoccupation for much of his political life with Irish affairs, he had very little direct experience of the country. According to Kevin McKenna, his one short sojourn in Ireland in the autumn of 1877, although ostensibly a private visit, served as a springboard for his emergence from retirement. Apart from very political appearances in Dublin, most of his time was spent in the great houses of Wicklow and surrounding counties. This, no doubt, is where he would have been expected to stay and, as Devon McHugh outlines, he had an extended network of wealthy, powerful and politically active relatives, including some among the Irish landed aristocracy. Nevertheless, Irish landlords, along with unionists, north and south, would have most to complain about in his subsequent policies. Landlords' responses to Gladstone's land reforms and his Home Rule campaigns have

been relatively little studied by historians, although contemporary novelists as various as Anthony Trollope, Letitia McClintock and George Moore, referred to them. Here Patrick Maume explores this theme through the medium of the *Evening Mail*, which addressed a conservative elite readership, representing Irish loyalists as the first line of defence against anarchy and denouncing the Grand Old Man and his policies in articles and cartoons. Gladstone's treatment in the unionist, but more moderate *Irish Times* in the years after his death in 1898 is addressed by Eugenio Biagini, who traces the emergence of a more positive attitude toward him among southern Protestants in line with their gradual reconciliation with independent Ireland.

Following an introduction that explores the enduring appeal of the man and his politics, the eleven essays in *Gladstone and Ireland* are arranged in roughly chronological order. Beginning with an analysis by John-Paul McCarthy of Gladstone's involvement in the Maynooth grant controversy of 1844–45 and its influence in shaping his thought, it concludes with a discussion by D. George Boyce of his legacy in relation to the four nations: England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, extending to the late twentieth century. Overall, however, the focus on the Home Rule issue is more marked in this collection. One interesting example is Timothy Moore's essay, which traces the origins of the deep rift that opened in the Liberal Party over the Home Rule bill of 1886 due in part to personal animosity. Key leaders of that anti-Gladstone rebellion were the Whig, Lord Hartington and the prominent Radical, Joseph Chamberlain. As Moore points out, both were considerably younger than Gladstone and in both cases he treated them arrogantly, alienating them even before the breach in 1886. Another blind spot that ultimately spelled disaster for the measure (although it was a shortcoming widely shared) was his underestimation of the depth of Ulster Unionist opposition to Home Rule. In addressing this, N. C. Fleming considers advice Gladstone received from Edward Jenkinson in Dublin Castle, playing down the risk of difficulties in Ulster; and expressions of concern over the measure from English-based and Ulster Liberals. His failure to respond to the latter, Fleming argues, allowed British and Irish Conservatives to use the Ulster question as a means to undermine Home Rule in its entirety.

Nevertheless, if Home Rule was not to come to pass in his lifetime, Gladstone's major achievement in 1886, it might be argued, was to set the measure firmly on the agenda and to force policymakers and others to think through what its implications might be. One group directly affected would be civil servants, whose posts and pensions were potentially under threat. Martin Maguire addresses the campaign waged by and on behalf of the higher levels of the service, numbering around five hundred, seeking guarantees for the security of their salaries and pensions in the new state.

Gladstone's assertion that it was the job of 'law and of institutions to reflect the wants and wishes of the country' is quoted in both books and N. C. Fleming and Alan O'Day argue that his commitment to govern Ireland in accordance with Irish ideas long outlived him in British policies towards Ireland. Indeed, there are contemporary resonances, as in both collections reviewed here, and

more generally, comparisons have been made between Gladstone and Tony Blair, each driven by their Christian belief to develop, in Dean Godson's description of the latter, 'a crusading enthusiasm for Home Rule' (quoted in Daly and Hoppen, p. 20). The two collections of essays will add significantly to our understanding of Gladstone and his complex relationship with Ireland.

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Catherine Cox and Maria Luddy (eds), *Cultures of Care in Irish Medical History, 1750–1970* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010, 258 pp., £55 hardback)

This book provides a rather disparate collection of essays which, other than one chapter on the eighteenth century, focuses on the topics related to nineteenth- and twentieth-century history of medicine in Ireland. Some of the topics, although very valuable in their own right are, however, quite peripheral to general medical care and the provision of care therein. James Kelly provides the initial context for the book by contributing an analysis of medical care and the contemporary humoral ethos that pervaded in the eighteenth century and conveys a picture of the negative expectations of medical professions that were entertained by the general population. This lays the groundwork for ensuing essays concerned with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The volume would have benefited greatly if Mary Daly's chapter had been placed at the beginning, rather than at the end, as she provides a thorough summary of mortality and its causation in twentieth-century Ireland which provides the context for the reader to assess the most common diseases and their associated problems that needed care. She also furnishes an important social context wherein medical problems and medical care reside – dealing with such issues as malnutrition, poor housing and unemployment that impact on the nation's health, particularly on maternal health.

Caitriona Foley gives a comprehensive assessment of the devastating effects of and the attempts that were made to cope with the influenza epidemics of the 1890s and 1918. This research shows that the response in Ireland was similar to other countries' in that a cross-sectional approach by a number of groups in society was attempted, but in the end, very little could be done except to provide the basics of nursing care. An account of the difficulties faced by patients accessing the nineteenth-century dispensary system in Ireland is sketched by Catherine Cox, including the problems experienced by patients who lived at a distance from the dispensaries and of obtaining 'relief' tickets. This system provided a free service for patients who were able to access it; however, language difficulties may also have created problems for both patients and doctors in western areas. Poor infrastructure, and travel difficulties created further problems for the medical officers, and despite the fact that the medical officer's job provided a secure income, in some more remote areas these posts remained unfilled.

One of the 'unmentionable' subjects in the past was venereal disease, and Leanne McCormack describes the reticence of the municipal authorities to fund Venereal Disease clinics in Northern Ireland during the interwar years, and the paucity of support given to those who wished to educate the general public about such matters. Partition resulted in two separate policies and several departments having responsibility for the provision of care and treatment for venereal disease in Ireland. McCormack amply displays that in the midst of so many organisational problems concerned with establishing a new state, the issue of VD was not regarded as being of very high importance. Once more, the Catholic Church was involved in efforts to suppress publicity about an important health issue, which presumably it regarded as one that if it was not discussed publicly, would hopefully disappear. As so often happens in these cases, the county councils in the North, which did not provide treatment centres locally, exported the problem to Belfast. The onset of the Second World War led to an explosion of VD and the authorities then had to finally accept that the issue could not be ignored.

A well-researched chapter by Lindsey Earner-Byrne explores the influence that the Catholic Church had on medical policy in the inter-war years. This is a very timely chapter, which provides a historical context to issues that are still current in the political arena today. The designation of birth control as either a moral issue or health issue was vital to the influence exerted by members of the church or the medical profession. By designating it as a moral issue, the church sought to exert their authority on the matter of the provision of contraceptives and by denying that it was a medical issue, they could attempt to dismiss medical opinion and disregard the concept of the mother's health as a factor that should impact in any decisions concerning family planning. The control exerted by the church was evident in the desire to influence official medical appointments, such that only those who adhered to Catholic Church policies would be in a position of authority. Eighty years later, some of these issues are still pertinent. Earner-Byrne engages with many official documents, contemporary government publications and nursing publications, however, it would be interesting to know how these issues were dealt with in the national newspapers.

In summary, while there are two chapters on infanticide in this volume, and one on medico-legal issues, which are valuable in their own right, some of the more mainstream issues in the provision of care in the history of Irish medicine have been omitted, such as the culture of care in both voluntary hospitals and county hospitals throughout this period. There have been a number of institutional studies of these hospitals, both public and private, but they have not been analysed in the context of contemporary economic and social issues. The tradition of care provided by the nursing profession, which is so vital in the treatment of any illness, and which has been such an important part of medicine in Ireland over the last two centuries, also has not featured. One might ask why a volume with the title 'cultures of care' does not include a history of those all-important caregivers – the nursing profession. However, in addressing a number of topics that have not been the subject of comprehensive analysis,



this volume is an encouraging addition to the history of Irish medicine, which will no doubt, provide an impetus for further study.

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L. M. Cullen, *Economy, Trade and Irish Merchants at Home and Abroad, 1600–1988* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, 320 pp., €55 hardback)

Louis Cullen's new book is useful and important. Its nineteen chapters, essays for the most part, 'concern primarily economic themes: development (rural and general), trade, banking, shipping, merchants (at home and abroad) and ports' (p. 7). Though many of these essays were published before, some were not, and others appeared in sources which were, and remain, largely inaccessible to researchers. Primarily, therefore, this work makes some of Cullen's contributions on economic topics accessible, while introducing his thoughts and theories on economic development to a new generation of researchers.

No student of modern Irish history could successfully research without extensive reference to Cullen's influential *Economic history of Ireland since 1660*. Though this volume will not be as influential, its strength is that it examines a broad range of topics, many of which remain under-researched. Two chapters, for example, are devoted to examining Ireland's east-coast smugglers, principally those located at Rush (pp. 118–48), and these are complemented by a study of Irish privateers in the eighteenth century (pp. 149–64). 'Smugglers in the Irish Sea in the eighteenth century' is the most rounded of these three essays; it includes impressive detail on smugglers' activities, introduces 'Jack the bachelor' Connor, and explains the significance of the 'August 1767 episode'. The volume's introduction notes that the essays are 'unchanged apart from correction of basic errors of fact', and that 'interpretations are left untouched, and hence inconsistencies or changes of emphasis can be detected among the papers' (p. 8). Perhaps this consideration accounts for the different slant placed on Edward Newenham's 1772 letter to the chief secretary regarding a pardon for Connor: in 'Smugglers in the Irish Sea', published in 1989, Cullen is uncertain of the reason behind Newenham's appeal (p. 129), but in the 'Privateering' essay, published in 1975, he cites Newenham's letter to George McCartney, which appeals for Connor's pardon, to 'prevent his proving a dangerous pirate in the seas, whenever a war happens with France or Spain' (p. 157).

Three of the essays focus on localities: 'Humphrey O'Sullivan's Callan: before and after' (pp. 88–102), 'Galway merchants in the outside world, 1650–1800' (pp. 165–92) and 'The Dublin merchant community in the eighteenth century' (pp. 193–208). Each are merited in their own right, but the Galway essay is magisterial. Though repetitive in places, Cullen admirably outlines how Galway's Catholic 'footloose merchants' (p. 168) retained wealth and influence after 1650, through a combination of judicious marriage alliances and ambitious economic colonising in Dublin, London, the West Indies and continental Europe. On the very odd occasion, Cullen is lax in explaining the minutiae of

the colonial process, which can lead to apparent contradictions; ‘Galway men went first to France and then to the West Indies’, for example, is promptly followed by ‘capital earned in the West Indies was often important for members setting up in Europe’ (p. 176).

Dublin provides an interesting contrast to Galway. In Galway ‘families held on to their land in the seventeenth century, and even in the 1690s by accommodating themselves to the times, they were able to retain a higher proportion of their land than the old landed families of any other county’ (p. 172), but in Dublin ‘the old Catholic families of the city were broken by the political upheavals of the seventeenth century’, so the ‘re-establishment of a Catholic group in the city thus depended on an influx of provincial families’ (pp. 201–2). In this case, Cullen explains, convincingly, how Catholics and dissenting Protestant merchants established themselves as a distinctive mercantile group in the city after 1750, detailing their involvement with the Committee of Merchants, from 1761, and the first Chamber of Commerce, after 1783 (pp. 206–8). The Callan essay, ‘included primarily because it provides insight from a highly unusual source, the diaries of an Irish speaker, into rural and social life in the agriculturally advanced region of mid-Kilkenny’ (p. 8), provides an interesting view of economic and social life in a declining Irish town in the first half of the nineteenth century. The essay’s usefulness is reduced, however, by it not being footnoted.

Many of the characters introduced in the Dublin merchants essay reappear in ‘Politics and institutions, 1731–1835’ (pp. 219–36), a lecture delivered to the Royal Dublin Society in 1990/91, which, presumably, accounts for the absence of footnotes. Although this reduces its importance as a research tool, this well-balanced essay outlines the political intrigues surrounding the populating of the board of the Bank of Ireland, the Committee of Merchants and the three Chambers of Commerce established between 1783 and 1820, and the changing make-up of the membership of ‘the oldest and greatest of Europe’s agricultural societies’, the Dublin Society (pp. 234–6).

Reflecting Cullen’s broad research interests, France and Scotland figure prominently. Chapter 3 – also not footnoted, but concluded by a technical note, which outlines the sources used – considers the movement of wage-levels, real wages and purchasing power in Ireland and Scotland between 1565 and 1780 (pp. 41–55). This essay provides some useful comparisons, principally between rates in Edinburgh and Dublin, and concludes that ‘too much of Ireland approximated to the Highlands: what was in Scotland the minority problem was, in Ireland, quite simply the majority problem’ (p. 51). The location within the volume of the second Scottish essay – chapter 19, ‘The Scottish exchange on London, 1673–1778 (pp. 286–303) – far removed from the other Scottish essay seems, at first, curious, but the riddle is solved by ‘Luthy’s *La banque protestante: a reassessment*’, which concludes with comments on France’s inland exchange. Although Cullen notes that one can ‘greatly admire Luthy’s book as one of the most formidable books written in the post-1945 era, magisterial in its grasp’ (p. 256), he proceeds to reject many

of the approaches taken by the author, ‘who had no real knowledge of banking and commerce in their own right’ (p. 257), and overturn many of its conclusions. ‘The weakness of Luthy’s approach stems from the fact that ultimately he had no concept of the importance of maritime trade ... and at times, with his Genevan perspective, he seems to treat of France almost as a land-locked country’ (p. 267). Frustratingly, however, repetition emerges as an issue in this essay; this reader lost count of the number of times he read that France and its East India Company were in crisis by 1769. In ‘Dominicans in the eighteenth century’ (pp. 237–43), a review of Hugh Fenning’s book, Cullen rightly notes that ‘its well-chosen quotations in six languages ask a lot of the average reader’ (p. 243), yet in this volume he presents many non-English quotations, without providing translations.

This book is a testament to the monumental researches of a great historian of Ireland over many decades. It is not without its weaknesses, of course. Eight chapters are not footnoted, although the origin of many of these accounts for this. Not all the essays have been considered, above – for instance, interesting essays on Malthus (pp. 56–72), wealth, wills and inheritance (pp. 73–87) and ‘colonial and exotic products’ (pp. 103–17) are presented – but the volume would surely have benefited from the omission of two chapters. ‘The pound – from harp to snake’ (pp. 244–6) essentially replicates data provided in the Scottish-Irish comparative essay, whereas the ‘Trends’ chapter (pp. 247–55), comprising four articles from the *Irish Times* (1985), included to place ‘Irish economic issues of the 1980s in a historical context’ (p. 7), hardly does that, although the comments that ‘crisis has always been particularly severe after exceptional booms, because credit is easily extended under good conditions, and the reversal of favourable conditions finds both banks and customers over-extended’ and ‘Irish banking has been remarkably free of serious problems since the 1840s’ might prompt readers to pine wistfully for the simpler recession of the 1980s (p. 251). Nonetheless, this volume will prove equally useful to the established historian and the new researcher. Certainly, there is much here to prompt further investigation, at a range of administrative levels, and along a broad spectrum of economic and social themes.

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Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Four Courts Press, 2010, 349 pp., €50 hardback)

One of the most fascinating aspects of the *Annals of the Four Masters* is the huge difference between their cult status and actual engagement with the text. In a telling comment on the Franciscan enthusiasm for the *Annals*, Bernadette Cunningham notes that in over four hundred items listed in the bibliography of works by the members of the Franciscan House of Studies in Killiney, only one deals with the Four Masters. Cunningham’s work is a labour of love that

deploys the best resources of professional scholarship and personal enthusiasm to redress this imbalance.

Not intended for bedside reading, this volume demands sustained and intense concentration, but the effort is more than well repaid. Nevertheless, it is sprinkled with gems throughout that lighten the burden and wonderfully illuminate the point. Cunningham deftly illustrates the passion for history and the writing of histories that flourished throughout Europe at the time of the Reformation. In providing a necessary background for the interest in history that simultaneously came to the fore in Ireland, Cunningham builds on the insights of the late Breandán Ó Buachalla who was the first to provide this kind of contextualisation. She contrasts the approaches of Céitinn and Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, one a diocesan priest, the other a mendicant friar. While superficially preoccupied with the re-organisation of the Irish church into dioceses in the twelfth century, Céitinn's prime concern was the Tridentine re-organisation of the seventeenth-century Irish church. This was not a preoccupation of the mendicant friar, however. In his account of a reforming synod in Drogheda in 1152, Ó Cléirigh notes that one of the clauses forbade clergy to demand money for religious services such as baptisms and anointings. But he also adds that if people voluntarily wish to make an offering that is quite fine: *ní maith gan a dtabhairt*, note the present tense, the annalist coyly making use of a double negative just so that his willingness to accept does not appear too strident. This little throwaway line shows Ó Cléirigh like Céitinn to have been much more preoccupied with the needs of his own day than with the events of the twelfth century, but with a totally different perspective. And this is one of the many examples Cunningham uses to explain that writing history is never simply about the past but how to accommodate the past to the needs of the present.

The author traces the origins of the Annals of the Four Masters to a letter written by Patrick Fleming in Rome to Hugh Ward in Louvain in 1624 stating the need for a secular history of the kingdom of Ireland to complement the hagiographical project already undertaken, a project that would also bring Ireland into line with other nations. Fleming urged Ward to make use of the professional skill of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, a member of the Irish Franciscan community at Louvain, and send him to Ireland to conduct research. It bears noting that, while the idea originated on the continent, it was carried out in Ireland. While it was brought to fruition in a Franciscan ambience, Mícheál Ó Cléirigh's collaborators were laymen, though it was John Colgan, Franciscan friar and hagiographer, who gave the team the memorable title of the four masters. Furthermore, it was due to the skills and contacts previously acquired in Ireland that Ó Cléirigh was able to carry out his mission.

Scholars have taken it for granted over the years that the copy of the Annals taken by Ó Cléirigh to Louvain in 1636 was destined for publication, but without producing supporting evidence. Cunningham, however quotes from a poem written by one of the Four Masters, Fearfeasa Ó Maoil Chonaire, refuting certain criticisms of Ó Cléirigh's accuracy in particular and the overall

accuracy of the Annals. The objector, a confrère of Ó Cléirigh's and a kinsman of Ó Maoil Chonaire, actually managed to get the matter placed on the agenda of three successive provincial chapters, thus contributing in no small way to undermining the project to publish the Annals. Fearfeasa's poem contains the following lines:

A chonnmhail ó chló Labhán

Mairg nos iarr ar uachtarán

[Woe to the man who asked his superior to withhold it from print in Louvain]

The evidence could not be clearer. Though Fearfeasa's poem has been in print since 1967, Cunningham is the first scholar to peruse it in detail.

To continue with the Louvain copy of the Annals – even after its completion, this particular autograph copy was subjected to further revision in the light of new evidence. The original entry saying that Patrick came to Ireland in 431 was changed to 432 in the light of the evidence contained in Caesare Baronio's work, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, published in twelve volumes between 1588 and 1607. Baronio is the doyen of Counter-Reformation historians and the preoccupation of the Four Masters in revising their material to make it conform to his standards is a very interesting comment on their professionalism, and equally on Cunningham's professionalism in bringing this to light. Cunningham feels that this change occurred back in Louvain rather than in Ireland and that the hagiographer John Colgan was the person behind the decision to amend the text. There is much more to this than replacing one date with another; it betokens a new attitude to evidence and the willingness of a professional scribe from within the native tradition to accept the standards of Counter-Reformation historiography. The unusual decision to cite Baronio by name, may indeed owe something to the objections raised in Ireland.

Another fascinating aspect of the Annals concerns the networks that were involved. Starting with the Franciscans themselves, the various convents throughout the country greatly facilitated Mícheál Ó Cléirigh's work and gave him access to manuscripts available in the precincts and the hinterland of each foundation. Secondly one should mention Ó Cléirigh's contacts with the Gaelic learned families of south-west Ulster and north Connacht, the Ó Maoil Chonaire's and the Ó Duibhgeannáins, not forgetting the Ó Cléirighs themselves. Most fascinating of all were Ó Cléirigh's links with James Ussher, Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh and the government official Sir James Ware. Indeed, it is possible that Ó Cléirigh stayed with Ussher rather than in the Drogheda friary when transcribing manuscripts located in Ussher's library in that town. Ussher had already been in contact with scholarly Franciscans such as Francis O'Mahony the provincial and Thomas Strange, guardian of Dublin and cousin of Luke Wadding. It was doubtless men like O'Mahony and Strange that facilitated Ó Cléirigh's contacts with Ussher. Strange as this ability to transcend the confessional and polemical divide may appear, it can also be considered as part of an established tradition where historians from Gaelic learned families, including the Ó Cléirighs, worked for Anglo-Norman patrons.

While Ó Cléirigh scrupulously adhered to faithful transcription of the hagiographical material he copied in his travels, often citing the vow of obedience to excuse material he thought was less than edifying, he had no such scruples when it came to compiling the Annals. Indeed, the Four Masters deliberately manipulated the content and vocabulary of their sources in such a way as to enhance the status and antiquity of the kingdom of Ireland and the five provincial kingdoms. Hence the proper title of their work, the Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland (*Annála Rioghachta Éireann*). This was achieved by using regnal years as the basis of their chronology and by relegating all the petty kings (*rí*) to the status of lord (*tighearna*). As Cunningham neatly describes the process: their selection from the available sources was made with a view to remoulding that past so as to provide a blueprint from the future (p. 135).

In a review of *The Irish Franciscans 1534–1990*, Hugh Fenning found Cunningham's essay on the Annals of the Four Masters to have been written 'with unrivalled authority'. That was only an '*hors d'oeuvre*' of eleven pages to be read as an appetiser before proceeding to the main course. We can but concur with the confident assertion of the selection panel who awarded the 2011 Irish Historical Research Prize to Bernadette Cunningham for the work under review: in its understanding of the sheer central importance of its subject, this masterly book is unique.

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Joseph P. Cunningham and Ruth Fleischmann, *Aloys Fleischmann (1880–1964): Immigrant Musician in Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2010, 416 pp., €49 hardback)

The family name Fleischmann has generated five recent books and several learned articles documenting different aspects of the contribution to music in Ireland of this remarkable family over a number of generations. In this book the authors chart the life and times of Aloys senior, father of the more famous and more musically important Aloys junior who was Professor of Music in UCC. Allowing for the fact that, in his own right, Aloys senior could never be considered a major figure, his influence on Aloys junior was clearly significant and, in this respect, this book is noteworthy. As well as providing a life and times, the authors engage with a number of important themes that impacted on music in Ireland over the course of the subject's lifetime. A number of interesting supplements by other authors, chiefly those in Chapter 1 detailing aspects of the subject's youth in Dachau 1880–1906 and (arguably the most important inclusion) a very perceptive final chapter by Séamus de Barra analysing the music of Aloys senior add interest and completeness to the book. The book has academic integrity in every aspect, especially from the points of view of historical and musicological authority and also benefits from the considerable archival material supporting its narration and discourse. It is liberally referenced, contains a comprehensive bibliography, useful index and an annotated catalogue of the

subject's compositions. The social historian will find much that is of interest here and, in this respect, the work provides an enjoyable and engaging read.

The publication's subtitle identifies what is clearly an important author objective, i.e. to contribute to the increasing number of in-depth studies of the many foreign musicians who, during the latter part of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, left a substantial musical legacy in their adopted country. Fleischmann senior and his father-in-law Hans Conrad Swertz were among a significant number of continental musicians who, enticed by the Catholic bishops to take up positions as church organists in major churches in Ireland, had a notable influence not only on church music but also on the progress of art music generally in society, and particularly on music education. Here, as in other studies, the discourse elaborates on the conflict experienced by these musicians between the need to embrace Pope Pius X's church music reforms outlined in his encyclical *Motu proprio* of 1903 and the personal musical values of the highly trained art musician. The authors describe Aloys Fleischmann senior's attitude of compromise in this regard, which contrasted with the uncompromising stance of his father-in-law and predecessor organist/choirmaster in Cork's Cathedral of St Mary and St Anne. Fleischmann embraced the hierarchy's and Vatican's demand for a more uniform and liturgically compliant music, although with reservations. The beginning chapters of the book describe his tenacity and entrepreneurial skill in his early musical endeavours – so it should come as no surprise to read Fleischmann's graphic summation of the reaction of the public to the church music reforms in a 1907 letter to the Bishop of Cork and Ross. He writes:

In short, people were disappointed. Incredulously, they shake their heads when one speaks to them of the sublime and ethereal beauty of Gregorian chant, or of the powerful soul-stirring art of the old masters .... As sad as it may be for the connoisseur, it is nevertheless a fact that the majority of the people and most of the church choirs misinterpret and undervalue the immortal treasures brought to light again, and it is only their obedience to the Holy Father and his Lordship the Bishop that leads them to give up with gentle murmurs what through education and custom they have come to like. (p. 76)

Through the lens of hindsight, musicians know the extent to which they have become enculturated into tacit acceptance and belief in the liturgical and fundamental superiority of Gregorian chant and sixteenth-century a capella polyphony sung exclusively by male voices and it is significant that Fleischmann's muted 'kicking against the goad' here is also noted elsewhere in the views of other notable church musicians during this period. In spite of this, since his appointment in 1906, he remained (except when interned) as organist and choirmaster of the cathedral until his retirement in 1961. Under his direction, its choir achieved a reputation as one of the finest cathedral choirs in Ireland.

Another point of interest described in the book is the extent and nature of Fleischmann's engagement with Irish national aspiration and sentiment. When he eventually returned to Cork in 1920, he became acutely aware of the

overshadowing troubled times. The circumstances surrounding the deaths of Terence MacSwiney and Tomás MacCurtain, two of Cork's prominent nationalist Lord Mayors, greatly affected him and the book charts the long-standing family friendship between the MacSwiney and Fleischmann families. This, together with his own experience of internment under the British, informed his awareness of the intensifying political situation in his adopted country and might have provided personal reason enough to espouse national political sympathies. However, the book reveals a deeply thoughtful and sensitive personality who was a pacifist by nature. During these pre-treaty turbulent years, the Fleischmanns and family friends with whom they associated (the Horgans, the Stockleys and the Corkerys) would have perceived nationalism in terms of its cultural value rather than its political objectives.

One perceived weakness in the book is the inclusion of extraneous occasional historical knowledge imbedded in the discourse; an example of this is the description of the revival of interest in Gaelic culture (p. 68). It is a matter of judgement whether or not such accounts would be more usefully employed as endnotes so as not to interrupt the flow of the biography. However, it is a moot point and one person's interruption might be another's interesting aside.

De Barra describes the dilemma of the musicologist attempting to make sense of Fleischmann's musical manuscripts. Handwritten musical manuscripts had a multi-purpose usage. On the one hand they preserved the musical works but, also, in the days before easy publication and photocopying, the manuscripts were performance aids and subjected to many pencilled (often contradictory) annotations. In these circumstances distinguishing between the composer's precise intentions (i.e. a final version) and what was simply a necessary amendment for a particular performer or performance becomes problematic. De Barra's account of Fleischmann's music reveals a composer working at different aesthetic levels. Although he does not pronounce judgement on the relative worth of one form of composition over another, his chosen musical examples clearly establish Fleischmann's German *lieder* as significant, being modelled on those of Brahms and Schumann. Curiously, his church music seems to me to be very conservative. The author suggests that the poor conditions for musical performance in Cork at this time may have stifled Fleischmann's creativity and notes that 'there is little in his later work that seems to be on the same trajectory as the music he composed before he left Dachau' (p. 313). And yet, there is something very sincere in the musical style of the excerpts included in the book. They show the mind of a composer with good musical judgement within their austere Germanic style. Fleischmann's compositions shows scant interest in an Irish national idiom, and Irish literary connections emerge extraneously and only occasionally, although his catalogue does contain some thirty settings of Irish airs.

The most striking aspect of this book is the remarkable human story it portrays. Fleischmann senior was a person of melancholy disposition due to his sense of dislocation and the feeling of cultural isolation common to all exiles. The financial worries of the early years of his marriage, his extraordinary



kindness in supporting the Swertz family when his wife's father left to take up a position in Philadelphia, his loneliness and financial worries resulting from his incarceration in Oldcastle and Isle of Man internment camps during the First World War and his subsequent deportation, the lack of progress in his musical career in Cork, and his struggle with cathedral administrators to have repairs done on the cathedral's organ all imprinted on his character and personality, while the rise of National Socialism in Germany and the final realisation about the horrors that had occurred in his birthplace Dachau troubled him greatly. He once related to his friend Sean Neeson how 'Jewish prisoners saved his life on the Isle of Man by sharing their food with him when rations were scarce' (p. 121) and, because of this, the news of the atrocities perpetrated in his home town Dachau distressed him. De Barra speculates on how his compositions might have progressed had he stayed in Germany and availed himself of its better musical opportunities. One might also speculate how, because of his sensitivities and convictions, he might have fallen foul of events there but, instead, Fleischmann senior and his family left an indelible influence on musical life in Cork and that is his extraordinary legacy.

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Linda Doran and James Lyttleton (eds), *Lordship in Medieval Ireland: Image and Reality* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008, 304 pp., €55 hardback)

This book is published for the Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement (GSIHS), which seeks to promote interdisciplinary examination of the nature and development of Irish settlement. As a contribution to GSIHS's growing corpus of publications, almost all of the nine articles will be of interest to the readers of this journal. However, four have been selected to allow for a more in-depth review of their contents.

This book on lordship begins with an article on kingship. In 'Perceptions of kingship in early medieval Irish vernacular literature', Edel Bhreathnach examines the social logic that underpinned the exercise of kingship in medieval Ireland. This is a topic sadly underrepresented in the wider historiography, which has tended to focus on constitutional justifications for, and political implications of, kingship. Bhreathnach deftly analyses difficult texts on the theoretical principles of kingship alongside poetic eulogies of individual Irish kings to arrive at a greater understanding of the place of kings within Irish society. That place, perhaps unsurprisingly, was a privileged position at its very centre. Bhreathnach also places her study within a wider European framework by comparing Irish kings to their contemporaries in Anglo-Saxon England (pp. 29, 44–5), and continental Europe (pp. 29, 36, 44–5). This engagement is enough to whet the appetite, but even more might have been made of these comparisons. For instance, Bhreathnach highlights the similarities in the social roles of Irish and mainstream European kings, in which the kingly ideals of hospitality, justice, peace, strength and truth lent stability to society. However, one

obvious difference between Irish kings and their mainstream European counterparts was that the latter were anointed by the Church. The act of anointing theoretically raised kings of England, France and Germany above the level of ordinary humanity, and it would be interesting to investigate explicitly whether the political theory surrounding anointing made a qualitative difference to the social practice of kingship.

Turning from Irish kings to English lords, and from society to economy, Margaret Murphy's article 'The profits of lordship: Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and the lordship of Carlow, 1270–1306', is based upon Murphy's analysis of the lordship's financial accounts, comprising ninety-six unpublished documents in The National Archives (editions of which Murphy promises in the near future). Thus, while Bhreathnach brings a new approach to known Irish vernacular texts to produce a path-breaking analysis of the social roles of Irish kings, Murphy applies tried and tested methods of financial analysis to an unpublished and (relatively) overlooked group of documents to enrich our understanding of colonial lordship in Ireland. One striking outcome of Murphy's analysis is that the overall value of the lordship of Carlow remained more or less constant (£341–£349), despite a significant degree of variation in the value of its constituent parts (p. 79). This might be explained away by the fact that the values listed in extents represent hypothetical rental values (and therefore might be artificially stabilised), but Murphy uses accounts rendered at the lordship's exchequer to show that its profits corresponded loosely to its extent valuation (pp. 80–1). Throughout the article documentary analysis is combined with archaeology to produce a clear profile of the liberty and its economic centres, which, Murphy shows, not only paid cash directly to Bigod's wardrober (in charge of the earl's personal finance office), but also helped to fund King Edward I's Welsh campaign of 1282. This, like Bhreathnach's contribution, is a preliminary study, and merely provides a foretaste of the feast to come. It is hoped that a full scholarly edition affords Murphy the opportunity to analyse the lordship's economy in even greater depth.

Reading Connie Kelleher's profile of native Irish lordship in 'The Gaelic O'Driscoll lords of Baltimore, Co. Cork: settlement, economy and conflict in a maritime cultural landscape', one might be forgiven for forgetting that the O'Driscolls and the Bigods operated less than 150 miles from each other. The difference in the character of their lordships is down to more than a difference in the evidentiary base that they left behind (which is great), and reflects their maritime and land-based socio-economic orientations. Without recourse to detailed financial records for her medieval subjects, Kelleher is forced to be especially innovative in her approach. She blends scant documentary evidence with archaeology and geography to piece together an overview of a sea-facing lordship on Ireland's Atlantic littoral. In particular, she adopts the methodological approach to this 'maritime cultural landscape' advocated by Colin Breen in GSIHS's previous publication, *Gaelic Ireland* (2001). This highlights the vital role played by GSIHS in the fostering and advancement of innovative approaches to Ireland's history. Consequently, the landscape and archaeology

of West Carbury are interpreted with reference to the sea, which results in an image of a sea-based economy and society, only reinforced by financial examples from the scant documentary record. What records exist are primarily early modern in provenance (with a 1609 inquisition being particularly useful), but, when combined with archaeological and geographical evidence, they reinforce the impression of a medieval Gaelic maritime lordship perched on Europe's western fringe.

The final article profiled, John Malcolm's 'Castles and landscapes in Uí Fhiachrach Muaidhe, c.1235–c.1400', investigates the process by which English colonial lords replaced their Gaelic predecessors in a north-Connacht sub-kingdom. Malcolm first utilises Gaelic literary sources contained within the book of Lecan to identify the placement of pre-existing Gaelic fortifications within the kingdom (the accuracy of which he has checked in his NUI Galway M.Litt. on the same topic). This list is matched against known English castles to determine which castles were built on pre-existing centres of Gaelic lordship, and which were on 'green field' sites. Through an analysis of landscape and archaeological evidence, Malcolm concludes that those castles that replaced Gaelic fortifications did so to represent physically the new lords' supplanting of the old social order in the region. By contrast, 'green field' castles were located to achieve maximum economic benefit from the surrounding lands. Malcolm is at home with his subject, distilling a mountain of research into an approachable article. What is more, he draws from English historiography to view the deer parks, fish ponds and orchards found at many of the colonial castles within the framework of 'elite landscapes' profiled by some English historians. The primary function of these aristocratic amenities might be more open to debate than Malcolm allows, but his work stands as a useful contribution to that debate.

This book is entitled 'Lordship in Medieval Ireland', and the articles within are ostensibly framed in terms of 'lordship' (Latin: *dominium*; French: *seigneurie*; German: *Herrschaft*; Irish: *tighearnas*). However, 'lordship' carries considerable historiographical baggage, and, as a result, the volume is likely to attract criticism for its lack of critical engagement with the term. However, once one has got past the lack of references to Max Weber, Marc Bloch, Rees Davies or Thomas Bisson, one will realise that the use of 'lordship' at least signals an intention to contribute to the broader European debate over the structure of medieval society. In this aim, the book is very successful.

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Mark Doyle, *Fighting like the Devil for the Sake of God: Protestants, Catholics and the Origins of Violence in Victorian Belfast* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009, 296 pp., £18.99 paperback)

The origins of violence and social disorder in nineteenth-century Belfast have not gone unexplored. A succession of scholars including Sybil Baker, A. T. Q.

Stewart, Frank Wright, Ian Budge and Cornelius O'Leary, D. W. Miller, Sean Farrell and, most recently, Catherine Hirst, have addressed the question of why and how sectarian conflict became ingrained into the fabric of the town's social existence long before the self-sustaining violence of 'the Troubles' took hold after 1969. Other industrialising towns of the nineteenth century, including Manchester, Liverpool and Glasgow experienced similar tensions and outbursts of conflict in the same period. Mark Doyle's imaginative and well-researched attempt to explain the 'peculiar embeddedness' of Belfast's violence adds another layer of scholarly understanding to this question.

While Doyle writes in general terms about the experience of 'Victorian Belfast', in truth the bulk of his research focuses on the much narrower but formative period from 1850 to 1865. This is justified as it was the period in which Belfast underwent its most rapid phase of industrialisation. The town's population grew by 40 per cent from 1851 to 1861 and by another 43 per cent over the next decade. The proportion of Catholics doubled from 16 per cent in 1808 to over a third in 1834 (remaining at that level for the rest of the century) but the governance structure in the town continued to reflect the dominance of a small portion of the Protestant bourgeoisie. What is more, during this population boom, both Catholic and Protestant immigrants usually came from areas where sectarian conflict was common, such as rural Armagh, transporting habits and patterns of violence into a crowded and poor urban environment.

Doyle is not the first scholar to point out that the evangelical revival of the mid-nineteenth century encouraged confrontational practices such as marching, parading and open-air preaching which were sometimes the spark for days of protracted rioting. His chapter on 'Evangelicalism and anti-Catholicism' recounts a familiar cast of 'archetypal' anti-Catholic Protestant clergy bogeymen such as Rev. Thomas Drew and Rev. Henry Cooke – without, it has to be said, doing full justice to the complexity of intra-Protestant tensions and divisions. He is subtle on class structures, utilising the work of Henry Patterson, for example, which shows a strong independent streak within the Belfast Protestant working class. Perhaps understandably though, given the broad scope of the book, the discussion of Protestant religious movements is a little less sophisticated. For example, Belfast's small but influential Unitarian community (which was explicitly anti-evangelical and often attacked by evangelicals) is mistakenly designated as representing a form of bourgeois 'moral evangelicalism' as opposed to the 'political evangelicalism' which was supposed to mobilise the Protestant working classes against the Catholic threat (pp. 16–17). While Doyle mines an impressive range of archives and contemporary newspapers, he also leaves little room to explore the plurality and variety of opinion within the town. Quotes are periodically inserted from the *Northern Whig*, *Banner of Ulster*, or *Vindicator* with little explanation of where those newspapers stood on the political or confessional spectrum.

Historians normally see the evangelical revival as coinciding with the 'devotional revolution' which took place within the Catholic Church in the same period, characterised by the Ultramontanism of Cardinal Paul Cullen. Having

laid so much responsibility at the door of fiery evangelical controversialists, however, Doyle takes an unusual turn in his discussion of Belfast Catholicism during the same period. In his view, the local Catholic hierarchy of the 1830s and 1840s, under Bishop Cornelius Denvir, was too 'timorous' in the face of Protestant aggression, allowing the Church to 'atrophy' and leaving it open to the oncoming Protestant onslaught (p. 52). Denvir was an impeccably anti-sectarian figure whose aim was to avoid confrontation with the Protestant churches. He was also a supporter of mixed education, and boasted an extremely good relationship with Ulster liberals, particularly Belfast's Unitarian elite. Is it a coincidence that his pre-eminence coincided with a calmer period in the town's social relations? Doyle's argument seems a little lop-sided here: increasingly sectarian Protestant parsons become the scourge of Belfast by going on the offensive from the 1850s; increasingly sectarian Catholic priests come too late in the day to save the situation from indecisive liberal leaders.

Doyle is at his best when he adopts a 'level of analysis that brings us down from the lofty heights of theoretical antagonisms and into the narrow, grimy neighbourhoods of the city itself' (pp. 1–3). He follows George Rudé and Iver Bernstein stressing the importance of the 'character' of violence itself and the two chapters which outline the origins, development, and pattern of the major riots of 1857 and 1864 are truly excellent. Within the social structure of both communities emerged a class of vigilantes, Catholic navvies and Protestant ship-carpenters, respectively, who took it upon themselves to act as the self-appointed defenders of their co-religionists. This sort of vanguardism bequeathed a 'collective memory' and folklore which was immortalised in popular culture. So, when tensions rose again in 1872 and 1886, established patterns and 'rituals' of violence were already in place and conditioned behaviour.

Another of the book's strengths is that it does not follow the obvious contours of Irish historiography, and avoids some of the familiar traps of determinism and fatalism. For example, Doyle dips into an eclectic range of scholarship on religious or communal conflict in other regions, such as the work of Ashutosh Varshney, who has written about Hindu-Muslim violence in India (p. 11). In experimenting with a number of different methodological approaches at once, however, Doyle leaves himself a little thin on evidence when making his more ambitious claims. This becomes clear when he moves from the forensic examination of primary resources to make an original but more speculative argument about why Belfast's experience was different from that of Glasgow – a town which also experienced rapid industrialisation and Irish Catholic immigration, and had a strong evangelical movement. His explanation that the contrasts between Belfast and Glasgow 'were differences in each city's experience of imperialism' is a bold one, but fails to convince. Whereas Glasgow had a confident sense of self as an 'imperial metropole' (p. 194), Belfast is painted as a 'colonial outpost' (p. 194) and the Belfast middle class described an 'embattled settler class in a hostile land' (p. 206). This is simplistic. The Belfast middle classes were self-confident participants (almost to the point of delusion) in the formative 'nation-building' episodes in nineteenth-century

Britain – such as war, parliamentary reform and social, economic and scientific advancement – and recent work by Gerald Hall, among others, has created a compelling picture of a resilient liberal political class in Ulster, which maintained a prominent voice and an influential presence in the press, cultural and political worlds. Visiting Belfast in 1842, William Makepeace Thackeray estimated (in the *Irish sketch-book*, 1843) that there were ‘some nine shades of politico-religious differences’, with a journal or newspaper to represent almost every one. Anyone ‘pretending to impartiality’, he reflected, ‘must necessarily displease eight parties’.

What really made Belfast different from Glasgow was the unresolved Irish national question. This, rather than anomalous colonial structures, is what infused Belfast sectarianism with urgency and invested it with political significance. As Doyle himself notes, early attempts to create a pan-Protestant political movement in defence of the Union were crafted in response to the ‘O’Connellite strategy’ (p. 26) of Catholic mobilisation. It is no coincidence that Belfast’s most serious and deadly bout of rioting came at the height of the Home Rule crisis in 1886.

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Bryce Evans, *Sean Lemass: Democratic Dictator* (Cork: The Collins Press, 2011, 328 pp., €14.39 paperback)

This is an excellent study of the life and career of former Taoiseach Seán Lemass. Evans has used a variety of state and personal papers that have been released over the past few years to piece together a much more critical perspective of Lemass’s time in power. He challenges the conventional wisdom advanced by many historians that Lemass was the architect of modern Ireland. Evans paints an image of the real Lemass being subsumed by a myth developed by successive Fianna Fáil leaders of a technocratic moderniser. This legacy of economic prosperity in tandem with a more enlightened society fitted the narrative that political elites wanted to put on the Celtic Tiger era in Ireland. As Evans points out, Lemass’s image has been enhanced largely due to the performance of his predecessor and successors as Taoiseach (p. 2). This abuse of the Lemass legend raises questions about just how much of our current thinking on Lemass is viewed through this prism. In highlighting these issues early on Evans clearly is attempting to break the mould on how we currently perceive the Lemass era. It is with this purpose of challenging the prevailing consensus on Lemass that the rest of the book has to be viewed.

His opening chapters deal with Lemass’s role during the 1916 Easter Rising and War of Independence. Evans seeks to create a new narrative of how we should view Lemass’s role in fighting during the rising. He disputes accounts set out by Garvin that Lemass was a fearless warrior in taking on the British; instead with a clever use of Lemass’s own account of events he paints a picture of a man with a relatively minor role in the fighting. Evans goes further, dis-

missing claims that Lemass was a member of Michael Collins's squad that took part in the assassinations of British agents on Bloody Sunday 1920, calling the evidence 'dubious' (p. 15). This is a genuine departure from the Garvin/Horgan narrative on Lemass's early years and by the end of the first chapter the reader is left with some interesting new insights on his formative years.

In his examination of Lemass's time as a government minister Evans really develops his 'democratic dictator' theme. He cites examples of Lemass drawing up plans to force people living in Gaeltacht areas into labour camps and using the army to break a Dublin transport strike in 1935 (pp. 100–1) as indicative of Lemass's predilection for control over industrial development. He sums up Lemass's time at Industry and Commerce as a period of 'marked expansion of state ownership and ministerial prerogative' (p. 103). While Evans details brilliantly the rivalry with Sean McEntee during this period this is at times interrupted by references to minor issues such as the work on what Evans calls Lemass's 'ministerial palace' on Kildare Street (p. 114). Such references, while intended to emphasise Evans's desire to convey power, really distract the reader from the overall power struggle at the cabinet table.

By the time the book gets to Lemass's becoming Taoiseach there is a more nuanced approach. Evans sets out the differences in style with Eamon de Valera noting the shorter cabinet meetings, lack of general debate and most notably the general hostility from some quarters of Fianna Fáil. He also details some major policy U-turns such as the embracing of free trade and, less well known, the appeasement of trades unions that he once viewed with suspicion. Again Evans departs from the predominant narrative that exists within the literature of a reforming Taoiseach instead arguing that the changes in Ireland at this time happened in many ways in spite of Lemass not because of him.

But Evans does examine the much-lauded impact of Lemass's Northern Ireland policy. Evans does note the gradual shift from de Valera's policy of non-recognition via seeking increased trade with the Unionist government and his adoption of terms such as Northern Ireland in speeches and government documents. Yet he gives very little detail as to why Lemass felt compelled to do this. He acknowledges that Lemass's approaches for more formal co-operation were primarily trade driven but Evans does not detail Lemass's wider motivations. What is evident from the archives is that within just two months of Lemass becoming Taoiseach, officials such as T. K. Whitaker were advising him that a more favourable attitude towards Northern Ireland would help in securing better trade terms with Britain (NAI DFA 313/31E). Thus Lemass's attempts to achieve formal co-operation with the Unionist government were part of a wider economic strategy. Further omissions are Evans's failure to mention Lemass's lack of consultation with the DEA and the results of his meeting with Terence O'Neill. This is surprising since Evans goes into much detail about other rivalries and policies.

Overall this is a welcome addition to the literature on Lemass. Evans has from the outset developed a new narrative that is present throughout the book, although the reader may not always be in agreement. He has shown that like

many political leaders Lemass is a complex character and should be viewed as such. This book is a refreshing change from what is currently written about Lemass. Evans has successfully created a new impression of Lemass in this study and it will certainly be a must-read for future researchers when examining this period in Irish history.

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Jane Fenlon (ed.), *Clanricard's Castle: Portumna House, Co. Galway* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, 180 pp., €40 hardback)

Portumna is one of the few houses in Ireland to have survived from the seventeenth century. Built as the seat of the Clanricard Burkes, it was commandeered during the Cromwellian interregnum for the then lord deputy. Owing to the vicissitudes of the family and the vagaries of inheritance, it then alternated between neglect and updating. Eventually it descended to the Lascelles, English peers married into the British royal family. From being a sad but atmospheric ruin, in recent years it has been re-roofed and restored, along with the surrounding gardens, by the Office of Public Works. Thanks to Jane Fenlon's scholarly enthusiasm, and with the support of the OPW, a collection of studies has been published. These explore the role, friendships and attitudes of the Clanricards in order to explain why such an innovative house was erected west of the Shannon.

As the builder, the fourth earl of Clanricard attracts the greatest attention. In the early seventeenth century, the Clanricard Burkes were unusual within the Irish peerage in their ability to maintain an impressive presence on both sides of the Irish Sea. As well as Portumna, they built a grand mansion in Kent (Somershill) and resided regularly in central London. This spread of interests, coupled with aesthetic innovations and public activism, make Portumna an attractive focus of investigation. If the fabrics in County Galway and Kent survive (at least in part), supporting documentation is frustratingly sparse. Who designed them remain matters for conjecture: an activity especially dear to architectural historians. Possible influences on the lay-out and design of Portumna generate much speculation. Clanricard, with friends and connections at the English court and a new, highly placed English wife, could consult fashionable builders such as Lord Salisbury and the Howards. Timothy Wilks delineates expertly the dense filigree that embedded Clanricard in courtly life and linked him with aristocratic trend-setters and aesthetic recusants. With equal assurance, Bernadette Cunningham elucidates the Irish background. During the sixteenth century, this branch of the Burkes became conspicuous agents of anglicised civility. Portumna reflected and furthered that ideology. Yet, the novelty of the scheme – a triple pile, the westerly setting, and its functions as administrative headquarters of the lord presidency of Connacht and as the Burkes' seat distinguished it from contemporary buildings in Ireland and England. Other essayists – Mark Girouard, Jane Fenlon, Michael McCarthy



and Andor Gomme – offer a long list of houses, mostly in England, Wales or Scotland, which have features in common with Portumna. One, Aston Hall outside Birmingham, has a chapter of its own by Martin Ellis. This is justified by Aston being contemporary with Portumna and also open to the public, rather than by any striking congruence in plan, decoration or known uses. Michael McCarthy in a trenchant (and sadly posthumous) contribution argues against the assumption that everything in Ireland had to be filtered through England and makes the case for derivation directly from renaissance Italy and France. There is indeed agreement among the contributors that the designs for both Somerhill and Portumna owed much to Serlio and Palladio, whether their illustrated publications or their constructed buildings. How much Clanricard was helped by practitioners of continental classicism in England, notably the Smythson dynasty, John Thorpe and Inigo Jones, can only be guessed. There is an aptness about the fifth earl being accommodated during the mid-seventeenth century in Jones's Covent Garden piazza. It is in keeping with the apparent ease with which the fourth earl and his wife straddled various cultural worlds. Stays in Portumna were enlivened with an Irish harper, sent from England by Robert Cecil, to soothe the pregnant countess. The Earl, greeting Henrietta Maria on her disembarkation from France and en route to nuptials with Charles I, was accompanied by a kinsman with the resonantly Irish name of Bryan O'Flaherty.

One chapter by Donald Murphy and Victoria Ginn details the archaeological discoveries, most of which belong to later phases of occupation. However, fragments of terracotta tiling, fired nearby, raise the possibility of external and internal decoration of the kind favoured earlier by Cardinal Wolsey. Archaeology has also assisted in reconstructing the gardens, as investigated by Paula Henderson. Paul McMahon reflects on the practical and methodological problems in restoring a ruin for public exhibition. Surprisingly, there is no separate account of the fifth earl and first marquess, a prominent actor in the wars of the 1640s and their aftermath, when Portumna served as his headquarters. It may be that, notwithstanding his prominence (briefly viceroy), his and Henry Cromwell's uses of the castle have left few documentary traces. Even so, the fifth earl's position and activities seem to continue many of the themes uncovered in the account of his father. These essays, even when somewhat tenuously linked to Portumna, provide numerous insights into – as well as raising many puzzles about – the cultural life of early seventeenth-century Ireland.

Toby Barnard Hertford College, Oxford

Hugh Gault, *The Quirky Dr Fay: A Remarkable Life* (Gretton Books, Cambridge, 2011, 244 pp., £11.99 paperback)

Historians and economists can't be a very interesting lot – economic historians perhaps least of all. Few memoirs or even biographies exist, if one excludes the giants of the profession. Yet every two-bit poet and novelist has had his or her

life, travels, relationships and neuroses raked over in detail. If like some, they manage to commit suicide into the bargain, they're made for life.

*The Quirky Dr Fay* is, therefore, an unusual animal, being a study of the life of Dr Charles Ryle Fay (1884–1961), a leading economic historian from the interwar period in Britain, whose first book, *Co-operation at home and abroad* had appeared as early as 1908. Co-operative enterprise, which was one of his life-time passions, Fay saw as a 'protest against capitalism'. Though highly critical of unrestrained capitalism, Fay was no socialist revolutionary. But he had an instinctive sympathy for working-class movements and extolled the virtue of social enterprises such as co-operatives. He also strongly supported women's rights and the creation of a welfare state, which certainly set him apart from many of his stuffer colleagues at the University of Cambridge.

Fay was hugely versatile and prolific, producing some twenty books and innumerable articles and book reviews during the course of his career. A shortage of paper during World War II may have slowed him down temporarily, and one can't help feeling this was for the good. Among his best-known works were *Life and labour in the nineteenth century*, which went through ten editions, those on English Economic History, mainly since 1700, and studies on Adam Smith, William Huskisson and Canadian economic development. In later years he extended his interest in co-operatives to India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

In methodological terms, his approach to history was a trifle old-fashioned, even for his times. He saw little benefit in the mathematical turn in economics, and unlike his arch-rival, J. H. Clapham, used statistics only sparingly. Instead he enlivened his narratives with imagery, personal observations and wit, thereby getting to the heart of the matter by another route. Some complained that his style was too discursive and the material ill-structured, though this was more true of later publications.

The Irish connections are significant. Sir Horace Plunkett, the father figure of Irish co-operative development, was an early inspiration, and Fay chaired the Plunkett Foundation in the 1930s and 1940s. Fay's grandfather had emigrated from Dublin to Manchester to find work on the railways, and, as if completing the circle, Fay the historian spent his retirement years in Ireland, living with his eldest son, Hugh. Hugh's daughter, Emily Boyle, went on to become the author of pioneering research on the history of the Irish linen industry.

Gault's biography brings out Fay's talent for friendship, despite or perhaps because of a somewhat eccentric side to his personality. This may have been enriched by at least three nervous breakdowns, possibly linked to his service as a machine gunner in the Great War. His friendship network included Alfred Marshall, John Maynard Keynes and Harold Innis at the University of Toronto.

For most readers, however, the biography is too heavily studded with the names (among many others) of now obscure masters and provosts at the University of Cambridge. What a small, intimate and interconnected world of intellectual minds, and sometimes-homosexual bodies, this was. More seriously, though, it is difficult to get a deep sense from this book of the overarching themes in Fay's scholarship and their theoretical interconnections. It is left

to the reader to infer the architecture of his ideas from a series of quotations from book reviews. *The Quirky Dr Fay* is, nonetheless, a valuable addition to biographies of past historians, written with style and affection. Perhaps the last words should be left to the larger-than-life, always idealistic Dr Fay: the qualities of the ‘complete historian’ should be derived from study, travel and participation in public affairs.

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Michael Goodbody, *The Goodbodys: Millers, Merchants and Manufacturers. The Story of an Irish Quaker Family, 1630–1950* (Dublin: Ashfield Press, 2011, 532 pp., €40 hardback)

The story of the Goodbodys in Ireland and to a lesser extent abroad is the subject matter of this finely produced volume printed on quality paper and with many illustrations, a number of which are in colour. The study is principally a family history, but it is also an economic history of the significant contribution of this family to innovation and economic development in Ireland, especially in the nineteenth century. It is also a local history of the contribution of the Goodbodys to the growth of Mountmellick, Clara, Tullamore and Limerick. Indeed the Quaker contribution to the growth of the Irish midland towns through the network of Friends in business who provided the economic discipline and capital essential for development is here for the first time elaborated on. The other necessary ingredient for enterprise was a belief in themselves, an ‘inner light’, that both in religion and in business they could succeed if they tried. Agency, a can-do attitude and equality for men and women was what mattered and not established hierarchy and fear. The fact that oaths were unacceptable to Quakers became in time an advantage because their promise to pay was unquestioned.

Michael Goodbody tells the story in twenty chapters from their arrival in Ireland after 1600 and the tribulations of the ‘younger’ John Goodbody after the 1660s due to his refusal to pay tithes to the established church. The story of the eighteenth century is largely covered in Chapter 4 with Chapters 5, 6 and 7 dealing with the family abroad, especially in California with its Gold Rush. The meaty economic history chapters follow with the family of Robert Goodbody in Mountmellick and his move to Clara and milling in 1825. Thereafter we have the story of his five surviving and remarkable sons who laid the basis of the family wealth, the last of whom died in 1893. The network of Quaker connections was incorporated and remarkably so with the marriage of Marcus Goodbody to Hannah Perry. The 1890s and up to the 1920s was good for the family in Ireland with the former James Perry house, Obelisk Park, Stillorgan, providing a family meeting place in Dublin. Clara had no less than nine fine Goodbody households and the Goodbodys employed some 1,500 between the mills, the jute factory, the tobacco factory (in Tullamore), the farms and domestic staff. Only four of the family were killed in the First World War and

what brought about ‘crumbling wealth’ was the changing economic conditions after the 1914–18 war and the growth of international competition in flour milling and tobacco. Despite the end of the cherished Union in 1922, change would have come anyway.

The book is dedicated to the many descendants of John Goodbody (died 1705) whose story begins in the traumatic period after Cromwell when the Quaker religion (among many new sects) was founded by George Fox. The family was to be found in Cavan in the 1630s. We do not know why, but one John Goodbody was probably a follower of William Edmundson and in 1659 the latter led a group of Quakers from Cavan to Queen’s County (Laois). Was it to get away from a less tolerant Anglican and Presbyterian group in the Ulster counties? Edmundson was a follower of James Nayler who had received a brutal punishment as a blasphemer following his riding into Bristol on a donkey in 1656. Edmundson, a Crowellian soldier, had moved from England to Lurgan with some followers in 1654. Perhaps the midlands had acquired a reputation for tolerance of these new sects. A hundred years later it would prove a fertile ground for the growth of Methodism.

Some 450 Goodbodys can trace their ancestry directly to John Goodbody and the author reckons that perhaps 5,000 people have borne this name in the last millennium of which there are only seventy in Ireland today – down from one hundred in 1914. While the once strict rules of marrying within the faith would in time lead to diminished numbers it was offset as far as the Goodbody name in Ireland is concerned by reason of the number of boys born greatly outnumbering the girls. Quakers were not given to the arts or other non-essential pastimes and instead preferred to work and on Sunday to ‘meet’ in a house and give testimony. Participation in sport would in time come to be acceptable as it developed in the late nineteenth century, but always it was business first. Michael Goodbody acknowledges that he has been greatly assisted by the Quaker insistence on careful record keeping within the meeting and the many publications of fruitful lives – a trend first begun by George Fox (d. 1691) with his *Book of Sufferings*. While not providing literary works for publication, fortunately the family of Robert Goodbody (1781–1860) has left the private thoughts diaries and memoirs, first of Robert, but also of Lydia Goodbody (1809–86), and the autobiographical notes of Harold (1880–1947). Some important business records have survived, but this is not the rich vein it ought to be because the principal businesses of the family in Ireland, milling and tobacco, were under severe pressure by the 1920s and records were lost. Only the jute and sack business in Clara survived up to the 1970s and was the subject of a short company history in 1965 (Margaret Stewart, *Goodbodys of Clara* (private circulation, 1965).

John Goodbody, the follower of Edmundson, is of particular interest to the Offaly readers of this journal, as he chose to farm and leased a corn mill at Ballyboy, King’s County (Offaly) about ten miles from Mountmellick. The mill was on the estate of William Petty. But his farming and milling was intermittent because he spent some seven years in Philipstown gaol (now Daingean and then

the county town and gaol) in the 1670s for his refusal to pay tithes to the local Protestant rector, Thomas Coffey. Coffey, who died in 1690 was both vicar of Fer Call and a justice of the peace (Memorial in Lynally graveyard). As such he must have been an iconic figure for later members of the family. The present line of Irish Goodbodys descends from John's eldest son, Joseph, who farmed 188 acres at Rosenallis, Mountmellick. By the 1780s several family members were in trade as wool merchants and tanners in Mountmellick. Connections had been established with families such as Pim and Manly who were later to be prominent in business in Tullamore. Mountmellick was by the early nineteenth century known as the 'Manchester of Ireland' and was the first town in the midlands to have a Bank of Ireland branch (1835). As with Clara a hundred years later, it had some nine separate Goodbody households living within or near the town. But such progress would soon falter and by the 1830s the family was already well on the move to new commercial centres in Dublin and Tullamore, as well as emigrating to America. Not all were Friends and the author has documented Goodbodys from the Mountmellick Catholic parish registers. Some of the Irish who had found employment in Mountmellick textiles would later comprise a significant proportion of the Irish in the textile town of Bradford.

Robert Goodbody of Mountmellick (died 1860) and his offspring form most of the remainder of this history because of his own success as a miller after he went to Clara in 1825 and because of the success of his five surviving sons. In his memoir he recalled his time at Ballitore school and the sufferings of the Goodbodys and others in the 1798 rebellion. His marriage to a Pim in 1807 meant substantial backing for him from a family commercially strong in the first half of the nineteenth century. Others of his siblings intermarried with the Bewley, Fennell and Eustace families. Soon after the death of his wife in 1824 Robert and his six sons moved to Clara where again a Pim connection led to his leasing the flour mills there and the formation of partnerships with mostly other Quaker businessmen. By 1837 he had bought out these interests and formed a new partnership with his sons Marcus and Jonathan and soon after Lewis. The town had known Quaker settlement a hundred years earlier with the Gee and Fuller families, but it was to Tullamore that Robert's family would go for the meeting house. Here he had family connections with the Manlys who were in malting and brewing and were a significant economic force in the town since the 1750s. Brewing, if not distilling, was acceptable to Friends. Robert also had a flour store in Tullamore in what was later Dunnes shoe shop in High Street, probably from the early 1830s.

The two remaining sons (Richard died in 1835 over Samuel Bewley's café in Dame Street, Dublin) were Robert James and Thomas Pim and both went into partnership in Tullamore, first with a shop about 1836–41 (acquired from cousin Manly) and both started a tobacco factory about 1848. This was a successful venture employing some 220 people in Tullamore until 1886 when a disastrous fire led to the enterprise being moved to Dublin with many Tullamore people moving with the firm to Greenville, Harold's Cross. The firm finally closed with a lot of money lost in 1929. By the 1850s and until

the 1880s the Goodbodys were the leading business people in Tullamore and continued as an important force alongside Egans and Williams from the 1890s until the shop in Bridge Street closed in 1929.

All five surviving sons of Robert married and between them had twenty-eight sons meaning that the firm had to shape up or it would go the way of most family firms in the third generation. The marriage of Marcus, the eldest of the five sons, to Hannah the favourite daughter and heiress of James Perry, did much to provide for his progeny. Jonathan, his brother, married Lydia Clibborn, whose diary provided much helpful material for the author. Her younger sister married another brother, Lewis. The fourth son, Pim, married another Quaker Elizabeth Robinson at Eustace Street, Dublin in 1845. One of their children was Alfred, one of the founding partners of Dublin law firm A. & L. Goodbody. The chapters on the success of these five brothers in business together with that on the Perrys and their money are the best in the book and a significant contribution to the history of 'leaders' in Irish business in the nineteenth century. While the Quakers are very much associated with relief works in the Famine years it was also a time when much money was made from the mills at Clara – just as later in the first and second world wars substantial profits accrued. There was an initial reluctance to supply the material for sandbags for the First World War, but pragmatism soon prevailed.

By the 1900s the Goodbodys virtually owned the town of Clara with the flour mills, the jute factory for making sacks begun in the 1860s and nine substantial houses, the last of which, Cork Hill, was erected in 1920. The family after many years attending Moate and Tullamore meeting houses had their Mulvany-designed Meeting House in Clara from 1867. Mulvany was patronised by James Perry and was to do much work for the Goodbody family, both in Tullamore and Clara. Clara town was lit by gas from 1859, again a progressive step and one which was accomplished there without forming a local authority. It was Robert James who, as the joint owner of the Tullamore tobacco factory, was active in securing gas lighting and a town council for Tullamore in 1860. The railway connections for Tullamore in 1854 and for Clara in 1859 (with one to Streamstown in 1863) helped to counter the disadvantages of not being near a port – at least for a time.

The Goodbody history has many other fascinating sidelights including the role of James Perry Goodbody in local government in King's County until 1920. It was he who had the first registered vehicle in the county in 1904 and the solicitor, Lewis Goodbody (partner of his cousin Alfred), was prominent in the Irish Automobile Club. Some of the family saw the benefit of investing in the new invention of Guglielmo Marconi and got the support of other Quaker associates. Others were involved in Wall Street stockbroking and, of course, law, the latter not considered by the family as being in the same league as share dealing. The stories of how the family coped in Dublin in April–May 1916 and in Clara in 1919–21 have much new material of interest to historians of this decade. Jim Goodbody, who was involved in the mills at Limerick, was one of thirty nominees to the new Senate – one of three Quakers nominated by Cosgrave.

The Goodbodys were unionists and believed that the link with Britain was best for their business. In this they were wrong as it was international competition in tobacco and flour milling that led to the loss of businesses here by the 1930s. The decline of family wealth through the loss of the tobacco factory and the Bannatyne mill in Limerick was severely felt. The 1920s and 1930s were times of change with the much respected Clara-based Perry dying in 1923 and Obelisk Park sold. The Goodbody houses at Clara were not destroyed by fire in the 1919–23 period because of the family's standing but, as with Emo and Gallen, Inchmore, the main house at Clara was sold to a religious order and so too was Obelisk Park. The capital of Lewis, the successful Tullamore-based solicitor, was much depleted with the Limerick mills sale. His house in Clara, Drayton Villa, was sold to the parish priest, following his death in 1933. Later on even the meeting house in Clara would pass to the local musical society. In Tullamore the older meeting house of the 1850s was sold in 1884 to the local lodge of Freemasons. Under the careful stewardship of Clara-based Harold Goodbody and his modernisation programme of the 1930s the jute factory gave much employment to Clara people. In this it had fulfilled one of its objectives of a hundred years earlier.

In conclusion it should be mentioned that Michael Goodbody has included many helpful genealogical tables of the different branches of the family and an appendix where all this information is pulled together for the convenience of the reader. *The Goodbodys* is much more than a scaffolding for a family tree and will be enjoyed and read with profit by economic and local historians for many years to come. It is the definitive account of a powerful family of tremendous importance to the midlands and at the same time a valuable window on Irish economic history. Now is the time to ensure that all the manuscript material for this remarkable family is included in a digitised archive for the benefit of all who wish to know how midland towns came to prosper in the nineteenth century and how a god-loving (not a god-fearing) family with their network of Friends became a household name in Ireland and also known abroad.

Michael Byrne Offaly Historical Society

Adrian Grant, *Irish Socialist Republicanism, 1909–36* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, 240 pp., €45 hardback)

Thomas J. Morrissey, *William O'Brien, 1881–1968* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007, 454 pp., €49.50 hardback)

The choice of subject of Thomas J. Morrissey's commendable study, a book-length biographical treatment, was long overdue given the general acknowledgement among historians of O'Brien's central and influential role in the trade union movement and labour politics in twentieth-century Ireland. Cork-born William O'Brien – neither a charismatic speaker nor a revolutionary agitator – never had the public presence of his erstwhile colleagues James Connolly and

Jim Larkin, but his impact on the organisational development and politics of the trade union movement was arguably just as important and more enduring. Unfortunately for O'Brien, his occasional difficulties with Connolly and, most especially, his bitter conflict with Larkin in the post-civil war period coloured later assessments, but the key factor responsible for his neglect by historians was probably the outwardly unexciting nature of his career as a trade union official: his role, for the most part, was that of an industrial relations negotiator, methodical administrator and backroom organiser – an *éminence grise* – and not as a street agitator or parliamentary leader. Desmond Greaves in his seminal study of O'Brien's Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) described him, somewhat exaggeratedly, as 'unable to inspire people' but possessed of 'complete reliability': he was 'very much the "phlegmatic" man, never excessively enthusiastic ... [who] recognised the difficulties and did not hope for too much' (p. 56). This function, as one would expect, generated resentment in some quarters and a sense of O'Brien as a calculating, manipulative figure, an impression that persists and is not entirely dispelled by Morrissey's biography. Emmet O'Connor, for example, has written recently of O'Brien that 'his cold dictatorial, managerial style and bitterness towards Larkin from 1923 made him the most vilified [Irish] labour leader of the twentieth century' (Greaves, *The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union: the formative years, 1909–1923, Volume I*, p. 56).

O'Brien's political activism began with his membership of the Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP) in Dublin at the close of the 1890s – his two older brothers were already members and close to Connolly – but it was in the trade union movement that he really made his mark. Intelligent, tough, shrewd and a gifted organiser, he was a founder of the ITGWU and later, following Larkin's departure to the US in 1914, its leading figure and general secretary for many years: his position within the ITGWU provided his power base throughout his career. He also played an important role during the 1913 lockout (he was president of the Irish Trade Union Congress that year) and was elected a Labour Party TD on three nonconsecutive occasions. His personal closeness to Connolly has been overstated at times – though they had a good collegial friendship – and O'Brien, judging by Morrissey's account, was not part of Connolly's inner circle in the period before the 1916 rising (p. 101). Indeed, O'Brien remained on the fringes of the military preparations and later reported that on the first day of the rising Connolly told him to 'go straight home and stay there' because he would be 'of greater service later on' (p. 103). Nonetheless, O'Brien was subsequently arrested and interned in Britain where he met and made friends with senior republicans such as Michael Collins and Eamon de Valera. Unfortunately, while the author recounts these details with clarity (and apposite quotations), this book does not subject O'Brien's political thought and actions to enough critical scrutiny. More analysis would have been welcome: it is often said, for example, that O'Brien was a pragmatist, but what does that mean? Where precisely did he lie on the political spectrum? It is evident that he moved from the social radicalism of his youth to a milder



but tough-minded labourist position, but this requires further exploration. Moreover, particularly in the later chapters, the author's heavy reliance on primary material – specifically on O'Brien's copious diaries – seems to have left little room for an outline of the wider context and mundane information is sometimes unnecessarily included. These caveats, however, should not detract from Morrissey's achievement in assembling a finely detailed and valuable study of a neglected figure.

In his discussion of labour politics in the late 1920s and 1930s, Morrissey highlights O'Brien's suspicion of 'socialist republicanism' as a political movement at that time, quoting his fellow Labour Party member and ally Cathal O'Shannon trenchantly denouncing the Republican Congress as 'only varnish for socialism and communism'. O'Shannon went on to remark acidly that the 'organisers of the Republican Congress called themselves worker republicans because if they called themselves real communists, they knew they would not get any support; and they thought the wage-earning class, and the people of the trades union movement, were such mugs that they would support them when they labelled themselves "Republican Congress")'. Morrissey, who is consistently sympathetic to the O'Brien perspective, comments that the 'truth of O'Shannon's words had been borne out in the January 1933 election' (p. 266) when Jim Larkin ran as a communist and received a poor vote. It is this socialist republican strand that is the subject of the second book under review.

Socialist republicanism ('social republicanism' is the term favoured by some historians) and left-republicanism are far from neglected topics in Irish historiography, but the focus has been largely on James Connolly and the ISRP or on leftist IRA and ex-IRA activists in the late 1920s and early 1930s: Saor Éire and the Republican Congress have received considerable attention. Adrian Grant takes a wider, longer and more integrated view, locating the emergence of socialist republicanism as a political force (or 'mass movement') in 1909, with Larkin and the ITGWU credited as its midwives; Connolly and the earlier ISRP (which collapsed in 1904) are discussed but seen as important in terms of ideas rather than for organisational reasons. Novel features of the book include the emphasis placed on the period between 1909 and the early 1920s and the suggested ideological continuities with the later era. Moreover, unlike most previous studies, Grant assesses socialist republicanism as a by-product not primarily of the Irish republican movement – he is critical of the tendency 'to concentrate on the IRA as the primary mover of socialist republicanism' (p. 16) – but of the labour movement, and the role of communists after 1917 is accentuated.

The author is surefooted in his depiction of social radicalism and the labour movement during the revolutionary period, though there is a touch of hyperbole in his suggestion that the IRA 'was left in a fairly irrelevant position' following its defeat in the civil war (p. 150); in fact, despite its temporary disarray, the IRA remained a formidable feature on the Irish political landscape up to the mid-1930s, a reality recognised by socialist republicans and communists in their strategic orientations. In general, Grant maps the terrain of socialist

republicanism effectively and illuminates the links between left-republicans, communists and labour activists, suggesting that strategic differences provided the main impediments to unity and closer collaboration between the various strands of the movement. The conclusion has a rushed, slightly disjointed feel and it is difficult at moments to follow what is being argued (the use of colloquialisms is not always wise), but overall this is a stimulating and important study that takes a fresh approach to working-class politics in early twentieth-century Ireland. It adds to our understanding of political life at that time.

Fintan Lane

Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue (eds), *The Irish Lord Lieutenancy c.1541–1922* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2012, 244 pp., €50.00 hardback)

‘The Lord Lieutenant should be a discreet man who will do no harm: but he need not be a man who shall think he may of and by himself do good. The thing is impossible’. Thus the second Earl de Grey, Irish Lord Lieutenant 1841–44, summed up his frustrations over the lack of power or even defined function the role had by the mid-nineteenth century. Nor, as this book shows, did the role have any specific or permanent function in previous centuries. Between 1541 and 1660, not only did the purpose of the role change many times, but even the name of the role was unsettled: no more than nine out of eighty appointments to the chief governorship of Ireland during this period also included the title ‘Lord Lieutenant’. Perhaps this is why historians seem never to have got to grips with the Lord Lieutenant’s role. Joseph Robins, who wrote the only previous survey on the subject, chose to focus more on a narrative of the lives of the officeholders and on the ‘conspicuous consumption of the Dublin Castle court’ (p. 5) than on its function. The study of the political, economic or social development of the position itself has been neglected by scholars, in part because of the difficulties involved in studying such a diverse subject with a wide-ranging chronology.

Peter Gray and Olwen Purdue, both members of the School of History and Anthropology at Queen’s University, Belfast, have therefore produced a substantial achievement in presenting an excellent collection of essays investigating the role of the Lord Lieutenant from a thematic standpoint. With contributions from academics drawn from both British and Irish universities, this book is the ultimate published outcome of the ‘Irish Lord Lieutenancy c.1541–1922’ conference organised by the Royal Irish Academy Committee for Historical Sciences and held at Dublin Castle in September 2009. The contributors to this volume have sought to approach the study of the Lord Lieutenancy in terms of its political, cultural and philanthropic role in Ireland from Henry VIII’s assumption of the Irish ‘crown’ in 1541 to the abolition of the role during the partition of Ireland in 1922. In short, these informative and elegantly written contributions have done much to answer the question Theo Hoppen poses later in the book: ‘what was the lord lieutenancy for?’

Ciaran Brady provides the first chapter on the Irish Chief Governors of 1541–1641, arguing although their role possessed extensive prerogative powers over political, judicial, and military policy in Ireland, it did not gain full viceregal status until after this period. However, his claim that the early governors took a colonial stance to ruling Ireland needs further constitutional evidence to support it. The next two chapters, by Charles Ivar McGrath and James Kelly, explore the development of the position of Irish Chief Governor into Irish Lord Lieutenant over the 1660–1714 period and the rest of the eighteenth century respectively. Kelly provides an interesting chapter on the evolution of the role from being held by non-residential grantees in the early eighteenth century to being held, from Lord Townshend's appointment in 1767, by active and resident politicians, with increased power over the Irish administration. Toby Barnard then follows this up with a chapter about the role of eighteenth-century viceroys in promoting Irish cultural life, suggesting that whilst residency after 1767 increased the influence of the Irish court, eighteenth-century viceroys never dominated the cultural scene of Dublin, let alone Ireland. Gillian O'Brien brings the pre-Union section of the book to a close on a dramatic note with a chapter on the impact of the political and social turmoil of 1790s on the Lord Lieutenant's role in Ireland.

The last five chapters address the development and eventual extinction of the role of the Lord Lieutenant under the Union. K. Theodore Hoppen starts with an overview of the developments during the period, combating many misconceptions prevalent in the historiography. Most notably, he notes usefully that conflict between viceroys and chief secretaries over policy and debates about the abolition of the role of Lord Lieutenant are not unique to the 1840s (pp. 143–4). Gray then convincingly charts the development of 'a popular lord lieutenancy' (p. 174) under Whig viceroys between 1835 and 1847. One point this chapter could have expanded on was the relationship of the Conservative viceroys of 1841–46 to this concept of 'popular lord lieutenancy during this period'. The revival of Irish court life under the Countess de Grey, culminating in Dublin's largest levee since George IV's in 1821, and the debates in Peel's government over how to increase Dublin Castle's popularity in the face of the Repeal agitation, suggest that it was not simply the Whigs who tried to cultivate this idea of 'a popular lord lieutenancy'. The next two chapters by James Loughlin and Patrick Maume then chart the fate of this idea of a popular lord lieutenancy after the Irish famine. Loughlin argues that viceroys from Lord Carlisle in the 1850s to the constructive unionist Lord Cadogan in the 1890s attempted to cultivate the idea of a 'welfare viceroyalty' in Ireland, echoing the development of a welfare monarchy in Britain. Maume then explores the rise of public hostility to any form of British connection to Ireland with the case study of the failure of welfare viceroyalty under Lord and Lady Aberdeen in the Edwardian period. The last chapter by Keith Jeffrey investigates the final years of the Lord Lieutenancy between the end of the First World War and the partition of Ireland, emphasising the resurrection of the military role of the Lord Lieutenant.

In spite of the extensive coverage of the subject, for readers of this journal there must be some disappointment in these chapters that the changing economic role of Lord Lieutenants, and their varying influences over fiscal and trade policy have been neglected. Although this book does investigate the 'philanthropic aspects of the office', particularly in chapters by Barnard, Gray, Loughlin and Maume, the influence of Lord Lieutenants over economic policy is omitted. A discussion about how the Dublin Castle executive's declining power over economic and trade policy after the Act of Union contributed to the confusion over the Lord Lieutenant's role could have added extra value to Hoppen's chapter. Although the continued political conflicts between Lord Lieutenants and their chief secretaries are highlighted over the nineteenth century, conflicts between Lord Lieutenants and the cabinet in London over economic policy are left, on the whole, unexplored. Certainly, recent research on the conflicts between at least De Grey, Heytesbury, Clarendon and St Germans and their superiors in London can be framed in economic, rather than simply in political terms. Understandably, the view of not only Ireland's political needs but also its economic needs looked very different from Dublin Castle and Phoenix Park than it did from Downing Street or Whitehall.

Nevertheless, this should not distract from Gray and Purdue's overall accomplishment in bringing the very diverse and varied constitutional role of the Lord Lieutenant, in the long run, under historical analysis for the very first time. The broad scope of this book, on the political, social, and religious aspects of the Lord Lieutenancy will make this work an essential piece of reading for many different types of historians studying Ireland in the future.

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Gerald R. Hall, *Ulster Liberalism, 1778–1876* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011, 272 pp., €49.50 hardback)

This book is a valuable addition to the history of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ireland. It is particularly useful in that it sheds important new light on the history of Irish Liberalism, which has long been one of the more neglected political traditions in the history of political thought. The book is also extremely useful for its careful delineation of the attempts made by Ulster Liberals to carve out a political space for themselves which was outside both Nationalist and Unionist paradigms. Hall is also frequently acute about the difficulties which Ulster Liberals faced in achieving this objective, given the sectarian tensions which they were attempting to surmount.

By tracing some of the ideological differences that existed among Ulster Liberals, the author has also opened valuable new perspectives which might, perhaps, be applied with profit to the history of Irish Liberalism as a whole. The book's emphasis on the ideological dimensions of Ulster Liberalism also suggests that some previous interpretations of the Liberal party in Ireland which viewed it as being essentially a 'parasitic' organisation, the survival of which

was largely due to its long-term stranglehold over official patronage, may need some revision.

The weaknesses in this book tend, on the whole, to be the reverse side of its strengths. Thus, Hall tends to be far more sure-footed in his treatment of the Presbyterian Liberal tradition in Ulster than he is when dealing with its Catholic variety. Indeed, neither the Catholic nor the Church of Ireland Liberal tradition in Ulster is explored in any great detail here. Here, too, it might have been useful if the author had explored further the careers of such important figures within the Catholic Liberal tradition in Ulster as Charles Gavan Duffy and John O'Hagan. In this context, the 'Whig' tradition there, which was centred on a small group of moderate Liberal landowners, including the Dufferin and (up until the 1830s) the Downshire families, might also have repaid further attention.

The book could also have explored more fully the difficulties inherent in a situation where a party, which was so strongly dominated at the leadership level by Protestants, was so heavily reliant on Catholic votes for those electoral successes which it did achieve. In the light of this, the seemingly lopsided nature of the bargain between Presbyterian Liberals and their Catholic counterparts was always likely to create serious political difficulties for it in the long term. It might also be argued that an approach which presents the return of the strongly Conservative and allegedly corrupt John Boyd for Coleraine in 1842 as something of a success for Ulster Liberals is one that appears, at times, to be clutching at straws. It is, perhaps, unfortunate that the book does not engage with the arguments of some recent historians (such as John Bew, for example) who have pointed to the existence of a minority group of moderate liberally minded politicians within the Conservative party in Ulster.

At times, the book also adopts a rather narrow perspective. Although some useful parallels are drawn here between Ulster Liberals and their Scottish counterparts, it would have been useful if the author had explored further the relationship between them and their party colleagues in other parts of Britain. What, for example, was the character of the relationship between Ulster Liberals and radical Nonconformists in the North of England? What effect did the anti-Catholicism, which was such a marked feature of the latter tradition, play in determining the suspicions with which Catholic Liberals in Ulster viewed their (sometimes luke-warm) Presbyterian allies?

There are also some structural difficulties with the book which moves, without adequate explanation, between broad-brush explorations of Ulster Liberal ideology and (perhaps, occasionally over-detailed) local studies. These two approaches are not integrated together as effectively as they might have been. This also means that the ways in which the ideological basis of the party developed over time (as outlined, for example, in Jonathan Parry's excellent works on the party as a whole) are not made sufficiently clear here.

Nevertheless, this is an extremely important book, which makes a major contribution to our understanding of nineteenth-century Irish politics. Furthermore, by restoring the ideological dimension to the study of Ulster

Liberalism, the book also serves to broaden the debate on the history of nineteenth-century Ireland as a whole.

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John M. Hearne (ed.), *Glassmaking in Ireland from the Medieval to the Contemporary* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011, 272 pp., €35.00 hardback)

This collection of essays examines the history of the Irish glass industry, an area sometimes overlooked when examining past Irish economies. It builds on previous groundwork laid out in the revised edition of M. S. D. Westropp's *Irish glass* (1978), which was edited by Mary Boydell, an expert on the history of glassmaking in Ireland. *Glassmaking in Ireland from the medieval to the contemporary* is dedicated to her memory. It consists of fourteen papers covering a diverse range of topics from medieval stained glass windows to the famous Waterford glass. The book promises a multidisciplinary approach, and this is certainly reflected in its wide range of contributors; however, the main focus of this collection of papers is historical. It was edited by John M. Hearne, a researcher and lecturer of history and economics. In the opening paper 'Irish glassmaking in its wider context', Hugh Willnott effectively lays the background knowledge necessary for the following papers by detailing the origins and rise of the Irish glass industry, as well as demonstrating how the industry fitted into the broader context of Britain and Europe. He uses a combination of historical sources and archaeological knowledge to effectively provide a basic knowledge which is built on by many of the subsequent papers. A mixture of archaeological and documentary sources are used throughout the various papers, no more so than in Franc Myles's examination of flint glass at a glasshouse at Smithfield in Dublin. More often than not, the archaeological sources are used to complement the historical knowledge.

A comprehensive look at seventeenth-century glassmaking is taken in Jean Farrelly's and Nessa Roche's complementary papers. The former looks at the history and location of glassworks, the glassmaking process, the types of glass produced and the cost of production, materials and labour. Roche's paper looks at the development of Irish flat glass. This focuses largely on the evolution of a market for glass in Ireland, examining the motivations of aspiring glass entrepreneurs and their difficulty in finding a place in a niche previously filled by English competitors. There is somewhat of an overlap in the information being given, not just by these two papers, but the collection as a whole. This seems relatively inevitable in a volume with so many contributors and it does give the added advantage of being able to choose a particular area of interest from among the papers without necessarily having to read through the papers that preceded it.

Other papers focus on glassmaking and glassworks in particular areas. These include John Cockerill's account of glassmaking in the north of Ireland from

the late seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries as well as Colin Rynne's look at the Cork City glassworks from 1782 to 1841. Cockerill lists nineteen glassmaking sites from between 1750 and 1914, the duration of glass production there and the type of glass they produced, while Rynne looks at the three documented glassworks from Cork. Recurring throughout these accounts is the emphasis on the production difficulties experienced by those who tried to break into these industries. Many of these ventures would turn out to be short-lived and problematic and this highlights the limits of the industry even in larger cities such as Belfast. These papers, as a whole, do an excellent job of recounting how economic conditions affected the glass industry. A bit more discussion or explanation on the reasons that these conditions existed would have been welcome for those without a detailed knowledge of Irish economic history, but this does not detract from the reading.

The history of the Waterford Glassworks from its opening in 1783 to closure in 1851 is examined by John M. Hearne. The economic history leading up to its opening is well laid out, showing how the Free Trade Act of 1780 and the exemption from import duty of coal used in the glass industry incentivised budding entrepreneurs. It also highlights the need that Irish glasshouses had for skilled workers from England. In the case of Waterford, it was John Hill, a highly capable glassmaker who had previously worked in the Stourbridge glass industry, who was acquired to oversee its success. The paper highlights how Waterford glass established itself as being at the forefront of Irish glass, having managed to survive years past the introduction of excise duties on glass in 1825 – a death knell for many of the glasshouses of the time. The revival of Waterford glassworks in the twentieth century, due to the innovation of two Czechoslovakian men, is examined in a later paper by Tina Hunt and Audrey Whitty.

Stained glass windows specifically are examined in two separate papers in this volume. The first by Josephine Moran looks at the problems associated with medieval stained glass in Ireland. Numerous issues such as poor survival of potash glass and destruction due to the religious wars of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries have contributed to the fact that fragmented remains and occasional collections are all that remain today. There is also a discussion on the importation of coloured glass and the creation of glass windows. In contrast, Nicola Gordon Bowe's paper examines the distinctive twentieth-century stained glass revival, with particularly focus on Harry Clarke.

Other papers include an interesting examination by Anna Moran of a nineteenth-century sketch of the Waterford Glassworks, an examination by Donnchadh Ó Ceallacháin of the Waterford Chandelier commissioned in 1786 for Dublin Castle and finally a look at the advent of the studio glass movement in Ireland from 1973 by Joseph McBrinn. Also included is a reprint of a paper written by Mary Boydell on the Pugh glasshouse in Dublin. Given the paucity of work carried out on this oftentimes overlooked industry in Ireland's economic history, a publication which adds such a rich diversity of contributions to the history of Irish glassmaking is very welcome. It will also undoubtedly

stimulate greater interest and research efforts into this fascinating portion of Irish history.

Sinead Middleton IT Sligo

James Kelly and Fiona Clark (eds), *Ireland and Medicine in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010, 227 pp., £55 hardback)

The history of medicine in eighteenth-century Ireland has received scant attention to date and this very welcome volume, edited by James Kelly and Fiona Clark, will no doubt help to focus the attention of researchers to the opportunities that exist for further study in that arena.

Mary Ann Lyons describes a physician's practice in the first part of the seventeenth century, highlighting the almost total absence of regulation of medical practice that existed in Ireland at that time. She compares the empiric, John Clavell's, and the Limerick physician, Thomas Arthur's, ability to practise medicine among the elite of Dublin, demonstrating that it was possible to practise medicine, almost with impunity. Arthur, realising the need to improve the regulation of medical practice, was involved in early unsuccessful attempts to found an Irish College of Physicians in the 1620s. As she notes, the aftermath of the English Civil War prompted a number of English physicians to come to Ireland, notably Abraham Yarner and William Petty, who with John Stearne finally established the College of Physicians in Dublin in 1654. The college's second charter in theory gave it the authority to police the practice of medicine in Dublin (and to a lesser extent the rest of the country), with the right to examine the apothecaries' shops in Dublin city. Despite these provisions, it would be nearly a hundred years before there was efficient regulation of the apothecaries' trade in Dublin. An essay on 'state intervention and institutional medicine' by Andrew Sneddon, continues the story of attempts to regulate Dublin medical practice and traces the early efforts of the College of Physicians in Dublin to have their charter confirmed and the genesis of the 1735 and 1761 Apothecaries' Acts. However, this essay does not highlight the uniqueness of the County Infirmaries Act in the European context, or the 1791 Apothecaries' Act, in the British context.

James Kelly explores the widespread use of domestic medicine, the initial recourse of most when they became ill, in both Britain and Ireland in the eighteenth century. Particularly for the poor and those living in remote areas, friends and family were a source of treatment and comfort. Kelly highlights the explosion of the commercial medical culture after the 1720s, which was, as he suggests, very dependent on advertising and thus on the newspapers, and consequently required a literate population, noting that easy availability of commercial products only increased self-medication. Remedies often handed down over the generations were common, and the medical-magical components of these recipes diminished during the eighteenth century. By the



end of the century, most literate households had one of a plethora of medical publications, written by practitioners in a manner that the average person could understand. As Kelly indicates, by the early nineteenth century, the over-riding use of domestic medicine had diminished due to the increased availability and greater skill of medical practitioners. Another feature of medicine in the early modern period was 'medicine by post', as described by Wendy Churchill, who provides an account of the correspondence between Bishop Mordecai Cary and his friend, the London physician, James Jurin. Although the correspondence between the two men relates to medical problems of Cary's wife, Katherine, the correspondence is undertaken by her husband, demonstrating another role for the patriarch of the house.

Toby Barnard highlights the contribution of medical practitioners to the general intellectual culture of eighteenth-century Ireland. He speculates that the scientific and analytical training that most physicians had acquired allowed them to conduct further observational and experimental studies beyond the borders of medicine. Medicine was one of the few disciplines which Catholics could pursue generally without interference, and he notes that twelve of the forty-nine physicians in Dublin, in 1760, were Catholics. He particularly highlights the interests of Charles Smith, against the backdrop of the small Medical Philosophical Society, as he pursued the county history studies, which were, however, rather tainted by the biased espousal of the achievements of Protestant settlers. Many of the medical practitioners in eighteenth-century Dublin were polymaths, notably those who taught in Trinity College, and this may have arisen in part from the lack of an inclusive academic medical society in the city for most of the century, in comparison with contemporary London or Edinburgh.

The impact of new rational scientific ideas, notably the laws of physics and mechanics, on the understanding of miracles is aptly described by Liam Chambers in his chapter on the life and writing of Bernard Connor. Chambers does hint that a need to gain acceptance in the medical and social arenas of London may have stimulated Connor to write his thesis *Evangelium Medici* (1697). Connor described three states of the human body and three laws of motion and attempted to place the aetiology of miracles within this, with the caveat that only God had the power to circumvent these laws. Although born a Catholic in Kerry, when he moved to London, he joined the Established Church. He wrote his thesis at a time when God's providential role in all worldly matters was being questioned and Connor realised that the thesis might be controversial given his attempts to explain the possibility of a miracle occurring within the concepts of mechanical philosophy. Chambers suggests Connor was representative of an early Irish intellectual enlightenment.

These chapters concentrate on Anglophone medicine. However, a hitherto under-researched aspect of eighteenth-century Irish medicine is that of practice in Gaelic Ireland. Charlie Dillon attempts to redress this, noting that the structure of the hereditary Gaelic medical families disintegrated after the Cromwellian conquests, leaving a dearth of practitioners. The impact of the

Penal Laws, necessitating Catholics who wished to acquire a medical education to go abroad, is highlighted in the excellent contribution provided by Lawrence Brockliss on the education of Irish graduate physicians in Europe. Reims was a popular location for Irishmen seeking a medical degree, and particularly for Catholics, as it was regarded as cheap and easy. However, many who graduated there had studied elsewhere, particularly in Paris. His comprehensive study notes the high number of non-graduate medical practitioners from Ireland who joined the army and navy during the Napoleonic wars, highlighting the fact that a medical education provided the tools to make a living and to move in wider social circles. The pitfalls awaiting Irish emigrants seeking to make their way, as in the case of Daniel O'Sullivan in Mexico, are described by Fiona Clark and demonstrate the need to acquire patronage, or at the very least, a minimal level of political support for anyone hoping to succeed in a new environment. Clark's essay also amply demonstrates how medical research and drug trials can be open to abuse from those seeking to make a name for themselves, or wishing to ingratiate themselves with the authorities, providing the example of the trial of 'Beato' therapy for syphilis patients in eighteenth-century Mexico.

This volume is a very welcome addition to the corpus of knowledge for those studying and researching the history of medicine in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland and certainly goes some of the way towards filling the void that has existed in that genre.

Susan Mullaney University College Cork

James Kelly and Ciarán Mac Murchaidh (eds), *Irish and English: Essays on the Irish Linguistic and Cultural Frontier, 1600–1900* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, 288 pp., €55 hardback)

Notions of the public sphere, derived from Jurgen Habermas's 1962 *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* have proved popular and profitable in academic circles, especially since it appeared in English translation as *The structural transformation of the public sphere: an inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (1989). It exerted a powerful influence in literary and cultural studies and led scholars to stretch the original concept to cover a broader range than Habermas initially proposed. The 1990s, in particular, witnessed a slew of books and dissertations with 'public sphere' in their titles or subtitles. Joep Leerssen's pamphlet *Hidden Ireland, public sphere* (Galway: Arlen House, 2002) argued that Irish developments could be fruitfully studied in the light of historical models elaborated for Britain and continental Europe, including the Habermasian model and contended that a cultural transfer occurred between 1780 and 1830 from Irish-speaking Ireland to urban academic and professional circles, and that between 1820 and 1850 the Catholic part of the population appropriated Ireland's public sphere. In 2008 James Kelly, one of this volume's editors, critiqued Leerssen's thesis in 'Regulating print: the state

and the control of print in eighteenth-century Ireland' in *Eighteenth-century Ireland* (2008).

One may seek to modify rather than to deny Leerssen's contention that 'pamphlets, papers and debates were by and for Protestants' (2002, p. 36), but it is improbable that their circulation was exclusive to the Protestant public sphere. Indeed, based on the coverage afforded current affairs in some Irish language texts, and on the contemporary political resonances in the corpus of political poetry identified by Ó Buachalla and Morley, it is apparent that Irish language authors not only accessed, but also engaged with Protestant print. The suggestion that the primarily manuscript and oral Irish/Catholic sphere was cut off from print must be qualified therefore, since it clearly engaged with both European Catholic and Irish Protestant print. Gaelic Ireland may possibly have lacked what Leerssen terms 'the joint continuum' that was diagnostic of a society, but quite whether it was 'fragmented into countless pockets of "private spheres"' (p. 36) because of the absence of organisations, church infrastructure and the other means required to permit 'truly public gatherings' remains to be demonstrated conclusively, and is unlikely to prove accurate.

This is no less crucial a matter requiring exploration than the extent of the politicisation implied by Morley, Ó Ciardha and Ó Buachalla derived from their pioneering re-reading of eighteenth-century Gaelic poetry. The suggestion they advance that the Irish speaking population at large was politicised certainly sits uncomfortably with Leerssen's conclusion that 'Gaelic Ireland was atomized into many separate small-scale communities without the wherewithal to form a society, without the joint continuum of a public sphere.' This is to draw too sharp a distinction between the anglophone and Irish speaking, literate and oral, and printed and manuscript spheres when analysing eighteenth-century Ireland. Arguably, this view is the most damaging legacy of Daniel Corkery's seminal study of the poetry of Munster. To conceive of Ireland's cultural worlds as hermetically sealed one from the other is plainly inconsistent with what is known of language use, which suggests that a growing proportion of the population was bilingual. It is similarly misleading to conceive of the Protestant public sphere as exclusively a print culture ... (*The hidden Ireland: a study of Gaelic Munster in the eighteenth century* (1924), pp. 151–2). *Irish and English*, an edited volume of ten essays and a substantial introduction is, for all intents and purposes, a series of responses to, and rebuttal of, Leerssen's 2002 thesis.

The editors set out the antithesis in their introduction. Namely, the relationship of Irish and English in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Ireland was more complex, contingent and intertwined than has been previously acknowledged. In offering a 'more dynamic interactive model' they hope finally to dispense with Daniel Corkery's image of 'the hidden Ireland'. This meticulously footnoted introduction is a valuable introduction to the period. Concise, readable and scholarly, it is difficult to think of a better article for students studying pre-famine language shift in the Irish context. In the opening chapter Marc Caball argues that Bedell's time in Venice provided him

with the cultural and linguistic skills as well as the capacity for interpretation and engagement required for his evangelical mission in Ireland. These skills are reflected in his anthropological sense of cultural discernment when he hired Muircheartach Ó Cionga. Similarly Deirdre Nic Mhathúna focuses on the transmission of ‘Mo thraochadh is mo shaoth léim ló thú’, an elegy by Piaras Feritéar, the seventeenth-century poet, and forces us to reconsider the apparently one-dimensional aspect of cultural production. In doing so, she reveals the occluded role played by David Murphy in facilitating Thomas Crofton Croker in ‘translating’ the text into English.

In the longest chapter, Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie trace the circulation of manuscripts, particularly scientific and historical texts, in the period 1625–1725. Here, the interaction of Roderic O’Flaherty and two generations of the Molyneux family proves that the ‘cultural frontiers were far more fluid than they might seem, and more difficult to grasp than they appear on the surface. Culture in this context is a process rather than a fixed entity’ (p. 62). In charting the sale, demand and marketing of manuscripts within Ireland and beyond, the authors paint a picture of Ireland that is fluid, overlapping and culturally integrated. Indeed as the authors note, the ‘constant movement of Irish manuscripts is an indicator of the permeability of the cultural boundaries that surrounded the Irish in Europe in these years’ (p. 78). The conclusion argues that the public sphere of historians writing in Irish in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was never a monoglot Irish one. Rather it was a multi-lingual public sphere that embraced manuscript and print in a variety of languages and for diverse audiences (p. 94).

Vincent Morely’s chapter adds to his burgeoning reputation as he traces the influence of Keating’s *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn* in shaping Irish notions of the past. In detailing the intense scribal interest in Keating in the period 1700–25, the remainder of the essay focuses on the decline of interest after this period and a corresponding increase in ‘Tuireamh na hÉireann’ (Irish Laments). Morley advances an argument that Irish literary culture underwent a process of popularisation in the early eighteenth century, involving a decline in interest in learned prose works and an increase in poetry/song which appealed to a wider section of the population. Liam Mac Mathúna examines how ‘code-switching’ became more widespread during the eighteenth century as native Irish society became more bilingual. In a skilled and perceptive analysis of *barántas* (warrant) poems, a much under-studied genre, and macaronic songs, he concludes that the dominance of the ascendancy public sphere is not in question, but the complex nature – and fragility – of this public sphere still awaits appropriately nuanced analysis (p. 140). The challenge, as Mac Mathúna sees it, is not to impose the ‘straitjacket of a continental-born and powerful explanatory theory on the particular Irish circumstances’ rather it is to ‘develop a conceptual framework which is responsive to the specific features of the Irish situation (p. 140). Charles Dillon takes Oirighialla, the culture of emerging sectarianism and Gaelic literary activity, as a case study to argue for linguistic fluctuation and interactive social networks. If the majority of

essays focus on literary culture, Ciarán Mac Murchaidh examines the Catholic Church's relationship with the Irish language in the eighteenth century and determines that this century was an intermediate period as that institution moved from predominantly monolingualism to bilingualism. Seeing Irish as a defence against the filthy foreign tide, Catholic authorities relied on continental colleges to train their clerics. Ultimately, language was but the medium; the flock would be saved as long as the message was delivered and enacted. The clergy, therefore, followed the lower-class Catholics and used English to provide essential social, educational and sacramental services. The final essay by Niall Ó Ciosáin, dovetails with Mac Murchaidh's essay and compares devotional publishing and reading in Irish and Scottish Gaelic to conclude that the strength, stability and homogeneity of Gaelic print culture is in stark contrast to Irish. The Irish Devotional revolution, he concludes, was an Anglicising and Romanising process while the evangelical zeal that occurred in Scotland was largely Gaelic-language mediated. The Irish Catholic Church never had a linguistic politics centred on devotional use of a non-official vernacular. James Kelly investigates the role of Irish among eighteenth-century Irish Protestants and outlines the decline in atavistic hostility so that by the late nineteenth century it was acceptable for Protestants to engage in linguistic study in a manner 'inconceivable to the generation after the Battle of the Boyne' (p. 217). Lesa Ní Mhunghaile touches on many of the points made in earlier essays before taking issue directly with Leerssen's modelling of Habermas and Anderson's *Imagined communities* (1991), declaring it 'untenable' (p. 224). Explaining now Habermas's 1962 'narrow model' of the public sphere has been replaced with 'competing publics,' 'alternative public spheres' and 'counterpublics' (p. 223), this essay is the most forthright interrogation of Leerssen's thesis and amounts to a point by point analysis and refutation.

Some readers may feel that dates in the subtitle are a little misleading: there is much feasting for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholar, but the pickings for post-famine scholars are much slimmer. The indexer's reluctance to cite sources mentioned in the footnotes which are particularly rich is somewhat irritating. Yet these are minor quibbles in what is a sturdy volume that adds greatly to our understanding of the cultural formation of Modern Ireland, a seminal period, poorly understood and understudied until now. At €55, this hardback volume is not inexpensive, but it is worth it for the quality of the scholarship on offer, bringing together some of the brightest and best young – and not so young – scholars working on Irish-language materials. Leerssen may emerge bruised from this encounter, but the fact remains that his 48-page pamphlet has generated a large and impressive volume of work that expands and deepens our knowledge of the period 1699–1900. For that we can be grateful to all concerned. Such are the risks scholars take when committing to print and from such clashes does academic advancement occur.

There is no doubt that this volume successfully challenges the initial thesis and replaces it with a richer, more complicated narrative. Yet the undeniable difficulty remains: the image of a fragmented Ireland of small pockets of private

spheres – no less than the original notion of ‘a hidden Ireland’ – is seductively simple and memorably manageable. Consequently, it appeals to undergraduates and lazy scholars unwilling to grapple with a narrative of bilingual Ireland requiring mastery of sources other than those in English. The ‘Hidden Ireland’ has been vanquished, again. But it lingers on the margins, ever ready to return for convenience and ease. Dispelling the myth is the first step. Replacing it is another. What is required is a metaphor or image for the multifarious, interconnected, nature of the cultural process so ably catalogued in these essays. With this wonderful book in hand, what we seek now, to paraphrase W. B. Yeats in ‘Ego Dominus Tuus’ (1919): ‘What we seek now is an image, not a book.’

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Michael Kennedy and Victor Lang (eds), *The Irish Defence Forces 1940–1949: The Chief of Staff's Reports* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2011, 855 pp., €75 hardback)

This large volume contains ten general reports by the Chief of Staff prepared for the Minister for Defence. The purpose of the reports was to describe the conditions of Ireland’s armed forces, to highlight improvements and identify problems to be addressed. The initial report was prompted by the threat of invasion after the fall of France in 1940 and the tenth one covered the year up to 31 March 1949. Nine of the ten reports were authored by Lieutenant General Dan McKenna, while the last was by Major General Liam Archer who became Chief of Staff in January 1949. All of the reports follow a similar style and format and include a short introduction followed by detailed data and discussion on matters such as recruitment, organisation, training, morale and discipline among many matters. Most of the detailed data is included in appendices collected at the end of the report.

Though marked secret and with a limited circulation, the reports are fairly general in content and rarely discuss wider issues in detail. The first report draws attention to the ‘deficiencies and difficulties’ that the armed forces faced in the summer of 1940. It notes that ‘far reaching decisions’ were taken in response to the crisis which led to rapid mobilisation to defend the state from possible invasion (p. 1). Here and in later reports one can detect the barely concealed frustration on the part of General McKenna at the lack of funding, armaments and personnel at his disposal. What is remarkable is the response to the crisis on the part of the population. In just five weeks over 24,000 men volunteered for duty to protect the state and between April 1940 and March 1941 this rose to 33,709 in total. Of these 25,020 were accepted for duty and 8,689 were rejected. Forty-four per cent were rejected on general medical grounds with a further 21 per cent because of defective vision. Married men were rejected on principle but of interest is that only twelve (0.1%) were rejected because of illiteracy. This rapid expansion in the size of the armed forces proved to be a major challenge in organisational and training terms for

the military. Subsequent reports detail how the new force was provided with armaments, clothing and housing and close attention was paid to the state of morale and discipline.

However, the early enthusiasm waned quickly and in subsequent years it became increasingly difficult to attract new recruits. By the end of 1941 all units were below strength and recruitment could not make up the losses due to wastage. The report for the period ending 31 March 1942 identified six reasons for the fall off in recruiting. These included financial considerations and the attraction of highly paid work in Britain. Married men were not accepted and there was ready employment in rural areas. It was also noted here and elsewhere that public opinion considered that 'there is no immediate danger of invasion' (p. 105). There was also considerable desertion throughout the Emergency period, sometimes to the British forces. More specifically it is noted that individuals who wanted excitement were more likely to join the British forces than stay in Ireland. The evidence from the reports suggests that army life had become routine if not boring by 1942 and the activities detailed include turf cutting and the burying of cattle during an outbreak of foot and mouth disease (p. 111). While the government and the armed forces insisted that Ireland was at risk of invasion throughout the Emergency (a view endorsed by the editors) the evidence from these reports and from other sources leads to the conclusion that these threats had largely dissipated by the spring of 1941 (though they had not completely disappeared).

While overall McKenna was positive about his new force he realistically concluded in 1941 that given the nature of the conflict the effectiveness of the force 'can really only be properly gauged in war itself, since in essence it is the fighting spirit of the Defence Forces, and the opportunity and need for its display do not fully arise in peace' (p. 69). Furthermore, air and marine defence was never adequate to the defence requirements of Ireland during this time. There is a serious question in respect of how prepared Ireland was for the threat of invasion. Theo Farrell has argued that the strategic assumptions promoted by the Irish army and the government were suicidal and took no account of the changed nature of warfare. Farrell has argued that a strategy based on guerrilla warfare rather than conventional battle would have been more successful and appropriate (*Journal of Strategic Studies*, 1998). McKenna conceded after the Emergency was over that 'We know now from experience that the small, poorly equipped Permanent Force with its ill trained and insufficient reserves was inadequate to the task it was called upon to perform at the outset of the emergency' (p. 439).

One of the regular appendices provides incidence of disease among the army. Gastro intestinal illnesses tended to be the most prominent and outbreaks of influenza were regular. There is also persistent mention of venereal disease and in the final report there is a short discussion on the increase in this disease and the reason for it. General Archer was of the opinion that incidents among the army were closely related to the spread of the disease among the general public and he attributed this to Irish workers returning from Britain with the

infection (pp. 91, 771). Data on offences among the forces is also provided. Most offences are petty. In 1942 80 per cent of soldiers who appeared before the civil authorities were charged with bicycle theft. The reason given for this was the increasing shortage of transport as petrol became unavailable (p. 155). The single most common reason for court martial was desertion, an issue that remained a concern to McKenna throughout the period. Crime was more widespread among the Construction Corps which organised urban youth under military discipline. The moral condition of these young men was deplored on a number of occasions and it was estimated that crime levels were seven times that of the regular forces. What is also revealed by these reports is that the standard of health of the recruits to the Corps was very poor indeed, a fact reinforced by the evidence that in one cohort 23 per cent were illiterate and a further 15 per cent semi-literate (pp. 237, 687). While the editors make a passing reference to the Corps, the reader would be unaware of how controversial this organisation was. There were frequent complaints about ill treatment of the young men who joined. Indeed many were coerced to join as unemployment benefit would be refused if they did not do so. Bryce Evans, in a (2007) paper in *Saothar*, has documented the unsavoury conditions that these young people lived in, including many allegations of sexual abuse.

The editors provide an introduction that is quite detailed and in the main even handed. In some respects it is too even handed as when they compare General Hugo McNeill's engagement with Nazi diplomats and spies with Irish military cooperation with the Allies. Eunan O'Halpin has described McNeill's actions as going against Irish policy and there is evidence for pro-Fascist sympathies on McNeill's part. Less even handed is the treatment of British policy towards Ireland. The editors do not appreciate the nature of the Churchill government and its political balance. Their reading suggests that Churchill was dominant in policy terms once he became Prime Minister and that his animosity towards Ireland dictated policy. This misreads the situation and fails to appreciate that Irish neutrality alienated even long term supporters of Ireland such as Clement Attlee and Ernest Bevin.

It is difficult to know who this book is aimed at. It follows the model adopted by the *Documents in Irish Foreign Policy* but given the nature of these documents this volume is neither as rich nor comprehensive as the *Documents* series. While some benefit can be obtained from a close and careful reading of this book, it is also a lost opportunity and one might ask why major policy documents in respect of strategy and the armed forces were not included.

Brian Girvin University of Glasgow

Gillian Kenny, *Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Women in Ireland c.1170–1540*  
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007, 218 pp., €55 hardback)

The study of medieval women has advanced considerably in recent years, and Gillian Kenny's book is another welcome addition to a growing corpus of



work. Across twelve thematic chapters, the book profiles the experience of first 'Anglo-Irish' and then Gaelic women living in Ireland between the English invasion and Protestant Reformation. Kenny is clearly in her element when disentangling complex issues of English inheritance litigation, and her study provides a foundation of knowledge for the practice in colonial Ireland. However, for all of the attention paid to land ownership – and a lot is – Kenny's women were not merely 'animated title deeds', but, for instance, occupied places of standing in urban guilds, within which they were allowed to rise to the level of master (pp. 19, 64).

One interesting point that arises from her study is the discrepancy between the economic and social opportunities open to women in the urban and rural districts of Ireland. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the sheer variety of possible professions within cities and towns afforded women a greater degree of socio-economic autonomy than was open to them in the comparatively rigid countryside world of farming and estate management. For instance, ale brewing was a popular career choice among women in medieval England and Anglo-Ireland (pp. 15, 65–6). The diversity of professions in an urban setting also required, and facilitated, greater educational opportunities for women of lower social standing (p. 39). Within Gaelic society, unmarried women could also find employment, though contemporary literary sources do not encourage the practice. Kenny finds references to female fortune-tellers and balladeers being met with derision in bardic poetry (though, it must be said, Gaelic poets could also deride lower grades of poets generally – so the issue might have also been skill and education). An early sixteenth-century Gaelic poem of 'hates' goes so far as to include 'a poet-band that includes a woman' amongst its list of grumbles (p. 36). As Kenny points out, the predominantly rural character of Gaelic society meant that this attitude might also be a manifestation of the town/countryside dichotomy.

These vivid examples of female employment (and its reception within society) lead to the larger point of the approachability of this text. Kenny has an eye for memorable cases in point. The book's structure also aids its digestibility. Chapters are short and subdivided. A point is made, and examples follow. Because of this, even potentially confusing issues such as dower, tails male, jointure, gavelkind and socage are made accessible. In addition, a glossary is provided at the back of the book. Moreover, undergraduates will be able to make full use of Kenny's footnotes for their own research, which open fields for further enquiry. The book's structure may frustrate those in search of advanced historical discourse across chapters of ponderous length, but the present arrangement is well suited to quick absorption by a wide readership.

In just under 200 pages of text, Kenny provides an accessible overview of just over 350 years of Irish history. As with all such studies, there are always going to be compromises. For instance, although Kenny's decision to view her topic over the long term has provided access to a large evidential base, a shorter period might have allowed for a more nuanced appreciation by her readers of small changes in women's experiences over time. As it stands, Kenny's book

runs the risk of being misinterpreted to suggest that women's positions within their respective societies remained relatively static for over 350 years. Just as importantly, a narrowing of the study's chronological bookends might have allowed for a slightly expanded geographical scope. From the English invasion until at least the mid-thirteenth century (if not later), it is best not to think in terms of an exclusively 'Anglo-Irish' aristocracy. This is not an argument about terminology (which point Kenny addresses in her preface), but rather a more fundamental one about how we deal with subjects who inhabited a transnational arena. An inclusive sampling from this early period might have allowed more literary texts to be analysed for 'Anglo-Irish' women. As it stands Kenny draws from two very different bodies of evidence for 'Anglo-Irish' and Gaelic women. The former are viewed, in the main, through English record sources, and the latter through Irish vernacular literature and Brehon law. It is worth asking whether what Kenny views as a greater independence for women in Gaelic, rather than 'Anglo-Irish', society has more to do with the nature of documentation than the social and economic realities of late medieval Ireland. Fergus Kelly (1988) has warned of exaggerated claims of female power in early Irish society, and has shown that a woman was always legally under the control of a man – her father, husband, son, kin, or the Church. One wonders whether later Gaelic women would have appeared so independent had contemporary judicial records survived for them.

The possible benefits of a looser definition of 'Anglo-Irish' women are clear from the case of Matilda de St Valery (d. 1210), wife of William de Briouze (and mother of the Margery de Lacy and Annora de Briouze mentioned on pp. 27, 151). Matilda's husband, William de Briouze, was a great magnate in England, Wales, Normandy and Ireland (where he held the honour of Limerick). Matilda was lauded for providing her husband counsel and overseeing his interests (including warfare) when he was away and she is said to have boasted about the size of *her* herd of cattle. King John himself afforded Matilda her own unique toponym 'of Hay' (from the Briouze manor on the Welsh border), and described how Matilda negotiated on her husband's behalf when John sought William's destruction in 1208. Negotiations were (ostensibly) over William's failure to pay an Irish debt, and their breakdown led to the Briouze family's flight as fugitives to Ireland. William was allowed to escape to France, yet Matilda was tracked down, imprisoned, and starved to death. Such vivid evidence might have been a useful addition to Kenny's section on 'powerful wives' (pp. 62–4). The foregoing speculation should not be taken as a slight on Kenny's work, but as an indication of the difficult decisions that have to be taken when framing such a study. Perhaps it can be used to build upon the solid foundation that Kenny has laid for the study of women in medieval Ireland.

Colin Veach University of Hull

Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (eds), *Cardinal Paul Cullen and His World* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011, 479 pp., €55 hardback)

This is a collection of twenty-seven essays, the output of a conference. The number and range of contributions signals, perhaps, not so much widespread interest in Cullen (1803–78) *per se*, as the breadth and depth of his presence in the general history of his time, not only in Ireland but at Rome and throughout the English-speaking world. He can be difficult to avoid, especially after his return to Ireland in 1850 as archbishop of Armagh; in 1852 he was translated to Dublin and in 1866 became the first Irish cardinal. The volume is associated with a project aimed at the publication of Cullen's massively extensive correspondence (including English translation of the large proportion of it composed in Italian). The need for this is underlined by the fact that, in this collection and elsewhere, scholars are tempted to rely on Peadar MacSuibhne's five-volume *Paul Cullen and his contemporaries*, an anthology published between 1961 and 1977. Colin Barr in his essay here points out that, as Tomás Ó Fiaich warned four decades ago, the highly partisan MacSuibhne, among his other eccentricities as a compiler, was 'in the habit of [silently] altering his material' (p. 422).

This is not a volume where the contributors have been required to attend closely to one another's drafts and modify their own work in response. Such coordination would have been feasible only with reduced numbers, and the editors have opted instead for the more comprehensive approach. In fact, lining up so many diverse items in regular style is itself quite an achievement. Typographical and stylistic infelicities are few, reflecting also perhaps recently improved standards at Four Courts Press.

With so many articles to consider, it is best for the purposes of this journal to pass over, however reluctantly, a valuable set having an emphasis on the politics of church and/or state (by Christopher Korten, Eamon Duffy, Ambrose Macaulay, Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh, Andrew Shields, Miriam Moffitt, James H. Murphy, Ian Ker, Matthew Kelly, Anne O'Connor, Norman Tanner, Liam Chambers, Rory Sweetman and Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh) and review those with the strongest social and economic dimensions.

The opening article by Emmet Larkin (sadly deceased in March 2012) is the final statement of his 'devotional revolution' thesis of 1972 that did so much to place Cullen, as the agent of an ultramontane modernisation, in the foreground of subsequent analysis of nineteenth-century Ireland. Here, as in earlier restatements from the late 1990s, he makes tactical concessions to his critics without yielding his core ground. Larkin's work is the starting point of a perceptive (and unduly self-effacing) look by Sean Connolly at the historiography of religion in Ireland in recent decades. While no convincing conclusions are reached, this piece provides excellent perspectives. Connolly's argument is truncated to make space in the same essay for a report on the rather belated rolling-out of triumphalist Catholicism in nineteenth-century Belfast.

A note struck by Connolly in the Belfast piece is the need to think of the limits of Cullen's influence within the ecclesiastical regime of which he

was so obviously the presiding genius. That point is well illustrated in John Montague's account of the architecture of Cullen's pet project, the seminary at Clonliffe. This complex pointedly eschews the fashionable Gothic revival style that Cullen considered to be unattractive and impractical. But the archbishop had to watch helplessly as elsewhere the dominant style of the age was imposed on the landscape of his diocese in the form of new parish churches and the houses of burgeoning and new religious foundations (Ciarán O'Carroll provides very useful lists of these: pp. 122–7). With substantial articles also by Eileen Kane and Fintan Cullen, considerable light is shed by this volume on the role of painting, sculpture and architecture in the cardinal's scheme of things. However, there is little enough about church music, although an incidental quotation provided by Liam Chambers would suggest that, there also, advancing the Roman model among the Irish clergy could be an uphill struggle. Incidentally, Larkin's implication (p. 28) that Cullen secured the abandonment of the 'stations' in all dioceses is misleading.

Mary E. Daly alludes to the incomplete state of knowledge about the funding of the infrastructure of Catholic Dublin, but identifies the general headings of dowries and legacies from the families of religious, the donations and bequests of the wealthy (of which Montague provides some instances), and the proceeds of charity sermons, sales of work, and the collections to which the less prosperous contributed their pennies. Ciarán O'Carroll mentions the imposition of tariffs at church doors designed to make the respectable pay for admission to the nicer parts of the building.

If Cullen did not seek state endowment of the clergy and church buildings, his main preoccupation in politics was to secure the public funding of clerically controlled systems of education and poor relief designed to ensure the adherence of the Catholic masses to the obedience of the church. Such obedience Cullen believed to be the prerequisite of eternal salvation. That he had genuine sympathy for the (respectable) poor is shown by Virginia Crossman's account of his evidence before the 1861 select committee, where he called for them to be treated 'as we would wish ourselves to be treated ... let it cost what it might to the ratepayers' (p. 156) – an approach that neither his Liberal allies nor his Conservative or Fenian critics would be identified with. Joseph Doyle recounts how, before the Powis Commission in 1869, he dismissed the idea that the education system should be equipped to provide the talented poor with an opportunity for advancement: 'I am afraid there will not be many poets in our poor schools' (p. 196). But it would be a long time before 'advanced nationalists' identified with any more progressive education policy. Gerard Moran's account of his attitudes to emigration show him, again like other nationalists, at once blaming the government for it and being willing to exploit, rhetorically and practically, for his own purposes the overseas communities that it created.

Oliver P. Rafferty's 'The ultramontane spirituality of Paul Cullen' is very revealing of the cardinal's principles and prejudices, although his inner and private lives seem elusive. Did he make time for private contemplation? Did he

recite the rosary daily? Did he accumulate indulgences? Was he exercised by fear of death, final judgement and eternal damnation? Was there any gap between his rhetoric and his sentiments? All agree that Tobias Kirby, his successor as rector of the Irish College, Rome was his closest friend. Did he have other friends? Was the connection with Margaret Aylward, that Anne-Marie Close reports, based on a meeting of minds or merely on common tactical purposes?

The lodestar contribution to the volume is Colin Barr's authoritative survey of the Cullen sources and historiography. It points implicitly to the scope for a comprehensive biography, but also to the extent of the challenge involved. Such a biography would illuminate many issues of great moment for the study of Irish society in the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, an edition of Cullen's correspondence will be a major scholarly landmark.

R. V. Comerford NUI Maynooth

Phil Kilroy, *The Society of the Sacred Heart in Nineteenth-Century France, 1800–1865* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2012, 326 pp., €39 hardback)

This very impressive book begins with an examination of the archival sources for the life of Madeleine Sophie Barat. These extensive sources are discussed with great insight. Barat founded the Society of the Sacred Heart, an order of nuns who were particularly associated with the bourbon regime in France and the education of the daughters of the aristocracy. Kilroy suggests that the correspondence and material culture of religious leaders and their congregations tend to be treated as relics instead of material that could be subjected to scientific analysis. As a member of the Sacred Heart Order, Kilroy does not fall into the trap of presenting the life of Barat in a hagiographical light. The 14,000 letters of Barat have been carefully examined and from these key primary sources, the spiritual, educational and medical aspects of Barat and her foundation are assessed.

The most original chapter in this book relates to Barat's medical condition. The nineteenth century groans at us with its many medical complaints. Admittedly it was a vast improvement on the eighteenth century where luminaries such as George Washington endured wooden teeth when his own teeth failed him. Barat had been a very healthy child but her older brother took it upon himself to construct her spiritual formation. This led to lifelong physical ailments. Kilroy wisely asked two medical experts to analyse Barat's ill health and they provide illuminating sections in this book. Other chapters on Barat and the Sacred Heart Order provide an empathetic eye on her life. They include a chapter on the great help afforded by the Jesuits, who, like the Sacred Heart Order, were particularly concerned that those in power would be imbued with Catholic principles. Barat's spirituality is not ignored and another chapter of the book examines the depth of her beliefs and how these helped her surmount the various obstacles she faced while building a hugely influential order of women religious.

As with Kilroy's biography of Barat, also published by Cork University Press, this is a beautifully produced book with a spectacular cover. While much religious history is still enmeshed in hagiography, Kilroy's wide-ranging approach has much to recommend itself to historians of education, religion and European politics in the nineteenth century.

Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh Harvard University

Leanne McCormick, *Regulating Sexuality: Women in Twentieth-Century Northern Ireland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009, 249 pp., £60 hardback)

Published in 2009, Leanne McCormick's *Regulating sexuality* attempts to rectify the dearth of research on female sexuality in Northern Ireland. McCormick justifiably argues that Northern Ireland is often 'forgotten' or ignored in social histories of the island of Ireland despite the different experiences of Northern Irish inhabitants. Rosemary Cullen Owens makes a conscious effort to include Ulster in her analysis of the pre-partition period in the engaging *A social history of women in Ireland, 1870–1970* (2005). The focus on nationalism and republicanism, however, generally sidelines the activities of unionist women, most of whom resided in Northern Ireland. It is some years since McCormick's book was published but current interest in the institutional care of women in the Republic of Ireland and the recent re-establishment of a Marie Stopes Clinic in Belfast justifies a revisit.

The first of the six chapters examines prostitution in Northern Ireland, particularly Belfast. Through a detailed analysis of workhouse records, McCormick's evidence indicates that the impression of Northern Ireland as chaste and morally superior in comparison to 'degraded' and 'immoral' Britain was not necessarily based on reality. It is possible that unmarried mothers classified as prostitutes may be overrepresented in the workhouse admission registers. In addition to the categorisation issues mentioned by McCormick, women who entered workhouses were often the most desperate, those without assistance or those who had exhausted other means of support. The fact that such women had children to maintain may have rendered them more likely to turn up in the workhouse records than childless prostitutes. The second chapter focuses on privately run institutions that received women – initially women deemed to be prostitutes but later women who had given birth outside marriage or those who were regarded as having engaged in or been susceptible to inappropriate sexual behaviour. Institutions in Belfast included the Good Shepherd Convent (Roman Catholic), the Ulster Magdalen Asylum (Church of Ireland), the Edgar Home, previously the Ulster Female Penitentiary (Presbyterian), as well as the non-denominational Belfast Midnight Mission and the refuge run by the Salvation Army. Evidence gleaned from oral interviews is a welcome contribution to the narrative, although, as McCormick herself admits, the sample is limited.

Chapter 3 explores contemporary concerns about perceived dangers to 'modern' women and the organisations that offered protection and attempted to curb the apparent increase in sexual immorality in Northern Ireland. Understandably, much of the book deals with Belfast in consequence of the availability of sources, the urban focus of much of the discussion of sexuality, and the demography of the city. The next chapter outlines efforts to deal with venereal disease and contemporary gendered assumptions about its transmission. The activities of American troops who were stationed in Northern Ireland during the Second World War are the subject of Chapter 5. Their 'smart' uniform, their disposable income and access to luxury items like cigarettes and chocolate, and their accents rendered them of interest to Northern Irish women, many of whose experience of American men up to that point was limited to Hollywood heroes that they viewed on cinema screens (p. 153). African-American troops proved even more 'exotic' and thus of interest to local women. Indeed, racial tensions, McCormick notes, more frequently originated with white Americans stationed in Northern Ireland than with local inhabitants (p. 163). Chapter 6, comprising a detailed analysis of birth control (including abortion), highlights the efforts of family planning clinics in Northern Ireland to avoid controversy from religious groups and organisations, particularly the Catholic Church. While the Marie Stopes Clinic closed in 1947 due to low numbers and the fact that it was unprofitable, new family planning clinics were established in the 1960s and early 1970s and the number of attendees increased thereafter. Although the use of clear sub-headings and fitting case study examples render this an engaging read overall, one might welcome more analysis of the public or press reaction to rape cases allegedly committed by US troops in Northern Ireland or cases of abortion. Homosexuality is not mentioned and does not appear in the index. Class differences, on the other hand, are regularly highlighted.

Throughout the book, McCormick emphasises how women were held responsible for the perceived sexual 'decay' and sexual immorality of Northern Ireland. Women were the target of rescue homes, they were blamed for spreading venereal diseases (p. 134) and often deemed culpable for enticing American soldiers (p. 157). However, *Regulating sexuality* highlights the roles that women from various backgrounds played in Northern Irish society as the century progressed. Philanthropic middle-class women scoured the streets for 'prostitutes' or suitable women to bring to the rescue homes because it was thought to be a more appropriate role for women than men (p. 41). Women were also involved in patrolling and policing in Belfast. 'Modernisation' also brought greater freedom to some women, particularly urban-based working women. Ice-cream parlours, cinemas and dances, often cited as encouraging sexual immorality in Northern Ireland, indicate an increased awareness of the demand for organised entertainment and leisure activities for Northern Irish inhabitants. With information about VD becoming more accessible in the 1930s and 1940s (p. 126) and advertisements for family planning clinics in local newspapers in the mid-1960s (p. 188), women (and men) must have become increasingly educated about sexual matters. Greater access to contraceptives

must also have facilitated greater sexual freedom. During the 1980s, however, ‘the Troubles’, rather than women’s rights, consumed attention in Northern Ireland; McCormick notes that civil rights groups tended to focus on politics rather than on women’s liberation (p. 194).

McCormick’s fascinating book considers admission procedures, experiences for women and discharge practices in various institutions in Northern Ireland, themes that were examined in Senator McAleese’s *Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee to establish the facts of State involvement with the Magdalen Laundries* (2013) in the Republic of Ireland. Statistical analysis of the age and religious affiliation of the residents is coupled with intermittent examples that emphasise the plight of individual women. Interestingly, on census night in 1901 and 1911, some women classified as Roman Catholic were resident in Protestant homes (p. 47). While McCormick could have avoided the use of the term ‘inmate’ to describe the residents of the various institutions, she emphasises the attempts made to render the establishments more home-like and argues that women were generally free to leave (pp. 48–9). The concerts and plays, tennis courts, and evidence that films were played at the Good Shepherd Convent, contrast sharply with the stereotypical image of religious-run institutions as harsh and regimented establishments. Indeed McCormick argues that to present an alternative to this stereotype ‘has come to be seen as condoning the brutalities of the institutions and, moreover, supporting the abuse of power by the Catholic Church’ (p. 68). This engaging and informative book indicates the complexities and the various narratives that comprise the ‘history’ of religious-run institutions for women.

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Janet T. Marquardt (ed.), *Françoise Henry in Co. Mayo* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, 152 pp., €35 hardback, €17.50 paperback)

Any approach to the the north and south islands of Inishkea, off the Mullet peninsula in Co. Mayo requires the visitor to have a regard for the strong currents and shoals that lie below the seemingly simple route. The casual skill of the ex-island boatmen should not be taken lightly otherwise difficulties may ensue. Françoise Henry acknowledged the skill of the boatmen in rough waters but found their attitude to her opinions difficult to accept. Dr Henry provides some interesting insights into local custom in the early twentieth century, such as the wake she attended in April 1937 on the Mullet. There are numerous nuggets of information to be mined from the diaries but the inaccuracy of some references and images may, coupled with the impact of the descriptions-cum-criticisms, cancel some of the potential of the book. Notes on the photographs, unfortunately, contain several inaccuracies which could easily have been corrected. For example, Croghaun, Saddlehead and Achill Head are consistently called Slievemore and in one of the editor’s own photographs, Port Tragh is in fact Port na Cille.



When Françoise Henry first visited the islands in the 1930s, she was attracted by the cross-slabs that were then plainly visible. Her excavations took place soon after the islands were evacuated in the 1930s, and later again in the 1940s and 1950s, allowing us a glimpse through a window of a changing landscape. Her attitude towards the monuments on the island is telling. She directed that several of the cross-slabs that stood between the Baily Mór and the graveyard should be removed to the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin. Two of them are now on display there and a third is stored in the vaults. At least one ex-islander, John Reilly, presented her with a difficulty in achieving her objectives to remove some of the carved slabs from the island, but she allowed the Catholic clergy and the police to involve themselves to her advantage (p. 19). The modern concept of 'stake-holders' does not seem to have had much relevance in the academic Ireland of the 1930s to 1950s.

Her notebooks, written in pencil, pen and some typescript, show a detailed insight into the simple expedients needed to attempt an excavation on the Baily Mór, a windswept mound on the north island. She also dug several other sites nearby, an amazing feat considering the very limited time she had. Her descriptions of the natural world are thoughtful and colourful, for instance the geography of the north-western side is given as, 'a harsh wind that passes flat over the sea and land, scraping, biting. The sea bubbles around the rocks, black, fermenting with quiet rage' (p. 81). She goes on to give other beautiful descriptions of the natural landscapes: 'the waves iced with light. The rumbling, the dull blows of the waves breaking on the rocks – a green flash and then an explosion of foam' (p. 30).

However, her descriptions of the people she encountered are less attractive, and offensive to some. Her attitude and comments on the locals include, 'Prodigiously ugly, a dull ugliness' (p. 43), although the photograph of the woman referred to does not suggest this (p. 44); also 'middle aged, dumb stubborn faces' (p. 55). These silent musings suggest to me that Dr Henry may have had some issues with physical appearance, perhaps an indirect reference to her rare appearance in the photographic record.

It is hard to say if Dr Henry ever considered that her notes would or should be published and Dr Marquardt has confirmed that she did not censor any of the material. One wonders would the writer of these diaries have wanted her private personal descriptions put into print. She did not, or could not, comprehend that the islanders considered their landscape sacred and important to them. Does this suggest the arrogance of an outsider towards the local people?

Perhaps this volume was produced too fast. Local opinion could have been sought in more detail and a more rounded volume would perhaps have been a better tribute to the 'French woman', as she was still known when I started my own island researches. It allows us, however, to hear the voices of the people of the Inishkea islands, helping us to complete a story that many thought was lost forever. Dr Henry got to know many families from the islands and the Blacksod area over the years; her descriptions of some of them reflect little credit on

her. Indeed, the courteous, dignified and helpful Sweeney family, especially Vincent, may have an opinion on these descriptions. The voices of these islanders, unlike those on the Blasket Islands, have not been properly heard.

Dr Marquardt's work was launched twice, first in Dublin with the emphasis on the 'French woman' herself, and later in Mayo, where the descriptions and attitudes she took were critically examined. Whether or not seventy-five more years should have passed before the diary was published as one authority said, I cannot say. The pity to me is that Dr Henry's field notes and the archaeological material from her excavations, which are stored in the Archaeology Department of UCD, were not integrated into a complete whole by the author. In the 1980s the late Barry Raftery asked me to examine the material, which included many black and white photographs, finds stored in Sweet Afton cigarette boxes, and colourful diagrams. Sadly other matters took up my time but an opportunity to paint the complete picture was missed by this publication. Perhaps Dr Marquardt would have benefited, and so too would her volume, by spending more time in the Mullet, listening to the families of the ex-islanders, always an interesting and rewarding experience.

Brian Dornan

Patrick Melvin, *Estates and Landed Society in Galway* (Dublin: Éamonn de Búrca, 2012, 484 pp., €75 hardback)

Readers' fascination with life on the landed estates in Ireland is understandable because it concerns a virtually lost world of interaction among landowners, their servants and tenants in settings which contrast luxury with appalling poverty. The study of a landed estate involves lengthy research, often in several different archives, and the examination of thousands of letters, deeds and estate papers so, understandably, the majority of authors concentrate on a single family and estate. Only a very courageous scholar attempts to tackle several families, and indeed no other scholar has successfully examined a whole county of landed families in depth. The great exception here is Patrick Melvin, whose volume is a highly insightful foray into the landed families of County Galway on which he has worked for more than two decades.

To put his achievement into perspective, there are only a very few volumes on county families which usually concentrate on a string of case studies – e.g. T. Bunbury and A. Kavanagh, *The landed gentry and aristocracy of County Kildare* (2004); T. Bunbury, *The landed gentry and aristocracy. Wicklow, vol. I* (2005). Then there are the seminal works by Dooley (2007) and Vaughan (1994) which chronicle the landed classes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries across the island. In contrast, Melvin's summarises the activities of 180 families in County Galway, one of Ireland's largest counties. He provides exhaustive information on both main and cadet branches, and, most unusually, he is quite prepared to admit to any gaps in his knowledge, though these gaps are few. His long research into family and official archives, unpublished records,

newspapers, records in the Registry of Deeds, State Papers, government reports and travellers' accounts, have permitted Melvin to unearth many new facts and bring new insights to our attention. His text is heavily footnoted with a vast source material, which readers with a special interest in County Galway may wish to explore.

The volume starts with a laudatory foreword by the late Knight of Glin and is organised into nine chapters – origins of estates; estate management; social life of the gentry; marriage, family and careers; gentry as landlords; county governance; politics; class and historical identity – and a conclusion. In addition there are two appendices: one on Galway country houses, and another on Galway landowners at the end of the nineteenth century, showing the acreages and valuations of their estates. The volume also contains 240 valuable images of country houses in County Galway and 35 illustrations of individuals and tombs.

The history of the landed families in County Galway is markedly different from the history of such families in other counties, a point that Melvin illustrates in a masterly fashion. By the end of the nineteenth century the county had 108 proprietors of 3,000 acres and over, the largest grouping of landowners in any Irish county by far. Almost one-third were descended from the 'Tribal' families, who had resided in the city of Galway since the Middle Ages while the survival of so many Irish and Norman or Old English families in the county is also distinctive. A good proportion of Galway families remained Catholic despite confiscations and the Penal Laws of the eighteenth century. Wolfe Tone noted that Counties Galway and Mayo 'had the cream and flower of the Catholic gentry' (p. 395).

The background of these families varied. Some descended from the city of Galway 'Tribes' who, largely because of their association with lawyers, managed to escape Strafford's attempts at confiscation in the early seventeenth century. Several of these landowners, unlike many of the Burkes (all connected to the Clanricarde family), were restored to their lands after the Cromwellian period. Another category descends from Catholic families of the Pale, transplanted into the county by Cromwell. A good number of these families, including the Bellews, Nugents, Geoghegans, Nettervilles, Chevers, Aylwards, Butlers and others, survived 'as substantial landowners' (p. 49).

The Galway gentry differed from that in other counties by the fact that the tribal families were so active in town *and* country affairs. Many estates survived only through external income (from sources other than land), including the legal profession, commerce and banking; indeed 'economic diversification, land mortgages and legal expertise' were often key to survival (p. 57).

Another unique aspect of County Galway was the overlordship and dominance by the Clanricarde family. Historically, the Clanricarde Burkes owned most of the county and claimed headrent from much of its land. Aside from their seats at Portumna and Loughrea, they had country houses at Dunkellin, Kilcornan and Clondagoff. Latterly, they also held the influential office of Lord Lieutenant of the county for a very long time, and they served as a major stabilising influence.

Many of the gentry families had family, army and commercial connections with France, Austria, Portugal, Russia and the West Indies. Members of Catholic families like the Kirwans and the O'Kellys served in the French and Austrian armies in the eighteenth century, while Catholic families such as the Dillons, O'Kellys, McDermotts and the O'Connors intermarried with the European (especially French) aristocracy. In addition, it was common for younger sons to be employed (or to seek employment) in the British army and the civil administration of the Empire.

Commercial contacts remained crucial for the survival of many of the landed families. For example, the Nolans of Loughboy, who became Protestant, had their decaying 'estate ... secured by merchant members in Lisbon' (p. 53). Robert Percy French of Monivea, who married in 1863 the heiress of a Russian aristocrat, left his child seven estates on the Volga, along with five large mansions. The West Indies was another important source of revenue for several Galway families, who held highly lucrative estates worked by slaves. Younger sons of the ousted Kiltolla Blakes moved permanently to the West Indies.

The volume contains many novel insights and debunks several widely accepted conclusions. Absenteeism was not all that common, because most of the County Galway landowners resided on their estates, while agents were often relatives. On the topic of absentee landlordism, Melvin agrees with the contemporary view that 'if estates were properly managed the charge of absenteeism had little validity' (p. 96). On the other hand permanent residence did not necessarily make 'good' landlords or ensure their estates would be improved. The Martins of Ballynahinch were an example of resident landlords whose vast estate was largely undeveloped.

The county was by no means isolated from advances in agriculture and records show that several estates were characterised by extensive improvements, including drainage and afforestation on a very large scale (e.g., Lord Ashtown at Woodlawn; Lord Clonbrock on the Clonbrock estate). Richard Geoghegan of Bunowen visited Holland in the eighteenth century to learn about reclaiming land, while the steward of the Kylemore estate travelled to Scotland for a similar purpose, and he subsequently converted 3,000 bad Galway acres into good land. Women even participated in improvements. For instance, the wife of the third Lord Clonbrock was fond of formal gardens and brought designs to Clonbrock from her home in Oxfordshire. Several of the gentry were on the forefront of agricultural innovation in the 1830s, such as for example, Robert Bodkin of Annagh and Piers Blake of Corofin, stimulated by the founding of agricultural societies, such as that at Ballinasloe, which was of pivotal importance in the county.

Melvin writes eloquently about the social life of the gentry and the founding of their clubs – the Connaught Club in Dublin (1825) and the Galway County Club (1836), the huge sums of money spent by the gentry on electioneering, and the casualties of duelling, a custom which persisted into the early nineteenth century. Edmund Kirwan of Woodfield claimed that the Tribes never paid any debts, defied all persons by duelling and kept their houses guarded by tenants. Many of the families concealed their Jacobite leanings or Cromwellian

descent, while others were inordinately proud of their ancestry: a member of the D'Arcy family had an eleven-foot-long pedigree.

Melvin relates how and where the gentry travelled and concluded that, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, many of the 'secondary' gentry seldom thought of going to Dublin or other big cities and purchased their requirements from travelling peddlers. They tended never to visit England or the continent. In contrast, the richer families were quite cosmopolitan, and regularly visited England and sojourned on the continent.

The volume is strong on description of estates. The 240 illustrations of country houses (mostly photographs, some of which are unique) include several English seats and show that there were relatively few really large country houses in the county (e.g., Dunsandle, Garbally, Castle Hackett and Woodlawn). Most of the remaining seats were of a modest size. The gentry ranged from grandees to 'parish gentry' (p. 387), some of whom lived a very shabby existence, despite their substantial houses, by the middle of the nineteenth century (e.g., Ballynahinch, Eyrecourt). Melvin contrasts these households with beautifully furnished seats, many with stupendous libraries and art collections, and all which were later sold (e.g., Mount Bellew).

A very interesting chapter on relationships with tenants deals with criticisms of the landlord class and the elaborate interdependence and interaction between landlords, servants and tenants. Annual service duties for tenants, a tradition dating back to the Middle Ages, survived for a long time on some estates. Once-a-year traditional celebrations, paid for by landlords, included large gatherings of tenants and servants, and took place on country house lawns and in large barns. Several landowners subsidised the building of houses for their tenants, including Lord Clancarty on the Garbally estate, Lord Clonbrock at Ahascragh; and Lord Ardilaun at Cong. The effectiveness of several of these landowners was only possible through the presence of very competent land agents (e.g., Thomas Bermingham on the Clonbrock estate). Not all villages and small towns flourished. Problems occurred at Clifden under John D'Arcy, and at the smaller villages of Eyrecourt and Lawrencetown. The lack of any manufacturing industry had a more negative effect, although Melvin notes exceptions such as the Monivea estate.

Enforced consolidation of tenant holdings and clearances were uncommon; according to Melvin, 'none of the gentry' appears to have favoured this (p. 113) and, although there was a proposal to transfer tenants to Connemara at the height of the Terry Alt troubles in 1831, this did not materialise. There were no major evictions or clearances and the scale of emigration was modest, so relationships with tenants remained cordial on most of the estates for a very long time, though, inevitably, these soured later.

Many of the Catholic gentry supported Catholic Emancipation. Nevertheless, agrarian discontent and unrest, and sectarian conflict hit the county as they did in many other parts of the island. At first the Landleaguers primarily turned their wrath against Protestant landowners but Catholic landowners were also faced with violence and abuse. Many of the larger Catholic landlords had much

less enthusiasm for Home Rule, remained conservative in their political leanings and were not necessarily supportive of Catholic issues. However, some of the failing or declining gentry actually supported the Repeal movement.

A few notables among the Protestant gentry advanced the cause of Nationalism. Examples were Lady Gregory and her nephews Shawe-Taylor and Hugh Lane, who became more aristocratic nationalists than nationalists in the political sense. Edward Martyn put his considerable fortune at the service of his beliefs and became a prime mover in the Celtic Revival movement but, like Yeats and O'Grady, he was an elitist with an abhorrence of democracy.

The volume chronicles the waning of the gentry's political power. For example, the Famine led to higher Poor Rates levied on landowners, and an increase in powers of government bureaucracy. These powers were expressed through the Board of Works, through government-sponsored drainage works, and a government impetus toward more progressive agricultural production and instruction. The decline of the Grand Juries was largely caused by an increase in the power of civil servants and the growing influence of Dublin Castle on county affairs. Melvin documents how the gentry lost out to government bureaucracy and growing nationalism, but they also lost out to the Catholic clergy and, eventually, they lost most of their land. This process was accelerated by the Famine.

Many estates were plagued by long-term leasing, high mortgages, entails and multitudes of claimants. In the province of Connaught 'not even 5% of the land was free from settlements ... and not 1% was free from mortgages' (p. 75). Together these factors placed many estates away from the sort of development that could have resulted in full productivity. Melvin cites O'Shaunnessy who believed that the land system was 'good for the preservation of the aristocracy but bad for agriculture' (p. 76). Starting in the 1850s, the Encumbered Estate Courts were kept busy selling bankrupt Galway estates, which ultimately constituted the greatest change in landownership since the seventeenth century. Melvin also illustrates how the break-up of the Clanricarde estate during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the takeover of the vast Martin estate of Ballynahinch, benefited the new owners and created a more varied landownership.

There is no doubt that Melvin has set a very high standard for future books on the landed gentry of other counties and it will be hard for anyone to exceed his standards. He has a high reputation as an expert on Galway and its families, and his generosity in sharing information is well known, but there are a few matters that one wishes he had done differently. Some of his text is redundant. He has made extensive use of family memoirs (e.g., those of the Blake, Clanmorris, Dillon, Eyre and de Stacpoole families) but, as authors often exaggerate the importance of their own families while omitting important facts that are less creditable, a more critical approach to these sources might have been appropriate. Also, the link between the photographs of country houses and the main text, despite a relatively brief appendix, is underdeveloped. More importantly, the index does not cover footnotes and sometimes omits keywords from

the main text. However, these limitations are minor in comparison to the very large contribution to scholarship that Melvin has achieved, for which readers and scholars can be truly grateful.

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Martin Morris and Fergus O'Ferrall (eds), *Longford History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays in the History of an Irish County* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2010, 775 pp., €60 hardback)

Since 1985 Willie Nolan and Geography Publications have been producing the *History and Society* series. These vastly informative volumes have fostered a greater understanding of the complexities of the geography, history, language, literature and archaeology of the counties of Ireland. One of the great strengths of the series is the seamless weaving of expertise between professional academics who hone their craft in universities and learned institutions and the informed amateur, whose local knowledge is invaluable. The twenty-first in this series is on County Longford, expertly edited by Martin Morris and Fergus O'Ferrall. The breadth and scope of essays in this series generally indicates the challenges in producing such a volume. Furthermore, it is to the enduring strength of the *History and Society* series that they continue to have contributions from leading scholars. Because of the sheer size of this volume, it is only possible to review a selection of the essays contained within it.

Raymond Gillespie's essay explores the cleavage between the first and second halves of seventeenth-century Longford. Despite being in Leinster, Longford, Gillespie argues, was seen as a frontier territory by contemporaries. The second half of the seventeenth century saw dramatic changes take place in the aftermath of the Cromwellian upheaval, with the depositions proving to be a valuable window into the local experience of war. Gillespie also uses contemporary accounts of the physical geography of Longford in an effort to foster an understanding of what took place there. He states that an important element of early modern landlordism was the cult of improvement which was evident on many estates in County Longford.

James Kelly traces the development of the Protestant Ascendancy's hold over political power in Longford from the 1690s. Kelly has shown how a small number of aristocratic families controlled the seats for the county and boroughs. The extension of the franchise, coupled with the reduction of the number of MPs from ten to two, was a serious threat to the Protestant elite and a further result of this, coupled with the act of Union, was the polarisation of politics in the county. The large network of gentry and substantial farmers in the county was essential for the Protestant elite to sustain their authority, though financial embarrassment meant that the three largest families could not partake in parliamentary activities and the boroughs of Granard, Lanesborough and Longford returned outsiders. There was an evolution of influential landed

families in the county, indicating that their influence could be predicated on the strength of character of the head of family, and John Gore was the most successful eighteenth-century politician in Longford, becoming Lord Annaly in 1766. With the extension of the franchise in 1793 to Catholic freeholders, an untapped reservoir of voters was released, though there were those that sought to counteract this by creating more Protestant voters and this saw the intensification of ultra-Protestantism, which became quite prevalent by the early nineteenth century.

While the O'Ferrells of Mornie survived the Cromwellian upheaval of the seventeenth century, Fergus O'Ferrall argues that this provided the context for their downfall in the eighteenth century as the cost of maintaining their estate proved to be too much. Family jointures and entails caused financial hardship and the disposal of land to fund these financial obligations saw a large tenant, Robert Jessop, accumulate 800 acres by 1706. At this time, the head of the family, James O'Ferrell, proved to be a poor manager and he was constantly in debt. A myriad of legal cases, coupled with uncertainty concerning land boundaries, caused confusion and tension on the estate, helping also to expedite its decline. Oliver Goldsmith is synonymous with Longford and W. J. McCormack argues that he had a strong sense of place in his writings, with 'The Deserted Village' linked with his midlands background. As it was written in the 1780s, it was seen to be interpreting some themes prevalent in this period, the nuances of which, McCormack states, can only be appreciated with time.

Maureen Murphy explores the myths regarding the Battle of Ballinamuck. She correctly argues that if used effectively, folk tales offer another source in relation to popular opinions in a locality. She further contends that the models of resistance in folk memory often provided inspiration for combatants in later conflicts, most notably the War of Independence in north Longford. Like all battles in folklore, there is a hero and a nemesis in order to appeal to the audience and the Battle of Ballinamuck was no different. The one notable exception in relation to 1798 in the Ballinamuck story was the absence of a heroic priest. However, the role of women was properly acknowledged, while elements of the story were embellished in order to appeal to the audience.

Sarah Gearty's essay explores the Longfield maps used to survey Longford in the eighteenth century prior to the establishment of the Ordnance Survey. The fourteen maps of Longford were estate surveys carried out at the behest of landowners and they show a tradition of relatively small landowners in the county. These maps are important for shedding greater light on the diversity of landowning in the county, while further highlighting examples of clustered settlements. When compared with later surveys of the county, some features in earlier maps were still evident. A distinguishing feature was the inclusion of mills in the event of boundary disputes; in addition there is evidence of only minimal boundary changes in the later OS surveys.

Seamus Mimmagh discusses the rapid technological advancement in grain milling from 1750, which had remained relatively static for the previous millennium. He further explores the regional variations within County Longford



as mills became a dominant feature of both the rural and urban landscapes. There was evidence of milling from the medieval period in Longford as it was important for the local economy. Tenants were frequently obliged to use the manor mill at a cost. The kinds of grain grown varied across the county, though there was a low density in boggy areas. While windmills coincided with an increase in population and tillage, they were costly to maintain, resulting in water being the principal source of power until turbines and steam engines became common. Technological advances have rendered these mills obsolete and they are now a part of our industrial heritage.

Anne Mulligan's essay on the 'Night of the Big Wind' in Longford, sheds more light on this peculiar meteorological phenomenon that secured a place in folklore, such was the destruction it wrought. What is particularly illuminating in this essay is Mulligan's focus on individuals who suffered a loss or destruction to their property. She argues that it affected all classes and most areas of the county, though Granard was said to have escaped relatively unharmed. Mulligan further exposes the discrepancies between the folklore and historical record, which is important, considering the superstition and stories that followed in its aftermath.

Politics in the 1830s was fraught as there were only a few years free from an election or petition with six being held between 1830 and 1837. These were hotly contested between Protestant Tories and Catholic O'Connellites. Fergus O'Ferrall contends that non-voters were mobilised to pressure voters as the middle classes and Catholic clergy also played important roles. A dominant Catholic faction in the county was key for the support of O'Connellite politics, though as the county emerged from the ravages of the Famine, politics focused only upon tenant-right, with other dominant national issues seemingly irrelevant in Longford.

Terence Dooley's essay on the Land War in Drumlish zones in on activity on Lord Granard's estate. A Catholic convert, he was praised as a good landlord prior to the Land War. He was in pecuniary difficulty because of the substantial loan he received from Maynooth College and the necessity of providing for his children. Coupled with the poor conditions of the farms at Drumlish and the economic circumstances that were rapidly worsening, this meant a perfect storm was waiting for him that came to a head during the Land War. The parish priest, Fr Peter Conefrey was vehemently anti-landlord, due in part to his mother being threatened with eviction by the wicked Earl of Leitrim as he was completing his studies in Maynooth. Granard was in a precarious financial condition and any reduction in rent would be pernicious. There was significant resistance to his threats of eviction on the estate. The result of this action was his inability to meet the required loan repayments to Maynooth which expedited his demise.

Finally, the volume benefits from an excellent overview of the archives of Longford County Library and Archives provided by Martin Morris, which is complemented by a bibliography on County Longford, compiled by Theresa O'Kelly and Mary Carleton Reynolds.

As is the case with the other volumes in the *History and Society* series, the scholarship in this volume is impressive, both in the breadth and depth of interest, with something for everyone. While there are essays that are quite technical, restricting accessibility to the general reader, this is but a minor quibble, and the editors Martin Morris and Fergus O'Ferrall are to be commended for this remarkable interdisciplinary study. It will be a magnificent feat when the thirty-two counties are finally accounted for.

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James H. Murphy, *Irish Novelists and the Victorian Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 304 pp., £66.00 hardback)

Irish writing in English has always had to serve two masters. It had a domestic audience that was itself far from homogeneous, and a wider, usually British, audience that needed to be educated, entertained or challenged. Sometimes a writer tried to do all three. Uncertainty of audience is seen by James H. Murphy, one of our foremost literary historians, as a crucial – indeed defining – characteristic of nineteenth-century Irish writing, and the hybrid nature of Irish fiction in this period, rather than being a weakness, was in fact one of the things that gave Irish fiction its great strength and variety.

In recent years, Irish romantic and gothic fiction of the early nineteenth century has received quite a degree of critical attention, but the fiction of the later nineteenth century has been largely ignored, or merely picked at in a piecemeal fashion, and has awaited a critical survey. The Loebers' monumental bibliographical work *A guide to Irish fiction 1650–1900* (2006) identified what was out there, and Murphy's wide-ranging book reminds us that there was fiction, and plenty of it, being written by Irish writers in the Victorian era. There was even, dare we say it, plenty of Irish fiction written in the supposedly unsuitable realist mode. The oft-made accusation that Ireland produced no George Eliot or Walter Scott is largely a straw one, as England and Scotland produced few novelists of that calibre or influence either. The lack of an Irish *Middlemarch* has somehow transmogrified into a perception that there is little of value to gain from studying Victorian Irish fiction. Murphy shows that this is far from true, and constructs a wide-ranging and yet comprehensive narrative that is far more than just a survey. His only slightly tongue-in-cheek observation at the start of this book that in fact *Middlemarch* may well be the Irish *Middlemarch* so often looked for, is a useful and a provocative one. It sets the parameters for his discussion of a wide range of texts by looking not just at what might be termed 'Irish' fiction but Irish novelists and their contribution to, and engagement with, the wider Victorian world, as well as that world's engagement with Ireland. Thus, as well as Irish fiction, Murphy considers the non-Irish fiction of Irish writers, the Irish fiction of non-Irish writers (thus both Thackeray and Trollope are discussed, and Charles Kingsley and Elizabeth Gaskell are mentioned) and, as in the case of *Middlemarch*, the ostensibly

non-Irish fiction of non-Irish writers. In other words, this book looks at the totality of Ireland's relationship with Victorian culture as seen in the fiction produced by and through that relationship. While Irish issues often forced their way to the top of the Victorian political agenda, it is easy from this juncture to forget how deeply embedded Irish writers of all descriptions and abilities were at every level of Victorian cultural production.

Murphy's first book, *Catholic fiction and social reality in Ireland 1873–1922* (1997) was a landmark publication in the way it looked at Irish Catholic fiction of that period and considered it on its own merits, rather than necessarily trying to squeeze it into some narrative that inevitably leads up to Joyce's *Ulysses*. In the work under review here, it is particularly pleasing to see the often disparaged Samuel Lover and Charles Lever being afforded their rightful place, and William Carleton's seemingly unassailable position as arbiter of all that was authentic about rural, Gaelic Ireland, challenged. Indeed, Carleton is described as being essentially a pre-Victorian writer, as he denies his characters the appearance of autonomy, something Murphy sees as an essential characteristic of Victorian fiction (p. 61). Anyone who has read Lover's *Rory O'More* (1837) cannot but reject the view of Lover as merely a comic writer or a trader in buffoonery, and many of Lever's later, post-rollicking-period texts address important social issues. Murphy argues that the much-maligned military novel, a sub-genre heavily associated with Ireland in the 1830s and 1840s, was not about perpetuating Irish stereotypes but was in some ways an attempt at a kind of literary realism by allowing Irishmen of different confessional and social status to interact in a meaningful way in an environment approaching equality. Even the much criticised 'rollicking' is defended as making sense 'as part of a deeper, darker reality' (p. 39). He also champions another derided figure, William Hamilton Maxwell – the man who practically invented the genre of the military novel – and will surprise many by arguing that for the reasons outlined above, his *Hector O'Halloran* (1842) is 'a candidate for one of the greatest Irish novels of the Victorian period' (p. 41).

For the historian, this book gives important insights into not just how Irish writers related to and negotiated Victorian culture and society, but also the kinds of issues that concerned them and the kinds of solutions proffered in their writing. Not surprisingly, what Murphy calls land novels dominate the Victorian period. Sometimes, as in the early Victorian period, these novels explored land-lord-tenant relationships, proposing solutions to these issues. But later Victorian fiction is understandably dominated by land war novels, which he argues are, when taken as a whole, impressively pluralist in the range of opinions offered, if not in their individual content. Fenian novels, religious novels, new-woman and *fin de siècle* writing are also dealt with by Murphy, as is the tension demonstrated in fictions written by Catholics between those striving for Victorian respectability and those who challenged the conservative status quo. It's worth remembering, as Murphy points out, that Catholic authors only become the majority in Irish fiction in the 1890s. Murphy's work recalls some less well-known writers who have made their own contribution to the development of

Victorian literary culture: Lady Blessington, whom he champions as the creator of a new genre of writing featuring educated women who need to work for a living; Charlotte Riddell, credited by Murphy with pioneering the novel of the City – in the sense of writing about the financial world – and as an influence on George Eliot; Frances Browne’s literary relationship with Charles Dickens; and Julia Kavanagh’s relationship with the Brontës. Women authors and their work feature prominently throughout: the Clare writer Attie O’Brien, whose writing ‘evinces the growing class structure of rural life’ (p. 130); May Laffan’s *Hogan M.P.* (1876) is described as ‘a seminal novel, attacking Catholicism from within’, and ‘a legacy to twentieth-century Irish fiction’ (p. 165), and Emily Lawless’s *Grania* (1892) is praised as ‘surely a candidate for the greatest Irish novel of the century’ (p. 262). It is perhaps telling, however, that the novel identified by Murphy (and others) as perhaps the most successful ‘Irish’ realist novel of the period, was written by a woman who only spent a fortnight in the country: Annie Keary, the English-born daughter of an Irish clergyman. Keary’s *Castle Daly* (1875), in Murphy’s words, ‘creates a space for realism by telescoping a variety of ideological perspectives into the same social stratum: that of the gentry’ (p. 135). Thus, Irish political debates are acted out on a single plane – indeed within a single family. But its very success seems to render it a failure: ‘it would produce no offspring’, Murphy writes, ‘as the land war of the 1880s, though it generated a plethora of novels ... marked a return to propaganda from realism’ (p. 135). The best Murphy can do is admit that, although it is no *Middlemarch*, it is ‘perhaps, its cousin’ (p. 134).

Inevitably, any general conclusions emanating from a work of this scope must be of necessity provisional, and the broadly thematic rather than strictly chronological approach employed can occasionally lead to a degree of confusion in the reader’s mind. Murphy admits when outlining his conclusions that ‘none of this amounts to a complete theory of the nineteenth-century Irish novel but then perhaps this is no bad thing’ (p. 264). The nearest we get to a general thesis is Murphy’s claim that the contested nature of Irish nineteenth-century society meant that no one voice could claim the authority to speak for that society. This was not something that could be said about the twentieth-century writers, Murphy argues. ‘Twentieth-century Irish novelists assumed that they could represent the people, in a way in which their nineteenth-century counterparts, albeit under very different circumstances, were never able to do’ (p. 264). Whatever we think about the first part of that assertion, the second part seems, in this reviewer’s opinion, to be a persuasive idea, and does suggest a reason why realism as a mode of writing was not as effective – or was not seen as such – in nineteenth-century Ireland as elsewhere: there simply was no agreed reality. Novels written on Irish issues and with Irish settings throughout the nineteenth-century were invariably political, polemical, and part of a wider debate in which even attempting to be apolitical was in itself seen as a political position. Murphy argues that the strengths of the Irish pre-Victorian novel were the weaknesses of the Victorian one, and the persistence of the allegorical mode of writing, the rise of the Irish land novel, a misunderstanding of the ‘supposed pandering’ to

British stereotypes of the Irish (an element of a complex tradition in which self-deprecation was part of a strategy of resistance, according to Murphy) and the 'blocking role' of Carleton, all undermined the Irish realist novel (pp. 262–3). Something underestimated here, perhaps, is the ability of the Victorian Irish novel to critique the novel form itself. For example, even the good-natured Tory Charles Lever, much resented by nationalists who refused him the status of a 'national' novelist, has his heroine in *The O'Donoghue* reject notions of compromise and the 'national marriage' of reconciliation. In so doing he can be seen as implicitly rejecting both the formula put forward in the earlier national tales, and Sir Walter Scott's historical novel form into the bargain.

This book may infuriate some, but hopefully it will inspire others. The best hope of all for a work of this nature is that in mapping out a territory, and laying down its arguments, others will take up the challenge to explore Irish Victorian fiction in order as Murphy says, 'to judge it properly according to its own lights' (p. 261). Judging this book by its own lights, it is an important, refreshing, and badly needed work that challenges traditional perceptions of the value and purposes of Irish Victorian fiction. *Irish novelists and the Victorian age* should be an indispensable read for literary critic and historian alike, if only to remind us of the range and potential richness of these texts as sources for a re-evaluation of Ireland's relationship with Victorianism, and indeed fiction itself.

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Jason Myers, *The Great War and Memory in Irish Culture, 1918–2010* (Palo Alto, CA: Academica Press, 2012, 312 pp., \$82.95 hardback)

Ireland has entered into a decade of centenary commemoration for individuals, organisations and events that contributed to its independence and which have helped to articulate modern Irish nationalism. Jason Myers highlights how these contributions, and the social, cultural and political foundations they established, represented contested arenas of memory in twentieth-century Ireland. Despite the fact that Irish enlistment in the British Army during the Great War exceeded even nominal membership figures of the Irish Volunteers during the revolutionary period, the transformation of nationalist sentiment in the wake of the 1916 Easter Rising meant that the latter were upheld as selfless heroes, while Irish veterans were marginalised as British lackeys. Since the Armistice of November 1918 the campaign to establish an official memory of the Great War in Ireland has been fought on fronts both public and personal, and has involved charitable groups, commemoration societies and the efforts of individual citizens. By examining the variety and controversy of Great War remembrance and commemoration in Ireland, Myers traces the pathological changes in the nation's approach to collective memory and observance, ultimately confronting what he identifies as a national amnesia surrounding the Great War.

The strengths of this study lay in the comparative nature of the research and its sensible methodological structure. Myers pursues two distinct lines of enquiry in exploration of historical memory. Each guides our understanding of how, where and to what extent the Great War was commemorated in Ireland, and the ways in which Irish veterans were recognised and remembered in the post-war decades. The category of 'official memory' includes government sponsored commemoration events, that is, campaigns structured from the top-down as a way to orchestrate uniformity in public observance. Myers' use of government records, and papers of the British Legion and the Irish Soldiers' and Sailors' Land Trust help to inform this method. 'Vernacular memory' traces independent, decentralised approaches to commemoration. These included cultural outlets such as folk songs and films and allowed, Myers explains, for customisable commemoration that adhered to regional tastes and allowed for individual expression throughout Ireland (p. 170).

Within this vein, Myers outlines the ways in which geography and political jurisdiction dictated the size, duration and programme of commemoration, and how these factors aided in diversifying Ireland's memory of the Great War. Remembrance ceremonies in Dublin, Cork, Derry and Belfast are examined in order to demonstrate the broad range of official and vernacular observances and how this created regional memories of the conflict. In Northern Ireland, for example, commemoration events at times served as inter-religious cultural foundations upon which both Catholic and Protestant ex-servicemen recalled the war as a shared communal experience. The Troubles greatly complicated this cohesive atmosphere, and memory of the war as a collective sacrifice became diffused along denominational lines as animosity surrounding the political situation in the North escalated. Division over the memory of the Great War in southern Ireland occurred along the lines of nationalist tradition. Appeals for Irish veterans of the British Army and ceremonies recognising their contribution to the war effort were often interpreted as challenges to republican orthodoxy. Myers highlights how events scheduled on or near Remembrance Day at times incurred backlash from dissident groups. For instance, in November 1925 reels of the British film *Ypres* – which had been produced by the War Office – were stolen at gunpoint from Dublin's Majestic Theatre 'in the name of the republic'; the lobby was later bombed after replacement reels were located (p. 194). Intensity of republican sentiment also spurred opposition to other public forms of remembrance, such as the British Legion's Poppy Appeal. Despite the fact that Easter week and Remembrance Day never directly competed for public space, and that many Irish veterans had enlisted in defence of the rights of small nationalities, post-independence Ireland marginalised the influence of the Great War on, and in, Irish history in favour of the revolutionary narrative. The result, Myers notes, was an Ireland that actively confined its Great War veterans to the periphery of state memory.

Although occasional editorial oversights have allowed for minor errors to remain in the text, the overall quality of Myers' research, analysis and presentation remain firm. In this sense, it would benefit those seeking a comprehensive

understanding of the evolution of the history of memory and commemoration in Ireland to explore this volume alongside Anne Dolan's history of the commemoration of the Irish civil war, and Roisín Higgins's study of the 1966 Easter Rising commemorations. Overall, Myers' study provides important insights, which extend beyond the oft-cited juxtaposition of Armistice Day crowds and Sinn Féin supporters in 1919, that consider the various social, cultural and political factors that have contributed to the formation of Ireland's national memory of the Great War.

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Bruce Nelson, *Irish Nationalists and the Making of the Irish Race* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012, 333 pp., £45 hardback)

*Irishleabhar na Gaedhilge* or, in English, *The Gaelic Journal*, which in 1895 had become the official organ of the Gaelic League, reported in 1908 that 'Several Gaelic leaguers have complained to us recently that they were informed we employ Jewish labour.' In order to refute the allegation, the *Journal* offered a reward of £50 to 'any person who can prove that we are not an exclusively Irish firm, with Irish capital, Irish management, and employing none but Irish labour'.

In analogy to Michael Billig's useful concept of 'banal nationalism' (the nationalism that is so all-pervasive, so ingrained a habit, that it ceases to be noticeable and becomes mere background noise) we might call this 'casual racism'. 'Casual racism' is an oxymoron for those of us who have been born post-1945, who have had our faces well and truly rubbed in the heinous, murderous virulence of racism. In our contemporary morality and politics, nothing can be less 'casual' than racism. It takes a historicist suspension of 20/20-hindsight to try and make sense of casual racism, and casual anti-Semitism in particular, in its own pre-1933 cognitive and ideological frame of reference. Mixed feelings are always there to baffle us. We cannot smugly denounce those Gaelic Leaguers for having been proto-Nazis, make them co-responsible for Auschwitz, and lean back in the complacency of our own moral, hand-wringing superiority. But then again, we cannot, with equal but inverted smugness, give the anti-Semites of 1908 a 'get out of jail free' card either, and pretend that there is no continuity whatsoever, moral or causal, between them and their more fanatical and powerful successors. To do so would be to demean the superior insight of those who already in 1908 saw this anti-Semitism for what it was: a form of intolerant, selfish, benighted xenophobia, staining and vitiating the cause of Irish nationalism. One thinks of James Joyce's savage satire on the nationalist, tunnel-visioned Citizen in the 'Cyclops' episode of *Ulysses*.

Casual racism presents an extreme historiographical difficulty; it is almost impossible to get a sharp focus on such a fuzzy, widely ramifying topic. To begin with, the conceptual and semantic history of 'race' is notoriously fluid: Jonathan Swift, in denouncing 'the whole race of politicians put together'

used the word 'race' to refer to any self-perpetuating social group. Since time immemorial, the concept served to stigmatise foreigners. And by 1900, the same old four-letter word was used with all the quasi-scientific pseudo-precision that physical anthropology, ethnography and eugenics had brought to bear in the meantime: 'Race' became, purportedly, the phenotypical expression of genetic divergences within the human species, as distinct physically and temperamentally as (within the canine species) rottweilers, poodles and chihuahuas. That later, biological meaning overlaid, without quite abolishing, the older, more vaguely social or 'ethnic' meaning; so that by the twentieth century, the term 'race' was an ideal smoke-signal to gesture at anything that distinguished societies or cultures from each other, be it skin, physical build, language, inherited culture or imputed moral standing. 'Race' became a crude, primitive ethnocentric slur parading in a white coat stolen from a lab technician. And just as almost everyone was casually sexist; just as most people were casually religious; so too almost everyone was, to some degree or other, casually racist. Is it not futile, then, once that general point is established, to wax indignant over the specific instances – that Attila the Hun was a sexist, or Louis XIV was intolerant of non-Catholics, or that Churchill was an English chauvinist? Not quite. To begin with, the default doxas of past periods need to be established because they serve to highlight the individuals who resisted them. What is more, casual racism has a different history in different parts of the world, and Irish nationalism as a political movement was involved in all those parts: Ireland-in-Europe, the Irish diaspora in the US and elsewhere, and the transnational entanglements between Irish nationalism and (a) European national movements, (b) anticolonial movements in the wider world and (c) emancipatory movements in the US.

Bruce Nelson bravely confronts the issue in his *Irish nationalists and the making of the Irish race*. He is aware of the complexities and perplexities outlined above, and, following in the footsteps of Perry Curtis's pioneering work in documenting the casual denigration of the Irish in British and American media, traces the response of Irish nationalists to such racism, not least in their connections with the emancipatory movements for other subaltern 'races' victimised by imperialism, slavery or denigration. He is also aware of the enormous ideological complexity that even those who resisted Anglo-Saxonist supremacism, did so in a climate in which it was almost impossible not to buy into the underlying presuppositions of 'race'. Irish nationalism was contesting racism in its manifestations, but not yet in a position to deconstruct its underlying assumptions. And so we see the irony that Irish nationalists could ally themselves to such mutually incompatible bedfellows as, on the one hand, Africa-rooted slaves and their American descendants, and, on the other, Afrikaner Boers (victims of British Imperialism but themselves white-supremacy racists of the crudest type). Conversely, the nationalism of Sinn Féin and De Valera, although it was politically reactionary and crassly nativist, could garner respect from third-world anticolonial leaders because of its exemplary stance against the might of the British Empire.



Nelson's book is to be welcomed for placing the racist entanglement of national movements so emphatically on the scholarly agenda. I am also fundamentally sympathetic to his avowedly progressive, leftist stance. But Nelson's attempt to salvage a non-racist baby from the nationalist bath-water is, in my view, an impossible enterprise: strip nationalism of its racist elements and what is left is socialism. Nelson, however, tries to vindicate 'a generous, inclusive, Irish nationalism that reached back to the United Irishmen of the 1790s and forward to James Connolly and Liam Mellows' (p. 256). I am afraid that the distillation of such a purified nationalism, acceptable to twenty-first-century liberal readers, is only possible through a very partial representation of the source-material. Of all the great ideologies that emanated from the European continent in the nineteenth century (liberalism, conservatism, socialism, etc.) nationalism has proved by far the most susceptible to the infectious discourse of racialism; and Irish nationalism was no exception.

Thus, Nelson seeks to excise from its treatment precisely that link between casual racism and Irish nationalism which this review flagged at its very outset: the fact that many Irish nationalists were imbued with racial thought. Nelson name-checks the Limerick Pogrom of 1904, acknowledges the notorious anti-Semitism of Arthur Griffith and of nativist journalists like D. P. Moran and Frank Hugh O'Donnell. Yet in the same gesture he excludes this aspect from his agenda. The reasoning (pp. 48–50): historians who have dealt with this aspect have been following in the footsteps of Conor Cruise O'Brien-style revisionism; Nelson dismisses these revisionists as a valid historiographical voice in favour of post-revisionism, and therefore feels he can now lay the matter of Irish racism aside and focus on something completely different – the progressive, liberationist, anti-racist stance of those Irish nationalists who knew what it felt like to be racially denigrated. This unconvincing cherry-picking-in-reverse retrieves the 'right' type of nationalism from the 'wrong' type of historians, and is echoed in the tendency to argue away incommensurable historical complexities rather than actually grappling with them. Time and again the casual racism of Irish nationalists (e.g., Erskine Childers) is acknowledged, only as a concessive clause, to then be trumped by the assertion that they were fundamentally, despite appearances, democratic-minded – vindicated as something that we with our twenty-first-century values can empathise with.

In other instances, the presence of a class-based, progressive nationalism is held out (e.g. the Connolly-Mellows tradition in De Valera Ireland) to salvage the fundamental acceptability of the nationalist enterprise as such – but with little or no reference to the central question, what role this more progressive, non-racist voice played in 'the making of the Irish race' except unsuccessfully resisting it. It wasn't Mellows who played the race card; it was De Valera; but he, like Griffith, Moran and all the others, has to be winnowed away in order to make the non-racist, progressive trend stand out. Nelson's 'generous, inclusive Irish nationalism' is, in other words, mired to the gills in something altogether different. In nationalism, all nationalism, racism is latently or patently present. Even in the anti-colonial movements outside Europe we see names like Bose

and Jabotinsky. To quote the saying sarcastically imputed to Bill Gates: it's not a bug; it's a feature.

And so to with Irish nationalism. One of the great paradoxes in Irish history is the hero-worshipping admiration felt by the Young Irelanders for that arch-Anglo-Saxonist, Thomas Carlyle. That paradox reverberates through Irish history well into De Valera's republic, which resisted the hegemony of the British Empire while admiring Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal. To foreground the progressive side of Irish nationalism, its solidarity with the subaltern peoples stigmatised by racism and imperialism, is, to be sure, a necessary and worthwhile enterprise – but we should not exempt it from its ideological context and ambience. To be sure we, nowadays, can approve of it, and be inspired and edified by it, in ways that we cannot approve of other strands of Irish nationalism. But is the distribution of our approval commensurate with its historical importance? Can we conclude that the 'good' nationalism is the type that really mattered, the 'real stuff'? Are we allowed to filter out or downplay, in concessive clauses, the overwhelmingly dominant majority of nationalist voices – conservative, reactionary, ultramontanist, nativist, united with the rest of the world only in a shared hatred of the British Empire?

I am an uncongenial reviewer, I admit, in that mine is a deeply European outlook, which does not quite match the American emphasis chosen by Nelson. I learned much that was of great interest about the stance taken by Irish nationalists in the American political landscape, and it is here specifically that the great value of Nelson's book lies. Still, the history of racial thought in America and in Europe are two quite different things: on one side of the Atlantic it involves slavery, lynchings and eugenetic immigration debates; on the other, it involves corporatist totalitarianism and extermination camps. Neither development can be properly understood if it is described in the other's frame of reference. Crucially, Irish nationalism was a political presence on both continents, and the great challenge to future historians must be to see how this Janus-faced position was addressed by Irish nationalism as an ideology, and by certain key players (like De Valera) in particular.

And the same thing can be said of the history of nationalism itself, and of Irish nationalism in particular. In an American context, nationalism is on the whole a Good Thing, an emancipatory, progressive force liberating colonies from the haughty tutelage and exploitation of their hegemon; in the European context, we cannot ignore the totalitarian outflow of nationalism, from Franco's Spain to Antonescu's Romania, with the Third Reich in the middle. Good Thing or Bad Thing? I phrase that binary moralism here in Sellar/Yeatman silliness, but it is in fact an informing presence, as a heuristic polarity, in Nelson's book, as indeed it is in much contemporary history writing, Irish and otherwise. Nelson does come up with plenty of edifying examples, focusing towards the end mainly on Liam Mellows. I sometimes felt, as a reader, slightly manipulated, rather than convinced, by this self-selected celebratory agenda. That being said, however, it is indeed a good thing (and that I say without irony) that Ireland's progressive, internationalist republicans have been retrieved from oblivion,

and are given the recognition they deserve. They, too, are part of the historical track record. But they do not simply justify Irish nationalism as a whole; they complicate it.

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Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland, 1224–1540* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012, 389 pp., €60 hardback, €29.95 paperback)

This study of the mendicant friars in Ireland is a monumental work. Ó Clabaigh has drawn on the work of generations of scholars who have sought out and published records relating to the friars in Ireland, ferreted out unpublished materials, and produced what is likely to be the definitive book on the mendicant orders in Ireland from their advent in the early thirteenth century to the dissolution of many of their friaries by Henry VIII. The book is divided into two parts: a chronological survey in three chapters tracing the development of the mendicant orders in Ireland, and a consideration in seven chapters of discrete aspects of the mendicants' lives and ministries.

The chronological chapters are as detailed as is ever likely to be possible. Chapter 1 shows how the Dominican and Franciscan orders became established in Ireland from 1224, shortly after their inception in Italy. They were joined by the Carmelites and Augustinian friars later in the thirteenth century. The initial expansion of the friars in Ireland was remarkably rapid. Ó Clabaigh traces that expansion in words and maps. He shows that the first friaries were founded in the towns and boroughs of colonial Ireland because the first generation of friars in Ireland, like their confrères elsewhere, looked to urban communities for support. The money invested in the new foundations came largely from the wealth generated by the economy in colonial Ireland during its heyday, and men of English descent were prominent among their ranks. Yet the friars also attracted patrons and recruits from the Gaelic Irish from the start.

Relations between friars from the two nations in Ireland seem to have been satisfactory at first, and Ó Clabaigh gives good reasons to disbelieve the hoary report of the killing of seven Franciscans by their brethren at Cork in 1291. He sees the Bruce Invasion of 1315 as 'the most significant event in polarising the Irish mendicants along ethnic lines' (p. 35). The savage warfare attending that invasion, together with the climate change which began dramatically about that time, and the catastrophic Black Death, caused socio-economic and political dislocation on such a scale that the mendicant communities were hard-pressed to maintain their numbers and standards through the calamitous fourteenth century. Yet the turn of the fifteenth century witnessed the start of a 'remarkable second flowering of the mendicant movement in Ireland' (p. 53). There was a new wave of friary and third order foundations, almost a hundred of them, mostly in the Irish-speaking heartlands from Rathmullan in the far north to Sherkin Island in the far south of Ireland. 'These imposing

gothic friaries with their distinctive tapering towers and extensive claustral complexes became as much a symbol of that newly prosperous and confident society as the castles and tower houses of their patrons' (p. 53). At the same time 'Observantism' swept across Ireland from the Gaelic west to deep into the Pale, 'an Irish manifestation of the reform movements that reanimated late medieval religious life on the continent' (p. 53). Ó Clabaigh's discussion of the reform movement among the different orders of mendicants in Ireland, and their new foundations, is most impressive in its detail. My only quibble is that by focusing on the friars in isolation, without contextualising them in relation to the wider Church in late medieval Ireland, it is not made clear why Observantism resonated so profoundly with people in Ireland, compared with the English, for example. The revival of the fortunes of the friars in Ireland was only part of a much more general renewal of the late medieval Irish Church, and it was the lay members of that wider Church who financed the foundation of the friaries and paid for the ministries of the friars, and provided their recruits. Ó Clabaigh's book often refers to friars who came from learned Irish families who had provided recruits for the Irish Church for centuries. The friars may have well have had a transformative effect on Christians in late medieval Ireland, but the way in which the Irish responded to them suggests a great deal about the nature of popular religious sentiment at that time.

The second part of Ó Clabaigh's book is well-nigh faultless. It is work that will guarantee its place on historians' shelves indefinitely. In detail that one would never have imagined possible he discusses the patrons of the friars: aristocrats, urban dwellers and women, and not just the very wealthy individuals who financed the building of entire friaries, or parts thereof, but also the more humble benefactors who donated liturgical equipment, a practice that was 'particularly popular' (p. 101), or donated money, rental properties or allocations of bread or wine, etc., etc. In Chapter 5 Ó Clabaigh examines the lifestyle of the friars in a most comprehensive manner. He refers to the skeleton of one (probable) friar from Ennis that suggests that the man was suffering from DISH, a form of arthritis related to dietary excess (p. 125), and to an 'orgy of drunken violence that convulsed the Franciscans in Roscrea in 1477' (p. 142). However, the significance of such isolated instances is not at all clear. Chapter 8 is focused on the architecture and art of the friaries and makes for fascinating reading. The author combines extensive documentation with detailed consideration of the physical remains of friary buildings and their furnishings, and surviving examples of religious images in ivory, alabaster, stone, wood, glass, tiles and on vellum (much of which is beautifully illustrated with striking photographs) to throw unprecedented light upon this subject. In Chapter 7 he examines the liturgies and devotions associated with the friars in late medieval Ireland, again combining written and physical evidence to wonderful effect. He analyses the formation of friars in Chapter 9, assesses their pastoral impact in Chapter 10 and draws attention to the positive judgements of their efficacy as preachers and confessors from 'a wide range of contemporary sources' (p. 285). This is

not a hagiographical exercise, however, and Ó Clabaigh presents a weighty chapter on the friars' critics, most notably Richard Fitzralph and a number of other Anglo-Irish clerics influenced by him. The evidence for the circulation of anti-mendicant popular literature in English in Ireland is judged to be 'slight but significant' while 'the evidence for anti-mendicant motifs in Gaelic literary sources is also very slight' (p. 162). It is fully discussed by Ó Clabaigh but, he observes, 'there is nothing comparable to the opprobrium found in English or continental literature' (ibid.).

This book concludes with a brief consideration of how the mendicant orders survived in Ireland despite the dissolution of so many of their houses by Henry VIII and his successors, a satisfying finale to an outstanding work.

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Emmet O'Connor, *A Labour History of Ireland, 1824–2000* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2011, 328 pp., €28 paperback)

The publication of Emmet O'Connor's *A labour history of Ireland, 1824–1960* in 1992 represented something of a watershed in Irish labour history. A broad, well-researched survey of the Irish labour movement, the work was in many regards the first true scholarly, national history of Irish labour. Prior to its publication, the only comparable works were either low-quality footnotes to Connolly, such as Peter Beresford Ellis's misnamed *A history of the Irish working class* or popular accounts of the trade union leadership such as *Trade unions in Ireland, 1894–1960* by Charles McCarthy. Two decades later, this expanded version takes the story closer to the present day, drawing on extensive primary research and a mountainous volume of writing by other researchers.

The main foci of *A labour history of Ireland* are familiar: the trade union movement, the labour parties (north and south), social policy, industrial relations and radical politics. These themes are both presented in their wider social, political and economic contexts and firmly planted in a materialist analysis that privileges economic motivations without descending into vulgarity or simplification. The analytical thrust of the work could be described as post-colonialist. O'Connor squarely foregrounds the relationship with Britain in determining the course of Irish labour. In his conclusion, he emphasises the importance of the deindustrialisation process of the nineteenth century, which meant that the Irish working class was declining at the same time as strong, industrial proletariats were emerging in other countries, where powerful trade union movements and mass social-democratic parties developed. The weak Irish labour movement instead pursued its interests through various national movements in order to advance. Later in the century, Labour depoliticised itself by imitating the British TUC, abandoning the pursuit of gains through the Irish Parliamentary Party and instead limiting itself to industrial organisation and 'pure' trade union matters. Attempting to do so, in the context of the weak organising strength among the Irish proletariat, was only explicable in

terms of ‘mental colonisation’. The labour movement failed to shake off ‘the sense that constitutional questions were foreign territory’, with the result that political labour remained hopelessly tied to the belief that modernisation would automatically create the conditions it needed to flourish (p. 291). This attitude survived the independence struggle when Labour, unable to develop an indignant response to the objective conditions of the Free State, still pinned their hopes on industrialisation producing British-style class politics in Ireland. This left the field clear for Fianna Fáil to win working-class support in the 1930s, marginalising the Labour Party further and creating a relationship between the trade union movement and the soldiers of destiny that would reach its logical conclusion in social partnership.

Equal attention is devoted to northern labour. Like its southern counterpart, according to O’Connor, the northern labour movement aped British labourism in what he describes as an effort to artificially contain sectarian divisions through ‘an oligarchy of officialdom’ (p. 295). Political labour in the north thus avoided addressing the pressing questions of nationalism and unionism throughout the century, adopting a ‘non-policy’ on the issue which was doomed to failure from the beginning, and culminated in the withering away of the Northern Irish Labour Party (NILP). The failure of the NILP to adopt a position on the question of civil rights in the 1960s represented the final failure of the labour movement in Northern Ireland. While it is hard to dispute O’Connor’s analysis of political labour in the North, it is overly dismissive of industrial labour. The oddity of the northern trade union movement, a ‘united, secular Labour movement’ in a ‘confessional society among the very people most divided by sectarianism’, is explained by the successes of a bureaucratic officialdom espousing core labour values who contained the sectarian contradictions of their own membership (p. 188). However, such a view obscures the fact that at least some element of non-sectarian labour consciousness must have existed among the rank and file in order for the leadership to succeed in this task, a factor left largely unexplored.

Broad surveys like this one often fall into the trap of being a narrative account of leadership or institutions. That accusation could not be levelled at *A labour history* in which discussions of leading figures are seamlessly integrated into their broader societal context. The other danger with a lengthy study is that it may result in a dry, encyclopaedic narrative, given the necessity of packing so many events, organisations and processes into a relatively short publication. This is largely averted by O’Connor’s ironic wit and dry sense of humour, which keeps the book both entertaining and informative. *A labour history of Ireland*, in short, is a stunning achievement. In both breadth of research and depth of analysis, this volume is unrivalled in Irish labour history. To deploy a cliché, this is essential reading for the specialist and the general reader alike.

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Brendan O'Donoghue, *In Search of Fame and Fortune: The Leahy Family of Engineers, 1780–1888* (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2006, 338 pp., €45 hardback)

This book tells the story of the Leahy family of Tipperary and highlights the intriguing emergence of professional civil engineering in Ireland, the railway mania that gripped the country in the 1840s and the role that surveyors and engineers played in the administration of the British colonial empire across the world. Heavily involved with the development of local infrastructure in Munster, Patrick Leahy (1780–1850) and his sons Edmund, Denis and Mathew, had wide ranging careers in Ireland and abroad with often chaotic, illegal and at times tragic consequences.

Beginning with the early career of land surveyor Patrick Leahy, O'Donoghue's narrative underscores the lack of legislation and licensing in the profession and how local practitioners often struggled with securing a regular flow of work for a successful career. A common point joining Patrick and his sons is their involvement in many official government organisations over the course of a century. Patrick's time with the Bogs Commission (1810–13) and its well-known engineers such as Alexander Nimmo (1783–1832) brings the story to the early days of the Ordnance Survey in Ireland and the foundation of the position of county surveyor for local Grand Juries in the 1830s. The early nineteenth century was a transition period for Ireland's land surveyors with greater standardisation and skill expected from its practitioners. This book draws attention to those surveyors who worked outside the well-documented realm of the Ordnance Survey and the difficulty that many had in not only securing work but also determining if they were to remain land surveyors or transform themselves into engineers.

A frequent theme of the careers of the Leahys is their continual ambition to be recognised as great engineers. Indeed, while similar research on other nineteenth-century engineers often follows the premise of mankind's conquering of the natural world, the Leahys' story is one of attitudes, victory over aptitude, and at times common sense. The men regularly showed a greatly inflated sense of entitlement which seems strange given their overall lack of successfully completed projects. In order to secure employment from local or national government, the Leahys, chiefly Patrick and his son Edmund, would often grossly overstate or lie about their past achievements, particularly relating to civil engineering and architecture, which the author is quick to acknowledge. O'Donoghue shows that Grand Juries, the forerunners of county councils, were often unable to find experienced and competent engineers in Ireland for the construction of roads, asylums, bridges and poor houses, leaving a gap in the market for the Leahys to exploit. The Leahys were responsible for public building in both Cork City and the two ridings of the surrounding county, and this book gives an interesting and detailed insight into public construction at a county level in Ireland during the 1830s and 1840s.

The 1830s saw the beginning of railway mania in Ireland and the Leahys were quick to take advantage of this emerging market. At times resembling the great railway speculators of the American west, the Leahys dived into various railway schemes. Edmund's powerful and persuasive public speaking in support of such projects stood in stark contrast with his hasty and improper railway engineering surveys, lack of field reconnaissance and inability to attend to his official duties as county surveyor in Cork. With too many projects underway at any one time, Edmund found himself not only dismissed from his role with the Cork Grand Jury but also in the midst of a bitter lawsuit with the Cork to Bandon railway company, which did its best to criticise his lack of experience and poor surveying skills. With their private and official business in ruins, and with allegations of fraud hanging over their heads, the Leahys turned to a wider international audience.

Where this book really comes alive is its coverage of the Leahy family's global adventures. From Cape Town to the Crimean war, O'Donoghue covers the role that civil engineering played in the wider British Empire and how the Leahys' ambitions reached a truly global scale. This international perspective again highlights the role official government organisations played in employing engineers and surveyors, with the Colonial and Foreign Offices in London being particularly harassed by Edmund Leahy's proposals for schemes and projects that were at times highly questionable. O'Donoghue's attention to detail comes to the forefront through his extensive use of original communications, letters and telegrams, recreating the complex world through which Britain ruled her colonies. Edmund Leahy's work in Jamaica is a particularly fine example of this research with O'Donoghue laying out how an attempt at fraud by Leahy had unforeseen consequences for the island and its population.

The Leahys were a complex and at times perplexing family. O'Donoghue's description of their careers allows each member to be seen in their own light. Their inability to play by the rules was only matched by their equal inability to gain real success from such schemes in the long term. The era in which their story is told is also its own character with the professional world of Patrick Leahy around 1810 being very different to the ones in which his sons found themselves by the 1860s. O'Donoghue obviously has a passionate interest in the careers of the Leahys, who did indeed live highly fascinating lives. The book is very well researched and with immense detail, often from personal letters written between the various family members giving a more intimate rationale into their thinking. However, this detail, though interesting, can at times obscure the book's narrative. Overall *In search of fame and fortune* will be of great benefit to many fields of interest, particularly railway construction, civil engineering and the role that land surveyors and engineers played in early nineteenth-century Ireland.

Finnian O'Cionnaith NUI Maynooth



Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012, 668 pp., £40 hardback)

The influence of two major historical studies, one English, one Irish, may be discerned in this volume. Lawrence Stone's seminal survey of the English aristocracy from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century (*The crisis of the aristocracy*) appeared in 1965. In its steady focus on this elite, the detailed, original and comprehensive archival research, the broad range of questions addressed, and the integration of recent historiography on a vast array of themes, the present work performs a similar service for the Irish aristocracy of a slightly later period. Secondly, the title points to Nicholas Canny's sweeping synthesis of the colonial enterprise in Ireland for much of the same period (*Making Ireland British 1580–1650*, 2001). The present work and Canny's both treat of the implementation of government imperatives to reshape Irish society in an English mould consequent upon the extension of English rule from the 1580s. Both studies treat of English and Scottish immigrants to Ireland; clearly, however, Ohlmeyer's is more narrowly focused socially, and significantly includes a sustained attention to the transformation of the small number of existing ancient families – almost exclusively Catholic – who comprised the peerage at the end of the sixteenth century.

Building on her definitive study of the Marquis of Antrim, Ohlmeyer's work breaks new ground in providing a longitudinal survey of a well-defined grouping of major significance in the political, economic and religious upheavals of seventeenth-century Ireland. The canvas is broad and the treatment moves between the group profile to detailed consideration of individual families; at times the sheer wealth of data can be demanding of the reader, but the author never loses sight of the principal focus, that of the peerage as a body. The author and her publisher are to be congratulated for a well-finished production, replete with graphs, maps and contemporary illustrations.

The multi-faceted approach to the study of these ninety-one families is a strong feature. Alongside attention to the contribution of the peerage to military life and to political affairs, there are fresh themes drawn from recent historiography, including building projects, business ventures (in Ireland, the Caribbean, North America and India), education patterns, marriages, family life, life expectancy, engagement with religion, and experiences of dying together with funeral rituals. The author has profited from the exceptionally detailed range of extant sources for the peerage to offer insights into women's lives, albeit at this elite level. Women came to the fore as de facto heads of households and estate managers during the prolonged absences of menfolk in the turbulent and uncertain 1640s and 1650s. The evolution of marriage may be illustrated in the case of the earls of Clanricard. In the sixteenth century marriage alliances served to consolidate regional power, whereas in the following century they were used to demonstrate Englishness, and to secure patronage at court. English wives served to link the Irish peerage to their English counterparts,

thereby integrating them into the patronage afforded by the court, and contributing to the peerage's role as agent of Anglicisation in Ireland.

Thus a well-rounded portrait of this grouping emerges. However, the contribution of this book goes beyond a social analysis of the elite. A much richer and more nuanced view emerges of the broad political and social trends which convulsed seventeenth-century Ireland as a whole. In this regard the persistence of the Catholic dimension is striking. Starting as an almost exclusively Catholic body, by 1641 the peerage was still 50 per cent Catholic, a proportion that remained constant until the end of the seventeenth century. The author notes the centrality of this adherence to the old religion in the identity of many families, their protection of Catholicism in their territories, and the vigorous (if ultimately unsuccessful) efforts made to combat state pressure to conform to the established church. At various points Ohlmeyer draws on international comparisons, chiefly with the peerage in England and Scotland, but also with Bohemia, where the traditional Czech Protestant elite was replaced by a Catholic grouping, German in culture, as a result of imperial military conquest.

It is a tribute to the mould-breaking quality of this volume that it implicitly hints at possibilities for further research. A study of similar scale for the eighteenth century is desirable. The archives for some families may well be so extensive as to call for more individual treatment – one thinks of the recently available papers of the Brownes of Westport House. The peerage in the sixteenth century deserves consideration as a group, and this would be a useful addition to the published studies of several major lineages. Several individuals merit biographies. Ohlmeyer's approach to the peerage could be applied to other cohesive groupings, lawyer families, for example, or merchants, or prelates of the Church of Ireland. Further, the volume provides a major fillip to the study of family life in Ireland; yet as the author indicates, widowhood, for example, remains a subject to be explored for the early modern period. In its judicious evaluation – underpinned by exhaustive research – of a broad and innovative range of themes, and the integration of the most recent secondary literature, this book is a magisterial contribution to the study of early modern Ireland.

Brian Mac Cuarta SJ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome

Michael C. O'Malley, *Military Aviation in Ireland, 1921–1945* (Dublin: University of Dublin Press, 2010, 347 pp., €60 hardback, €28 paperback)

O'Malley has delved into a subject that has been avoided by military and aviation historians. The vast majority of aviation literature from the interwar period is filled with stories of daring heroic pilots and their epic flights, technological advances, the decline of military air power in the post-war period and its incredible growth on the pathway to the Second World War. Aircraft became critical battlefield tools that laid waste to military and civilian targets. As one reads through the pages of this book you will encounter none of these tales. Therein lies the importance of O'Malley's work.

O'Malley weaves a chronological storyline that makes evident the inability of air power to gain a toehold in Ireland. During the Irish Revolution, the Royal Air Force attempted to use aircraft to support their operations but to no avail. The air tactics learned on the western front did not translate to the asymmetric or insurgency warfare that the British faced. In addition, the Irish terrain and weather further hampered the ability to use aircraft effectively. With the formation of the Irish Free State, Michael Collins did not see military aviation as a military priority, but he did want to establish a strong civil airline system that could serve as a symbol of Irish independence. Collins like many others of the time believed that a strong civil aviation sector would serve as a cadre for air force expansion by providing a ready supply of aircraft and experienced pilots and skilled mechanics. Like many other nations, the Irish soon discovered civil aviation proficiency did not translate into military application. Even so, commercial aviation received minimal government support. During the Irish Civil War, the provisional government attempted to use aircraft but their application proved to be almost comical. Military leadership had no knowledge of the application of air power. In addition, the government was wholly dependent upon the British for aircraft, training and logistical support. O'Malley illustrates the atrophy of the air service following the Civil War until the international crisis of the mid-1930s. Continued attempts at reorganising the service by leaders with no aviation experience; mistrust by former members of the IRA of the pilots that were former members of the RFC/RAF; and minimal fiscal support demoralised the meagre force. It was not until 1935 that the first comprehensive analysis for the Republic's military aeronautical needs took place. Leaders determined that three permanent squadrons needed to be established which would expand to ten squadrons in wartime. This plan also failed with the selection of unsuitable aircraft types and the inability to purchase adequate numbers from countries such as Britain who had to provide for their own defence needs first. Even with a looming military crisis, the Irish government continued to concentrate aeronautical spending on the civilian sector. O'Malley's final three chapters focus on the Irish Air Corps during the emergency. The corps suffered from shortages of everything – personnel, equipment, infrastructure and supplies. At the lowest point of the Allies' position during the Second World War in 1941–42, the Irish government conducted the Air Corps Investigation to determine the cause of the Irish Air Corps' ill-preparedness. The main reason for the failure was the lack of influence of airmen in the Irish General Headquarters. The investigation only further demoralised the Air Corps.

O'Malley's work adds some new perspectives to major historical events in the Irish Republic's formative years through a detailed examination of the Irish Air Corps. It is a well-researched book on a topic that seems to have limited documentary evidence. As a result O'Malley occasionally highlights some events or individuals that deserve only a brief mention or footnote. He breaks new ground in aviation history by avoiding a triumphant story.

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Eoin O'Sullivan and Ian O'Donnell (eds), *Coercive Confinement in Ireland: Patients, Prisoners and Penitents* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012, 305 pp., £65.00 hardback)

This edited volume posits an interesting and fresh thesis about the nature of post-independence Irish society. It argues that while Ireland experienced low levels of imprisonment in the early decades of independence, there existed a vast network of institutions that 'imprisoned' thousands of individuals, albeit in informal and extra-legal ways (what the editors call 'coercive confinement'), and punished them not for criminal acts but for transgressing Irish society's moral and social codes. The Catholic Church, the Irish state and, indeed, families, relied on this network of often religiously-administered institutions to exercise tight control over the behaviour of the Irish populace or, in the case of families, over problematic or troublesome family members. The editors further suggest that these institutions operated under the guise of 'welfarism' but that 'the experiences of those confined in cells and dormitories or on wards suggest that, in the main, they were *felt* as punitive' (p. 2). They were 'austere places with few displays of affection and many of discipline' (p. 5). While the institutions that comprised Ireland's culture of 'coercive confinement' were relics of British administration, they flourished in the independent Irish state as agents of enforcing a narrow vision of appropriate, respectable and moral behaviour. The pattern of coercive confinement identified by O'Sullivan and O'Donnell continued into the early 1950s but had, by the early 1970s, reversed itself.

The question of agency is central to the book's thesis. The editors argue that coercive confinement, by its very nature, implies a lack of agency or freedom. But they also acknowledge that available evidence does not always allow them to draw firm conclusions. As a result, they sometimes rely on other published work to make broad, sweeping generalisations about the nature or extent of coercive confinement. For example, they accept without question Maria Luddy's contention that the majority of women in Magdalen asylums were, in effect, 'prisoners' held against their will and with no legal authority. This is an oft-repeated 'fact', but evidence to support it is disappointingly thin. Unmarried mothers also were confined in county homes, allegedly for two years or more after the birth of their children. The editors suggest, on the basis of a single, undated inter-governmental committee report, that unmarried mother were retained for such long periods because they provided the free labour on which the institutions depended to function properly. It may be the case that some unmarried mothers were retained in county homes for two years or more; however, other evidence (for example court records on infanticide trials) indicate that women stayed in county homes for only about a month before being sent home with their babies. Indeed, several women accused of murdering their infants had given birth in the county homes, and allegedly murdered their babies within days of being discharged. This points to one of the major problems with the editors' argument: it is compelling, but it is not always sufficiently substantiated with evidence.

The bulk of the book is comprised of primary source material, organised into three sections and presented chronologically within each section. The sections include 'patients, paupers and unmarried mothers', 'prisoners', and 'troubled and troublesome children'. The range of material presented in these three sections is impressive and covers a broad array of perspectives, from religious tracts to government documents to personal narratives to the writings of reformers. The problem, though, is that the editors leave the evidence to speak for itself. Each document is accompanied by an introduction that lays out authorship and context, but the documents in each section are not accompanied by an essay or narrative that ties them together into a coherent argument. There is little effort to directly tie these documents to the book's broader argument. And this is perhaps the book's main shortcoming – the fact that the authors have offered a compelling argument but do not effectively use the evidence in an overt way to support that argument. Having said that, these documents are, in themselves, valuable sources for scholars of twentieth-century Irish social history, so in gathering them together in a single source the authors have done a useful public service.

The book ends with some concluding thoughts on the nature of coercive confinement in Ireland and offers a number of explanations as to why there might have been such high levels of extra legal confinement and low levels of imprisonment, and why that trend changed significantly in the late 1960s and early 1970s. One reason for this reversal was the declining influence of the Catholic Church. Many of the institutions that made up the network of coercive confinement addressed issues of sexual morality in one way or another; a decline in the Church's moral authority also meant a decline in efforts to institutionalise those deemed to have transgressed society's moral codes. And of course the decline in numbers entering religious life meant that those institutions that catered for Ireland's problematic populations no longer had the human or financial resources required to remain viable.

In making a case for why coercive confinement was so endemic in the first decades of independence the editors suggest that when independence came there already existed a network of more than a hundred institutions designed specifically to deal with all manner of social problems. Because a 'solution' was so readily available, politicians saw no reason to explore alternatives. Indeed, the ready availability of these institutions virtually guaranteed a steady flow of 'inmates' deemed problematic for one reason or another. The network of institutions served the needs of a rural, unindustrialised economy, of a fledgling state that was unwilling to seek out alternatives to solving social problems, of a Catholic Church anxious to wield its moral authority over the Irish populace, and of families that used institutions to rid themselves of problematic elements for both financial and social reasons. By the early 1970s Irish society was undergoing a number of political, religious, social and economic changes that meant that those institutions no longer served the needs they once did. Overall this edited volume offers a unique approach to an aspect of twentieth-century Irish social history, although its real value

is in making readily accessible to budding scholars a vast array of primary source materials.

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Susan M. Parkes, *A Guide to Sources for the History of Irish Education 1780–1922*, Maynooth Research Guides for Irish Local History (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010, 208 pp., €45 hardback, €22.50 paperback)

As the historian knows, the time devoted to research is not only invaluable but sadly increasingly in short supply. Therefore the Maynooth Research Guides for Irish Local History series delivers an invaluable service, providing the researcher (both amateur and professional) with easily accessible direction and practical advice covering a broad range of subjects useful in local history studies and more mainstream historical research. The guides cover a wide range of subjects, from the first in the series, Terence Dooley's *Sources for the history of landed estates in Ireland* (2000) through to Ciarán Ó hÓgartaigh and Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh's *Business archival sources for the local historian* (2010). Number seventeen, and the latest in the series, is Susan M. Parkes's *A guide to sources for the history of Irish education, 1780–1922* (2010).

With over thirty years experience as a lecturer in the history of education, Susan M. Parkes is eminently qualified to assess the suitability and availability of Ireland's educational records. The guide acknowledges the contributions of previous educational historians such as Timothy Corcoran, SJ, D. H. Akenson, John Coolahan, and more recently Áine Hyland and Kenneth Milne, in bringing to the fore holdings of primary source documents detailing aspects of Irish education from Tudor times to the present. As there is no single repository dedicated to the history of education in Ireland, this guide 'aims to assist the researcher in locating and using' those records of most benefit to their studies (p. 12).

The guide is divided into three parts; part one provides the historical background to educational provision (and often the lack of it) in Ireland for the period *circa* 1750 to the early 1920s, though it does discuss Irish education pre-1750; the second part identifies repositories holding primary sources for the history of Irish education and details the accessibility and usefulness of their sources. Part three offers the reader three local history case studies, namely a survey of 'Schools in county Wicklow, 1825–1900'; a study of Enniscorthy Model School, 1862 and Mercer's School in Castleknock, County Dublin, thereby illustrating the diversity, use and value of educational documentation to the social and economic history of Ireland at a local level (pp. 173–200).

The resources outlined in the guide reflect the closer involvement of the state in children's education that emerged at the close of the eighteenth century in that the primary sources discussed are clustered within the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Indeed, the historical parameters of the guide (1780–1922) highlight this fact. Frequent reference however is made to the availability of

earlier sources in such works as *Irish educational documents* (3 vols, 1987–95) edited by Áine Hyland and Kenneth Milne. Of particular interest to the social and economic historian is the attention drawn to the extent of the reports of royal commissions and parliamentary committees that relate to all levels of schooling in Ireland (p. 130). Such reports are not only indicative of the status and shape of education in Ireland, but also serve to illustrate the historical development of government policies pertaining to education in the state.

As the guide indicates, in many instances educational records (particularly those for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) are so detailed that they are useful for both quantitative and qualitative analyses. School registers not only permit a more comprehensive view of the social and economic conditions of a particular community at a specific point in time but are also useful in facilitating a comparative study over a longer period – the choice lies with the researcher. National school ‘punishment books’, which all schools were obliged to keep, provide a valuable insight into schoolchildren’s behaviour, and society’s attitudes towards it (p. 175).

Of use also are the extensive footnotes that provide the reader with further avenues of investigation. One resource omitted however is newspapers, an often underappreciated resource. These are particularly useful for the second half of the eighteenth century when the demand for education, both male and female, rose, leading to intense competition between educational establishments for business. This guide is strongly recommended as a first step for those seeking a research project in this field. The format and content not only succinctly deliver guidance for those in the initial stages of research, but also provide the impetus for further historical research in the history of Irish education.

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Matthew Potter, *William Monsell of Tervoe 1812–1894: Catholic Unionist, Anglo-Irishman* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009, 226 pp., €35 hardback)

This book traces the making and unmaking of a public figure in nineteenth-century Anglo-Irish politics and provides a window into the political world he inhabited. William Monsell’s career, as explored in Matthew Potter’s study, involved a number of strands. He was a popular Limerick landlord who opposed land reform; a staunch anti-papist who converted to and became the parliamentary champion of Catholicism; an intensely patriotic supporter of the Act of Union; and an ambitious and astute public figure who held high office but never achieved his objective of a Cabinet seat.

Potter’s study explores Monsell’s personality and its role in shaping his political career. His combination of moral earnestness (principled, tenacious and compassionate) won him the loyalty (though not unqualified) of his tenants and the admiration of a broad spectrum of political society over the course of his long career. He was, however, flawed as an administrator: a successful spell as Clerk of the Ordnance in the early 1850s was followed, two decades later, by

a disastrous period as Postmaster General when his general lack of perspicacity and forcefulness compounded already complicated problems within his department. But he also possessed an innate pragmatism and practicality: he was well able to concentrate his parliamentary energies on pushing for practical reforms (legislation pertaining to Roman Catholic marriages in 1863 and burials in 1868, for example) when objectives that were of more significance to him (especially the establishment of a Catholic University) proved unachievable.

This issue of the role of religion in education is given considerable prominence in Potter's study, not alone because it loomed so largely in Monsell's political vision, but because of its hugely important place in nineteenth-century political debate both inside and outside parliament. This focus on religion proved Monsell's greatest political weakness. Influenced in turn by Tractarianism, the Oxford Movement and the ideals of Lammenais, and consistent in his vision of a society inspired by religious ideals, he found himself tossed between Gladstonian Liberalism, Toryism and Ultramontanism. His impossible position as a Catholic Liberal in the Ireland of the devotional revolution and increasingly assertive Catholic nationalism brought him into conflict with those, like Cardinal Paul Cullen, whose objectives he partly shared but whose approach and attitude was alien to him.

Equally problematic was Monsell's position, very sympathetically explored in this study, as a Catholic Unionist. In fact, Monsell had multiple intersecting political identities – Irish, British, European – all converging in an intense patriotism. Indeed, it was his patriotism that determined his Unionism since he believed that Ireland could best be served by continued integration in the United Kingdom, provided that the reforming aspects of that union were given priority in legislation. This stance, as Potter shows, earned him little popular political support as the century progressed: while his antipathy to Fenian separatism did him little harm, his differences with constitutional nationalists was a different matter. His quest for office – not just for personal advancement but also as a means towards furthering Irish interests in parliament – earned him unpopularity among the proponents of independent opposition from the 1850s onwards, while his absolute rejection of Home Rule ensured his increased political isolation from the mainstream of Irish nationalism for the last two decades of his life.

Monsell's increasingly outdated social outlook is also considered in Potter's work. In an Ireland of ever more assertive and politicised farmers and shopkeepers, his paternalistic approach to landlord-tenant relations (epitomised in the apparently harmonious relations on his own estates) belonged to a swiftly passing world. His strong sense of social equity (not to be confused with social equality) was paralleled by an undoubtedly elitist attitude towards those outside his class. He bridled at the thought of sending his own children to the Catholic University that he backed throughout his political career, and his arrogant opinion (usually well concealed) of Cardinal Paul Cullen was particularly illustrative of Monsell's attitude to the farmers who would eventually dominate post-famine Ireland.



This is a really worthwhile study of an individual and a political outlook that has been to some extent airbrushed from Irish historical research. It explores that combination of Catholicism, Unionism, Liberalism and social paternalism that rapidly disappeared as the nineteenth century merged into the twentieth. It puts the personal and local experience into the broader Irish, British and European contexts, and is an excellent example of how analytical biography can cast light on broader society.

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Fred Powell, Martin Geohan, Margaret Scanlon and Katerina Swirak (eds), *Youth Policy, Civil Society and the Modern Irish State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012, 269 pp., £70 hardback)

Up to the 1960s ‘youth’ came near the bottom of the list of society’s concerns – real life began when you emerged from it. Then in the early 1960s things changed with great speed. Youth came to the forefront of society’s concerns. Young people spoke to each other across the national boundaries; they determined the agenda; they provided the vision; they set the pace. The 1960s was indeed a youth age. The young felt they had inherited the earth. In every field of human endeavour the framework of thought and action was provided not by the past but by the future and the future is always the territory of the youth. It was a spectacular shift and to have been a student at that time and involved in student affairs was a tremendously stretching and greatly valued experience for some of us.

This change in young people’s social role and their self-understanding worked itself out at every level of society. Changes in young people and the kind of opportunities they looked for in their leisure time led to the beginning in the mid-1960s of what we now call youth services, the subject of this fine book from Manchester University Press. The book details how, up to the 1960s, there was a fairly narrow range of youth organisations in Ireland: the uniformed groups; Church related agencies; and a relatively small number of mainly urban youth clubs and centres focused especially on young people from disadvantaged backgrounds. In the 1940s and 1950s *Macra na Feirme* and *Macra na Tuaithe* had been established, focused primarily but not exclusively on young people in rural areas. Youth work was almost totally voluntary with virtually no state support. One of the very significant developments in the 1960s was the emergence of a new style of youth club. It tended to be open to boys and girls and catered for the late teenage group. It provided an opportunity for all the young people in an area to get together and enjoy themselves in a relaxed sort of setting, to get involved in worthwhile educational and recreational activities but also to make a contribution to the local community which every club attempted to do. Young members wanted to participate in all decisions affecting them and these clubs had an elected members’ committee.

Within a few years, by the early 1970s 1,200 clubs has been set up. Those clubs were also linked together in local Regional Youth Councils and later nationally in the National Federation of Youth Clubs. They tried to do things together, like training, development and advocacy, that they could not do individually. The uniformed groups and Macra na Tuathe (later Foróige), Macra na Feirme and various religious and political youth groups were also developing dramatically at the same period.

The National Youth Council was and is very important in bringing youth organisations together and initiating projects, researching needs and developing policy. There was a growing recognition of a need for premises and facilities, for professional full-time workers and for significant state funding. From the late 1970s onwards there have been huge developments on all these fronts: a dramatic increase in government funding and a huge increase in full-time youth workers, with three government commissioned reports on youth services and, a wide network of new programmes, projects and services – professional full-time third-level training, research and pilot initiatives of all sorts.

This book highlights how there has been a strong emphasis on professionalism in services to meet the development needs of all young people and to provide a programme of social education. There have been very substantial efforts also to meet the special needs of disadvantaged young people who required additional degrees of support and help. The sort of specialist services needed included information and advice centres, coffee bars and drop-in centres, youth encounter projects for early school leavers, a wide range of youth employment and training schemes, neighbourhood youth projects, and special programmes for young addicts, the homeless and deviant ‘young people’.

There is no doubt that over the past fifty or so years the Youth Service has helped many young people find their way individually and socially. The Youth Service is one of the most dramatic developments in Irish social provision. It is clearly of crucial importance that all these developments be reviewed, studied in depth, analysed by professionals and located in the wider social and developmental context. The book under review does this admirably and I strongly recommend it to those who plan services, those who study social development, those who train youth and community workers and those with an interest in evolution of society and community provision in Ireland.

Walter Forde Byrne/Perry Summer School

Margaret H. Preston and Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh (eds), *Gender and Medicine in Ireland, 1700–1950* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2012, 317 pp., \$39.95 paperback)

This fine collection of essays will greatly enhance the corpus of knowledge of the history of Irish medicine, focusing particularly on how medical events were experienced by women, and issues that were unique to the female sex. In so doing, it addresses a number of subjects that hitherto have not received

the attention they should, possibly because they were regarded as taboo in Ireland, such as venereal disease, and mental illness and its association with criminality. Philomena Gorey contributes a fascinating study on midwifery in eighteenth-century Dublin, noting that until the 1730s the involvement of men in the process of childbirth was limited to the presence of a surgeon who was only called in extreme cases. By the end of the century, the man midwife became the accepted person to deliver a baby, particularly with the advent of new anatomical and scientific advances and instruments such as the forceps. The emerging field of obstetrics was without regulation, and Gorey highlights the careers of Bartholomew Mosse, Fielding Ould and Davis McBride and their struggle to achieve recognition for their skills, particularly in the case of Mosse, whose philanthropic efforts in establishing the Lying-in Hospital resulted in his early demise.

Both Pauline Prior and Oonagh Walsh discuss mental health issues, with Oonagh Walsh investigating the incarceration of patients in the Ballinasloe Lunatic Asylum, noting that despite massive overcrowding and understaffing, the provision of a good diet and rudimentary occupational therapy meant that the patient received a reasonable quality of care. At the end of the nineteenth century just three medical officers took care of over 1,100 patients. There were few psychiatric drugs available at the time and the difficult life of nursing staff is highlighted by the fact that many only left the institution to go on annual leave. It was not just those who had a mental illness who resided there; epileptics and often those who were perceived as behaving outside the social mores of the day were also committed. The fine line between what was classed as 'mad' and 'bad' is analysed by Pauline Prior in her paper on legislation associated with the criminally insane and the establishment of Dundrum Mental Hospital. She draws attention to the different social mores that were applied to men and women, such that men indicted for murder were more likely to have a successful defence of their case if they pleaded insanity, particularly if associated with alcohol, compared to the case of women, where any violence was received as unacceptable. Poverty was the common thread for all those admitted to 'Dundrum' in the nineteenth century.

The heavy preponderance of women admitted to the state inebriate reformatories is noted by Elizabeth Malcolm in her essay on these short lived institutions, demonstrating that attitudes to female drunkenness were very different from those to similar behaviour in men in the early twentieth century. In comparing these institutions with the late twentieth-century equivalents, she notes that they may have been before their time, and given that they did not receive full support of the state or the contemporary medical profession, they were unlikely to succeed.

Venereal disease is the focus of three essays in this volume, which have as a common thread the perceived culpability of women as the source of infection and the vector in spreading the disease, so aptly described by Larry Geary's quotation as 'the wages of sin'. The power of public opinion is amply demonstrated by the unsuccessful efforts to fund the Lock Hospital in

eighteenth-century Dublin as the contemporary moral attitude was that the disease was self-inflicted. Susanna Reardon describes the state's attempts to prevent the spread of the disease by restrictive legislation that allowed detection of 'probable sources of infection' following the 1947 Health act in the Republic. The 'probable sources' were invariably perceived by the authorities to be loose women. Only when legal advice was sought by the authorities did they realise that it was not possible to prove that somebody was a source of infection without a medical examination and consequently it was impossible to implement the legislation. Northern Ireland only took such actions to provide information and treatment for VD during the Second World War because they were forced to by Westminster parliament, as noted by Leanne McCormick. One common thread through all the discussions concerning VD is that legislation was designed and implemented by a male dominated parliamentary and government system.

The relationship between ill health and poverty is demonstrated by Cormac Ó Gráda in his excellent study of infant and child mortality in Dublin in the early nineteenth century. As he notes, the infant mortality rates for the whole of Ireland were slightly less than for England, but in Dublin, the rates were higher, exacerbated by unemployment, and poor housing. With one-third of the population living in one room tenements there was ample opportunity for spreading disease. His micro-study of the Pembroke area of Dublin shows that while cultural and social issues had a bearing on infant mortality, economic hardship had the greatest impact. Economic issues also contributed to the higher mortality from tuberculosis among women in the first half of the nineteenth century, as described by Greta Jones in her contribution, a problem which was exacerbated by pregnancy. The catastrophic effect of losing a family breadwinner through tuberculosis is possibly one reason why over one-third of those suffering from tuberculosis, surprisingly, declined treatment or a sanatorium place in the 1940s. A common theme throughout the book is the reciprocal relationship of economic hardship and ill health.

Ciara Breathnach highlights the contribution of the Dudley nurses to the well-being of those in the more remote areas of the west of Ireland, sketching the many problems faced by these nurses, physically, socially and geographically. Despite the unquestionable quality of the volume, one subject missing is a history of Irish nurses, a subject that is long overdue an in-depth analysis, given their central role in the provision of care in Ireland. James Kelly's innovative essay on the history of Irish dentistry completes the volume.

In summary, this book provides a comprehensive assessment of a number of subjects which have, hitherto, been relatively ignored and is a valuable contribution to the history of Irish medicine.

Susan Mullaney University College Cork

Robert J. Savage, *A Loss of Innocence? Television and Irish Society 1960–72* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010, 401 pp., €70 hardback)

The idea that Ireland somehow lost its innocence with the arrival of television is of course grotesque. There was little that was innocent about Ireland in the mid-twentieth century, as emigration saw the population of the Republic continually decline until 1961 and poverty, censorship and political cronyism twisted the dream of independence. If television was in fact instrumental in dispelling any social characteristic, it impacted more on public ignorance than on innocence.

Robert J. Savage takes as the title of his latest study of Irish broadcasting the phrase ‘A Loss of Innocence’ but places a question mark after it. He recounts a series of incidents that illustrate the struggle in which RTÉ was constantly engaged as vested interests that had long held power in the crippled Irish state reacted against an unpredictable new medium. From the menacing words of Cardinal D’Alton on the station’s opening night, through the humbug of an Irish language lobby that had singularly failed to engage the population in its ill-designed revival project, and on to frequent political interventions, RTÉ (Raidió Teilifís Éireann) was under siege from the outset.

RTÉ’s most effective defence was its massive audience, the democratic reality of ratings that demonstrated what people wanted to watch – as opposed to what others thought that they should get. Stronger on the political and social aspects of broadcasting history than on the economic underpinning of television, Savage may not fully appreciate the extent to which the station played the commercial reality and the state’s aspirations off one another to achieve its scheduling ends. RTÉ carved out a creative space in which it could produce programmes that people would actually tune in to when faced with a choice on British channels, the latter arguably being the best in the world. Had the station not been a commercial hybrid it would have been easier for the old powers in Irish society to control it, but it might soon have seen its audiences plummet and thus failed as an economic entity.

The historian and senior civil servant León Ó Broin is never far from sight in the formative years of Irish television. He had fought a brave and sometimes lonely battle to ensure that Irish television was not an entirely privatised body, even if his judgements on the quality of what Britain’s ITV was broadcasting seem quaint if not cranky today. But, without his efforts, it is quite possible that RTÉ would not have established itself as the successful creature of public funding and commercial revenue that it soon became. Yet, shamefully, he was not invited to the party in the Gresham Hotel on the opening night of RTÉ, and Savage says that, in the early years, he actually became one of the station’s most difficult critics. He thought that there were too many crude American programmes, and tried to become involved in discussions about the content of planned programmes.

In this well-researched book, Savage considers at length the pressure that RTÉ came under from the Irish language lobby. To get a sense of the ‘unbridled

passion' (p. 246) that the state's Irish language policy generated, he recalls a meeting at Dublin's Mansion House, convened by a lobby group to support a change in the rule that children who failed Irish in their state examinations failed their whole suite of exams. The meeting was attacked and broken up and an attempt was made to set fire to curtains in the building. This reviewer was present that evening, as a boy aged fifteen who simply went along to hear the discussion, and the scenes were an ugly insight into Irish educational and cultural politics. Yet the strange thing is that, for all Savage's details of the many twists and turns of pressure from the Irish language lobby, in the long run RTÉ was largely able to ignore it in terms of what went on air because the lobby had little public support for forcing Irish on people. Some Irish language programmes were of course desirable, both for cultural reasons and because there was a certain audience for them, and these were made. However, once lip-service was paid to 'the first official language' and some programmes were transmitted in Irish, few people cared much what happened or did not happen after that.

RTÉ also ignored Northern Ireland. Savage points out that, almost incredibly, there was no RTÉ correspondent in Belfast until 1968. He remarks that, 'With a few notable exceptions, before 1968 there had been very little attention paid to life in the province' (p. 366) and that programme makers thought (possibly quite rightly) that the public south of the border had little interest in it. One telling *Radharc* programme, shot in Derry and including a notable interview with Brian Friel's father, was mysteriously suppressed. Ironically, it was a famous television news clip, of RUC men attacking peaceful civil rights demonstrators in Derry, that unambiguously forced the nature of the northern state into public consciousness. Yet RTÉ remained slow to assume full responsibility when it came to Northern Ireland.

As his book runs only up to 1972, Savage does not examine how RTÉ later came to allow supporters of The Workers Party/Democratic Left a remarkable degree of influence over its coverage of northern affairs. This, in my view as someone who worked as a journalist in RTÉ then, exacerbated the problem in the long term by failing to give full voice to well-founded nationalist grievances and so allowed those grievances to fester rather than to be addressed squarely.

Savage draws on a rich vein of archival and other sources. He quite fairly concludes his detailed account of the years 1960 to 1972 with the statement that 'Television was a critical component in the transformation that altered Irish society throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s' (p. 383). RTÉ was born at a time of general change, at a tipping point in the economic fortunes of Ireland and as the Catholic Church paused to engage in a great act of self-appraisal. Yet there was nothing inevitable about its success.

Savage himself appears ultimately to be unsure if RTÉ has succeeded. His final sentences, in a too short conclusion, express regret that the station is partly funded by advertising and suggest that this has compromised its public service role and undermined its efforts (p. 384). It is a somewhat lame ending for a book that has so richly explored the struggle of station executives to provide

Ireland, at relatively low cost, a range of programmes that compete in practice with what is transmitted on far better resourced channels across the Irish Sea.

The writing of media history in Ireland has witnessed something of a minor blossoming in recent years, having been too long neglected. There is still a great deal of research to be undertaken. For those who wish to explore aspects of RTÉ's history, Robert Savage's latest volume and his earlier *Irish television: a political and social history* (1996) provide a mine of useful information. Taken with a small number of other works, including Maurice Gorham's *Forty years of Irish broadcasting* and Helena Sheehan's volumes on Irish television drama, they are a valuable contribution to the canon of texts about Irish broadcasting.

Colum Kenny Dublin City University

W. E. Vaughan (ed.), *The Old Library, Trinity College Dublin, 1712–2012*  
(Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011, 462 pp., €50 hardback)

Capturing the richness and diversity of the library collections of Trinity College, Dublin, the fifty contributors to this volume of essays each offer their own particular perspective on Ireland's largest research library. This handsome and well-illustrated book was conceived as a way of marking the tercentenary of the Old Library building constructed in the early eighteenth century. Now home to the Book of Kells, and an annual round of special exhibitions, as well as serving as the store for the library's early printed books, the building attracts many thousands of visitors each year. Some essays evoke the atmosphere of the place, and do justice to the Long Room as a fine architectural space.

Trinity College Library counts its holdings in millions, and its shelves in kilometres, and the contributors to this book have had to contend with the sheer impossibility of any one person being familiar with more than a tiny segment of this huge storehouse of world learning. The editor has drawn together a varied selection of authors who have special associations with the library. Some of the contributors are library staff, writing on their areas of special expertise; others are members of the university who have had a life-long engagement with the library as scholars and researchers. The short accessible essays offer descriptions of particular segments of the collection, or even individual artefacts.

Of particular interest to social and economic historians will be Ellen O'Flaherty's essay on Trinity College Dublin in 1712 (as seen through the prism of the college muniments), in which she profiles the student body and considers the evidence for building work and the general finances of the college. Peter Fox's essay looks in more detail at the history of the library building that commenced in 1712, and its successors, a precursor to a full-scale study of the library due for publication in 2014. Elizabethanne Boran examines the evidence for how the library was used, through the book-borrowing records that reveal who borrowed books, what was borrowed and the nature of the college library in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. She has uncovered a web of readers within and without the college, extending to former students and

others connected to Fellows of the college. Kenneth Milne draws attention to the archives for the Irish charter schools, some 450 volumes and 170 boxes of papers in Trinity's Manuscripts and Archives Research Library, to illustrate the workings, and ultimately the failures, of a major eighteenth-century charity. He also incidentally draws attention to the potential of this particular archive for the architectural and economic historian. Lydia Ferguson has written a substantial essay on the Pollard collection of children's books, a recent bequest to the library and a very significant resource for the study of childhood and education.

As an illustrated companion to the library, there is a particular focus in this volume on visually attractive collections – maps, medieval Irish manuscripts, arts and crafts book bindings, cartoons and caricatures, stained glass designs from the Harry Clarke studies, and a range of photographic collections. Visually striking too are the First World War memoirs in the library collection as described by Heather Jones. Colourful personalities have also been invited to contribute and the personal reminiscences of some library users with a long association with the college are an engaging addition to the social history of the institution.

At one level these essays work as miniature exhibitions, echoing those regularly mounted in Trinity's Long Room, and primarily seen by tourists. In this volume, the reader can take those exhibitions home, and peruse them at leisure. The chronological list of library exhibitions since 1916 provided in one chapter is suggestive of some highlights (inevitably, perhaps, the list is not comprehensive, one omission being the 'Writing Irish history: the Four Masters and their world' collaborative exhibition in 2007 for which a comprehensive catalogue was published).

Despite its being a high profile tourist attraction, and a heritage building of exceptional merit, the Long Room is first and foremost a working library. As Ireland's greatest research library, countless individual research projects are facilitated by the collections held there, but, as the essays in this book reveal, valuable work on and research into the library itself, its fabric as well as its contents, is also being undertaken, to ensure its survival into the future. W. E. Vaughan's essay on the foundation of the conservation laboratory under the leadership of Tony Cains, and another by Raymond Jordan on working in that laboratory, provide insights into the pioneering work that has been undertaken for the preservation of the collections. The report by Susie Bioletti, keeper of preservation and conservation, on research into the pigments used in the Book of Kells shatters some long held theories about their supposed exotic provenance, and will influence interpretations of this treasured cultural object.

This collection of essays is necessarily eclectic, reflecting the diversity of historic collections held in the Long Room of Trinity College Library. The book nicely complements an earlier compilation edited by Anne Walsh and Vincent Kinane, *Essays on the history of Trinity College Library, Dublin* (2000). In his discussion of the maps in the library's Fagel collection in the present volume, J. R. Bartlett introduces Trinity College Library as 'a storehouse of treasures to delight bibliophiles of all interests' (p.133), a description that could equally be



applied to the contents of this delightful book on what is probably the greatest cultural institution in Ireland.

Bernadette Cunningham Royal Irish Academy Library

# Economic and Social History Society of Ireland

## Report of the Honorary Secretary, 2012

1. At the 2011 AGM the following elections took place:

President: Neal Garnham  
Secretary: Jennifer Kelly  
Treasurer: Maura Cronin  
Business Editor: Andrew Sneddon

Committee Members: Andy Bielenberg, Andrew Holmes, James Kelly, Juliana Adelman, Liam Kennedy, Niall Ó Ciosáin, Olwyn Purdue, Catherine Cox, Brenda Collins.

2. The AGM confirmed that Sean Connolly, Neal Garnham and Matthew Stout would continue in their positions as journal editors and assistant editor respectively.

3. A Search Committee was formed to find a journal editor in place of Sean Connolly who had indicated that he would be stepping down from the position. Graham Brownlow was selected and his nomination will be brought to the 2012 AGM for approval.

4. The 2012 Journal was published at the end of December.

5. In October 2012 Neal Garnham indicated that he would be stepping down as President of the Economic and Social History Society of Ireland. He also stepped down from his position as Journal editor.

6. The 2012 ESHSI Conference was held at Queen's University Belfast on 9–10 November. It was organized by Dr Olwyn Purdue. The theme of the Conference was 'Networks' and the Connell Lecture was delivered by Prof. Patrick Joyce, Emeritus Professor of History, University of Manchester. Papers were also delivered by: David Reid (TCD), 'The role of informal social networks in the development, dissemination and organisation of tithe resistance during the Tithe War 1830–38'; Philip McConway (TCD), 'Crime and anarchy in the Midlands during the Civil War 1922–23'; Patrick Cosgrove (NUIM), "The tyranny of the United Irish League": boycotting and intimidation in

early twentieth-century Ireland'; Catherine Cox (UCD) and Hilary Marland (Warwick), "Swarming Irish": Irish migration, institutionalisation and mental illness in nineteenth-century Lancashire'; Padhraig Higgins (Penn State) 'The poor and the House of Industry in eighteenth-century Dublin'; Cara Delay (Charleston), "Holy water and a twig": girlhood, material culture and women's Catholic networks in early C20 Ireland'; Gillian Kenny (UCD), "Dearly beloved friend" : female social networks in late medieval Ireland c. 1200 – 1500'; Thomas Callahan Jnr (Rider), 'In search of a brighter future: an Irish neighbourhood moves to New Jersey 1870–1900'; Jackie Uí Chionna (NUIG), "The college President called us "my Americans", everyone else called us 'the Yanks'": the GI Bill and American medical students at University College Galway 1947–60'; Orla Power (NUIG), 'Connectivity and contra-band: Irish merchants and trans-imperial commerce at the Danish West Indies 1756–63'; John King, 'The slow birth of Aer Lingus'; Peter Rigney (ICTU), 'To war and back: recruitment and the Irish railway network 1914–20'; Eve Morrisson, 'IRA logistics, Irish railway networks and railwaymen during the War of Independence 1919–21'; Donal Murray (UCD), 'Negotiating local governance : the implementation of the Town's Improvement Act (Ireland) 1854 in Carlow'; Matthew Potter (UL), 'The establishment and early history of the association of municipal authorities of Ireland'; Patrick Doyle (Manchester), 'The Irish co-operative movement and rural development in the Irish Free State 1922–32'; Kyle Hughes (Northumbria), 'Ribbon networks in post-Famine Ireland and Britain'; Eric Derr (NUIM), 'The eighteenth-century Irish Catholic episcopacy: access to wealth and wealth production'; Paul Harron (QUB), 'Networks of patronage in the creation of Belfast's built environment'; Liam MacMathúna (UCD), 'Scholarly and social networking in eighteenth-century Gaelic Dublin: the evidence of the Ó Neachtain circle'; Mark Empey (UCD), 'Piecing together Ireland's social and cultural jigsaw: the scholarly network of Sir James Ware (1594–1666)'; Roisín Higgins (Boston College Ireland), 'The social and cultural production of nationhood in the early nineteenth century'; David Ryan, 'Hellfire clubs in eighteenth-century Ireland'; Carole Holohan (UCD), 'Dancehalls, beatclubs and fleadhanna cheoil: the challenges of new social networks'; Donal Ó Drisceoil (UCC), 'Vigilance networks and the politics of immorality in Ireland 1908–14'; Declan O'Keefe (Clongowes Wood College), 'The College of the Bards: women writers in the *Irish Monthly* 1873–1898'; Pamela Emerson and Donnamaria Carlin (UU), 'Literary scholars in late C19 Belfast'; Rachel Murphy (UCC), 'Recruiting country house servants in C19–C20 Ireland'; Suzanne Pegley (NUIM), 'The performance of power'; Maeve O'Riordan (UCC), 'Family connections: marriage networks of the Munster landed class, c. 1860–1914'.

7. The latest ESHSI Pamphlet, *Agrarian Protest in Ireland, 1750–1960* by Maura Cronin, was launched at the 2012 conference.

Jennifer Kelly, 8 November 2012