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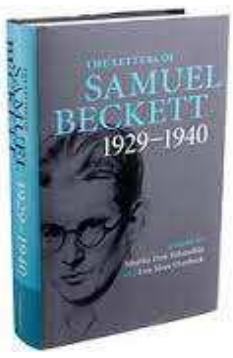
• A REVIEW OF IRISH BOOKS •

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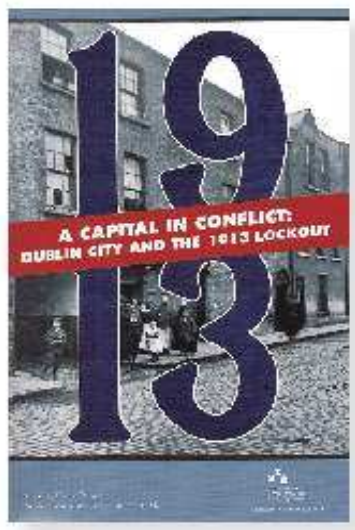
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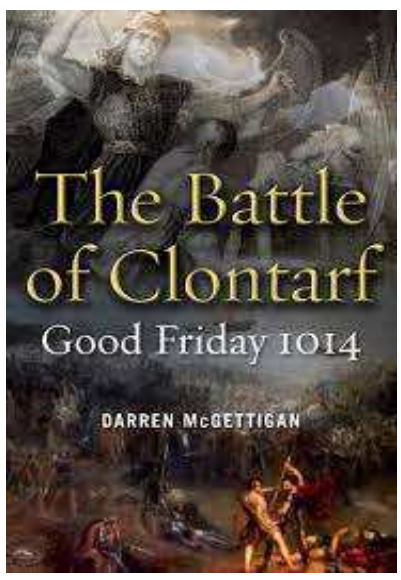
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Brian Boru: Death at Clontarf



A New Readers' Guide to Ulysses



A New Readers' Guide to *Ulysses*

BY CÓILÍN OWENS

THERE ARE NOW over 150 *Cambridge Companions* out there. Half of them are on individual authors—from Albee to Zola (including nine on Shakespeare alone). Half are on topics in American, British, and Comparative Literature—from The Actress to War Writing (including seven on Medieval English Studies). In Irish Studies are the volumes on Friel, Heaney, Joyce (two editions), Synge, and Yeats, as well as Contemporary Poetry, The Novel, Drama, and Irish Culture. Competing with this series are shorter lists produced by Norton, Oxford, and St. Martin's.

Sean Latham, Editor
CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO ULYSSES
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2014. $29.99.

Every decade since the 1950s, in the narrower field of Joyce Studies, *Ulysses* has been the regular subject of a new readers' guide. Directed variously to general readers or graduate students, the most prominent or influential of which have been those by Tindall (1959), Hart and Hayman (1974), Bowen and Carens (1984), Newman and Thornton (1987), and Attridge (2004). Quite apart from the hundreds of specialized studies of Joyce's masterpiece, the regularity with which these surveys are issued is generally justified by the appearance of new materials, advances in sophistication, increasing specialization, and in theoretical assumptions. Then there's the permanent marketplace for cultural capital.

As part of the introduction to my Learning in Retirement *Ulysses* seminar in Washington D.C., I ask the septua- and octogenarians why they are willing, so late in life, to make the intellectual effort the book requires. Everyone seems qualified to pronounce on controversial issues like the war in Afghanistan or gun control at home. On such matters, hit-and-run rules the game. Not so with the 640 pages of *Ulysses* and its 90,000 different words. Almost all of my seminarists— retired physicians, diplomats, lawyers (few with Irish links)—say "*Ulysses* is on my 'bucket list.'" These are successful and intelligent people with no need of a grade or a certification. They know that *Ulysses* has had more than a *success de scandale*, and are not deterred by the occasional philistine who says it's all nonsense, a giant hoax, or condemns it as elitist. Lifetime readers all, they are quite prepared to expose their love of the traditional novel to the parching glare of Joyce's noonday sun.

Two ten-minute moieties of every 120-minute seminar are dedicated to close explications of short passages from the episodes under study. These interludes remind us that Joyce is one of the greatest stylists in modern English prose. We are often left gasping for breath or moved to tears of joy when we have paid close attention to his mastery of diction, rhythm, syntax, allusion: at once pedantic and transporting. He leaves us smarter, happier, and more sympathetic than when we began and humbled by our own presumptions. The existence of such readers of Joyce's epic justifies the *Cambridge Companion to Ulysses* (in a durable paperback).

In his Preface, editor Sean Latham asks the question: Why read *Ulysses*? His answers amplify those of my seminarists. Because, he replies, like Everest, it's there. Because it is a humane and intellectual challenge to our notions about what it is to read fiction. Because it explores and celebrates "the dynamic complexity of our own everyday lives." Because it asks difficult and pressing questions—about race, nation, gender, class, sexuality, modernity, hybridity, mobility (he omits language, beauty, and religion). Because it links us to communities of readers across the globe (it has been translated into a score of languages and twice into Chinese). Because it continues to be an extraordinary imaginative resource: it has been made into films, is the subject of paintings and comics, and is cited in a myriad ways in popular and commercial culture. I could add that it appears to vindicate Semitic self-respect and the new Ireland, no longer a British colony, but a member of the European Community. Nevertheless, not very many who begin *Ulysses* persevere to the finish; its encyclopedic breadth of reference, its complex technique, and linguistic range quickly discourage much of the field. Most of us are too busy or distractable. It is not much read in Ireland or by Irish-Americans.



Sean Latham, since 2001 editor of the standard organ of the Joyce Industry, the *James Joyce Quarterly*, is joined by thirteen scholars from British and American universities, in bringing us up to date with how *Ulysses* is read in the best circles today. Half of these are established figures, half younger members of the academy. He has arranged their contributions (of 12-15 pages each) into four categories: the writing and reception of *Ulysses*; technical analyses of the actual text; theoretically informed readings of selected episodes; and a survey of recent developments in theory and criticism as they can be applied to *Ulysses*. He appends a useful annotated bibliography of further reading and an up-to-date listing of journals and websites.

Veteran of the Joyce Archive, Michael Groden writes with authority of Joyce's method of composition. Genetic studies demonstrate that *Ulysses* was less like the famous "Gilbert" schema (reproduced on page 218) than like a mosaic. Joyce wrote in phases rather than stages. Joseph Brooker outlines the reception of *Ulysses* during its author's lifetime, and afterwards. Harry Levin's *Critical Introduction* (1941) moved it from the status of a minor cult and into the academy. Thus was born the "Joyce Industry" where pedantry morphed into expertise. As Joyce became a public icon, his book took on what Jonathan Goldman calls its multimedia "afterlife": in comics, films, Bloomsday celebrations, and the higher gossip.

The contributions of Margot Norris, Brandon Kershner, and Enda Duffy are guided by the interests of a smart, first-time reader. Norris writes of Joyce's interweaving of his modernist characters and Homer's plot. She sees it as an open-ended novel of a marriage with a future. Kershner's tour of recent theoretical developments is a model of clear exposition. He explains why the term "intertextual" has for some time outflanked the usage "allusion" so as to avoid implying the presence of a conscious and controlling author. Enda Duffy's historical essay is an original exposition of the implications of Joyce's narrow focus. By confining his attention to the only Ireland he knew, bourgeois Dublin, Joyce illuminated the issues that were to preoccupy the class that was about to gain ascendancy in the emerging Irish Free State. Thanks to the civilizing effects of the Church, these newly-educated 100,000 Catholics were in a position to lift themselves above the abject poverty of their fellows and aspire to respectability. Joyce's complicated presentation of this class appears in the character of Leopold Bloom. Duffy's interesting essay goes some way to explain the larger appeal of *Ulysses* to secular Americans than to Irish Americans, descendants of the 4.5 million emigrants and exiles from rural Catholic Ireland. The best contextualization of Duffy's fine essay can be garnered from Joseph O'Brien's *Dear Dirty Dublin: A City in Distress, 1899-1916* (1982) and Patrick Maume's *The Long Gestation: Nationalist Life, 1899-1918* (1999).

Several of the essays take up a position more likely to appeal to readers of the *James Joyce Quarterly* than my seminarists. Thus Sean Latham on interruption, Michael Rubenstein on the sewer, Marjorie Howes on memory, Cheryl Temple Herr on difficulty, and Maud Ellmann on waste are highly academic. The myriad complexities of *Ulysses* invite such specialized perusals, of course. As the academy requires, each announces or cites a sophisticated and current theoretical work, and proceeds to reread one or more episodes as vindication of the exercise. While they all tend to over-argue the case—an occupational hazard—only Ellmann keeps in mind that she is writing about a supreme stylist and consummate humorist.

Perhaps coincidentally, two essays undertake brief glosses on the famous sentence with which *Ulysses* opens: "Stately, plump Buck Mulligan came from the stairhead, bearing a bowl of lather on which a mirror and razor lay crossed." In her essay on "beginnings" (which is really about style), Scarlett Baron devotes three pages to considerations of the word "stately" (whether adjective or adverb?), and the crossed mirror and razor (representing which opposition?). Following Kenner and Karen Lawrence, she favors the adverb—as connoting Mulligan's histrionic manner rather than his natural carriage (the lithe and lively Gogarty was neither stately nor plump). The pair of shaving utensils she takes to be symbols of the antinomy between art and science, one of the major themes of *Ulysses*. Subsequently, Paul K. Saint-Amour, under the title of "Symbols and Things," undertakes a four-page reflection on Mulligan's shaving equipment (adding the nickel bowl). To do so, he invokes "thing theory" which makes much of the difference between objects which are used or useful and those which are not. Fair enough, but entering the lists, he is surely obligated to take also into consideration Mulligan's chryselephantine brush, which by virtue of Stephen's first mental epithet for his rival ("Chrysostomos") must be moved to the "object" column. For his part, Saint-Amour sees the crossed pair as representing the tension between the sacred and profane, another major theme of *Ulysses*. More obvious to me, at any rate, are the political ("stately") and ecclesiastical (since Stephen associates corpulence with clerical complacency). Even if one accepts that these objects fall outside of the grid of Homeric correspondences, its first nine words (as Kenner observed) mimic Homer's hexameter.

Besides these aspects of the sentence, we have to consider Joyce's peculiar literalism: the word "Stately" is a near-anagram of both the just-read title and Molly's "Yes" 640 pages ahead; the sentence utilizes almost the entire alphabet more or less in correct order (ending with the z, y and x of "razor lay crossed"); and the double l of Mulligan set against the word "crossed" foreshadows another major motif of *Ulysses* contrasting the myriad parallelisms and crossings in its design and idea (the crossing of the two keyless citizens, Stephen and Bloom, the Keyes ad, the papal insignium representing the New Covenant, etc.). Maud Ellmann's brief discussion of the opening sentence of "Eumaeus"—the egregious "Preparatory to anything else Mr Bloom brushed off the greater bulk of the shavings and handed Stephen the hat and ashplant and bucked him up generally in orthodox Samaritan fashion which he very badly needed"—fails to observe the recycling of the same images from this first cunning sentence. It was no idle boast that Joyce compared *Ulysses* with the *Book of Kells*: for its sacred theme, its historical claims, its irreverent humor, its micro-patterning, and the illumination of its letters. For all its secular modernity, Joyce's imagination

is charged with the thrill of the historical and sacred.

The editor would have done well to prune these essays of the lamentable façade of jargon that has, of late, tended to tilt the tower of learning. I quailed at the references to "rupture" and the mixing of metaphors in "overhauling the traditional novelistic architecture of beginnings and endings" (Barron) and the absurd pretentiousness of Rubenstein's conclusion that "Of course, unlike Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, the sewer is not a machine for seeing, but is descended from the utilitarian ideal of governmentality." The worst offender in these respects, however, is Vike Martina Plock writing about "Bodies." Reading her solemn declaration that "Joyce's fiction prioritises the body as a site of critical examination," I know that I am in for it. Joyce apparently "developed a fascination for bodies that are fragmented, disabled, uncontrollable, and endlessly malleable." My presumed binaries are in need of disruption by the "unfolding narrative fragments" of *Ulysses*. I need to understand that *Ulysses* is "a living organism, one that is animated, flexible, and never static." Having accepted this, I should be ready to follow this guide through the fields of feminism, postcolonialism, disability studies and animal studies. The grand positioning thus authorized by Derrida always disappoints when confronting Joyce's actual text. And here it is no different: Bloom's perfectly ordinary and touching curiosity and bemused compassion for the family cat is cited as evidence that Joyce "call[s] into question the categorical distinction between humans and non-humans—a distinction that motivates the discourse of legitimized violence towards (sic) animals."

Generally instructive and often inventive, then, these essays cumulate in "normalizing" Joyce. The spirit and technique of *Ulysses* is indeed dialogic. Its very density—a mirror held up to teeming nature and the mystery upon which it depends—allows us to find that which we may in the short term seek: the vindication of certain modish "rights." Its beauty lies not in its settlement of these questions, but in the manner in which it reposes them. •

—Mount Vernon, Virginia

The Period of Ripeness

BY STEPHEN WHITTAKER

George Craig, Martha Dow Fehsenfeld, Dan Gunn, and Lois More Overbeck, Editors
THE LETTERS OF SAMUEL BECKETT
VOLUME III: 1957—1965
CAMBRIDGE: CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2014.

On the 21st of September, 1959, Samuel Beckett writes to Alan Schneider, whose production of *Waiting for Godot* at the Alley Theatre, in Houston, Texas, has opened on the 9th, informing him of a tantalizing "idea for 2 variants on the Krapp theme but can't do anything about it till I finish what I'm doing" (241). Beckett compliments Schneider: "What a worker you are!" One of the things Beckett is working on is buying his first car. He writes to his beloved nephew, Edward, a week later: "Decided to buy a little 2 H.P. Citroen, ugly little brute of a car but 'increvable'" (look that one up). One has normally to order it a year in advance but through friends I hope to have it soon. Useful for getting up and down between Paris and Ussy, tired of that same old train journey" (245). Schneider would go on to produce more of Beckett's work in America. The editors note that "before 14 October SB buys a Citroën 2CV" (190), and that the unusual word he uses to describe his intended car means "tough as old boots" (246). The author of *Godot* would know this word. By December he writes to Barbara Bray of his plan to drive to Paris, and thence Amsterdam shortly "for van Velde's big exhibitions" (260). He discusses his transmogrification of Robert Pinget's 1960 play *La Manivelle*, renamed *The Old Tune*, its characters changed from Parisians to Dubliners, and thanks her for all her work preparing the script for her BBC production. He shares with this woman who will become so important to him the personal, if quintessentially Beckettian, litotes: "Often play chess alone in the evenings with the bottle beside me and know of few less unpleasant occupations." He grouses about the car: "Unlovable little bastard of a yoke. Cut out for me." Two H. P., hence the "yoke," he writes to this woman to whom he will so peculiarly link himself in their shared life and labor.

Here find the letters Beckett wrote from the age of 50 to 59, the period of his ripeness as a playwright and, it must be said, his mellowness as a human being. During these years, he struggled against botched editions and productions of *Waiting for Godot*, and wrote and shepherded the first stagings of *Endgame*, *Krapp's Last Tape*, and *Happy Days*. The collection will be indispensable for theatre critics and historians and for dramaturges of his work. For more general readers, this impossibly rich midden is an endlessly diverting window into the quotidian doings of a writer utterly at home, almost despite himself, in his life and work.

Like the previous two volumes in this series of Beckett letters, Volume III meets the highest standards of scholarly discernment and thoroughness. Dan Gunn's 29 page introduction alerts us to many of the themes sustained in the letters. We encounter Beckett the gardener, birdwatcher, holiday taker, and devotee of Tullamore Dew. We see him cope with the felt need to keep up with contemporary writers, and the press by many of them for his encouragement or help. We see his evolving sense of the various media in which he works: initially opposed to any musical setting of *Godot*, then intrigued by a musical setting by Marc Wilkinson; shifting comparably in this attitude toward a possible film adaptation. Some of these moments are arresting: "Offer of a film of Godot by Bergman, Prefer not" (8 Dec 1959, p 262).

Gunn intelligently describes the two curiously related problems which renown pose for Beckett: distraction and identity. Beckett is always aware of the problem of protecting time for new work from his extensive and intricate obligations to his audience and very numerous correspondents. As Gunn puts it: "Even as, in his discreet way, he is nurturing his circle of friends, admirers, fellow-artists near and distant, ensuring for himself and his work a kind of *company*, Beckett's wariness of the public domain does not abate. Indeed it increases in step with his understanding of the influence he may have" (lxxiii). Gunn writes: "Because of this same fame, his irrefutable public success, it is harder than ever for Beckett convincingly to be an advocate of failure, even when his attachment to failure arises from his deepest sense of what it is to be a writer, one whose role is not to sort or explain or even express things—neither in his literary texts not in his letters" (lxxxviii).

The inevitable dissonance in finding himself a revered, influential, and financially successful nihilist reveals itself in Beckett's wry if routinized manner of self-deprecation. He writes of his "muck heap of a mind" (93) and his "pen & paper a sorry pair" (150). To Harold Pinter in January of 1965 in praise of his *Homecoming*: "Wish I could tell you better how I feel about it and how glad I am. But too tired and stupid and have been waiting too long to be less so, before writing, to wait any longer. So just—chapeau!" (650). Just as dearly, he writes to Barbara Bray regarding the TV Play *Eh Joe*: "It's not what it could be but not bad for a weary old drunk" (665). The best of this is when it becomes an occasion for comedy, as when he writes to Donald McWhinnie: "In the States they call Endgame 'The Dustman Cometh'. Witty nation" (115). Or the superb flourish to Roger Blin in Vienna: "Big article on My Nibs, by J.-J. Mayoux, in Etudes Anglaises. Fine in the schullarly style, with links and parallels that would give a dead man a wet dream" (101).

In the penultimate letter in this volume, addressed to Mary Manning Howe in Massachusetts, Beckett writes: "Why don't you come over for the James Joyce do here Feb. 2 at 21 hours with the Gilberts, Mme Léon and Mayoux among others and Gisèle Freund pictures. You'll find me sitting mute in a corner and then drinking somewhere in vain." Beckett then notes his disinclination to unveil a bust of Joyce the next year in Zürich. Of an invitation he received to attend *Passages from Finnegans Wake*, based on Mary Manning's script, Beckett says that he "replied for neither love nor even for money." Though disinclined to see the film, even for ready money, Beckett wryly observes: "Yes, people keep giving me money for vinegar. That they continue a few more years is all I ask" (684).

Another useful feature of the text is its inclusion of "Profiles" of 21 of Beckett's correspondents new to this volume. The entry on Harold Pinter notes that here Pinter figures not as "the prolific and admired writer, still less as the Nobel laureate, but rather as an eager, hopeful, and ambitious young actor and dramatist for whom discovering SB was a crucial experience" (701).

Most important of these small biographies is that of Barbara Bray, the script editor for BBC Radio who first corresponds with Beckett in 1957. This volume's editors describe the subsequent relationship between Bray and Beckett with real subtlety: "Few people can have come so close to SB" (694). Writing to her on 29 January 1960, Beckett says: "there's nothing to be done for me, except to try and see me as I am, and be patient with the result. You speak of the happiness one gives and gets. The situation I see is one where no matter what I do pain will ensue somewhere for someone." He signs "Love," and "Sam" (285). To her he reports the curious sounds out his apartment window, of "Sex-obsessed nightingales all night & part of day. Vive le merle" (666), and Santé prisoners bellowing like beasts (686).

The abundance of information on his work, and on the practicalities of staging his plays, which these letters afford is truly staggering. As surely as did Ibsen, he understands the technical challenge of performing his own work. In response to a performance note on *Play*, Beckett responds (as translated from his French by the editors): "It is difficult for actors, deprived of their normal means (toneless voices, expressionless faces) to express this Qual that you speak of, and to put it across, in the 2 seconds at their disposal, the idea that speech is being literally wrung from them. Certainly possible, but horribly difficult" (506). The editors note: "Qual" (Ger., agony).

Given Beckett's usual practice of collaboration on the first productions of his stage plays, and thus the absence of specifics in his letters during many of them, his distance from Alan Schneider in the United States during productions there of *Krapp's Last Tape* in 1960 and *Happy Days* in 1961 yielded letters which reveal Beckett going about the quotidian business of making the set and blocking of a production effective. In the 4 January letter concerning *Krapp's*, Beckett references illustratively peculiarities of the previous London and Berlin productions. He dissects fortuitous accidents and clear mistakes in those productions. He respects the reasonable limitations of practical stagecraft: "When writing the piece if I had been more familiar with tape recordings I might have had Krapp wind back and forward without switching off for the sake of the extra-ordinary sound that can be had apparently in this way (Blin dixit), but it would certainly complicate things technically and better not try it" (278). He gives similar attention to blocking and the manner of stage movement, even offering a drawing of how Krapp might move from his table, having "the great advantage of lengthening the walk (to compensate immobility) and of allowing Krapp to be inspected in motion." Beckett's sense of expression through movement is never clearer than in his suggestion that "Another good effect is for the transition from repose to motion to be made as abrupt as possible. He is motionless at table then suddenly (shock) in laborious motion, not fast because he can't go fast, but looking fast because of sudden

start and effort entailed" (279). The letter concerning *Happy Days* is likewise detailed, and includes several drawings to illustrate the blocking of stage effects.

Beckett's comments on how to take his own work should be approached cautiously. He writes to Lawrence Harvey on the latter's largely biographical essay on Beckett's early poetry: "I find it as difficult to comment on writing on the work as on the work itself—and these old bones are so bleached now. I feel as you know that they are not worth so close investigation and do not support it. I think perhaps you make too much of their relation to my 'life'—I really never had any. And that you are over-eager in your pursuit of an intentionality which is not always there" (503). I think Beckett's scrupulousness here in part rhetorical, as a move against biographical reductionism as much as it is an honest self-appraisal.

To poet and translator Michael Horovitz he writes: "My advice to you is to take further thought, and to read me further, before you undertake the inquiry you have in mind. There is writing, Joyce's for example, which repays such study, and writing which does not. I think mine is of the latter kind." Beckett adds: "I am not concerned with securing acceptance and understanding for my work. I find it impossible to approach it myself from this angle" (122). The disingenuousness about the allusive and structural depths of *Godot* aside, these remarks suggest again one of the more interesting aspects of these letters—Beckett's ambivalence about his own success, which runs contrary to his self-image, and which constantly serves as a distraction from the actual work of writing.

The contrasting of himself with Joyce was no doubt inevitable, and accounts for the degree of overstatement. But Beckett's cautionary observations concerning Joyce's work strike me more as measured observation than as anxiety of influence. Concerning David Hayman's thesis on Joyce and Stéphane Mallarmé, Beckett writes to Jacob Schwartz: "I think you can prove anything with Finnegan—like statistics," and adds, concerning Tyndall's speculations on Joyce's influence on Beckett: "He seems like so many American Professors rather Joyce-drunk and I can't follow him in those parallels, though there may be more in them than meets my eye" (252).

His esteem for Joyce can be less tempered in despite of censors. In 1958, Beckett writes to Alan Simpson at the Pike Theatre, Dublin: "After the revolting boycott of Joyce and O'Casey I don't want to have anything to do with the Dublin Theatre 'Festival' and am withdrawing both mimes and All That Fall" (106). The editors note that SB wrote to Barney Rosset: "The Roman Catholic bastards in Ireland yelped Joyce and O'Casey out of their 'Festival', so I withdrew" (107). But religiosity isn't the only enemy of free expression. In 1963, Becket writes to Charles Monteith, at Faber and Faber in London, of their edition of *Godot*: "The version published by you is the playing version authorized by the Lord Chamberlain and differs considerably from the unexpurgated version published by Grove," and "one is depressed by the mutilations involved and which so weaken the meaning in certain places as to make it scarcely intelligible" (580).

Of the Joyces, father and daughter, there are two breathtaking moments here. Beckett writes to his dear Barbra Bray what is this volume's sole mention of Joyce's daughter, whose link with Beckett had merited a profile in volume one of this series but who now, as the editors note, "was living in St. Andrew's Hospital, Northampton" (462): "And after more than 20 years a letter from Lucia Joyce from her bin in Northhampton. Something wrong with that cupboard" (461). The spiritual-heroic refrigerating apparatus, indeed. Bray was for Beckett the most stable of women. With comparable minimalism, writing to Thomas MacGreevy, Director of the National Gallery of Ireland, and a close friend, nearly a year after the death of Jack B. Yeats, Beckett notes as if in passing: "I met Frau Gideon (Joyce's friend) and a very pleasant Zurich doctor, I forget his name, who said that Joyce died in his arms, that but for misdiagnosis or tardy diagnosis he could have been saved and and [sic] even with that would have been saved today" (149). Any reader of Joyce, familiar with the concealment of emotion in moments of inattention, might well pause over the repeated "and."

There is a legend, rural not urban, that Beckett, who is known to have given many friends rides in his capacious and convertible Citroën 2CV, regularly gave a neighbor boy rides to school. André René Roussimoff had grown too big for the regular bus, it seems. Versions of this story usually get the vintage of the car wrong, and place the event nearly a year before Beckett actually owned any car. I regret to report to fans of the film version of *Princess Bride*, who might gleefully imagine the conversations possible on those rides, that Beckett himself makes no mention of his neighborly kindness to a lad later known as André the Giant. However, of the Samuel Beckett revealed in these letters, one can say both that it would be unlike him to mention such a generous gesture and that the simple charity of such activity would have been entirely consistent with his character. •

—University of Scranton

The Theatre and Cinema of Martin McDonagh

BY BARRY MONAHAN

THE THEATRICAL AND CINEMATIC works in the canon of producer, writer, and director Martin McDonagh offer a rich variety of stylistic, thematic, and structural attributes that have often left spectators and readers divided or confused over their meaning and value within the domain of contemporary dramatic performances. Popular and critical audiences have sometimes struggled with the eclectic, eccentric and, at times, esoteric nature of the artist's offerings and it often seems that the only over-arching grand narrative that might encapsulate the œuvre with any coherence is "postmodernity"; paradoxically the very critical framework that overtly eschews evaluations offer hermeneutic unanimity through "Grand Narratives." Against this avalanche of parodic fragmentation and performative pastiche, Eamonn Jordan's monograph offers an approach to McDonagh's work that seeks consistency across aesthetic diversity and theoretical unity across a set of consciously disjointed narratives. It is interesting, therefore, that the strength of how the coherence of Jordan's thesis holds together is not by the superimposition of a singular monolithic perspective, but by the neatly intertwined imbrication of several critical angles.

EAMONN JORDAN
FROM LEENANE TO L.A.: THE THEATRE AND CINEMA OF MARTIN MCDONAGH
IRISH ACADEMIC PRESS, 2014. €65/€27.95.

From Leenane to L.A. is divided into three broad sections that separately analyze McDonagh's theatrical and film productions. Parts 1 and 2 focus on the stage, and part 3 shifts its attention to the screen. The introduction establishes an approach maintained throughout the work: a movement across different registers of analysis and reflection from commentaries by practitioners and critics, to evaluations of the plays and films within postcolonial, historiographical, psychological, identity-performance and aesthetic theoretical frameworks. Following his provision of a detailed context for each of the dramatic performances, Jordan offers dramaturgical and production design information and then uses this to inform his analysis of the staged plays. In his third section, similar background details are brought to bear on Jordan's reflections on the three McDonagh films: Academy Award-winning short *Six Shooter*, and features *In Bruges* and *Seven Psychopaths*. Jordan's goals are implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) presented: to shed light on McDonagh's canon in a way that secures its critical significance and to dispel the frequent charges against the auteur of deliberately avoiding a responsible address to political, social or ideological realities. Expanding on Fintan O'Toole's assertion that the plays are "continually brushing up against verifiable actuality," he asserts

> [T]hat there is ample evidence of the ideological circulation of social, material, sexual and familial values, expectations and repressions, the evident pressures of subsistence living, the pains, traumas, pleasures, delights, duties of collective bonds. (14)

The book admirably offers its affirmative reflections on the works to dissenters and doubters and makes its case lucidly and with rigor. It is informative and detailed, and in its wide-ranging analytical spread will interest scholars from a variety of different fields with its thought-provoking interventions into the texts.

Taking its cue from the ubiquitous eponymously-invoked locations of McDonagh's plays, the first part of the book uses a variety of dramatically invented places as backdrops to explore relations between a given topos and the performativity of characters who inhabit it, or the fabricated generic structures that are mapped over it. In an expressionistic way, the spaces in which action happens are designed as exteriorizations of characters' unconscious minds, while the inflections and turns-of-phrase of their language—identified as an approximation of a Connemara dialect—are interior renderings of the dysfunctional nature of local communities. Inhabited spaces—and the characters that McDonagh places there—become liminal nowhere/everywhere zones between the private and public realms, working as metaphors for the de-essentialized and protean notion of "Irishness." In this regard, each of the plays on which Jordan concentrates in this section challenges a sense of unsettled and unsettling otherness. In *The Cripple of Inishmaan, A Skull in Connemara* and *The Beauty Queen of Leenane* national identity is not merely shown as a social enactment, but as a classification to be interrogated and/or celebrated in the hypocrisy and exaggeration of its performance. This is more than just a move beyond the strategic essentialism of Irishness as a simple performative category—we need only cast our minds back a mere century or so to Shaw's *John Bull* for an interrogation of that! —what Jordan proposes as of greater interest to McDonagh is a wicked fragmentation and amalgamation of aspects of identitarian categories of gender, ethnicity, sexuality, corporality, age, class and spirituality for reasons of aesthetic delight. At times, this quality of characterization leads to a theatrical self-reflexivity that is so readily discernible in McDonagh's writing; at others a deliberately simplistic stereotyping of character shifts our attention onto a meta-narrative story-within-story intertextuality that also permeates his work. Jordan establishes a series of thematic binaries across these plays, and in each case he evokes the work of expert analysts to complement his commentary. On McDonagh's juxtaposition of realism with an exaggerated and kitsch pastiche, he calls upon Raymond Williams' writing on naturalism. He uses Michel Foucault's writing on social heterotopias to reconcile spaces of the living and the dead, and he uses a series of critical works on postcolonial Irish identities—from Declan Kiberd and Diane Negra to David Lloyd and Gerardine Meaney—to merge the impossible notions of national authenticity, ethnic essentialism, and shifting racial performance.

A critical split in methodology occurs in Part 2 of the book, in which Jordan turns his attention to the nature and application of violence and violent acts in McDonagh's work. Although Jordan explains that this motivational characteristic "can be seen to be destructive, revengeful or pathological, also as anarchic, surreal, symbolic, mythic and sometimes merely as wonton" (15), he is careful when it comes to detailing its thematic and narrative-structural relevance in the work. This is done by evoking two very different theoretical strands: a Marxist-Lacanian approach though Slavoj Žižek, and the empirically-informed writing of cognitive psychologist Steven Pinker. Jordan demonstrates how the psychopathology of McDonagh's characters fits well with the volatility and unpredictability of their construction, and how it is often used to deconstruct ontological binaries, in much the same way that dialectics of themes were dismantled (see last paragraph above). He references a list of blurred distinctions by quoting Aleks Sierz on a list

that "we use to define who we are: human/animal; clean/ dirty; healthy/unhealthy; normal/abnormal; good/evil; true/untrue; real/unreal; right/ wrong; just/unjust; art/life" (107). In this respect, and in his use of writing by Žižek and Milner Davis, Jordan marks McDonagh's aesthetic celebration of violence as creative-destructive force and finds precursors to the style of his writing, characterization and *mise-en-scène* (in both plays and films) in theatrical farce and the tradition of the Théâtre du Grand-Guignol.

This section reviews *The Lonesome West, The Lieutenant of Inishmore* and *A Behanding in Spokane*, and is most delightful as it contextualizes the on-stage horror and dark comedy, and then considers the stylistic consequences of its focus. Later in this middle section, the intervention of empirical psychological frameworks (which continues into the final film section) does not seem to sit as well as the aesthetic ideological and critical theory approaches at work here. The difficulty resides in the notion that any treatment or interpretation of characters outside of the conception of pure theatrical construct—manifest mechanism for the objective correlation of other thematic concerns—will usually lead to the mine-field of psychologism and psychological empiricism that only have appropriate application in the real world. This is complicated all the more in the case of McDonagh's characters whose mischievous design requires that they oscillate across actions without motivation, sincerity or constancy, and interrelate with a presented lack of empathy or sympathy. Jordan endorses this quality of characterization twice in the concluding chapter of the book. First, he proposes:

> Probably one of the most important dramaturgical strategies of McDonagh's work is to deny a fixed, coherent subjectivity for his characters and not to provide them with anything close to absolute motivation for or validation of anything they do (252).

Soon after this, he reiterates the idea when he confirms that

> McDonagh's work seems to expose persistently the braking and the drives of the engine, temptations, cravings, the decision-making, the impulse controls and an understanding and disregard of consequences. (253)

In celebrating the aesthetic value of such characterizations—whether pathological or not—Jordan perfectly describes the strong tonal quality that informs most of McDonagh's film and theatre work. Nonetheless, for reasons also evident in Jordan's two quotations here, it may be problematic to apply to the same created entities and stage-constructed personalities a real world psychological interpretation, informed by the work of theorists such as Simon Baron-Cohen and Daniel Eagleman.

In the third, and final, section of the book, Jordan maintains his line of analysis by juxtaposing considerations of character psychopathology with the aesthetics of *Six Shooter* and *In Bruges*, and with the cinematic meta-narrative and intertextuality of *Seven Psychopaths*. Across three chapters—one for each film—Jordan extends his critique with the same attention to detail that has been operating in the earlier chapters. He is at his best when he contemplates the fabrication of McDonagh's extreme associations: between comedy and the tragic (or horrific) situation; concerning social propriety and a disregard for political correctness (especially in conversation); and across narrative verisimilitude and blatant deceit (in both McDonagh's plot construction and reliability and in characters' constant narrating stories to each other). The emphasis in this section is inclined towards consideration of the literary—rather than the cinematic—quality of character, thematic and narrative construction. The turn from a more purely cinematic study is understandable, however, as to embark upon a purely cinematic study of McDonagh's *mise-en-scène*, production design, use of sound and soundtrack, editing, and his camera movement, positioning and framing in the service of his dramatic intent would require a whole book.

Eamonn Jordan's book is not just a welcome intervention into the creative expressions and concerns of Martin McDonagh, but also a coherent conceptualization of a canon of work that is anything but simplistically homogenous or stylistically constant. The book offers insights into McDonagh's work by referencing a rich diversity of theoretical fields—from post-colonialism, to historiography, to dramaturgy, to postmodernism, and beyond—and each interpolation is lucidly offered, explained and applied. This study of McDonagh's work is a valuable major, and sustained, first step into the cultural world in which McDonagh works and on which he comments. It will certainly inspire much more creative thinking and research on this writer, director and producer by scholars in the field of Irish studies and beyond. •

—University College Cork

The Urban Tradition of the Abbey Theatre

By Nelson O'Ceallaigh Ritschel

Elizabeth Mannion
The Urban Plays of the Early Abbey Theatre: Beyond O'Casey
Syracuse University Press, 2014. $34.95

In *The Urban Plays of the Early Abbey Theatre: Beyond O'Casey*, Elizabeth Mannion presents a study that "seeks to broaden the discourse on location in modern Irish drama generally, but at the Abbey [Theatre] specifically." She focuses on the urban set plays of the Abbey Theatre from its inception in 1904 (with a nod to its predecessors, the Irish Literary Theatre and W. F. Fay's Irish National Dramatic Company, as elements of both formed the Irish National Theatre Society that opened the Abbey in 1904) to the original Abbey Theatre's burning in 1951. She acknowledges that earlier scholars, such as Ben Levitas and myself, had "helped to dispel the common misconception that urban Ireland did not appear on the Abbey stage until the emergence of the O'Casey trilogy"—beginning in 1923 with *The Shadow of the Gunman*, followed by *Juno and the Paycock* (1924) and *The Plough and the Stars* (1926)—and she asserts that there has not been a comprehensive study devoted solely to the urban plays of the early Abbey Theatre, until now. In this vein, Mannion's book provides a valuable study that explores the Theatre's urban plays that further contextualize the wider portrait of the Abbey Theatre that reaches beyond studies shaped and prompted by the dramas of J. M. Synge, W. B. Yeats, Lady Gregory, and Sean O'Casey. Along the way, and in its effort to present "the broadest picture possible of the Abbey's urban plays," some plays "are more deserving of attention than others," but all reveal that the Abbey was cognizant of its urban location and its urban audience—although never on the level of the early Theatre's overall commitment to its rural Irish portraits.

Chapter I, titled "Fifteen Percent," covers the first urban play of the Company's pre-Abbey Theatre opening, Frederick Ryan's *The Laying of the Foundations* (1902). The socialistically-leaning play, which included Yeats among its advocates, "transplants a component of the Yeats-Gregory tradition from a rural play to an urban setting [namely the self-sacrificing nature of its protagonist], while adhering to a convention of the problem play"—which Mannion argues is a general nature of the Abbey's urban plays. But most importantly, the chapter notes that "production and performance records from December 27, 1904, through July 17, 1951, as well as existing box office records . . . reveals that there was a steady audience for urban plays. Although they comprised only 15 percent of the repertoire, these urban plays represented, on average, approximately 20 percent of box office receipts," which was impacted by the financial success of O'Casey's trilogy. The chapter reveals that while Yeats insisted on play performance runs being no longer than two consecutive weeks—in a commitment to Yeats' notion of the repertory theatre—the popularity of some urban plays dictated changes in run policies. *Juno and the Paycock* first brought about the change, which allowed for popular plays to run for three consecutive weeks. The policy was again adapted in 1936 when Denis Johnston' Dublin-set *Blind Man's Bluff* ran for five consecutive weeks. The urban plays often forced themselves into the Abbey's repertoire, especially after Annie Horniman's stipend ended in 1910.



Rather than proceeding chronologically through the repertoire's urban plays, Mannion considers the urban plays through various categories. For example, Chapter II considers urban plays that were set in Irish cities outside of Dublin; namely Belfast, Cork, and Galway. The most noted of the Belfast plays is St. John Ervine's *Mixed Marriage* (1911) and John Coulter's *The Drums Are Out* (1948), with both mostly focusing on religious Ulster sectarianism. Cork-set plays are highlighted by Daniel Corkery's problematic *The Labour Leader* (1919) and Frank O'Connor's collaboration with Hugh Hunt, *Mose's Rock* (1938). The single Galway play in the repertoire is Walter Macken's *Mungo's Mansion*. The discussion also reveals that two important Abbey managers, with regard to staging urban plays, were Cork-born: Lennox Robinson and Frank O'Connor. Mannion's analysis reveals that outside of *Mixed Marriage* (which was included in the Abbey's first American tour in 1911), urban plays set in Belfast, Cork, and Galway had limited audience appeal in Dublin, and, as a result, received few revivals. Some Dublin-set plays would be different.

Chapter III considers the two Dublin plays of W. F. Casey, *The Man Who Missed the Tide*, and *The Suburban Groove*. Both plays were premiered in 1908 and helped the Theatre to re-build its audience base after the turbulent year of 1907, marked by the disturbances that greeted Synge's *The Playboy of the Western World*. Casey's plays proved very popular with audiences, with both being frequently revived for decades. Arguably, some of the popularity of Casey's plays, which were satirical comedies, had to do with the fact that they were focused on Dublin's middle-classes. Mannion's analysis reveals that Casey introduced to the Abbey stage the paralysis of the bourgeoisie due to its obsession with ideals, therefore—arguably—anticipating James Joyce. But unlike Joyce, who "identified the external forces of nation, Church, and family as pressures that imposed paralysis," Casey "does not venture deeply into its contributing factors." Despite the popularity of Casey's two plays, he eventually left Dublin for London, and playwriting for journalism.

Chapter 4 examines the continuing changes in audience preferences, and the nation's slow movement toward modernizing (technological if not societal), as urban plays challenged the Abbey's old rural icon, Yeats-Gregory's *Cathleen ni Houlihan*. This, of course, was done in O'Casey's trilogy plays from the 1920s, but also in his *Kathleen Listens In: A*

Political Phantasy in One-Act, 1923, and in Paul Vincent Carroll's later *Coggerers*, 1937. Set in 1923, O'Casey's Kathleen "is safely protected within the family home and doted upon by her parents. With the fighting over and recruits no longer needed, she excludes the citizens from a safe hearth and prefers to keep them outdoors to fend for themselves." Carroll's play, set in the first day of the Easter Rising, has its Kathleen character, Brigid Galgooley, resembling Yeats-Gregory's Poor Old Woman—but unlike the Yeats-Gregory play, Carroll's play "makes the demand that previously fallen leaders be held accountable for the sacrifices made in their names. Like the suitors of *Kathleen Listens In*, *Coggerers* insists that those left behind question the ramifications of following fallen leaders."

Mannion then moves into a chapter titled "Public Spaces," and encounters plays such as St. John Ervine's *The Critics, or a New Play at the Abbey*, 1913, Lennox Robinson's *The Critic*, 1931, Roger McHugh's *Trial at Green Street*, 1941, and Hugh Hunt and Frank O'Connor's *The Invincibles*, 1937. The chapter is followed by one on "Domestic Settings," with plays that mostly explored the Dublin tenements in plays ranging from A. P. Wilson's *The Slough*, 1914, to Bernard McGinn's *Remembered For Ever*, 1941. Mannion argues effectively that the tenement setting was well established before O'Casey's trilogy by Wilson and the 1917 *Blight*, by Joseph O'Connor and Oliver St. John Gogarty. In the process, Mannion further sets a valuable context to O'Casey's Dublin plays that allows us to see them as emerging not just out of the 1920s political strife, but also out of the growing societal awareness of working-class housing—which was also helped by the Abbey's Labor plays coming from the 1913 Lockout.

Chapter 7, "Labor Pains," traces the Lockout beginning with socialist-leaning *The Lord Mayor*, 1914, by Bernard Shaw's boyhood friend Edward McNulty, which was directed by A.P. Wilson—who in addition to having worked at the Abbey Theatre, was a columnist with the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union's newspaper *The Irish Worker*. The play's lead, O'Brien, was originally played by Sean Connolly, a captain in the Irish Citizen Army. The play echoed some of the rhetoric of James Connolly when it is stated that patriotism has little value "if it does not raise" wages. But a play directly representing the Lockout was Wilson's *The Slough*, which includes a labor leader named Allen who was reminiscent of James Larkin. However, as Allen, and Larkin, is portrayed negatively, it is revealed that Wilson "challenged union leadership"— or at least challenged Larkin's leadership, which historically was being done by many within the ITGWU during the Lockout, and when O'Brien's play premiered, James Connolly was leading the union and Larkin was in America. Mannion does not miss pointing out that *The Slouth* followed Wilson's one act *Victims*, performed in Liberty Hall in 1912 by the newly formed Irish Workers' Dramatic Company. The chapter also considers J. A. O'Brennan's *Scrap*, and sees similarities with *The Slough* in portraying the Lockout as dividing families. However, the leaning in Wilson's play to depicting a character strongly resembling James Larkin, blends into the book's last chapter, "Getting Personal."

Mannion's last chapter considers biographical urban plays, or "biodramas, which portrayed iconic figures of Irish history and literature, including Robert Emmet, Jonathan Swift, James Clarence Mangan, and Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa. The first in the early Abbey repertoire was the 1909 *An Imaginary Conversation*, authored by Conal O'Riordan (who wrote as Norreys Connell). Mannion suggests that as a politically themed play, the Abbey directors (which at the time included O'Riordan), went against the Theatre's patron Annie Horniman's ban on political plays. In fact, O'Riordan resigned as an Abbey director when Horniman objected to actor Sara Allgood reading a short work at a private suffragette meeting in London. Emmet would be revisited as a subject in Lennox Robinson's 1915 *The Dreamers*. Mangan is the subject of Louis D'Alton's *The Man in the Cloak*, 1937, while Swift is the focus in G. Sidney Paternoster's *The Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, 1913, and Arthur Power's *The Drapier Letters*, 1927. The year 1945 saw Roger McHugh's *Rossa*, as the chapter details the Abbey's pattern of biodramas.

Clearly the Abbey's patterns of urban plays are well-established by Mannion's book. A few copyedits exist, such as listing Synge's death as 1908, when it was 1909. The back cover's notation for the front cover photograph as "from under O'Casey Bridge" may need clarification. While the photo was presumably taken from under Dublin's O'Casey Bridge, the image depicts a glance from below to the Samuel Beckett Bridge.

The Urban Plays of the Early Abbey Theatre represents a major contribution to Irish theatre scholarship. By detailing and defining the urban traditions of the early Abbey, we gain a fuller understanding of the Theatre's changing repertoire—reminding us that as an urban theatre, the Abbey, while richly founded on rural plays, was mindful of the urban tastes of its audiences. As Mannion states in her Introduction, "setting lingers." Indeed. •

—Massachusetts Maritime

The Immigrant Experience in Ireland

BY KATHLEEN HEININGE

ALL SCHOLARS OF world literature, especially those trained in the traditions of Western thought, must ultimately grapple with the question of privilege: In opening up a space for all voices to be heard, care must be taken to avoid coopting those voices. Academics must always be aware of our own motivations so that discussions of multi-cultural literature do not appear anthropological, mere examinations of other cultures from a worldview that seems ubiquitous but which comes from a place of unconscious—perhaps—superiority. Critics from Edward Said, in *Orientalism*, to Gayatri Spivak, in "Can the Subaltern Speak?" to Chinua Achebe in "Image of Africa" have famously warned against such tendencies, as the perspective of Western privilege encourages us to remain external to our projects, never fully committing ourselves to learning from others, so convinced are we that we are teachers.

Charlotte McIvor and Matthew Spangler, Editors
STAGING INTERCULTURAL IRELAND: NEW PLAYS AND PRACTITIONER PERSPECTIVES
CORK UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2014, $57.95

Thus it was with some trepidation that I approached *Staging Intercultural Ireland: New Plays and Practitioner Perspectives*, a unique collection by editors Charlotte McIvor and Matthew Spangler. The project itself gathers eight plays and six interviews with various playwrights and practitioners who are working in Ireland, all of whom focus on the migrant and immigrant experience, and some of whom are immigrants themselves. I need not have feared. The book was compiled with an eye toward genuine understanding of the difference between multicultural approaches (those which might focus on how "different" such plays might be) and intercultural (those which allow for voices and techniques to enhance each other in order to highlight the importance of context for both author and audience). It is also refreshing in its inclusion of more than merely authorized texts: in addition to photographs from various productions, providing visual contexts, the essays preceding each play establish the context for the play both historically and theatrically, and the interviews address issues of theatre practice that we don't often see in anthologies of plays. These wider discussions allow for a more complete and comprehensive understanding of just how innovative these projects are, especially in a country where theatre is so tied to national identity. As Kasie Lech notes in one of the interviews included, "Irish theatre for a long time was very self-focused because it was creating itself. Now, it has to focus on the outside and it's hard because you have to do that without losing yourself and there is obviously the whole postcolonial fear that, if we allow the foreign influence, we're going to get colonised again to some extent" (372).

The first play included is *Cave Dwellers*, by Nicola McCartney, first produced in 2001. In it, a Man, a Young Woman, a Boy and an Old Woman are seeking their escape from conflict at home, and they wait in a cave for the man to come who will transport them to a new life. With a nod to *Waiting for Godot*, we see their inability to connect with each other, to trust one another, or to save themselves. They are existentially torn between wanting to help each other, recognizing their humanity regardless of political side, or wanting to take from each other in order to survive. It is a poignant reminder of the challenges facing immigrants who are not only othered in their new countries, but have been marginalized in their home countries simply by virtue of wanting to leave.

Hurl, by Charlie O'Neill, was initially presented by Barabbas in 2003. I was especially delighted to see the inclusion of this play, as it was one of my favorites at that year's Dublin Theatre Festival, although, as is so often the case, the humor of the production is largely lost by merely reading the script. The story of a group of asylum-seekers who, while awaiting the slow churning of bureaucracy to decide their fate, start a hurling team, is a delightfully wry take on the cultural assumptions behind the most minute facets of life. Among the Irish characters in the play, amusement is quickly followed by outrage to think of non-Irish men—and women—being interested in and then finally good at such a quintessentially Irish sport as hurling. Stereotypes are thrown around and then dispensed with as quickly as the hurl itself zips around.

Also in 2003 was the production of Ursula Rani Sarma's *Orpheus Road*, the third play included. While the play addresses more traditionally "Irish" themes of Protestant/Catholic tensions, the representation of two young lovers, Finn and Emma, from opposite sides of community violence, uncovers the extent of misunderstanding that arises when cultures remain so distinct, especially when the understanding of one's own culture is not especially deep. One simply goes along with what one knows, and transcending that, even for love, is a very difficult thing to do.

The Cambria is Donal O'Kelly's 2005 depiction of Frederick Douglass's voyage to Ireland. Exploring racism, cultural assumptions, status, and the fickle nature of allegiances, the play allows Douglass to be honored upon his entry into Ireland, seemingly valorizing the Irish as being above the bigotry Douglass faced on his voyage. But the narrative frame undercuts this bucolic view, as the story is ultimately being told by an Irish secondary school history teacher who has just seen her Nigerian student being deported. The juxtaposition of Irish acceptance with Irish bigotry is provocative.

Bisi Adigun, founder of Arambe Productions, is a Yoruban immigrant who provides a new lens for thinking about Irishness. In *Once Upon a Time & Not So Long Ago* (2006), he explores creation myths, both the narratives we traditionally associate with "creation myth" and the way we use modern media to perpetuate new myths about where we all come from and how we present our story. Where the first half of the play provides the narration of various folk myths, the second half is a television talk show where the participants in the play respond to questions about their own immigrant experiences. Story functions to reveal truths that compel us to ask each other, as the TV Host asks, "That did not

really happen, did it?"

Mushroom, by Paul Meade (2007), suggests that the perception of what "really happens" is filtered by our expectations, by our upbringing, and by seemingly accidental circumstances. The stereotypes that we use to encounter each other create their own reality; the metaphor of mushroom farms is apt in that mushrooms require no light but much compost, as they grow best in conditions of decomposition, and they reproduce asexually. There is little light of understanding between the characters, and there is much that appears to be decomposing in their lives; their sexual encounters are anything but fruitful. As the characters encounter each other, there is a sense that they bump up against each other, perhaps bruising slightly, but otherwise have no effect on one another. Their cultural identities remain intact, and the play becomes an instance of how intercultural connection can miss.

Understanding the migrant experience in Ireland requires a consideration of the traveler experience as well, a perspective given in *Rings* by Rosaleen McDonagh. In a style reminiscent of Brian Friel's *Faith Healer*, two characters, Father and Nora, narrate their lives together, revealing the ways they have been marginalized and the ways they marginalize each other. Norah, lured by the chance at an Olympic gold medal, chooses the boxing ring over a wedding ring, to the chagrin of her family. The fight within her is against the expectations of race and gender that would otherwise hem her in, and she remains outside every culture around her.

Finally, in Mijana Rendulic's *Broken Promise Land*, those gendered expectations are exploited by Tea, the Croatian immigrant who realizes the money to be made in the sex market, and who learns how to manipulate the rules of crossing borders both geographical and cultural as she sells herself to find herself. Refusing to allow moral judgements about Tea, Rendulic forces an examination of the conditions in which the sex market is truly the most viable option for a young female immigrant.

The added treat of interviews with theatre practitioners is where the intercultural project comes to light most effectively, and provides a frame of reference for the plays. Bairbre Ní Chaoimh, formerly the artistic director of Calypso Productions, explains the motivation behind her move from Abbey Theatre actor to artistic director to community outreach organizer: "We were keen to use our imaginative resources as a professional theatre company to devise an integrated cross-cultural arts programme that would develop and showcase the talent and skills of young people from minority ethnic communities living in Dublin side by side with their Irish counterparts" (345). Similarly, John Scott founded the Irish Modern Dance Theatre, which is now John Scott Dance, with an eye toward allowing "fragments of humanity under a microscope" (351) to be performed in a nonverbal way. He stretches the definition of "dancer" to make room for a less formal articulation of bodily communication that transcends language.

Declan Gorman and Declan Mallon, with Upstate Theatre Project, admit that their project was a response to the fact that "the old bipolar obsession with the Catholic-Protestant or the North-South was being surpassed by the reality that on the streets around us, and in the shops, and in the community centres, there was growing evidence that there were people from other societies and other communities and other nations and other races living among us" (362-363). The founders of Polish Theatre Ireland (Anna Wolf, Kasia Lech and John Currivan) as well as Polish actor Alicja Ayres and Chilean actor and director José Miguel Jimenéz address the challenges faced in such projects, as they strive to overcome the stereotypes assumed about them while creating connections to and with their new homeland.

The anthology is a remarkable achievement in world literary studies, as it begins to bridge that gap between the academic voices and the voices of practitioners and immigrants themselves; each perspective adds to the nuances of the others, and the book itself becomes a step on the way to true intercultural understanding. •

—George Fox University

All the World's a Stage

BY KELLY MATTHEWS

In *All Dressed Up: Modern Irish Historical Pageantry*, Joan Fitzpatrick Dean traces the evolution of Irish pageantry from Gaelic League Language Week Processions in the early twentieth century to the Macnas parades in Galway that continue into the twenty-first. Dean has compiled a detailed history of various performances in this genre, which became a popular form of participatory drama and, she argues, a key factor in the construction of post-independence Irish identity. Historical pageants, which sometimes numbered as many as two thousand participants and were greeted by audiences of over 35,000 spectators, were powerful forces in telling the Irish who they were, with processions of Irish history as their centerpieces from Pearse's time into the present.

Joan Fitzpatrick Dean
ALL DRESSED UP: MODERN IRISH HISTORICAL PAGEANTRY
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2014

Indeed, Pearse serves as a starting point for the trajectory of Irish pageantry: his pupils at St. Enda's school performed an elaborate, Irish-language tribute to Cuchulainn in 1909, "an equestrian pageant staged in the open air" with the title character in a horse-drawn chariot. Notable audience members included Standish O'Grady, Edward Martyn, the Count and Countess Markievicz, and W.B. Yeats. *All Dressed Up* traces the lineage of Celtic and Christian pageantry from the Gaelic League and Pearse's puritanical idolatry of Ulster Cycle heroes, to the Aonach Tailteann and the Dublin Civic Weeks of 1927 and 1929, to the 1932 Eucharistic Congress, to Micheál MacLiammóir and Hilton Edwards' ambitious productions for the Tóstal festivals of the 1950s. Dean is at her best when describing each pageant's elaborate choreography, as in her description of the 1954 *Pageant of St. Patrick*, a watershed moment in the development of the pageant genre. It was after this point in contemporary history that pageantry turned its sights on audiences external to Ireland, a tradition that continues in today's medieval dinners at Bunratty Castle, within driving distance from Shannon Airport, an example of "history without tears," as Dean describes most historical pageants of the modern era.

Most twentieth-century historical pageants, Dean explains, took as their centerpiece the "March of the Nation," a sanitized procession of Celts, Vikings, Normans, and modern-day heroes, with free association between historical personages and legendary figures. A costumed Cúchulainn might well be followed by Red Hugh O'Donnell or Patrick Sarsfield; as Dean points out, "The chronological procession offered no distinction whatsoever between mythological figures and persons from recorded history; this version of the Irish past subsumes them equally." In cataloguing the many versions of historical re-enactments that comprised this heyday of the pageant genre, Dean documents how often Ireland's mythic past was conflated with its history. More surprising was the fact that most pageants of the post-independence era, such as the 1927 *Grand Pageant of Dublin History*, took liberty with the factual record and completely eradicated any English presence from the portrayal of historical events. As Dean explains, "the pageants appear at ease with the hybridity brought by waves of influences, invaders, and immigrants. What was excluded, both the past century and a quarter and virtually any detail of the English colonial presence, is as significant as the romanticization of the select mythic and historic figures that did appear."

> *"Nobody is too good to be in a Pageant and almost everybody is good enough."*

In chronicling the hey-day of historical pageantry, Dean brings to the fore several colorful personalities who played significant roles in the perpetuation of this curious dramatic art form. Earliest among these is Louis Napoleon Parker, English dramatist, who set conventions for the pageant that were to resonate beyond the settings of rural Dorset, where he staged his first production in 1905. Parker's rules dictated the amateur status of pageant performers—he quipped that "Nobody is too good to be in a Pageant and almost everybody is good enough"—and he declared that each performance should end with a communal singing of the national anthem. Dean reaches into pageantry's origins to chart the distinct nature of this genre as compared to other forms of drama (I confess I yearned for a mention of the bazaar that inspired James Joyce's "Araby"). Parker's influence was to be felt far and wide, and it soon impacted Irish practitioners such as Fred Morrow, one of eight brothers from Belfast and a leading force in the Ulster Literary Theatre for over thirty years. As Dean tells it, "Fred Morrow's enthusiasm for Irish historical pageantry crossed disciplinary lines between theatre and the visual arts, the political no-man's-land between Ascendancy and advanced nationalists, and the religious divide between Protestants and Catholics." In the Free State, Micheál MacLiammóir and Hilton Edwards were to become two of pageantry's leading lights. In addition to founding An Taibhdhearc and the Gate theatre companies, MacLiammóir (born Alfred Willmore and a seasoned expert in self-creation, as Dean notes) and Edwards created or assembled three large-scale nationalist pageants during their illustrious career, including one, *The Pageant of the Celt,* that was produced in Soldier Field, Chicago in 1934.

After the mid-twentieth century, cinema and, later, television arose and developed into significant competition for pageant audiences. It was not until the 1980s, as Dean documents, that the Macnas theatre company was able to re-cast the pageant genre as populist street theatre, challenging the boundaries between spectators and performers. As Dean notes, regarding Macnas's award-winning stadium show *The Táin*, "This Ireland was lusty, pagan, and valiant. It was as if de Valera had never existed." Dean views Macnas's *Táin* as culmination, vindication, and redemption of the pageant genre: "Macnas took theatre out of theatres by bringing it directly to the larger community, enlisting large numbers of volunteers, developing performances that were not based on a playwright's text, and amusing all they encountered with aggressively anti-elitist entertainments."

This book contains an impressive number of stunning illustrations, including black and white stills showing throngs of spear carriers and other pageant participants, as well as eight full-color plates of program covers and costume sketches, one by MacLiammóir and two richly detailed pen and ink drawings by the accomplished costume designer Seamus MacCall. An appendix provides an English translation of Pearse's *Macghníomhartha Chúchulainn* ("The Boyhood Deeds of Cúchulainn") by Irish language scholar Seán Ó Briain. Theatre specialists as well as anyone interested in twentieth-century Irish cultural history will be grateful for Dean's extensive archival research. As she notes in her introduction, "Historical pageants typically leave only fugitive traces: programs, posters, photographs, costume designs, reportage." Her work to unearth and assemble these traces into a coherent assessment of the genre will undoubtedly serve as a valuable guide for generations to come. •

—Framingham State University

The Mature Groarke

BY CHRISTINA HUNT MAHONY

FOR THOSE FEW for whom Vona Groarke is an unfamiliar name, she comes replete with the kudos that one would expect in a mid-career Irish poet. She started by winning a Hennessey Literary Award, has been nominated for the Forward Prize for Poetry, served as Writer in Residence at both NUI Galway and Maynooth and is a member of Aosdána, which honors artists who have made an outstanding contribution to the arts in Ireland. She is, at present, on the faculty of the Centre for New Writing at the University of Manchester.

Vona Groarke
X
GALLERY PRESS: OLDCASTLE, COUNTY MEATH, 2014. €11.95.

X is Groarke's sixth volume to be published since her poems were first collected in *Shale* (1994), a book she has, in a sense, disavowed as "too soft-centered." Writers often revise their own assessment of early work, but even in this debut collection Groarke's recurring themes, preoccupations and artistic signatures were present in nascent form. In interview, Groarke has drawn attention to the historically intriguing fact that she was born in a nursing home in Longford which was once part of Edgeworthstown House, home of Maria Edgeworth. This literary-historical link, and Oliver Goldsmith's neighboring *Deserted Village,* provide a familiar, yet slightly different, lineage for the writer. Influences and associations with Joyce and Yeats are always with us. There are also the strong writerly genealogies for those who hail from Belfast or Cork; but Edgeworth and Goldsmith are not evoked very often these days. Groarke's work in this context, along with its specific referencing of 1916 and the murder of Mountbatten in 1979, give it what David Wheatley has called "rare historical scope"; but it is arguably her architecture, both interior and exterior, with its complex literary heritage, that is her most striking poetic denominator.

Interiors—of houses, rooms, gardens—have been connected traditionally with female writers everywhere and in every era. In modern Ireland, Elizabeth Bowen and Kate O'Brien in prose, Eavan Boland and Medbh McGuckian in verse, Nuala Ní Dhomhnaill in the Irish language, come most readily to mind. In *X,* as in some of the poems in *Other People's Houses* (1999) and *Flight* (2002), there are these echoes, and more. Interiority and exteriority combine; her interest is not merely domestic but structural as well. Groarke's recent poems animate buildings, and find their antecedents in the work of Richard Murphy, particularly in his superbly-achieved collection of sonnets, *The Price of Stone*. Take these lines from Groarke's poem "Architecture," with its epigram from Corbusier, and the poet's awareness that structure and structures provide gravitas.

> Words like stones with sunlight on them
> Lead me to believe that if I put what I
> know into bricks and mortar
> And paint the plaster white
> Or position a square of dark blue glass
> Underneath a square of red,
> I would say as much.

The poem which follows immediately, "How to Read a Building" (a poem of an entirely different construction) warns us immediately, though, that we should not draw too many parallels between writing and building –

> Don't. . . You might as well say a morning convenes in paneled reflections of itself. Or call the way a roofline predicts its likely outcome, fate. Write 'arch', so the word has to position itself between noun and adjective…

Both poems exhibit a meta-narrative awareness of structure. In a recent Q & A with Martin Doyle in *The Irish Times*, Groarke responded that being a writer has taught her "Precision. Restraint. Slyness. Envy. Thrift. The value of a good noun." Thus nouns that are as sound and smooth and snug as a cobble on a path or a brick in a wall, are selected for their ability to hold a poem together for years to come—"lintel," "aperture," and "cantilevered" are just a few. By the time the reader moves to the facing page, however, "On the Potential Uses of Detail" has retreated inside. The poem's first line, with its "colour borrowed from a bottle of underwater blue," returns us smartly to the female realm, especially with those very McGuckian blues.

X can be viewed as the embodiment of those virtues Groarke has learned through her writing apprenticeship. The volume consists mostly of poems of between a half page and a page and a half in length. Precision and economy are apparent from the few first pages of this highly structured book which builds to a lengthy central core. This poetic sequence of fourteen parts would remind a reader of nothing more than the sequential painting of Turner and the later Impressionists, most notably Monet, in which a subject is painted in different lights, at different times of day or in different seasons—"The White Garden," "The Blue Garden," "The Garden as an Island Approached by a Tidal Causeway," "The Garden in Winter," "The Garden Over Time." A poem near the end of the collection, "Monet's Palette, Musée Marmottan," acknowledges this debt to painting, and is placed before an ekphrastic series on the work of Vilhelm Hammershøi, a Danish *fin de siècle* artist whose spare and bleached Nordic interiors, with perspectives through windows and doors, owes much to the painting of Vermeer and other Dutch interiorists, and, in Irish poetry, echoes the interior lyrics of MacNeice and Derek Mahon in turn.

X is a bold name for a collection, but it can be construed in a bewildering variety of ways. Is this where hidden treasure can be found? Is it a claim of ownership? A cancellation? Groarke's title poem suggests a variety of interpretations can hold, but important attributes include that the written letter, or mark, is all straight lines, including no circles or curves. Importantly, though, its lines do converge—"fused the way that lovers are fused." For all the other artistic influences and themes accruing in these poems, it becomes clear that this is a volume which is also recording a marital breakup—

> Brushstroked husband
> and brushstroked wife
> finding in skewered union
> a defence of loneliness
>
> sectioning in four equal parts,
> as if it were a family,
> that safe place.
> once being
> full of itself,
> now cornered, quartered, hinged…

"X" introduces another of Groarke's clusters of poems which turn upon similar considerations. "Aubade" is a prose poem which, like many in the collection, and like early dawn, has no color. It occurs in the same room, the bedroom, as the earlier title poem. It is the morning after the late night reflection of "X," and the poet notes that in the morning light "The ratio of memory to loss upends itself." "Where She Imagines the Want of Being Alone" follows immediately, and repeats the verb "rattle" to convey aloneness and silence, in a house "with its too much time."

This is a collection of assured and fully achieved poems from a poet who has reached maturity. It is not only precision, thrift and such things that she has learned from her writing, but a clear-eyed ability to view life. Such insight can be humbling, and at times threaten us with the possibility of defeat, but it is finally a gift, and one which is granted to few. •

—Trinity College, Dublin

The Boy from the Back Streets of Cork

BY FRANK SHOVLIN

SEÁN O'FAOLÁIN was one of the first writers to make a real impression on me via his story "Up the Bare Stairs" that formed part of the Irish Intermediate Certificate curriculum when I studied for that exam in 1987. The story is about a boy from the back streets of Cork with strict, hard-working, impoverished, ambitious parents. Their pushiness, and a mean trick played by a favorite teacher, eventually leads to alienation for the boy, who decides to succeed in spite of his teacher and parents he can no longer love because he no longer respects. He leaves for a life abroad, but never shakes off his parents' pitiful drive for respectability. At the beginning of the story, he is returning by train to Cork to bury his mother whose casket is carried by the same train. As a brilliantly successful and recently knighted Imperial civil servant, it ought to be a triumphant repatriation, but it is nothing of the sort as memories of a childhood blighted by guilt and pity return.

Paul Delaney
SEÁN O'FAOLÁIN, LITERATURE, INHERITANCE AND THE 1930S
IRISH ACADEMIC PRESS; ISBS (OREGON), 2014, $89.95

O'Faoláin commented in his memoir *Vive Moi!* that all art is a species of autobiography, and "Up the Bare Stairs" is no exception. Both of O'Faoláin's 1930s novels—*A Nest of Simple Folk* (1933) and *Bird Alone* (1936)—discussed by Paul Delaney in this very welcome new look at aspects of the Corkman's early career, are, despite some dressing up in the clothes of a nineteenth-century historical saga, autobiographies, as is his first collection of short stories, *Midsummer Night Madness* (1932). And while it would be a little perverse to describe the four biographies he published in the thirties as autobiographies, each of them is revealing (sometimes very deliberately, sometimes accidentally) of aspects of O'Faoláin's character. As is clear from just this brief, and far from plenary, survey of publications, O'Faoláin was a busy man through the decade, cranking out thousands of words a week in fiction, biography, poetry translation, drama and journalism: he had dozens of articles appear in many of the western world's leading literary magazines, from T.S. Eliot's *Criterion* to R.P. Blackmur's *Hound & Horn,* as well as finding time briefly to be books editor of Jim O'Donovan's interesting left-wing Republican experiment *Ireland To-Day*, and begin scheming with Frank O'Connor and Peadar O'Donnell on what would eventually become *The Bell*. He was one of probably less than half a dozen creative writers in Ireland of the 1930s managing to eke out a living from his pen. And even that pessimistic guess is probably too rosy.

As such, he agreed to work on books he had little or no interest in writing. Paul Delaney points out that *The Life Story of Eamon de Valera* (1933) was commissioned as part of a nationalist-tinged series from one of the only active publishing houses in the Free State, the Talbot Press, and so, not surprisingly, it flies the green flag early and often. When O'Faoláin was next asked to write a biography of de Valera, just a few years later, he wrote a much more balanced book (though Delaney points out that he still cut and pasted entire phrases from the first biography) because he knew he would have a very different audience. The book, titled *De Valera* (1939), was an early Penguin paperback—that it was meant for an English market is demonstrated on the title page where O'Faoláin's name is translated back into the English "John Whelan," which he had been christened. O'Faoláin was unashamedly mercenary when it came to pounds, shillings, and pence. A quick examination of his correspondence with Frank O'Connor, Edward Garnett, or the

BBC shows him as a hardnosed businessman, willing to crank out just about anything you liked if it gave him the freedom to do what he really relished: write fiction. He cannot be blamed for taking such a stance: to survive as an Irish-based writer in these barren years took guts and savvy, two things O'Faoláin had in spades.

That admiration duly acknowledged, it means that O'Faoláin wrote a lot of bad books. The first de Valera biography is hopeless, and I think we must take O'Faoláin entirely seriously when he dismisses it as "arrant tripe." In fact, it is so badly written that one cannot help feeling its author made a deliberate hash of it. Here's one example of O'Faoláin's ludicrously inflated prose quoted by Delaney:

> Every crisis in the history of Ireland during the past sixteen years has sculptured itself in lines upon his face—and that awful week, among others, has left its indelible mark. Where else does he get that leanness of face, that brooding shadow, but from the inner fire that has been eating his heart since he heard the name—Ireland?

Is this to be taken seriously? No. Remember, this is a man who, like the subject of "Up the Bare Stairs," grew up in the back streets of Cork, dependent for his chances in life on his mother taking in lodgers to supplement his father's salary as a loyal RIC man. From these humble beginnings he became a star student at University College Cork, won a Commonwealth Scholarship to Harvard, attracted the attention of Britain's most powerful publisher's reader, and secured employment at Twickenham's Strawberry Hill training college on his return to London from the US. By the time he wrote *The Life Story of de Valera*, he had been published in *The Criterion*, *The Commonweal* and *The New Statesman*. He was, in short, a literary superstar in the making.

So why, then, are his first biography of de Valera and his 1934 biography of Constance Markievicz so bad? I think there are two main reasons. The first is that he disliked both the subjects. Although he had taken the Republican side in the Civil War, he very quickly regretted that decision, and certainly by 1928 was distancing himself completely from republicanism. His dislike and distrust of de Valera grew stronger as the 1930s passed, and by the 1940s he is, through his courageous editorship of *The Bell*, acting as a kind of lonesome opposition bench to de Valera's solid reign through the Emergency. The other reason the early biographies are so poor is that, one suspects, O'Faoláin wrote them while the kettle was boiling, a pipe in the corner of his mouth, and his baby daughter Julia dandling on his knee. It was hack work. Like Clint Eastwood making a few shoot-'em-ups to allow him the time and space to work on the films he cares about, O'Faoláin, by drawing down the commissions on the biographies, got to write creative fiction. And while I am inclined to agree with O'Faoláin's own judgment that he never managed to crack the novel as a form, he did write some memorable and moving short stories.

While it is good to see O'Faoláin resuscitated, this book takes those early biographies too seriously. They have been forgotten by posterity because they deserve to be forgotten, and that is the way O'Faoláin would have wanted it. That said, it is great to see Delaney pull up to the surface a whole host of O'Faoláin's very interesting journalism. Work in magazines such as *The Yale Review* and *The Virginia Quarterly* will be known to aficionados, but something like the duelling with his old patron Daniel Corkery in *The Irish Tribune* is sharp, exciting and well worth examining afresh. Delaney also does well to remember just what an acute observer of the Irish underbelly O'Faoláin was in stories like "Kitty the Wren" and "A Broken World." If nothing else, this welcome reappraisal got me rooting through my shelves for the old Inter Cert short stories and back to that beautifully observed tale of ambition's origins in pity and loss: "I remember that day as I walked home I kept saying to myself over and over again, 'If only my mummy wasn't sick.' All the way. Past the distillery. Around by the tannery. You possibly know the little terrace of houses. They've been there since the eighteenth century. Dark. We had only two rooms. In the hall. I can still get that stuffy smell that had been locked up there for a hundred and fifty years—up the bare stairs." •

—Institute of Irish Studies, University of Liverpool

The Natural World and Governance

NIAMH MOORE-CHERRY

IN THIS BEAUTIFULLY produced and illustrated book, Brendan McGrath sets out to examine the unsatisfactory relationship between Irish society and the landscape it inhabits. Through eleven short chapters, McGrath discusses how this relationship manifests itself on the ground, drawing on both personal experience and professional practice. Fundamentally, the book is about a series of tensions: between economic development and "heritage," private property and the common good, town and country, and individual and society. McGrath argues that these tensions are products of our historical traditions of colonialism, landlordism, and dispossession, and repeatedly draws attention to the uncoordinated and weak regulation and broader governance that create the context for contestation.

Brendan McGrath
LANDSCAPE AND SOCIETY IN CONTEMPORARY IRELAND
CORK UP, 2014. €39.

The book is very much written from the perspective of a planner and a conservationist and the overall tone is critical of the political-economic context within which planning professionals work in this country. Recent high profile examples of landscape/society conflicts are used to illustrate these points ranging from the development of the Burren Interpretive Centre in Mullaghmore, County Clare, to the gas terminal construction at Ballinaboy in County Mayo. Contestations between individual communities, the state and other organizations are illustrated with reference to issues such as the construction of mobile phone masts, the development of wind farms and the North-South electricity interconnector. However while these contestations and developments are highlighted as examples of landscape degradation in recent decades, McGrath does acknowledge that for tourists and other visitors, the quality of the Irish landscape is still virtually unmatched and is a major factor in their decision-making process and their experience of Ireland.

While this book is of broad general appeal and provides a very useful overview of many of the key environmental issues that have been the subject of intense public debate in recent years, there is an uneasy relationship within the book in terms of its target audience. Frequently, it flips from anecdote or personal story-telling to a discussion of sophisticated academic concepts, which negatively impacts on the rhythm of the book. Because of this, the book leaves itself open to the criticism of being light-weight. Landscape here is discussed primarily aesthetically and draws on the work of Newman who defines it as a consequence of human engagement with the world. In other words, the landscape is a product of the choices that society has made. Landscape is an outcome or as McGrath suggests in the case of ghost estates, "a manifestation of dysfunctional landscape relationships" (13). While his discussion about sense of place and how our emotional response to place shapes our perceptions is an important one, by opening up a conceptual debate on landscape, the author leaves himself open to a range of criticisms. The definition of landscape used here creates a binary distinction between landscape and society. Contemporary cultural geographers view landscapes as not just passive recipients of human action but also active players in constructing those social relations. This dualism also seems to sit uncomfortably with later discussions about the biophilia hypothesis and humans being innately connected to the world, not necessarily just wilderness or rural areas that they inhabit.

Landscape in this book is thus defined very narrowly as romantic, natural and rural and there is a strong anti-urban and anti-suburban sentiment expressed throughout the book. The book may more accurately have been titled "rural" landscape and society as most of the examples are drawn from non-urban settings with the exception of a short discussion on the Howth Special Amenity Area Order (SAAO) in north County Dublin. McGrath on more than one occasion expresses his disbelief that people living in suburban locations whether on the edge of major cities or towns are satisfied with their living environment and that "an idyllic dream of suburban living has never flourished in Ireland" (121). The author cites the development of the western towns around Dublin in the 1960s and 1970s in support of his point, particularly those built by local authorities, but neglects to mention those built more recently that have learnt from mistakes of the past. It seems hard to accept this negative, and I would argue ideologically driven, conception of the "suburb" when all the evidence points to a continued demand by young families to have their own home in close proximity to services and with their own front/back garden. However, McGrath very convincingly argues that this type of development has been one of the most profitable mechanisms through which private developers have extracted significant commodity value from the Irish landscape. One of the enabling factors for the windfall profits has been the lack of good governance in relation to planning, an issue that is brought up repeatedly throughout the volume.

One of the common threads in the volume is the tension between the aspirations of planning policy and guidance and the reality of what happens on the ground. There are numerous examples provided where local authorities have powers to engage in better landscape management practices but simply do not use them. Special Amenity Area Order powers are completely under-used and could be a major tool in adopting a more continental European "landscape-scale" approach to conservation as illustrated in the final chapter with reference to examples in Sweden and Scotland. Similarly in Chapter 10, McGrath argues that the issue of one-off rural housing highlights the existence of a significant gap between planning theory and practice in Ireland. While planners would argue through rational scientific plan-making for housing to be concentrated rather than dispersed, the strength of a political culture that constitutionally enshrines the inalienable right to private property, means that politicians argue and lobby for "what people want." The importance placed on private property ownership in Irish culture, combined with a clientelism at the heart of the Irish political and planning systems that juxtapose formal governance arrangements with informal networking, is one of the major contributors to the unsatisfactory relationship that McGrath argues exists between landscape and society in this country. While there has been a recent drive towards better landscape protection and management in Ireland, through, for example, Natura 2000 designations, these have been driven through externally imposed EU-directives implemented via a government based in Dublin. In Chapter 11, McGrath suggests that for conservation to be effectively embedded as part of the Irish psyche, a more participatory approach involving communities and illustrating the economic and social benefits of particular designations needs to be adopted.

This book raises important questions about what we value as a society, and begins an important debate about our

relationships with the natural world and our governance structures, but at times the editing is weak. There is significant and unnecessary overlap across many of the chapters and there is also some clumsiness in moving from one topic to another. On page 54, a paragraph discussing the description of Howth by Robert Lloyd Praeger in 1937 is followed by a paragraph on the history of Irish woodland and then by a paragraph on a Fáilte Ireland visitor survey. As a geographer, I questioned the added value some of the maps were bringing to the discussion. For example, I was unclear what the regional boundaries on Figures 4.5 and 4.6 referred to or why they were relevant? In some places, the inclusion of certain images was unclear, such as the final figure on page 204 of the interior of Liffey Valley shopping mall.

Nonetheless, on many levels McGrath's *Landscape and Contemporary Society in Ireland* is a very interesting read. It summarizes and provides a very accessible account of the main environmental debates and trends in Ireland in recent years and situates them within a broader political-economic and socio-cultural framework. Some of the very local stories and examples will resonate with many readers and the open acknowledgement of the gap between planning theory and practice is a welcome addition from a practitioner perspective to the existing literature. •

—University College Dublin

Dublin 1913

By Ruth Mc Manus

With the so-called decade of commemorations underway, it is to be anticipated that many volumes will be produced to mark each of the landmark events of that tumultuous period. *A Capital in Conflict* has been produced by Dublin City Library and Archive as part of a planned new series which will form part of the commemorative process. This substantial collection is concerned with the events, characters and lived experience of the 1913 Lockout. However, it goes beyond this to consider the broader context of the social, political and cultural life of the city, with essays examining Dublin's economy, labor market, social and living conditions as well as culture and politics. The much more recent socio-economic context of "post-Bail Out" Ireland in which the authors are writing also becomes apparent in some of the chapters. Editor Francis Devine's reflections, in the opening chapter, both set the scene and highlight some key questions raised by the essays in the volume, but he also brings the argument up to the present, with a somewhat polemical consideration of the current battles facing trade unionism, pointing to "a constant media attack on trade unionism's collective values" and the loss of "economic sovereignty… public sector cuts, reduced salaries and pensions, increased taxes and a significantly diminished quality of life" (20).

James Plunkett
Strumpet City
with an introduction by Fintan O'Toole
Gill & Macmillan, 1969, new edition 2013. €8.79

•

Francis Devine, Editor
A capital in conflict: Dublin city and the 1913 lockout
Series Editors Mary Clark and Máire Kennedy
Four Courts Press, 2013. €45/ €24.95.
Published by Dublin City Council to mark the Decade of Commemorations 1913-1923

The labor dispute which saw 20,000 workers locked out of their employment has often been characterized as a personal battle of wits between "Big Jim" Larkin, the larger than life leader of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU), and William Martin Murphy, a hugely successful international businessman with major interests in transport and newspapers, who led the Dublin Employers' Federation. This book helps to explode some of the myths surrounding the events which began in August 1913. One of the more striking chapters, for this reader, is Thomas J. Morrissey's discussion of Murphy, which provides a far more balanced picture of the employers' leader than that which survives in popular memory. The latter was shaped, as Morrissey reveals, by Larkin's deliberate attempts at character assassination, published in the *Irish Worker*. This chapter instead reveals a complex man, of deep humanity and patriotism, who argued in the aftermath of the Lockout that the perceived victory of the employers should not absolve them of their duty to ensure that the wages they paid would enable their workers to live in "frugal comfort." Meanwhile, Dublin's most famously progressive yet paternalistic employer, Guinness, takes center stage in the intriguing family history chapter co-authored by Patrick Coughlan and Francis Devine, which attempts to uncover the lost story of one individual—Patrick Donegan—a Guinness boatman who was dismissed during the Lockout. In order to do so, it draws on a fascinating mix of sources, including records in the Guinness Archives such as a report on the ITGWU undertaken by "the Confidential Enquiry Agency of Michael Sheehan," a former detective at Dublin Castle, for the brewery's solicitor.

The Lockout was an international story, not just a Dublin one, a point made forcefully in the second chapter by Colin Whitston, which examines contemporary British and international labor movements and acknowledges the widespread, sometimes controversial, solidarity with Dublin's workers. The Dublin Lockout is also set within the international context, where employers were increasingly establishing their own organizations as counter-mobilization against labor and which were characterized by aggression and often violence. Contemporary arguments regarding the needs for solidarity versus sectionalism, as well as the much-feared (by employers) rise of syndicalism, are outlined. The political context is further elucidated in Niamh Puirséil's chapter on labor politics, which examines the development of "political" labor in the period leading up to the Lockout. This took the form of an embryonic national Labour Party and a separate municipal labor party within the city. She argues that the Lockout provided a "vivid example" of the need of the workers to be represented politically.

One of the challenges of a multi-authored thematic volume is that similar material may be covered by more than one essay. Although this can at times be disconcerting, the multiple readings of different aspects of the Lockout which appear here can also serve to enhance the reader's understanding. Karen Hunt outlines the contested stories and competing narratives of Dora Montefiore's "Save the Kiddies" scheme in some detail, and points to the possibility of a gendered reading of the Lockout. Kate Cowan's chapter also refers to the scheme, while also describing other aspects of the lives of working-class children, including street begging. Her discussion of relief measures overlaps with the chapter by Ann Matthews, which examines the various forms of charity and aid provided before and during the Lockout across the religious and political divide. Interestingly, she reminds us of the stratified nature of Dublin's working class, with clothing reflecting differences in status, and writes of the humiliation experienced by some of the women who had to queue for food parcels. Such details help to ground this, and many of the other essays, in the lived reality of the Lockout, reminding the reader of the ordinary people behind the headlines.

The lives of those ordinary people came into sharp focus following the Church Street tenement collapse in September 1913, which killed seven and led to a highly significant inquiry into Dublin's housing conditions. Some of the photographs produced for that inquiry are used to illustrate Enda Leaney's visual record of tenement life. The images are linked to sources, including the 1911 Census and the Report of the Housing Inquiry, to demonstrate the dire poverty of many of those affected by the Lockout. A location map would have been a helpful accompaniment to the narrative, which is, by its own admission, complementary to Chris Corlett's *Darkest Dublin* (2008). Another perspective on the tenement story is provided in Lydia Carroll's engagingly-written consideration of public health and housing in Dublin, which draws on her considerable knowledge of Sir Charles Cameron, the remarkable Medical Officer of Health for Dublin for over fifty years. Carroll's chapter is complemented by David Durnin's account of medicine in Dublin, which focuses on the city's thirty-two voluntary hospitals and their funding, including the negative impacts on healthcare which followed the introduction of the 1911 National Insurance Act. The Lockout led to an increase in numbers of patients requiring treatment, but the dispute also had a direct impact on hospitals in less obvious ways, as beds were closed due to fuel shortages, while stocks of cotton wool and surgical dressings became depleted. Once again it is these little details which help to focus the reader on the very human costs of the dispute.

The importance of the printed word in the pre-digital age is highlighted in a number of essays. Newsinger's consideration of the *Irish Worker* outlines the deliberate ferocity of its journalism and notes its interesting stance, reflective of the complex politics of the era. At once, it championed socialism and republicanism, while supporting Home Rule as a temporary solution, and portraying the ITGWU as a Catholic union. Jim Larkin's remarkable energy is highlighted by the fact that, in addition to editing the paper, he contributed almost 400 articles over the 41 months of its existence, at a time when he was also leader of the ITGWU and heavily involved in a number of other endeavours. Meanwhile, Séamas Ó Maitiú looks at *An Claidheamh Soluis* and the impact of the Gaelic League on the life of the city. Here the reader is shown activism of a different type, with various attempts to "gaelicise" the landscape, including the memorable day in March 1905, when 150 league supporters arrived at the General Post Office to mail parcels addressed in Irish.

The wider cultural life of the city also comes to the fore in Ciaran Wallace's fascinating chapter on the Hugh Lane gallery dispute, which explores how a debate ostensibly about the expenditure of public money on a new art gallery revealed deeper divisions and, indeed, different visions for Ireland's future. As with the story of the Lockout itself, the Hugh Lane controversy has often been characterized as a tale of strong individuals and personal antagonisms, belying their sometimes complex motives. This chapter provides a glimpse of the revealing arguments surrounding the proposal, including consid-



erations of cost to ratepayers, the slum issue, the visual impact of the proposed gallery and the quality of the art to be displayed therein. The portrayal of a vulgar, materialistic and aesthetically unappreciative Catholic bourgeois class arises again in Leeann Lane's chapter, which briefly mentions the gallery controversy as well as considering writings by George (AE) Russell and James Stephens' *The Charwoman's Daughter*, described as "the first fictional depiction of poverty from the perspective of the Dublin tenement rather than the big house" (334).

John Cunningham's final chapter considers the disputed interpretation of the Lockout, beginning with *Disturbed Dublin*, Wright's 1914 volume, told from the employer's perspective, and ending with James Plunkett's contributions, in the form of a radio and a stage play, as well as his novel and its subsequent hugely-popular TV adaptation, all of which were sympathetic to the workers. Cunningham remarks that the general acceptance of the historicity of *Strumpet City* can be seen as "the greatest tribute to the power of its storyline" (372).

Indeed, while the sixteen chapters of *A Capital in Conflict* attempt to contribute to a deeper understanding of Dublin in this turbulent period, if one wished to truly get a sense of its everyday lived experience, one could hardly improve upon the wonderful novel, *Strumpet City*, which has been reissued with a new dust-jacket and preface. Dickensian in its scope, the novel charts the lives of a cross-section of society and, although largely told from the perspective of the underdogs, it nevertheless acknowledges the flawed humanity of all of its protagonists.

As the aforementioned preface by Fintan O'Toole establishes, its author James Plunkett (born James Plunkett Kelly in 1920) was a labor organizer who knew Larkin and who, furthermore, grew up hearing stories of the Lockout. Although he was already an accomplished short story writer, *Strumpet City* was Plunkett's first novel, completed in 1969 following a lengthy gestation. Plunkett himself attributed its success to the fact that he never forgot the people at the heart of the story. His work stands the test of time and, on re-reading, the vivid characterization is as striking as ever. It was fittingly chosen as Dublin City Council's *One City One Book* selection for 2013.

Plunkett's 200,000 word epic stands at 549 pages in its current edition, while at just over 400 pages, *A Capital in Conflict* is another hefty tome. The latter is a very nice production (by Four Courts Press on behalf of Dublin City Library and Archives) which includes numerous illustrations, including a color insert, most of which are drawn from the excellent collections of DCLA. Given the number of different contributors, including well-established historians of the city together with newer researchers, there is an inevitable unevenness of tone. At times, too, typographical and punctuation errors attest to the haste with which the book was completed. Nevertheless, these are minor quibbles set against the overall achievements of this new volume. Readers seeking a straightforward linear narrative of the Lockout will not find it here; indeed, it would be best appreciated by someone with existing knowledge of these events. Although Padraig Yeates' monograph *Lockout: Dublin 1913* (Dublin 2001) remains the seminal factual work on the dispute, the research compiled in *A City in Conflict* throws new light on the period, with the essays here providing additional detail, context and a rich range of sources. However, it is to *Strumpet City* that we inevitably turn for a clear sense of the experience of the living and breathing people of Dublin during this remarkable and often tragic episode. •

—St. Patrick's College, DCU

Give and Take in Nineteenth-Century Ireland

BY DARAGH CURRAN

THIS EDITED COLLECTION of twelve essays, which is drawn from the proceedings of the annual conference of the Society for the Study of Nineteenth-Century Ireland held in University College Cork in 2010 and from specially commissioned articles, is part of a continuing series of works by Four Courts Press on nineteenth-century Ireland, and as one would expect it is well presented and produced. Tables, graphs, and photographs are present in a number of essays while a full and comprehensive index is also provided.

Laurence M. Geary and Oonagh Walsh, Editors
PHILANTHROPY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY IRELAND
DUBLIN: FOUR COURTS PRESS, 2014. €55.

The area of philanthropy in Irish history is one that had received much attention in the past three decades, with sterling work being produced by Maria Luddy, in particular. Research in this area has been dominated by the study of the roles played by women and by religious organizations. This is understandable, as philanthropy was one of the few areas that offered women a leadership role in society. Moreover, during a century which witnessed major religious revival by all the mainstream Christian churches, the battle for souls provided a key reason to engage in such philanthropic undertakings. In *Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland,* the editors stress a new approach to the subject, one which they hope will move away from the customary underpinning aspects of the study of philanthropy. But the question needs to be asked: Can study of this subject stand alone *without* drawing on the central importance of women and religion.

This collection is divided into four sections, the first of which is titled "Self-help and mutual aid." This examines philanthropy prior to the passing of the 1838 Poor Laws. Mel Cousins investigates the different support groups that existed in tandem with the sparse central government support that existed, and which often competed with each other, rendering them difficult to distinguish. Laurence Geary looks at the positive contribution of the Society for Promoting the Comforts of the Poor (SPCP), a society which hoped to improve the lot of the poor by encouraging self-help through cleanliness, Godliness and hard work. The SPCP advanced a surprisingly liberal attitude towards the bottom rung of society, yet one that did not apply to the "idle" or the drunken elements of the poorer classes. In keeping with the general notion that poverty was somehow the fault of this element of society, only the working poor could benefit from SPCP aid. In addition, there was no question of the poor gaining any semblance of social parity with their middle-class benefactors. Eoin McLaughlin sheds light on the rather surprising provision of loan funds to the working poor by the Charitable Loan Fund Society, among others. These societies offered loan flexibility not open to the poor from mainstream banking institutions. Once again, only the "industrious" poor qualified for this form of relief which, while initially successful, soon fell foul to corruption, mismanagement and abuse. Despite the difficulties highlighted by all three authors, it does emerge that a form of private poor relief did exist in the first decades of the century but it was one that was coming under increasing pressure from central government that was beginning to recognise the need to provide greater care for its citizens.

The second section of this collection, oddly titled "Land and Guinness," studies philanthropy on landed estates, while somewhat clumsily including the inner city housing provided by the Guinness brewery. This is no criticism of the work of Linda King, who usefully highlights the provision of high quality housing provided for not just workers of Guinness but also for many of the poor, although again not the poorest, who were not employed by the brewery. A section with three essays on landed estates and just one on urban housing and the poor of inner city Dublin lacks balance of coverage. Returning to the issues of philanthropy in rural areas, Conor McNamara uses the famine of 1822 to examine the organization of relief in the west of Ireland, and particularly on the estate of the absentee landlord Ross Mahon. What emerges is an absolute absence of organized relief at a local level, despite the generous amount of funding raised in mainland Britain, notably from the London Tavern Committee. A lack of local strategy and inevitable corruption served as an ominous precursor for events a mere quarter of a century later. In contrast to the absentee Mahon, Kevin McKenna's essay on the Clonbrock estate sets out the central involvement of Lord Clonbrock in providing assistance to his tenantry in the immediate pre-Famine period. In this essay the change in the paternal relationship between landlord and tenant brought about by the centralized Poor Laws, which although not immediate in this case, is recognized as being detrimental to both parties. In a similar vein, philanthropic activity on the Farnham and Shirley estates is recognized by Joanne McEntee as being beneficial to both landlords and tenants. Philanthropy was used by these landlords to instill a form of tenant dependency and by connection discipline and order. Conversely tenants exercised certain leverage from this philanthropy to request through petition various benefits from their landlord. Once again, however, this relationship disintegrated in the years following 1838.

The third section of this work is titled "Women and Children," which slightly dilutes the editors' ambition of producing a work devoid of the importance of women in philanthropy. That being said, two of the essays in this section deal predominantly with children. Oonagh Walsh demonstrates how intellectually disabled children increasingly became the focus for philanthropists post-1850. The competitive nature of philanthropy is highlighted as the Catholic Church, through the Daughters of Charity, responded rapidly to the institution set up to care for intellectually disabled children by the Protestant Dr. Stewart in Palmerstown. In keeping with the increased Victorian emphasis on child welfare, Sarah Anne Buckley investigates the newly formed National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and finds a class-based body quite willing to interfere in the home of the lower classes and remove drunken or incapable parents from the lives of their children, albeit without giving any real thought to the effect this had on the children. Mary Pierse, most interestingly, follows female philanthropists who moved outside of the philanthropic "norm" and championed social and even political reform rather than moral reform as the means of improving the condition of the lower classes. This is certainly a worthwhile section, but it does again highlight the difficulty in separating women and religious institutions from the study of philanthropy.

This final section, consisting of two essays, is titled "Cultural Philanthropy: Art and Literature." Phillip McEvansoneya studies attempts made by artistic bodies to allow the lower classes access to high art which it was hoped would "improve" their cultural awareness. In return, bodies such as the Royal Hibernian Academy that were struggling financially would benefit from the increased number of visitors, which once again highlights the two-way nature of philanthropy at this time. The final essay of the collection, by John Wilson Foster, examines literature and the role it played in philanthropy as a constantly evolving expression of Anglo-Irish relations. Various literary works reinforced ethnic stereotypes, exposed dislike and suspicion on both sides of the philanthropic relationship while again demonstrating how some women novelists sought to reach outside of the accepted "normal" conventions in this area. Also, Foster forwards Victorian literature as echoing a decline in philanthropy, a previously largely private enterprise which would in the twentieth century find itself taken over by state and church.

This is a suitable ending for what is overall an enlightening work on various aspects of philanthropy in the nineteenth century, even though the title of this work is possibly a little too ambitious. What stands out in the first half dozen essays is the dramatic effect the enactment of the Poor Laws had on the private provision of aid, while throughout it can be seen that only the "industrious" poor were considered as being worthy of receiving assistance. Yet those poor who did "qualify" were afforded a certain amount of leverage by the unwritten social contract that existed in the exercise of philanthropy as, after all, their moral

improvement was a key reason, although not the only reason, for the better classes to lend their assistance.

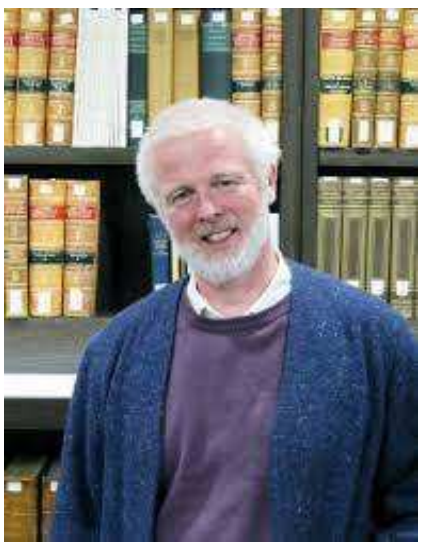
To sum up, despite being slightly imbalanced and unable to move completely away from the role of women and of the church, this is a useful collection which has the potential to open a wider view of philanthropy in the nineteenth century, especially if the less well-researched area of cultural philanthropy and the provision of non-material aid is pursued. •

—University College Dublin

The Center for Irish Programs

BURNS VISITING SCHOLAR SPRING 2016 SEMESTER

COLMÁN Ó CLABAIGH (below) is a Benedictine monk of Glenstal Abbey, Co. Limerick, and a medievalist specializing in the history of monasticism and religion in Late Medieval Ireland. He was awarded a BA in 1989 at NUI, Galway, and after undertaking research in Italy, Belgium and Oxford, received his doctorate in 1998 from the National University of Ireland. This was published as *The Franciscans in Ireland, 1400–1534: from Reform to Reformation* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002). He has co-edited the following proceedings of the Glenstal History Conference: *The Irish Benedictines: A History* (with Martin Browne, Dublin: Columba Press, 2005); *Art and Devotion in Medieval Ireland* (with Salvador Ryan and Rachel Moss, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006) and, most recently, *Soldiers of Christ: the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland* (with Martin Browne, Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015). His monograph *The Friars in Ireland, 1224-1500* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012) was awarded the 2013 National University of Ireland Prize for Irish Historical Research.



Apart from these book-length publications Ó Clabaigh has contributed articles, reviews and editions of documents to numerous Irish and international journals. He has lectured and taught courses for institutions and organizations in Ireland, Great Britain, Italy and Nigeria and comes to Boston College having completed a semester as Visiting Professor at the School of Theology, St John's University Collegeville, Minnesota. His current research focuses on popular religion in Medieval Ireland and, while serving as the Burns Visiting Scholar in Irish Studies, he will teach a course on Religion and Society in Ireland, *c.* 1215 to *c.* 1526 in the Boston College Department of History.

A FOND FAREWELL TO SEAMUS CONNOLLY

Seamus Connolly, our Sullivan Artist-in-Residence retired on the 31st of December, 2015. Seamus has worked at Boston College for some 25 years and began teaching Irish music in 1990. The music program was seen as complementing the Irish Studies program by adding Irish music and dancing. Seamus collaborated with many individuals over the years, including Jimmy Noonan, who came to teach tin whistle at Boston College in 1995. Seamus has also been assisted, in more recent years, by Sheila Falls, teaching fiddle, and Kieran Jordan, teaching Irish dance.

There have been a number of important highlights in Seamus's work over the years, not the least of which was the Celtic Harp Festival, which he helped organize in 1992. This was to commemorate the bicentenary of the Belfast Harp Festival of 1792 which, in itself, was an important staging post on the road to the United Irishmen Irish Rising of 1798.

Seamus began organizing Irish music concerts under the title, Gaelic Roots. Following his appointment by the then President of Boston College, Father Don Monan, to organize music events on the campus full-time, Seamus not only conducted classes on a weekly basis but also put together a summer program beginning in 1993. This again, was under the title of Gaelic Roots and, indeed, Gaelic Roots became a trademark that is owned by Boston College. The Gaelic Roots summer conferences began as a weekend event in 1993, and continued from 1995 until 2003 as week-long summer programs. They attracted participants from around the world, including musicians and students from Australia and Japan. These events were taped for posterity and are housed in the Burns Library Irish Music Archives. Among the very many events that Seamus helped organize over the years, was the playing, along with visiting teachers and musicians from Ireland, of the American National Anthem on live television at a Red Sox game at Fenway Park in June 1997. On that occasion, a crowd of 30,000 people was on hand at Fenway to watch the game.

As a result of the events of 9/11, it became increasingly difficult to organize a Gaelic Roots week-long program at Boston College, as obtaining visas for foreign artists became significantly more demanding. From 2003, therefore, there was a transformation with regard to Gaelic Roots and those events became virtually monthly occasions at Boston College. Today, eight Gaelic Roots concerts are performed annually, serving as a tribute to Seamus's determination and vision. Over the last number of years in particular, Seamus has been greatly assisted by Beth Sweeney, who is the archivist of Irish music in the Burns Library.

Seamus has made an enormous contribution to Boston College. He has earned an international reputation as a performer and his reputation in the Irish music community has enhanced the status of Irish music at Boston College. The university is looked to by people in the profession as an important center for the practice and performance of traditional Irish music and all this is attributable to Seamus's hard work over a number of years. He retires with our thanks. We trust he will have a restful retirement but we know that we will see him from time to time and, indeed, he has already agreed to come back to the campus on Easter Monday 2016 to take part in the commemorative concert that will take place to mark the centenary of the Rising of 1916. Once again we thank Seamus for all that he has done and we look forward to continued cooperation with him in the years ahead. The Irish Program is confident that music and dance will continue to be an important part of what we do in Irish Studies at Boston College.

THE JOHN J. BURNS LIBRARY OF RARE BOOKS AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS EXHIBITIONS AND ACQUISITIONS

IN CONJUNCTION WITH McMullen Museum's "The Arts and Crafts Movement: Making It Irish" spring exhibition, Burns Library will present "Recreating Identity: The Arts and Crafts Movement in Ireland"—a complementary exhibit that will explore the social, political, and economic contexts that shaped the development of the movement in Ireland. It will be on display in Burns Library from February 1st through June 12, 2016.

The Arts and Crafts Movement that first emerged in England in the 1880s took on a distinctive character in Ireland, where its aesthetic and social ideals coalesced around the drive to forge a new national identity. Through association with William Morris and his daughter May, the Yeats family participated in the movement in England and then as it evolved in Ireland. Taking inspiration from Morris's Kelmscott Press, the Yeats sisters were founders of the Dun Emer and later Cuala Press, both of which produced finely printed hand-bound books. Cuala Industries, the umbrella organization, also produced textiles and paintings. Other craft and industrial societies were established in Ireland under the movement's aegis to promote needlework and lace making, metalwork and stained glass, and other applied arts.

"Recreating Identity" will feature examples of books, textiles, leatherworks, and ceramics produced by a variety of artisans, situating them in relation to the refounding of the Royal Irish School of Art Needlework, the establishment of the Arts and Crafts Society of Ireland and its series of craft exhibitions in Dublin, the activities of the Irish Decorative Art Association in Belfast, and the broader Celtic Revival. The exhibit will draw extensively upon the Burns Library archives of the Cuala Press and designer Eva McKee, with supplemental loans from private collectors.

In turn, Burns Library will be lending a number of books and artworks from its collections to the McMullen Museum exhibition, including several recent acquisitions.

The establishment of a national system of public schools in Ireland in 1831 provided girls as well as boys with access to formal education. The curriculum for young women included instruction in various practical arts, including needlework. The Commissioners of National Education accordingly published manuals to guide students in the progressive development of these skills. The manuals included detailed directions, templates, and a page to which specimens of executed patterns could be affixed. Earlier this year, Burns Library was able to acquire a copy of such a manual from 1861 with original specimens intact—an extremely rare survival from the period.

The McMullen exhibit will also display a large embroidery panel woven by Susan Mary ("Lily") Yeats, the elder sister of W.B. Yeats, that we acquired earlier this year. The pattern, designed by Brigid O'Brien, depicts the closing lines of Yeats's poem "The Players ask for a Blessing on the Psalteries and Themselves": "The proud and careless notes live on / But bless our hands that ebb away"—a poignant selection, as it was likely one of Lily's last creations, produced around 1931, shortly after her declining health precipitated the closing of the embroidery branch of Cuala Industries that she had founded some twenty years before.

KIERAN JORDAN

OUR IRISH DANCE TEACHER, Kieran Jordan, was presented with the prestigious Silver Key Award by the Charitable Irish Society of Boston on Wednesday, October 14, 2015. The award was given in recognition of Kieran's role as a "dynamic performer, teacher, director, choreographer, and writer in the field of Irish dance". Her husband, Vincent Crotty, was also presented with the award in recognition of his contribution to Irish visual art.

Kieran is an alum of BC and, in addition to her major, graduated with a minor in Irish Studies. Heartiest congratulations to Kieran and with thanks for all she does for BC.

GAELIC ROOTS RECORDINGS IN THE JOHN J. BURNS LIBRARY'S IRISH MUSIC ARCHIVES

WITHIN THE IRISH MUSIC ARCHIVES of the John J. Burns Library, one can explore over 25 years of archival recordings of Boston College festivals, concerts, and lectures from 1990 onward. Visitors are welcome to view and listen to these recordings in the Burns Library's reading room, and selected clips are made available on the library's YouTube channel as well. What follows is a brief overview of the archives and its collections.

The Irish Music Archives was established at Boston College in 1990 by Dr. Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, in conjunction with the John J. Burns Library and the Music Department. Its earliest acquisitions include master recordings from the 1990 Boston College Irish Fiddle Festival. The archives also holds master recordings from the 1992 Celtic Harp Festival; recordings of the Gaelic Roots festivals (1993-2003); and recordings of the Gaelic Roots Music, Song, Dance, Workshop, and Lecture series (2003-present).

The Boston College Irish Fiddle Festival, featuring sixteen fiddle players living in the United States, was the basis of a published CD, *My Love is in America: The Boston College Irish Fiddle Festival.* The CD was issued by Green Linnet Records in 1991 and was recognized by the American Folklife Center of the Library of Congress.

A few years later, Boston College's first two Gaelic Roots festivals (1993 and 1995) provided a wonderful variety of music for a double CD, *Boston College Irish Studies Program Celebrates Gaelic Roots.*

Today, staff from the Irish Music Archives record the Boston College Gaelic Roots Series events on audio and video. The recordings are then made available for listening and viewing at the Burns Library. These recordings are an important resource for the study of Irish traditional music, as well as for the study of related music and dance traditions in North America. They also document the Irish Studies program's many and varied music offerings over the years. Selected clips from the recordings are made available on the Burns Library Irish Music Center YouTube channel:

https://www.youtube.com/user/BurnsLibraryIMC. A listing of available recordings is updated regularly at http://libguides.bc.edu/irishmusic/archives.

The Irish Music Archives also includes manuscript collections. A few examples are the Mary O'Hara Papers, the Frederick M. Manning Collection of John McCormack, the Séamus Connolly Papers, and the Michael Cummings Collection of P.S. Gilmore Materials. Musical instruments include two Egan harps from the early nineteenth century; these are on view in the Burns Library's Irish Room alongside Mary O'Hara's first professional harp. The collections also include many published materials in a wide variety of formats.

In addition to music, the John J. Burns Library's holdings include a wide range of materials that support the study of Ireland, Irish culture, and Irish America. The Burns Library is open to the public for research; please feel free to e-mail us at burnsref@bc.edu or telephone 617-552-4861 to find out more. Selected archival recordings may not be immediately available due to formatting issues, but with advance notice, access arrangements can generally be made. We welcome your questions and look forward to hearing from you.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT: MAKING IT IRISH

FROM FEBRUARY 6 TO JUNE 5, 2016, during a year of commemoration of the 1916 Easter Rising across Ireland and on this campus, the McMullen Museum of Art offers the first comprehensive examination of the Irish Art and Crafts movement. Like the more familiar Irish Literary Revival of the same era, Arts and Crafts practice accompanied and shaped the visual imagination of the country's transformation from colony to independent nation. As its centerpiece, *The Arts and Craft Movement: Making It Irish*, curated by Vera Kreilkamp and Diana Larsen, introduces dazzling early medieval-influenced metalwork, embroidered hangings and vestments, altar cards, and leatherwork from University College Cork's Honan Chapel. The collection of this ideologically charged masterpiece of Arts and Crafts achievement, consecrated in 1916, has never before travelled beyond Cork.

The exhibition also features Wilhelmina Geddes's and Harry Clarke's prizewinning stained glass panels that evoke a Celtic and early Christian past—but gesture toward the innovative modernism characterizing the Literary Revival. Three Arts and Crafts windows in the University's Bapst Library, commissioned in the 1950s from Harry Clarke's colleague Richard King, constitute an epilogue for the exhibition, suggesting why Boston College's campus provides a fitting setting for it. Other objects on display at the Museum were made for domestic use and decoration, music making, or personal adornment: handcrafted wood furniture and metalwork, carpets and wall hangings, a harp, a lace dress, and jewelry replicating early medieval metalwork. These illustrate both the widespread popular dissemination of Revivalist motifs and the philanthropic promotion of handicraft industries that initiated Arts and Crafts practice in Ireland. The early twentieth-century first Irish women's collective Dun Emer made strikingly "primitive" modernist solidarity banners of early Irish saints, which the curators have borrowed from the Arts and Crafts collection of Saint Brendan's Cathedral in Loughrea, County Galway.

Also included is handcrafted Revivalist book art: a War of Independence republican prisoner's journal hand-inked with Revivalist motifs, as well as an elaborate commemorative volume of illumination embellished with related imagery, but now honoring Ulster's unionist leader Edward Carson. Especially moving are Harry Clarke's modern-medieval illustrations for the eight-volumes of *Ireland's Memorial Records*, listing the names of Ireland's soon-to-be-forgotten 49,435 First World War dead—unionist and nationalist, Protestant and Catholic, from the north and south.

Lenders include the Abbey Theatre, the National Museum of Ireland, the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, the National College of Art and Design, and the National Library of Ireland in Dublin; the Crawford Art Gallery and the Honan Chapel in Cork; St. Brendan's Cathedral in Loughrea, County Galway; the Ulster Museum in Belfast; as well as private collectors in Ireland, Northern Ireland, and the United States.

The accompanying catalogue, edited by Vera Kreilkamp, contains essays by Nicola Gordon Bowe, Marjorie Howes, Andrew Kuhn, Janice Helland, Marguerite Helmers and Kayla Rose, Paul Larmour, Diana Larsen, Nancy Netzer, Tomás Ó Carragáin, Fintan O'Toole, Kelly Sullivan, and Virginia Teehan. A digital guide to the exhibition has been provided by the students in Professor Joe Nugent's digital humanities course. Declan Kiberd will launch the catalogue in Dublin on March 9, 2016 at Boston College Ireland on St. Stephen's Green. •

Irish-American Power

BY CATHERINE B. SHANNON

SHORTLY AFTER THE COMMENCEMENT of the Land War in Ireland, Patrick Ford, the radical nationalist editor of the New York based *Irish World,* sent the following warning to British Prime Minister William Gladstone:

> You are now, unlike the past dealing with two Irelands. The Greater Ireland is on this side of the Atlantic. This is the base of operations. We in America furnish the sinews of war. We in America render moral aid. (6)

Ely M. Janis.
A GREATER IRELAND: THE LAND LEAGUE AND TRANSATLANTIC NATIONALISM IN GILDED AGE AMERICA
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS, 2015
$34.95 (PAPERBACK)

Ely M. Janis' well written and deeply researched monograph, *A Greater Ireland: The Land League and Transatlantic Nationalism in Gilded Age America,* traces how this "Greater Ireland" invoked by Ford evolved and developed as word of the deepening agricultural crisis, near-famine conditions and agrarian unrest in the West of Ireland reached the large Irish American population of famine immigrants and their children between 1879 and 1882. His narrative shows how the founding of the Irish National Land League in Dublin in October 1879, the American tours of Charles Stewart Parnell in early 1880 and, a few months later, that of Michael Davitt, founder of the original Land League of County Mayo, were the catalysts for establishing an American Land League movement that eventually drew broad support from Irish Americans, irrespective of social class, gender, or their diverse political views on the legitimacy of physical force to achieve Irish independence.

In the first two chapters, Janis provides a full account of Parnell's and Davitt's 1880 tours, with trenchant quotations from and analysis of their speeches. The appendix listing the locations and dates of of Parnell's 54 appearances and Davitt's 48 (30 in 1880 and 17 in 1882) underscores how widely the Land League message was disseminated across the country. Parnell's invocation of still strong and bitter memories of the Great Famine, his appeals for direct humanitarian aid for the starving and evicted as well as funds to support Irish National Land League's political campaign to force the British government to introduce land reform and to curb the power of Irish landlords, proved highly effective. By the time of Parnell's March departure, $300,000 had been raised for the Land League's relief fund and another $50,000 for its political program (41). Janis documents how the spontaneous formation of local Land League branches in various cities soon prompted efforts to form a national Land League organization under Irish-American leadership. The Irish National Land League of America was formally established at a convention in New York City in late May 1880 where the recently arrived Michael Davitt addressed the branch delegates.

There is a full account of the huge contributions of Michael Davitt in helping to organize the American Land League upon its founding in May 1880, in spreading the land league message to Irish-American gatherings in Colorado, Montana, Utah, and California, and in forging a united commitment of financial and moral support to the Irish National Land League agitation by three distinct segments of the Irish-American activists, i. e., the conservative nationalists like John Boyle O'Reilly and Patrick Collins, the radical nationalists lead by *Irish World* editor Patrick Ford, and the militant republicans of Clan na Gael led by John Devoy. Although the author describes differing ideological frameworks and long range goals which motivated these groups and often caused internal tensions over organizational governance and control of funds to be sent to Ireland, Janis provides comprehensive data to show that by mid-1881 the American Land League had become a formidable instrument of financial and moral support for the Irish National Land League's campaign in the Irish countryside and at Westminster. By July 1881, there were well over 1,000 branches with an estimated membership of between 300,000 and 500,000 (75, 122). Janis charts how Davitt's arrest in February 1881 and the British government's recourse to coercion to combat the Land League agitation sparked a huge increase in the formation of American branches, membership and financial contributions to the cause. By the end of 1882, a total of $613,000 had been sent to Ireland, of which $343,000 came via Ford's *Irish World* fund, $180,000 from the American Land League and $90,000 from other sources (123).

Gladstone's colleague and Home Secretary Sir William Harcourt anxiously recognized the power and potential of this "Greater Ireland" when he observed, "In former Irish rebellions the Irish were *in Ireland*. We would reach their forces, cut off their reserves in men and money and then to subjugate was comparatively easy. Now there is an Irish nation in the United States, equally hostile, with plenty of money, absolutely beyond our reach and yet within ten days sail of our shores." (6)

Janis argues that this unprecedented mobilization of the Irish-American diaspora impacted Ireland directly in three major ways: First, it consolidated Parnell's status and power as the undisputed national leader who could subsequently work a land deal with Gladstone, enabling him to turn to his Home Rule priority once a land reform bill had been secured. Second, it enabled the Irish Land League to provide moral and financial support to many more threatened tenants than would have been possible otherwise. Third, it provided additional moral pressure forcing Gladstone's government to introduce its land bill of 1881, thereby giving legislative and legal standing to "dual ownership," a term that expressed the tenants' proprietorial interest in their holdings. The experimental purchase provisions in the act would be greatly expanded by future Tory governments in the 1890s and 1903. This 1881 legislation, introduced partly in response to Irish-American pressure, was an important landmark in the gradual conversion of Irish land holding patterns to the small farms that dominated the Irish countryside to the mid-twentieth century.

Chapters Four and Five provide excellent analysis of the differing ideologies and styles of nationalist activity that distinguished conservatives like John Boyle O'Reilly and Patrick Collins from the more

politically radical views on Irish and, indeed, American politics espoused by Patrick Ford, editor of the widely distributed *Irish World.* There is good coverage on Ford's importance in attracting support from influential people like Henry George, author of *Progress and Poverty,* as well as from labor leaders such as Terrence V. Powderly of the Knights of Labor. The coverage of the American Ladies Land League is especially welcome in illuminating the work of Delia, Anna and Fanny Parnell in forwarding the cause but also that of thousands of other Irish-American women who broke traditional domestic gender roles and entered the public stage in order to help those suffering in their homeland. They did so despite considerable hostility from conservative nationalists as well as the Roman Catholic hierarchy. In fact, the American organization was the catalyst for the establishment of the Ladies Land League in Ireland in late January 1881 (147).

Janis traces the eventual demise of this united movement by late 1882 to internal as well as external factors. He describes the tensions between the conservative nationalists and the more radical nationalists and Clan na Gael republicans that were present from the start and shows how these were eventually exacerbated by developments in Ireland starting in late 1881. The No Rent Manifesto of October 1881 and Davitt's advocacy of land nationalization were strongly opposed by conservative nationalists, but strongly supported by the Ford faction who equated the grievances of Irish tenants with those of the American working classes. For conservative nationalists, the Land Act of 1881 and the "Kilmainham Treaty" of May 1882 between Parnell and Gladstone was a fair settlement and hence forth they wanted Irish-American power and influence to be used exclusively to achieve Home Rule. Many of the working class men and women, who favored Ford's strategy of a transatlantic movement directed against land monopolies and capitalism everywhere, lost interest as the Irish political dynamic shifted to the campaign to secure Home Rule from Westminster. Moreover, American clerical support for the movement dwindled after the passage of the Land Act of 1881 and because the cry for land nationalization was considered too close to socialism. The failure to secure Home Rule in 1886 and the fracturing of the Irish Parliamentary Party after the exposure of Parnell's affair left the Irish American community dispirited and uninvolved until the Easter Rising and its aftermath sparked a similar mobilization of Irish Americans, this time in support of Irish independence.

Janis's narrative and analysis draws upon a wide range of manuscript sources, including the papers of John Dillon, Michael Davitt and John Devoy in Ireland, and those of Patrick Collins, Henry George and Terrance Powderly in the United States. He has made excellent use of the two main Irish American newspapers, John Boyle O'Reilly's *Pilot* and Ford's *Irish World* that have been traditional sources previously. However, much of the rich local detail about the American movement has been mined from his wide ranging reading of more than forty other newspapers and journals. Lastly, Janis has drawn heavily on published memoirs, diaries, speeches and writings of the principal leaders as well as the extensive secondary literature that covers this era of Irish American and Irish history.

Ely Janis' *A Greater Ireland* is a major contribution to Irish-American and Irish historiography in providing an elegantly written and thoroughly researched work that provides telling insights on the nature of Irish-American identity, activism and assimilation in the Gilded Age. This volume is another valuable edition to the multi-volume series on the History of Ireland and the Irish Diaspora published by the University of Wisconsin Press. •

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The Life after Life of Brian Boru

BY MÁIRE NÍ MHAONAIGH

LIKE KATE ATKINSON'S heroine, Ursula, in her recent novel, *Life after Life*, Brian Boru is periodically granted a new lease of life. The current welcome interest in this southern ruler who extended his rule throughout much of Ireland around the turn of the eleventh century is linked with the millennial commemoration of the Battle of Clontarf in which the aged king was slain. Noted in contemporary Irish chronicles, a record of the encounter was also made not long after the event by the Frankish writer, Adémar of Chabannes, and Welsh annalists also show interest in the event. Its fame was sealed when Irish and later Icelandic authors depicted the battle in dramatic terms, casting Brian Boru and his chosen son, Murchad, as the heroes of the day. Potent and persuasive, their portrayal has colored the way in which this significant struggle is perceived and understood. Highlighting the partisan nature of many of the sources, recent timely publications on Brian and the battle seek to strip away the layers of story and to tell it as it was. In these various attempts, however, fact and fiction remain firmly intertwined.

Darren McGettigan
THE BATTLE OF CLONTARF: GOOD FRIDAY 1014
DUBLIN: FOUR COURTS PRESS, 2013. € 14.95.

The vexed question of what actually happened at the Battle of Clontarf is addressed directly by Seán Duffy, Commissioning and Consulting Editor of a special issue of *History Ireland* devoted to Brian Boru (March/April 2014, 30-33). Presenting a condensed version of his discussion of the battle in his recent book on the subject, the details he presents owe much to the most influential Irish account of Clontarf, an early twelfth-century dramatic narrative and encomium of Brian Boru, *Cogadh Gáedhel re Gallaibh* "The War of the Irish against the Foreigners [Vikings]." Duffy speculates that oral memories of the encounter may have informed the author of this tract and this could conceivably have been the case. In shaping his account, however, the sophisticated medieval practitioner drew on literary sources, including a vernacular Irish version of the Destruction of Troy. Whatever facts concerning the battle may have been transmitted, therefore, became part of a skillfully constructed fabric, the strands of which were deliberately interwoven to create a battle-tale which reflected the author's own political and cultural milieu. His perspective is that of Brian's twelfth-century descendants, a fact long acknowledged. Yet the consequences of this have not been adequately considered and its implications need restating: as historians we cannot cherry-pick the narrative; there is no *Cogadh à la carte*.

In his "attempt … to write an accurate narrative of the events of that April day" a thousand years ago, Darren McGettigan is also well aware of the allure of literary authors and claims to keep them at arm's length (14). In the case of the *Cogadh*, he notes its "vivid and extended description of the battle, very little of which is useful for reconstructing the events of 1014" (20). Nevertheless, it and other similar sources are pressed into service at various points in the book. In certain respects, later sagas are to be believed (13), some sections may in fact be factual (98)—the passages that deal with the death of Brian Boru, for example, "do have a sense of authenticity" (103). (Adorned) fact and fiction undoubtedly lie cheek by jowl in these complex texts, but the methodology being applied here to distinguish what may be true from what is blatantly not is not always clear. McGettigan professes to believe "that it is a mistake to try to find a historical basis for much of what appears in the Irish and Icelandic sagas" (130, n. 1). Yet his account of "Viking Warriors" (Chapter 3) is heavily dependent on thirteenth-century Icelandic sagas for his portrayal of such rulers as Sitric Silkenbeard, king of Dublin, and Harald Hardrada, the eleventh-century king of Norway who was killed at the Battle of Stamford Bridge (and who was in any event likely to have been born after the battle of Clontarf).

Elsewhere in McGettigan's volume, chronicle entries provide the mainstay of his narrative, yet the information they contain must also be contextualised. The textual relationship between two annalistic collections, the Annals of Ulster and the Annals of Loch Cé, has a bearing on the information both provide on what happened at Clontarf, yet the direct connection between them is not mentioned (e.g. 19). The significance of what is already an embellished notice on the battle in the Annals of Ulster is not noted; what McGettigan terms an entry "which appears to have been corrupted somehow" (19) is key evidence for use of the battle for propagandistic purposes at a relatively early stage. Thus, the reference therein to Clontarf as a clash the like of which was never before encountered cannot be taken at face value (as is done 107). Nor can the augmented casualty list it (and other chronicles) contain be read as evidence for the contemporary significance of the event (122). Other annal entries are deemed "less reliable" (in a discussion of the career of Brian Boru's main rival Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill, 51). The criteria by which entries might be judged "reliable" are unfortunately not set out.

Annalistic evidence is occasionally built on and speculation ensues: The battle of Tara fought between Amlaíb Cuarán, king of Dublin, and the aforementioned Máel Sechnaill, may have commenced "perhaps even as the king of Meath [Máel Sechnaill] was being inaugurated as high-king" (51). An image on the shrine of the Stowe (St. Máel Ruain's) Missal is deemed to be that of a warrior of Brian's own dynasty, Dál Cais (93, caption to figure 22); might another "be a depiction of King Brian drawing his sword at Clontarf to defend himself against Brodir?" (105, caption to figure 22). The celebration of Brian's son, Donnchad, as "king of Ireland" on the same shrine is noted, but no further support for the proposed identification of the figures is adduced. Of Irish warriors we are informed that not to wear mail shirts or helmets into battle "may even have been an important part of medieval Irish cultural pride." With greater certainty it is declared that "a favoured Viking tactic was to hide a large portion of their army in a wood or defile, and then to emerge from cover during the battle to take their enemies by surprise in the flank or rear" (39). Neither archaeological nor textual authority is cited in support of such statements. The approach employed is at considerable variance with the author's assurance (with regard to the lead-up and course of events at Clontarf) that "only events for which evidence exists are included" (17).

The attractive layout of McGettigan's volume and its clear illustrations will ensure that the book has widespread appeal. The visual evidence he presents pertaining to the period is highly effective, and in his focus on circumstances prevailing prior to the battle, he rightly sets the encounter in its broader context. His chapters on "Ireland and the early Viking Invasions," "Brian seizes the high-kingship" and "Viking warriors" are mirrored in contributions in *History Ireland*, Charles Doherty addressing the subject of "Ireland in the Viking Age" (14-17); Cathy Swift and Seán Duffy commenting on Brian's origins and his political rise respectively (10-11, 18-20), while Clare Downham presents a useful introduction to "Clontarf in the Wider World" (22-6). Denis Casey and Bernard Meehan place under scrutiny the page in the Book of Armagh in which Brian is entitled *imperator Scotorum* "Emperor of the Irish" (the translation "Scots" given for *Scoti* is misleading, 28). They question its association with Brian's well-known visit to Armagh in 1005 during which he placed 20 ounces of gold on the altar there. Their contention that Máel Suthain (Latin: Calvus Perennis), the scribe who wrote the passage concerning Brian, naming himself in the process, was in fact the scholar of that name who was termed *ardshuí na hÉrenn* (chief sage of Ireland) on his death in 1010 is plausible. The link they draw between the addition concerning Brian and the surrounding text in which Armagh's authority is confirmed by Patrick is significant; whether the phrase *imperator barbarorum* as used elsewhere in the Book of Armagh inspired the title, *imperator Scotorum*, however, is debatable. The negative connotations of the former as applied to the pagan king, Láegaire mac Néill, in Muirchú's seventh-century "Life of Patrick" makes it unlikely that it would have inspired a term for Brian.

Brian himself, or more accurately his literary portrayal, inspired later writers, some of whom are discussed by Clare O'Halloran (38-41). Their positive depictions are unsurprising concerning their "strong Munster connections," as she notes; yet seventeenth-century English writers paint a different picture in which Brian's arch-rival, Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill, is very much to the fore. Brian's influence in other media is graphically illustrated with reference to Hugh Frazer's painting of 1826, "The Battle of Clontarf" by Niamh O'Sullivan (42-43). The harp that bears his name and which was incorrectly taken in the eighteenth century as "evidence of his fondness for music" is described by Nancy Hurrell (49). Donal Fallon recollects the nationalist tenor of the commemoration of the 900th anniversary of the battle a century ago (44-45). The uniformed men called upon in *The Irish Volunteer* to participate in a "fitting celebration of a great national victory" in 1914 have been replaced today by those who dress as *Gaidil* and *Gaill* to reenact the battle; the crowds who came to view the dramatic depiction in April 2014 recall the thousands who gathered at the site of Brian's court, Kincora, a hundred years before. In bringing Clontarf and its general circumstances to wider public attention, this year's commemoration may have moved Brian on to another Afterlife. Interest in his life and times will be whetted by the issue of *History Ireland* devoted to him, as well as by Darren McGettigan's account, *The Battle of Clontarf*. The full bibliography provided by the latter can guide readers to other sources in which this pivotal period is analyzed in greater depth. •

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Gaelic Intellectual Activity on the Continent

BY TADHG Ó hANNRACHÁIN,

IRISH EUROPE, 1600-1650: Writing and Learning is the ambitious title of this book, the fifth volume to emerge from the highly productive "Irish in Europe" project based in NUI Maynooth, and the direct fruit of a commemorative conference in 2007, which marked the quartercentenary of the Flight of the Earls and the foundation of St. Anthony's College in Louvain. Yet although it contains only eight essays in addition to the introduction, and although it is necessarily a collection of focused examinations of particular works and authors, rather than a comprehensive overview of a very wide subject, the breadth and scholarship of the volume does remarkable justice to the large frame of reference claimed by the title.

Raymond Gillespie and Ruairí Ó hUiginn, Editors
IRISH EUROPE, 1600-1650: WRITING AND LEARNING
DUBLIN: FOUR COURTS PRESS, 2013. €55.

The prolegomena to the volume, "St. Anthony's College, Louvain: Gaelic Texts and Articulating Irish Identity, 1606-40," by Marian Lyons, performs two important functions. Not only does it successfully situate the Gaelic literary production carried out by the Franciscans of St. Anthony's within the context of the wider political and ecclesiastical concerns of the ethnic spectrum of Irish Catholic exiles on the continent, from the end of the sixteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, but this largely historiographical essay also provides a concise presentation of the nature and extent of Irish emigrant flows to the continent in the same time-frame, thus providing a secure framework for the two following sections of the book, "Writing in Irish Europe" and "Learning in Irish Europe." In this regard, Lyons's essay builds on the introduction by one of the book's editors, Ray Gillespie, which emphasizes the cultural accommodations made necessary by the emergence of emigrant communities and the dual dimension of their cultural production, which attempted both to explain Irish events and experiences to an audience influenced by contemporary European preoccupations and to act as a conduit for the channeling of European influences into their native cultural matrix.

Given the original conference which prompted the book, it is not surprising that Tadhg Ó Cianáin figures prominently, with two complementary essays on the chronicler of the Flight of the Earls by Nollaig Ó Muraíle and by Micheál Mac Craith, whose work over the past decade has vastly enriched the interpretative context in which Ó Cianáin's text can be read and understood. In this volume, while Ó Muraíle provides a deft summary of the main outline of the text and explores the nature of Ó Cianáin's borrowings and linguistic neologisms, Mac Craith's essay offers a detailed examination of Gregory Martin's Roma Sancta as a useful comparator with Ó Cianáin's Roman section. In a strikingly similar fashion to Ó Cianáin, Martin was essentially uninterested in classical Rome. Rather, both texts celebrated the piety, splendour and ceremonies of the post-tridentine papal capital. Ó Cianáin arrived in the eternal city during a period of refashioning of its identity, which laid emphasis on the triumphant superseding of the classical pagan past by Christianity, a process in which the remodeled early modern papacy took center stage and in which revered figures such as Robert Bellarmine and Cesare Baronius provided the intellectual underpinning for the dismissal of mere pagan achievement. Mac Craith convincingly argues that this is the context in which Ó Cianáin's text should be read and that his preoccupations with the ecclesiastical structures and glory of Rome reflect an appreciation of contemporary continental understandings of Catholic identity. One of Ó Cianáin's evident motivations was to demonstrate the suitability of the Irish subjects of his text for inclusion within this paradigm as the representatives of a great Catholic nation, and Mac Craith suggests that its primary audience was probably the Irish Catholic diaspora on the continent, and perhaps more particularly the Irish Franciscans at Louvain, given the familiarity which the text presumes with the liturgical year.

Ó Muraíle's essay is also complemented by Ruairí Ó hUiginn's contribution. This, while ostensibly focused on linguistic issues in the work of the Franciscans at Louvain, does somewhat more than it says on the tin by considering, in addition to the work of figures such as Ó Cianáin, the Four Masters, Geoffrey Keating, Theobald Stapleton and Lughaidh Ó Cléirigh, the manner also in which Protestant authors and translators involved in the production of printed texts in Irish grappled with the tension between the demands of the classical literary register and the need for a simpler and more evangelically-suitable printed form of the language. Significantly, he argues that a particularly archaic register of Irish figured in texts of a historical nature, while ecclesiastical texts, particularly those of Stapleton and the teams involved in translating the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, were more prepared to modify archaism in the search for greater intelligibility.

The section concludes with Raymond Gillespie's second contribution, "The Louvain Franciscans and the Culture of Print," which provides a very useful contextualization of the historical conditions in which the Gaelic-language print domain developed. Gillespie's essay provides a measured consideration of the rather spasmodic relationship between the Louvain Franciscans and printing in Irish which had two major phases of activity in the second and fifth decades of the seventeenth century. Gillespie considers the evidence that Robert Chamberlain may have provided some of the impetus and money towards the first production of texts and posits an interesting connection between the second edition of Bonaventura Ó hEodhasa's *Teagasg Críosdaidhe*, which might be more usefully understood as a preacher's handbook than as a simple catechism, and Aodh Mac Aingil's *Scáthán hadramuinte na haithridhe*, suggesting that they could have functioned as a matched pair of texts to serve as resources for members of the Louvain mission traveling back to Ireland, at a time of marked increase in Franciscan numbers.

Over the past two decades, Bernadette Cunningham has produced a series of major publications on some of the most significant intellectual figures of seventeenth-century Ireland. Logically arising from her work on the Four Masters and Geoffrey Keating, her essay, which opens the second section of this volume, examines John Colgan, another important historian of the Gaelic Irish tradition, whose knowledge and use of that tradition can sometimes be obscured by the fact that his landmark publications were in Latin. Yet, as Pádraig Ó Macháin demonstrates in his scholarly piece on the manuscript of Nicholás Ó Gadhra, not only may Colgan himself have been a Gaelic poet, since a poem to Toirdhealbhach mac Airt Í Néill is often ascribed to him, but Irish exiles on the continent possessed an abundance of sources and in their rich and representative literary activity they were by no means marginalized from the mainstream Gaelic scholarly tradition.

Colgan was the driving force behind the hagiographical scheme which successfully vindicated Ireland's reputation as a historical bastion of Christianity. The focus of Cunningham's essay in this volume is on his historical methodology and scholarship. As editor of the *Acta sanctorum Hiberniae* project, it was Colgan who decided to publish a separate hagiographical volume on Patrick, Brigit, and Colm Cille, rather than distorting the calendar framework of the original series. He was also responsible for the copious notes which provided the scholarly underpinning of the project's authority. Yet as Cunningham demonstrates, his role as a historian can be underestimated. 250 saints' lives were included in the first volume of *Acta sanctorum Hiberniae*, but Colgan had only 33 source lives to hand, some of which were of limited use. Thus, he was forced to compile over eighty per cent of the lives himself from a variety of sources, while also annotating those lives which he had to hand. Illustrating her argument through a number of examples, Cunningham demonstrates Colgan's methodology. Colgan's life of Modhomhnóg, for instance, for which no one major source existed, eventually ran to a substantial entry of about 1,100 words. In compiling this life, Colgan was happy to make use of the work of contemporary Protestants such as Ussher and Ware, citing them as sources rather than as authorities in the medieval fashion, as well as the work of the Four Masters, and the various martyrologies which were of essential use to him. In this, as in many other instances, Colgan could be quite pragmatic. The original choice of this particular saint for inclusion evidently owed much for the need of a saint's life with a feast day on 13 February, and Colgan relatively blithely dismissed the evidence of the *Martyrology of Donegal*, which detailed two St. Modomhnógs with different feast days, through the casual pronouncement that the saint's feast day was celebrated on different dates in various parts of the country. Colgan's methodology, in particular his use of extensive notes, drawn from an eclectic range of sources, set him apart from either Keating or the Four Masters and was an essential part of the process of developing the authority which ensured the success of the project in one of its most important goals.

The volume concludes with another genuinely important essay by Salvador Ryan, which relates five surviving Irish catechetical tracts to contemporary preoccupations and developments within continental catechesis. Critically, Ryan commands not merely the linguistic competence to examine these texts but an ecclesiastical historian's appreciation of the intricacy and variation of this subject. Rather than presenting works by, for instance, Antoin Gearnon or Theobald Stapleton as Irish outcrops of a monolithic and static post-tridentine Catholic ideology, he is sensitive to the manner in which the central objectives of a catechist could vary according to contemporary preoccupations and expectations, the nature of the intended audience, and the personal experience of the authors. Like Robert Bellarmine, whose stint as a pastoral bishop in southern Italy influenced his own approach to catechetical instruction and whose writings rippled throughout the Catholic world, figures such

as Gearnon and Stapleton were clearly affected by their experiences as priests on the ground in Ireland.

Taken together, this is a genuinely interdisciplinary volume which combines the expertise of historians and literary scholars to produce an interesting and multifaceted investigation of Gaelic intellectual activity in the continent, in particular within the context of St. Anthony's. The fact that the various contributors often focus on different aspects of the same figure results in a thought-provoking mix and some suggestive connections. Theobald Stapleton, for example, emerges from the various essays as a surprisingly innovative figure, both linguistically on eschewing the use of archaic forms and in his interest in expanding the range of catechetical instruction towards the promotion of greater understanding of faith. Similarly, Colgan's orientation towards Latin publication evidently resulted in significant modifications of approach from the more traditional historiography of the Irish language historians, whose research, however, was integral to his work. *Beatha agus sláinte* to the "Irish in Europe" project. •

—University College Dublin

Fear for the Sojourners, Fear for the Church: Response to Emigration

BY OLIVER P. RAFFERTY, S.J.

THIS IS AN IMPRESSIVE and wide-ranging work that seeks to delineate the attitudes of the main churches to the phenomenon of mass emigration from Ireland in the nineteenth century. Drawing on a striking range of both Catholic and Protestant sources, the author tells the story of the effects on the Irish churches of the departure of large numbers of congregants to Britain, the United States, and the far-flung reaches of the British Empire. Attitudes varied both between and within churches and, over time, individual clergymen could also exhibit contradictory impulses. What emerges, therefore, is a complex picture, not only of church views but also of motivation on the part of emigrants themselves. Thus, for example, pre-Famine Protestant emigration was often the result of Catholic hostility to individual Protestant families, coupled with neglect by politicians and landlords, giving rise to fears in those left behind that Protestantism would become increasingly marginalized in Irish society.

Sarah Roddy
POPULATION, PROVIDENCE AND EMPIRE: THE CHURCHES AND EMIGRATION FROM NINETEENTH–CENTURY IRELAND
MANCHESTER: MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS: 2014. £70.

Emigration became, therefore, a factor in the matrix of relations between the churches in Ireland, which had ramifications for the way in which the churches would evaluate the exodus from the country as time went on. Indeed, this aspect of Sarah Roddy's fascinating portrayal is one of the novelties that she brings to her work. In general, she is skeptical about the churches' attitude to emigration. All the religious bodies in Ireland expressed grave concern about it; however, they committed relatively few resources to assisting those who had to leave.

Earlier in the century, and even during the Famine, schemes were devised to assist individuals and families to emigrate as an alternative to providing poor relief. One such enterprise saw 2,500 people from north Munster resettled in Canada in 1823 and 1825 at a cost to the exchequer of some £53,000. The expense involved probably led to the government abandoning the idea. There was also opposition from many clergy, both Catholic and Protestant; however, Richard Whately, Church of Ireland archbishop of Dublin, supported the idea as did many Catholic priests in the 1830s. But by the 1880s the bishops could issue a joint pastoral letter condemning similar proposals.

There were also explicitly sectarian aspects to emigration. In general, Protestant clergy hoped that Catholics would leave, their departure thus bringing a blessing to Ireland. Furthermore, by the late 1820s some Church of Ireland clergy had established the Protestant Colonisation Society to buy land on which to settle Protestant families, as an alternative to emigration. Other problems were raised by the success in given areas of the "Second Reformation" in converting Catholics to Protestantism. Priests would advise parishioners to shun such converts, but they also brought pressure to bear on such individuals to leave the country.

Although in many ways robust, and exhibiting growing political expectations in nineteenth-century Ireland, institutional

There were sectarian aspects to emigration. In general, Protestant clergy hoped that Catholics would leave, their departure thus bringing a blessing to Ireland.

Catholicism had, at times, also reasons to fear for its position from the reality of emigration. If in the earlier part of the century Protestants left because of the distressed political state of the country, Catholics tended to do so because of economic necessity. While there is evidence of priests welcoming this, eventually it dawned on the clergy that the better-off, more enterprising, and more devout Catholics tended to leave. There was therefore some anxiety, not only over the diminution of active and enterprising parishioners going overseas, but also a fear that Protestantism would become a more important factor in Irish society if the Catholic population declined seriously as a result of emigration. There was also a more selfish concern: The departure of the better off for distant shores would result in only the poor remaining and clerical income would thereby decrease. This was a greater apprehension in rural than in urban areas.

The thinking of churchmen on emigration was not, however, simply the product of venal considerations. Although many were convinced, at least in the first half of the century, of the benefits of going abroad as a means of escaping economic retardation, there were also dangers for those who left Ireland. In Catholic circles the dominant idea was that emigrants would lose their faith in their host countries. Indeed, the Irish priest Robert Mullen, writing from the United States in 1852, where he was raising funds for Irish purposes, informed the London *Tablet* that as many as two million Irish in America had fallen away from the faith. Not only did this cause a row within Irish Catholicism, but it was seized upon by Protestant polemicists as an indication that emigration was an instrument of God's providence for the destruction of the popish religion. Protestants were also subject to "leakage" from members in overseas situations, as people converted from one Protestant denomination to another, but this was mostly to do with the lack of ecclesial provision by a particular church in a specific region. Catholic horror at the falling away from the faith in overseas missions could be taken to extremes. Some clerical opinion would have it that it was better to die of starvation in Ireland than be exposed to a loss of faith elsewhere.

There were also moral dangers to which migrants were subject. Archbishop John Joseph Lynch of Toronto made himself obnoxious to his Irish brethren by pointing out that the Irish Catholics were over-represented among the criminal classes in Canada.

Issues of loss of faith and moral rectitude were tied to the question of supplying ministers of religion to the Irish diaspora. The Protestant churches took the matter seriously, but it was always difficult to encourage ministers in comfortable circumstances in Ireland to face the realities of deprivation in the colonies. St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, had in the late 1830s dispatched some forty priests to Irish parishes overseas, but there was also a felt need for a seminary that would have such supply as it main purpose. The lacuna was filled by the foundation of All Hallows College, Drumcondra, in 1842. There remained, however, an impression that All Hallows was decidedly inferior in students and professors compared with Maynooth and, therefore, only the weaker or more dissolute priest went abroad. The Drumcondra establishment also had the reputation of producing men who were of a more "nationalist" bent, with Archbishop McCloskey of New York complaining that the priests sent to New York were all embroiled in Fenian affairs. This is despite that fact that one of the early presidents of All Hallows, David Moriarty, when bishop of Kerry, was the arch opponent of all things Fenian. The trope of inferior or deviant clergy being dispatched to the diaspora was one shared by all the churches for much of the century.

At times Catholics would also beat the providence drum. Prelates could rejoice in the fact that over the vast British Empire, to which Ireland belonged, and in the Americas, the presence of the Irish had made of Catholicism a force to be reckoned with. Imperial considerations were also, however, a feature of Irish Presbyterian and Anglican overseas missions where empire and bible were propagated hand in hand. An English Jesuit, Fr. George Porter, observed in 1864 that English neglect of Ireland and even the Famine itself could be interpreted as Providence using the mind and instincts of men for its own purposes in propagating global Catholicism. In more prosaic terms the *Times* of London complained in September 1875 that Irish Catholicism was "busily engaged in the spiritual conquest of the world." However, not all bishops saw the matter in terms of divine providence. Patrick Durcan, bishop of Achonry, maintained that emigration was not spreading the faith but filling brothels. There were also criticisms of another kind. For instance, the old Fenian John O'Leary suggested that Cardinal Paul Cullen saw Ireland simply as a machine for producing Catholics who would be scattered all over the world to boost the church's influence.

One aspect of emigration that struck Sir William Wilde was that the Irish abroad spread the English language, admittedly with an Irish brogue. This enabled a small country to exercise influence out of all proportion to its size. Another feature of mass emigration was the example given by successful Irish people to those at home that they too could prosper especially if given self-government.

The home church benefitted not only from the fact that remittances to Ireland could help swell ecclesiastical coffers, more a feature of the Catholic than the Protestant Churches, but all denominations could appeal to the diaspora for help with religious endeavors in Ireland, especially church building. Once again, such activity was more common among Catholics than Protestants.

This is a well-written and engaging work, richly textured with pertinent examples that illuminate the various strands of Roddy's views on ecclesiastical reaction to emigration. There is now a vast literature on emigration and the diaspora, but there is not too much on the impact of this on Ireland itself, and this fact alone makes Roddy's work of great value. It deserves to be widely read. •

—Boston College

WITH: Roger Rosenblatt

You're a great fan and teacher of Irish literature; who are your favorite Irish writers? Any contemporaries you especially admire?

My all-time favorite is J. M. Synge, who understood the music and humor as well as the pain of the poor, and was such a natural no critic could ever lay a glove on him. Among contemporaries, Paul Muldoon, one of the great poets of the past hundred years, who can be everything in his poems — word-playful, lyrical, hilarious, melancholy. And angry. Only Yeats before him could write with such measured fury.

"By the Book," *New York Times Book Review*, 10 January 2016

Continuities and Differences

BY SHARON MURPHY

THE CONSTRUCTION of childhood or youth is never an ideologically neutral matter, as this fascinating volume reminds us in its skilfull examination of the roles both played in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Irish culture. Drawing upon a rich variety of sources, the essays in the collection explore a diverse range of topics, including, for example, the characterization of young people involved in the Irish revolution and civil war, cinematic portrayals of post-Good Friday Northern Ireland, and the representation of childhood or youth in works by writers such as Máirín Cregan, Claire Keegan, and Ferdia Mac Anna.

John Countryman and Kelly Matthews, Editors
THE COUNTRY OF THE YOUNG: INTERPRETATIONS OF YOUTH AND CHILDHOOD IN IRISH CULTURE
DUBLIN: FOUR COURTS PRESS, 2013. €49.50.

The essays in the volume have their origins in the 2010 New England regional meeting of the American Conference for Irish Studies (NEACIS), and several were first presented as conference papers. Collectively, according to Kelly Matthews in her introduction, they "argue for a fresh consideration of youth and childhood in Irish culture, and for a new discussion of the ways that childhood is socially and politically constructed in the modern era" (8). This call is a particularly timely one, we might conclude, given how "the more painful dualities of childhood and children's status" in Ireland have been increasingly revealed in recent years (3).

The volume opens with Cara Delay's essay on Irish girls, mothers, and Catholicism, which anticipates several in the collection by connecting "the development of femininity to larger social issues, both religious and secular" (4). Delay's conclusion is that growing up Catholic could be empowering as well as restricting for Irish girls and women, and that "the Irish girlhood narrative remains understudied" (27). Much more work has to be done, she also stresses, before we can properly begin to understand the roles women played in the making of Catholic Ireland. The next essay —by Margaret Lasch Carroll—examines the pioneering role that the Sisters of Charity played in the education of the children of the Irish poor in Albany, New York, between 1828 and 1847. An important point of the essay is that the Sisters of Charity were trailblazers in the real sense of the word as they paid "special attention to the daughters of the poor Irish; the sisters themselves were models of female independence, competence, and self-sufficiency" (44). The ordering of these two essays feels a little odd, as it slightly skews the opening of the collection in chronological terms. Reflected here, perhaps, we see the editors' concern that it would be unsuitable to place Carroll's (fine) essay at the beginning of the volume, as it is the only one whose primary focus is on Irish culture in America and is more concerned with the efforts of the religious sisters in Albany than with the children themselves.

Gavin Foster's essay shifts the focus of the collection to the twentieth century; it examines the competing ways in which notions of youthful idealism were used by the different sides during the revolutionary and civil war eras. In a very real sense, he argues, the civil war devoured its young because supporters of the treaty turned "rapidly against the youth ideals of the revolution" (65). Among the many reasons for this, he declares, was the fact that "the new native political establishment and its supporters…borrowed attitudes and discourses from the departing colonial power" (67). Susan Cahill's essay on the children's literature of Máirín Cregan dovetails nicely with that of Foster, for it reveals how the writer's depictions of childhood and youth were crucially implicated in the cultural and political discourses of their era. Cregan's husband, Dr. James Ryan, was a founder member of Fianna Fáil, and held various posts in the governments of both de Valera and Lemass, and, Cahill suggests, the writer's "proximity to the official party line and dominant ideologies concerning cultural representation" may go a long way towards explaining her popularity in both Ireland and America (76).

The next three essays in the collection also fit well together, as they are variously concerned with the challenges writers face when trying to reveal—or create—the inner world of the adolescent or child. Thomas O'Grady's consideration of the work of Ferdia Mac Anna thus explores the writer's relationship to both the *bildungsroman* and James Joyce, and suggests that he, too, finally discovers the inability of the artist to escape the nets that ensnare him. Caitriona Moloney's powerful essay on *The Gathering* (2007) by Anne Enright traces how the novel both "challenges many popular ideas about the Irish family," and demonstrates that child abuse is inevitably facilitated by a peculiar complicity of silence (103). Mary Fitzgerald-Hoyt is also concerned with silence in her insightful analysis of Claire Keegan's long short-story *Foster*, which was the winner of the Davy Byrne's Irish writing award in 2009. Keegan's utilisation of the first-person child narrator in this story is a truly remarkable achievement, Fitzgerald-Hoyt argues, which allows her to demonstrate that—in certain circumstances—silence can be a powerful weapon for the child: "Whereas what is unsaid contributes to the child's uneasiness and confusion, by the end of the story silence becomes a self-protective weapon, not the legacy of trauma but rather a fortification for the future" (127).

The final two essays in the collection are also concerned with silence and trauma, exploring, as they do, representations of children and young people reaching maturity against the backdrop of the Troubles in Northern Ireland. Nicole R. McClure's essay on Oliver Hirschbiegel's film *Five Minutes of Heaven* (2009) examines the effects of violence perpetrated or witnessed during adolescence or childhood, and illustrates the challenges—and potential dangers—of trying to articulate traumas that are based upon real-life experience. Charlotte J. Headrick's consideration of the drama of Christina Reid for its part stresses that "The Troubles and the effect this conflict has had on children are prevalent in much of her work" (152). "One of the most striking characteristics of Reid's plays," Headrick remarks, "is the honesty of the children"; another is how they encourage audiences to understand difference and recognize the methods through which myths and misinformation are created (152).

Taken together, the essays in this collection encourage readers to re-consider their notions of childhood and youth in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Irish culture, and to recognize that cultural representations of both have variously facilitated—and/or challenged—prevailing ideologies in relation to politics, gender, religion, and economics. Another effect of the essays is to remind readers of the dangers of placing too much faith in the notion of the universal; that it is important always to remain alert to the particular when considering the complexities of human attitudes or experience. Matthews concludes her introduction to the volume by noting that cultural studies of Irish childhood are still in their "infancy," and expresses the hope that the "diverse approach" adopted in the study "will help bring topics worthy of further research to the attention of students and scholars who may carry them forward" (9). This, indeed, is a laudable ambition, especially as this volume clearly demonstrates what can happen when scholars from different disciplines engage in dialogue with each other. The authors here are drawn from a variety of disciplines, and differ in terms of their materials, approaches and, sometimes, conclusions, but the net effect of their efforts is to remind the reader that the history of Irish culture is marked by strange continuities as well as differences. •

—St. Patrick's College, DCU

Governing Dublin

BY GORDON KENNEDY

THE LORD MAYOR OF Dublin is the first citizen and chairperson of the elected city council, a person deemed efficient in facilitating dialogue with various organizations and citizens with the end goal of raising the profile of the city. To many contemporary Dubliners, however, the position is essentially ceremonial without executive power. To the more cynically-minded, the lord mayor's position is simply a vanity project used by the various political parties to raise the national profile of their lesser known councillors. This is not a position akin to London or New York, where mayors have substantial executive powers and vast budgets. Perhaps because of this, the role of Dublin's lord mayor has been relatively neglected by Irish political and social historians. This collection of essays, edited by Ruth McManus and Lisa Marie Griffith, is an admirable attempt to rectify this omission. The variety of contributions and the tight editing make *Leaders of the City* readable and enlightening. From a personal perspective, it was a pleasant surprise that a subject, which had the potential to be somewhat dry and disengaging, turned out to be a fascinating journey through the history of Dublin from 1500 to the 1950s. The contributors skillfully threaded the biographical details of the various incumbents into the context of their particular periods of office. Thus, many of the major political and social upheavals of the day are reflected by the behaviour and outlook of the various lord mayors. The thirteen essays contained in *Leaders of the City* chart a captivating social dialogue between the civic elite of Dublin and its inhabitants during these tumultuous and often divisive periods in Irish history.

The editors offer a fine introduction to the function of Dublin's first citizen since the role of mayor was created by King Henry III in 1229. The position was not elevated to a lord mayoralty until the 1660s. McManus and Griffith inform us that although the political issues varied greatly over the broad time span chronicled, there were many reoccurring themes. These include the issues of planning and growth, the constitutional relationship between Britain and Ireland, confessional politics and the often complex combination of national politics and local business interests. The first essay, by Colm Lennon, concentrates on Francis Taylor, the "martyred" mayor of Dublin, who held the position from 1595-96. Taylor had several duties: acting as a judge in the city court, admiral of Dublin Port, arbiter of weights and measures in the city markets, and representative of the city's interests before the state administration in Dublin and London. However, the social and economic difficulties at the end of the sixteenth century were compounded by the political and religious challenges of the time, to which Taylor eventually fell victim. When the Reformation statutes of supremacy and uniformity were enforced, Taylor was arrested and imprisoned during a clampdown on Roman Catholic public dissent in 1616 and 1617. His death in prison several years later allowed Catholic martyrologists to claim that he was imprisoned and died for his faith.

Ruth McManus and Lisa Marie Griffith, Editors
LEADERS OF THE CITY: DUBLIN'S FIRST CITIZENS, 1500-1950.
DUBLIN: FOUR COURTS PRESS, 2014. €45/€24.95.

Patricia Stapleton continues the narrative of the early seventeenth century in her study of Sir James Carroll, who was one of the first individuals to hold the office on more than one occasion; he was mayor in 1612-13, 1617-18, 1624-25, and finally 1634-55. Stapleton asserts that during this period, the government aimed to erode the power and privileges of the civic elite and, in particular, to exclude Roman Catholics from positions of power in favor of Protestant, and increasingly English, civic government. Indeed, by 1604, the taking of the oath of supremacy became a requisite for office holders. The arrival of Thomas

Wentworth as lord deputy in 1633 accelerated this policy. Stapleton hints that Sir James Carroll merely adopted a public Protestant profile in order to protect his role, and that of others, within civic society. Although this tactic did not prevent the future exclusion of these "suspect" Protestants from political power, in Carroll's case his personal greed and misuse of privilege led to his political downfall.

Mayor William Smith, who became Dublin's first citizen in 1642, at the height of the Irish Catholic rebellion, is the point of Raymond Gillespie's essay. Smith also served as mayor during and after the Cromwellian regime in the 1650s and 1660s. During the Restoration period, the post became a lord mayoralty, and Smith was determined to build a "tholsel" or city hall to reflect this promotion in status. Janet Redmond adds to this theme in her chapter, which covers the career of Sir Daniel Bellingham, Dublin's first lord mayor. Elected in 1665, Bellingham was the city goldsmith and a loyal supporter of the Crown. A successful lord mayor, he was lauded for his "prudence, ability and loyalty" by the civic elite. Redmond argues that the elevation of Dublin to a lord mayoralty was essentially motivated by the Crown's desire to strengthen its hold on local government during the Restoration period.

Eighteenth-century Dublin and its political intrigues are dealt with by Máire Kennedy and Lisa Marie Griffith in their biographies of John Exshaw and Henry Gore Sankey. Exshaw was an interesting character, a lifelong loyalist and opponent of the Act of Union. A successful and innovative bookseller, he made his considerable fortune by reprinting British publications in Ireland without paying for copyright. The absence of copyright legislation in Ireland meant that production costs were substantially lower than equivalent businesses in London. We can assume that this was one of the reasons Exshaw opposed the legislative union of the two countries in 1801. He also printed the trial transcripts of noted United Irishmen, such as Oliver Bond and Robert Emmet. While Exshaw's political career was played out on the municipal stage, he had higher ambitions. He ran for parliament in 1790, but was opposed by Henry Grattan and Lord Henry Fitzgerald and was defeated. Exshaw was lord mayor in 1789-90 and 1800-01. He used his second term to oppose vehemently the Act of Union. Under Exshaw's direction, several members of Dublin Corporation presented an anti-Union petition personally to the king in April 1800. Griffith treats Exshaw's colleague, Henry Gore Sankey, who was lord mayor in 1791-92, when calls for Catholic Emancipation were becoming more vocal. She sheds light on the uneasy political atmosphere within Dublin Corporation during this period. In January 1792, the Corporation drew up an address of loyalty to King George III, stating that they were "sensibly impressed with the value of excellent constitution" and that they hoped that the king would "preserve the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland." Sankey was a lead author of this address and received much thanks from ultra-Protestants in Dublin who opposed Catholic enfranchisement. However, Sankey's popularity with the Protestant ascendancy of Dublin cost him dearly when he ran for parliament in 1797. The increased Roman Catholic numbers on the electoral register since 1793 ensured a mauling at the polls.

In contrast to Exshaw and Sankey's attempts to stifle Roman Catholic civic inclusion, Thomas McKenny, a liberal Protestant, believed that the "king Canute" approach of his predecessors was counter-productive. Jaqueline Hill focuses on McKenny as he strove to deal with the changing political landscape of post-Union Ireland and the emergence of Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association. McKenny was lord mayor in 1818-19 and made a significant contribution to the emancipation cause despite the sectarian hue of the Corporation as a whole. O'Connell's efforts to achieve emancipation led directly to his mayoralty in 1841. He was the first Catholic to hold the post since the reign of James II and was the first mayor to have no connection with the city's ancient trade guilds. Mary E. Clark deals with this momentous change in Dublin politics and the quest for a new mayoral image during the later nineteenth century. The transformation of Dublin's civic politics wrought by O'Connell continued after his death in 1845. The orderly and peaceful inclusion of middle-class Catholics (always O'Connell's target demographic) in the civic franchise allowed for the gradual transfer of real power to the merchant class in the governance of Dublin. Clark charts the dispute between council members in the decades after O'Connell's death over how best to commemorate to the "Liberator." A disappointing portrait and the impressive statue on Dublin's premier street were the mixed results after forty years of disagreement within the Corporation.



Curiously, there is a large chronological gap in *Leaders of the City*, between O'Connell's election in 1841 and the incumbency of J.P Nannetti, whose first term began in 1898. Nannetti reflected the changing dynamic created by the Local Government (Ireland) Act of 1898. A far wider electoral mandate, accompanied by increased powers and responsibilities, led to greater public and press interest in Dublin City Hall. Ciarán Wallace examines Nannetti's mayoralty and describes him as a "mild sort of a rebel." This alludes to the fact that he was seen as the first "workers" lord mayor representing the radical labor vote. However, Nannetti later became a financially prosperous MP for the Irish Parliamentary Party and lost the support of this nascent labor movement, which deemed him a mercenary and a sellout. From 1905 until 1913, labor councillors attacked the nationalist-dominated council's record on housing and social welfare, criticizing the IPP as a self-serving party of slum landlords and publicans. Lorcan Sherlock was lord mayor during the maelstrom of class division of the 1913 Lockout. He served three successive terms, from 1912 to 1915. Lydia Carroll examines his contribution and details the efforts made by Sherlock to find a workable solution to the bitter labor dispute. Throughout the strike of 1913, Sherlock made continuous efforts to bring workers and employers together, although his natural sympathies lay with the workers. This sympathy did not extend to Jim Larkin, however, and their once cordial relationship deteriorated into acrimony. Despite all efforts at mediation, the Lockout dispute was never solved, and by February 1914, the demoralized workers were eventually forced back to work. In subsequent terms, Sherlock also tried to tackle the standard of housing in inner-city Dublin, an aspect afforded greater attention by Ruth McManus in her account of Laurence O'Neill, who was elected lord mayor for five consecutive terms. He was the last person to hold the office under the British regime and the first to hold it under the Irish Free State administration. O'Neill's desire to solve the housing crisis in Dublin was shared by Alderman Tom Kelly, long-time chairman of the Dublin Corporation Housing Committee. Interestingly, McManus tells us that Kelly had actually been elected lord mayor in 1920 but was interned without trial in Wormwood Scrubs. O'Neill remained on as lord mayor "in accordance with Kelly's wishes." Although slum conditions in Dublin's inner-city were not completely solved by the two men, house building (which had almost ceased in Britain during the Great War) continued in Ireland during this period. This was principally as a result of municipal activity in Dublin, and, as McManus states, due in no small part to the efforts of O'Neill and Kelly.

David McEllin deals with the legacy of arguably the best known of all Dublin lord mayors, Alderman Alfie Byrne, in the penultimate chapter of the book. Given the extensive career of Byrne in local and national politics, McEllin focuses on the period 1930-9, which covers the initial years of Byrne's mayoralty. His avuncular style and restless enthusiasm for the job soon created an almost legendary status for the longest-serving lord mayor of Dublin. Byrne was very active in many aspects of Dublin's social, civic and religious life, and it was not unusual for him to attend as many as four functions in one night. His interest in the poor and destitute of Dublin was to the forefront at all times, earning him further plaudits and popularity. Byrne also strove to maintain good relations with Britain during this period of economic war and cultural isolation. On 29 January 1936, the lord mayor represented the city of Dublin at the funeral of King George V. The following year, Alfie Byrne stated that "the great difficulty of partition could only be solved by goodwill and mutual understanding," which chaffed at the official rhetoric of de Valera's government. In 1939, Byrne withdrew from the mayoral election and gave his casting vote in the tied election to Kathleen Clarke, widow of Tom Clarke, who was executed for his role in the 1916 Rising. In doing so, Byrne went against his personal party political allegiance and Clarke became the first woman to serve as lord mayor.

Helen Litton's chapter on Clarke depicts a woman whose election naturally caused great interest all over the country. Staunchly republican, Clarke insisted on the removal of any royal portraits from the Mansion House before she took up office in 1939. She also refused to wear the traditional chain of office, which had been presented to the Corporation by William III. She preferred to wear the chain of the president of the court of conscience in its stead. However, Clarke's mayoralty was overshadowed by the outbreak of the Second World War, and she slipped into the default stance of so many republicans during that period—anti-British and sympathetic to Axis military aggression. Clarke was criticized for friendly acts towards the legations of the Axis powers, even hosting an official dinner for the German ambassador, Eduard Hempel. In 1941, she announced that she would not seek re-election as lord mayor on health grounds. Although her attitudes were decried as anachronistic, Clarke was a woman of strong political conviction. Imbued with an old fashioned sense of incorruptibility, she is a fascinating historical figure and worthy of the book's final biography. Several appendices accompany the book's biographical portrayals and include a list of all of Dublin's lord mayors, as well as a brief history of the Mansion House in Dublin and the regalia of the various incumbents. Overall, *Leaders of the City* succeeds in its objective—to shine a light on the lesser-known historical characters and their political machinations within Dublin's civic society. The footnotes are also excellent and informative. *Leaders of the City, Dublin's First Citizens, 1500-1950,* will be an essential resource for any future historians of Dublin and its local governance. •

—Dublin City University

Photo: Mansion House, residence of Dublin Lord Mayors

The Healers

BY LAURA KELLY

IN THE LEAD-UP TO THE centenary of the outbreak of the First World War in 2014, there has been growing historical interest in the experiences of men and women who served in military and medical roles during the war. Notably, Christine Hallett's recent work has illuminated the experiences of both professional and amateur nurses during the First World War. A wealth of valuable research has been undertaken in recent years on the experiences of Irish men and women during the war. The diaries of Emma Duffin, compiled and published for the first time by Trevor Parkhill, add to this growing corpus, and interestingly, provide an insight into the experiences of a Belfast Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD) nurse. The Voluntary Aid Detachment was established by the Red Cross and Order of St. John in 1909 in order to provide supplementary aid to the Territorial Forces Medical Service in the event of war. VAD nurses were trained in first aid and nursing and worked in auxiliary hospitals and convalescent homes during World War One.

Trevor Parkhill, Editor
THE FIRST WORLD WAR DIARIES OF EMMA DUFFIN: BELFAST VOLUNTARY AID DETACHMENT NURSE
FOUR COURTS PRESS, 2014. €29.95.

Duffin's diaries were deposited in the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland after her death in 1979. Although she noted that the diaries are an account of her experiences during the First World War, Parkhill writes that the homogeneity of the diaries "suggests that they were written soon after her return to Belfast following her demobilization in early 1919" (1). Given that the diaries were written after the events, perhaps the term "memoirs" might have been more appropriate. Nevertheless, the diaries provide a vivid and captivating account of Duffin's experiences, and, as she herself noted in a later diary, were written soon after the events took place when the memories were still fresh in her mind (1).

Parkhill's useful introduction contextualizes the diaries and provides background detail on Duffin's life. Born into a family of substantial means, Duffin, was one of nine children. Her father, Adam Duffin, managed his father's stockbroking business, and was politically active in the unionist business community. Duffin, like other women of her class, received an education at home provided by governesses. At the age of sixteen, she, like all of her six sisters, attended Cheltenham Ladies College in Gloucestershire and later went to Churchill College, Shrewsbury. After returning to Belfast, she attended the Belfast Art College, where she first developed her skills as an illustrator. Duffin's sketches pepper the diaries which are in addition illustrated by beautiful photographs. One drawing, titled "A V.A.D.'s nightmare" (195), indicates some of the day-to-day problems experienced by VAD nurses with a touch of humor. Parkhill provides a useful summary of key points before each diary segment and this also helps the transition from one diary entry to another.

Duffin enlisted as a VAD nurse at the age of 31 in 1915. Interestingly, three of her sisters also served as VAD nurses in London, Birmingham and Stockport. Emma went much further afield and was initially sent to Alexandria in Egypt, where many of the soldiers wounded at Gallipoli were treated. After completing six months' service, Duffin reenlisted and was based first in northern France, then the port of Le Harve and lastly Calais just before the declaration of the armistice in November 1918.

As Parkhill notes, the Duffin sisters were typical of the VAD nurse membership



in terms of their social class. The majority of VAD nurses came from the middle-classes and found themselves working alongside orderlies drawn from the working classes, and medical officers and professional nurses who were largely middle class. Although Parkhill is careful to note that tensions between professional nurses and VAD nurses have tended to be overplayed in the contemporary British press, Duffin occasionally remarked on difficulties between the VAD nurses and medical officers and professional nurses. For example, in her diary entry which covered her period at Palais des Régates between late 1916 and spring 1917, she was very critical of the work of the medical officer, Montague, and the professional nurse, Sister Salmon (136). Similarly, in the same diary, she wrote of tensions between herself and a Sister Molloy, also from Belfast, who was overly critical of Duffin's cleaning methods and who also, Duffin claimed, tended "to spy on us to see if we were talking to the patients" (142). Likewise, in her diary which detailed her time at the Hôtel des Emigrants in the autumn of 1917, she recorded her indignation at being the subject of a joke by a Sister Morley which implied that she was unhappy at not always being able to nurse officers (151). Duffin had another encounter with Morley when the nurse demanded that she washed a "heap of dirty bandages. This I knew she had no business to do, as the day sister has no authority over the night VADs." To avoid a certain row, Duffin completed the task. Interestingly, she also recorded tensions between the VAD nurses and members of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (known as WAACS). On one occasion, due to illness, Duffin was placed in a ward with two WAACs, the elder of which ignored her as she was "too busily engrossed in tapping on the window and kissing her hands to the Tommies in the hut opposite" (179).

Although the diaries largely deal with the difficult and distressing conditions in the hospitals, Duffin also writes about her social life in the hospitals. In her Alexandria diary, she recounted a Christmas concert organized by the orderlies at the hospital and a Christmas dinner for the staff. When not on duty at Palais des Régates, she occupied herself by played badminton, swimming, and taking trips to the forest (140). Duffin also provides an account of a fancy dress party to celebrate Christmas at the Hospital Hôtel des Emigrants at Christmas 1916, although "after dinner there was nothing much to do and we played rather foolish games, which I thought fell very flat" (166).

One of the most valuable contributions of these diaries is the fact that they allow the stories of soldiers (many of them Irish) who fought during the First World War to come to light. To some extent, Duffin romanticizes her patients, and this is perhaps due to having compiled the journals after the events. Nevertheless, her accounts of patients provide an insight into the sufferings of individuals who served in the war. Duffin recorded the soldiers' homesickness and her own shock "at how young some of the boys were" (50). Camaraderie between the soldiers is also referred to. Although Duffin attempted to maintain a professional voice throughout the diaries, she occasionally displayed emotion when discussing some of the individual cases which were particularly affecting, such as the young French soldier whom she nursed at Le Harve and nicknamed "très bon." She stayed by his side until he passed away and remarked: "It was impossible to think of him as a soldier. To me he was just like a very sweet small boy" (98). Strikingly, in spite of the distressing working conditions, Duffin remained a composed figure in her diaries. In a rare admission of fear in the hospital in Alexandria, she noted, "to my unaccustomed eyes all the patients seemed dying and I was struck by the terror of the whole thing. On the way out we had pictured ourselves nursing wounded only; we had never thought of illness somehow" (38). Duffin's attitudes to malingerers are detailed in her diary of autumn 1917, where she writes of Australian soldiers "who had injured their knees (so that they might not have to go up the line) by means of some form of injection" and of one soldier who had stuck five gramophone needles into his knee (166-67). Duffin comes across as unsympathetic at first, mentioning that she and the other VAD nurse were disgusted by these cases, particularly as "they gave us a lot more work and we resented having trouble for 'shirkers,'" although she notes, "I did tell myself I ought not to judge them too severely without knowing the horrors they had been through and what they were trying to evade" (167). Following her return to Belfast, Duffin worked as an illustrator of cards and books. In a final addition to her diaries, written in 1967, Duffin recalled that "it had been a hard life, but a great experience, never to be regretted" and of the patients she cared for, "I was their 'sister' in both senses." Parkhill writes in his introduction that Duffin returned to journal-writing after the outbreak of World War II, when she served as a commandant of the VAD at Stranmillis Hospital in Belfast. I would be interested to read more about these experiences, and hopefully these journals might also be published in the future.

In conclusion, Emma Duffin's compelling wartime diaries contribute not only to our knowledge of the experiences of VAD nurses but they also illuminate the stories of men who fought during the First World War and provide an insight into wartime medical care and hospital life. They will be of interest not only to historians specializing in the history of medical care during the war and the history of wartime nursing but to anyone with a general interest in the involvement of Irish men and women in the First World War. •

—University of Strathclyde

Rebel Cork

BY MARIE COLEMAN

JOHN BORGONOVO'S DETAILED study of Cork City in the period between the Easter Rising and the 1918 general election adapts the well-established local study from the broader county perspective to a more tightly focused analysis of Ireland's third largest urban centre in the era of the First World War. The decision to end in 1918 underscores the fact that this is not so much a study of the Irish revolution as of how the revolutionary seeds were sown in war-time Ireland, and the author is quite correct in highlighting the symbiotic relationship between the war and the nationalist revolution that emerged from it. However, I feel that he overstates the originality of this observation: "'Some historians still view the First World War and revolution in Ireland separately, as if confined neatly within their own respective boxes" (3). I would have trouble identifying these unnamed and uncredited historians and feel that this criticism is not an accurate reflection of modern Irish history writing relating to this period.

John Borgonovo
THE DYNAMICS OF WAR AND REVOLUTION: CORK CITY, 1916-1918
CORK UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2013. €39.

Where Borgonovo can take credit for a refreshing approach is in the marrying of what is essentially a political narrative with excellent insights into the social conditions of Cork City in the late 1910s, showing how this impacted on the seismic political change that occurred in these years. Seeing Cork through the prism of "a provincial British port city" in 1914 is a useful perspective and sets the scene for the chief research question of the book, which is how

this city was to morph into the more renowned "rebel Cork" within a short space of time. The author provides extremely useful insights into the extent of urban poverty on the eve of the First World War and underlines the significance of economic factors in encouraging voluntary enlistment (or "self-mobilization," which is the term preferred herein) for the British army after August 1914. A separate chapter dedicated to fears of a food crisis in 1917 and 1918 throws more light on a subject recently resurrected by scholars (John Burke has found similarities in Athlone) and shows how such fears were successfully exploited by Sinn Féin.

Another insightful element of the social analysis in this text relates to class. Historians of the revolution expend considerable energy in explaining why people joined the Irish Volunteers or Sinn Féin. The issue of social class forms an important part of that discourse as does the question of educational influences, especially in regard to the nationally-minded Christian Brothers. Borgonovo adds an important new dimension to this debate by contrasting the experiences of the working- and lower-middle classes who attended the "North Mon" Christian Brothers School with their counterparts up the social scale, the "Christians" of the more elite Christian Brothers College, finding that "the North Mon's republican output greatly surpassed Cork's upscale Christian Brothers College" (87). The relative absence of republican sentiment in the Presentation Brothers College and University College Cork prior to 1918 is attributed similarly to class consciousness and concerns about the "respectability" of the new political force.

One criticism of the book is that its struggles to find a happy balance between the thematic and the chronological. The chapters on women (dealing with their relations with American sailors based in Cork after the US entered the war in 1917, and with women's political involvement), trade unionism and the food scare, sit awkwardly and break up the narrative between the Irish Convention and the Conscription Crisis. This failing is most noticeable in Chapter VIII, dealing with women's political activity. By dedicating a separate chapter to this, the activities of both the suffrage movement and Cumann na mBan are taken out of the broader political context; it would have made more sense to deal with suffrage in chapter I, where the scene-setting looks at the state of the various political movements in the city on the eve of the war. Similarly, the growth of Cumann na mBan could be more effectively analyzed alongside that of the Volunteers and Sinn Féin.

The question most readers will want answered is what does the experience of Cork City from the Rising to the end the eve of the revolution add to the body of literature existing on other parts of the country? In many instances it reinforces the national trend, in what became the 26-county state at least. The strength of constitutional nationalism (though somewhat more apparent than real) and the corresponding weakness of republicanism before 1916, the niche popularity of the Irish Volunteers until their association with John Redmond from June 1914 and the significance of the Conscription Crisis are familiar stories. While these findings might not be new, there is an element of a missed opportunity here to engage with the work of other scholars; for example, the findings for the decline of the United Irish League between 1914 and 1916 should have been contrasted with the views of Michael Wheatley, while the local IPP's lack of direct involvement with recruiting echoes the work of James McConnel.

Beyond that, a number of factors emerge from the Cork experience that it behooves scholars studying other regions to explore in more detail, including the lingering resonance of the 1898 commemorations of the centenary of 1798; indeed, the way in which this event contributed to a revival of republican sentiment has echoes of 1966 in Northern Ireland and is a useful lesson for those interested in the current decade of centenaries, especially in Northern Ireland where there is an awareness of the potential for glorification of past militarism to feed into modern paramilitarism. A perceptible change in public opinion towards the war in Cork was identifiable from mid-1915, as the prolongation of the war and its attendant growing casualty lists, the lengthening of the finger on which Home Rule had been placed in 1914 and the formation of the coalition government gradually began to turn Irish opinion away from the war. Examining 1915 in more detail at local level elsewhere could add significantly to our understanding of the change in Irish public opinion towards the war. The failed 1916 Home Rule negotiations, the significance of which have of late been accorded greater recognition by historians, are examined for their impact at local level, which has rarely been the case in other local studies, my own on Longford included, I must confess.

My criticisms of the content and format of this book aside, it is a welcome addition to the canon of Irish regional studies of the wartime and revolutionary period. It shows how the focus can be shifted away from the county and also underlines the significance of the urban Irish experience during these years. Its greatest strength is the way in which it adds an important dimension of social history to an essentially political study, highlighting how pure political history is a thing of the past and political decisions and actions cannot be properly understood outside the wider context of the economy and society in which they occurred. •

—Queen's University Belfast

Power, Ceremony, Politics

By Liam Weeks

John Coakley and Kevin Rafter, Editors
The Irish Presidency: Power, Ceremony and Politics
Dublin: IAP, 2013. €24.95.

THE ISSUE OF POLITICAL reform in Ireland, usually confined to academic circles, has in recent years gained some wider currency. In the middle of the economic crisis, with talk of the political system having failed the country, all the political parties committed in their 2011 general election manifestos to political reform, with the aim being to make the institutions fit for purpose for twenty-first-century Ireland. Suggestions offered included abolishing the Seanad, replacing the electoral system and giving the Dáil more power. Imagine, however, if it had been proposed to create a new political institution, which would have little to no power, making it comparatively one of the weakest of its kind in the democratic world. This post would have a very restrictive candidate nomination process, whereby anyone aged under 35 would be barred from running for the office, and the power of nomination would primarily rest with the main parties. The holder of this office would have little to do except perhaps improve on his or her golf handicap, occasionally creating a mild stir by referring a government bill once every five years to the courts. The incumbent would be offered a stately home in which to live, with household staff to cater for his or her every need, and he or she would be rewarded with a salary greater than that of the President of the United States, and almost twice that of both the Taoiseach and the British prime minister. The term of office would be seven years and should he or she fancy another seven, in most cases they would be re-elected unopposed. To cap it all, this office would be primarily treated as a retirement home for elderly male party politicians.

Now we might imagine that no party would be foolish enough to propose such a model, and yet this is exactly what is in currently in place in the form of the presidency. The role of the president in Ireland has been considered in the past by three constitutional review processes, and as the editors of this book outline in their conclusion, none of the reports made a strong case for the office. The main rationale outlined for retaining the post is because there is no express public demand to abolish it, hardly an overwhelming endorsement of the institution.

Some might, then, question the necessity for a whole book devoted to the Irish presidency, and while at times it did feel as if it every last drop was being squeezed out of this topic, *The Irish Presidency. Power, Ceremony and Politics* is a commendable contribution to the literature on Irish political institutions. Although owing its origins to a special issue of the journal *Irish Political Studies,* there is both historical and political science material in this volume, some to satisfy the qualitative and quantitative, case study and comparative, national and international, scholars.

This volume, edited by John Coakley and Kevin Rafter, is impressive in that it covers every conceivable angle on the presidency, from the nomination process to the electoral system, from a detailed analysis of the incumbents to a comparative examination of the presidency in an international context. Elgie's chapter on the latter is one of the more impressive contributions. He shows that on three separate rankings of presidential powers, the Irish presidency is given a score of 0 on one scale of 0 to 44, 7 on another scale of 0 to 44 and 2 on a 0 to 9 scale. Even these low scores might be overestimations, however, as they are based on actual presidential powers, and since Irish presidents rarely exercise their powers, it is most likely a weaker office than these scales would indicate. For example, one area where the president has asserted initiative in the past is to refer parliamentary bills to the Supreme Court to test their constitutionality. In the 76 years of the presidency this power has been exercised 15 times. In contrast, in his five years in office (2000-05) Polish president Kwasniewski, with much the same powers as his Irish counterpart, referred 12 bills to the Supreme Court and vetoed 24.

Popular discourse would have us believe that the presidency was much reformed with the election of Mary Robinson in 1990. She showed how the office could be used to promote an agenda, a prime example being her symbolic handshake with Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams in 1993. Even the editors, in their last chapter, support the claim that "the transformation of the Irish presidency was exceptionally extensive and abrupt" (208). It is difficult to know what was exceptionally extensive about the changes that took place, especially the idea that Áras an Uachtaráin would no longer be a resting home for retired male politicians, when the last election in 2011 was won by a retiring, 70-year-old male party politician. Most working for the state in the public sector must retire on their 65th birthday, a requirement not enforced on those who wish to serve the state at the highest level. Instead the parties prefer to impose the age limitation on younger people, with the outdated notion that only those aged 35 or older are of suitable quality to represent the state.

Even after reading this book, it is difficult to find anything positive to say about the Irish presidency. It is an office that has few political powers, which could lead one to question the suitability of the subtitle "power, ceremony and politics." Ceremony is certainly apt, but the merit of the other descriptors is open to debate. It is perhaps for this reason that the current incumbent seems somewhat overly defensive in the preface when he takes issue with Michael Gallagher's assertion that the president is not a significant political office. President Higgins goes on to say that in a "majority of cases, our presidents have also secured an electoral mandate based on a programme that has been presented to the people" (xv). While some presidential candidates have run on themes, Mary McAleese's "Building Bridges," an example that springs to mind, the notion of actual programs and mandates seems to stretch credibility. President Higgins also says that "it would therefore scarcely serve the people or the office if its holder adopted a self-denying ordinance that … prevented him or her from making a meaningful contribution to the betterment of public life and wider society" (xv). It is difficult to conceive how a president could make such a contribution, or indeed if it would be supported by wider society. This is no criticism of any incumbent; it merely reflects the realpolitik of the role of the president in Irish political life.

Studies of presidential office in the United States have found that personalities have shaped the nature and powers of the office. Perhaps most famously, Barber identified four types of presidential character, mobilized on two scales: active-passive and positive-negative. The historical chapters in this book by Meehan, Rafter and Gilligan detail how the outlook of the different incumbents in the Áras shaped how the office was viewed. Thus, while Galligan rightly points to the known examples of how Robinson and McAleese adopted active (to the best of their constitutional limitations) and positive attitudes, Rafter also outlines how Erskine Childers, in his short time in office, had a strained relationship with the Fine Gael-Labour government over his vision of an expanded and active presidency.

Indeed, the heated debate that the introduction of this new institution generated in 1937 is sometimes forgotten. This came at a time when dictatorships were emerging in 1930s Europe and some feared that de Valera was following in comparative footsteps. As Gallagher rightly points out, constitutional articles do not always give a clear sense of the political roles of an office, and those outside of de Valera's circle were unsure as to his intentions for this position. Had de Valera chosen to run for this office in 1938 rather than twenty-one years later, while concurrently remaining leader of Fianna Fáil, who knows how this office could have developed? As Meehan indicates, the choice of Douglas Hyde as the first incumbent set in place a tone and style that has proved difficult for his successors to shake off.

Retaining political institutions that cost money and have extremely limited powers have been two of the central foci of the debate on political reform in Ireland over the past number of years. It resulted in the government calling a referendum on the abolition of the Seanad and abolishing a whole tier of local government (the 83 town councils). So far, however, the institution of the presidency has escaped the wrath of the Fine Gael-Labour coalition, with the only reforms mooted to date being the radical initiative of reducing presidential terms from seven to five years and extending the franchise to Irish citizens overseas. For those interested in more extensive reform of the office, this book is a must-read. Most of the authors are generally benign towards the presidency, with the editors concluding that "after 75 years … the relative indifference of the public … appear by now to have been well and truly banished" (209), a claim that is certainly open to dispute. Since the reader is not left convinced of the functionality of the office, in spite of this benign tone, it is indicative of the issues facing the presidency to justify its raison d'etre. •

—University College Cork

Orangeism, Covenanters, and Exodus

BY DAVID MILLER

TO UNDERSTAND MANY books about Ireland, one must be aware of people of different religion and different ethnicity. In a book on Irish descendancy, the reader should also understand the difference of professional academics in Irish history and Irish literature: each a prominent group in ACIS who read the *Irish Literary Supplement*. Being an Irish historian, I hope that I accurately describe the literary as well as the historical conception of descendancy. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* descendancy came from an early modern noun "descendance" that had developed from the medieval verb "descend," meaning "move down or into a lower position." The opposite noun of "descendancy" is "ascendancy," for which the *OED*'s adjective "ascensive" gives us this explanation: "Characterized by upward movement or tendency; rising, advancing, progressive." The particular "ascendancy" in question is the phrase "Protestant ascendancy" that apparently entered Irish politics during a 1782 parliamentary debate concerning possible relief of penal laws against the Catholics. It was adopted by dominant members of the Episcopalian established Church of Ireland to describe their role in Irish politics. That claim was challenged in the 1798 rebellion by both Catholics and Presbyterians during the French Revolution. On January 1, 1801, Ireland's legislation was replaced by a parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland which, in 1829, accepted Catholic emancipation. Among Irish historians the process of ending Protestant ascendancy generally ended during that period.

David Fitzpatrick
DESCENDANCY: IRISH PROTESTANT HISTORIES SINCE 1795
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2014.

In the 1980s—some two centuries after the appearance of "Protestant ascendancy"—another conflict to this ascendancy emerged: not between people of different religion or ethnicity, but between professional academics in Irish history and Irish literature respectively. In 1985, a prominent Irish poet and literary researcher, W. J. McCormack, published *Ascendancy and Tradition in Anglo-Irish Literary History from 1789 to 1939* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1985). Among the authors with interest in Protestant ascendancy that he researched, he chose an important year in the life of each of two of those artists of the pen for the period in the title of the book: Edmund Burke (the author of *Reflections on the Revolution in France* that began McCormack's literary history in 1789) and W. B. Yeats (whose death in 1939 closes the title of McCormack's book). Historians of Ireland—especially Jacqueline Hill and James Kelly—criticized McCormack for starting at the French revolution rather than the development of "Protestant ascendancy" within Irish politics during the previous decade. Thomas Bartlett, in his *Ireland: A History* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), has divided a chapter of the "long eighteenth century" into "Ascendancy, 1690-1790" and "Descendancy, 1790-1830." Fitzpatrick's period of descendancy "since 1795" is quite different from that of Bartlett. Although the book's prologue and one (of nine) chapters address the period from 1795 through the nineteenth century, the main research in the book is in the period from 1912 when Protestants became very concerned that a Home Rule would produce Catholic ascendancy, until the early 1920s when Catholics became equally concerned that a Northern Ireland would create new Protestant ascendancy.

Although the author briefly discusses events in the 1790s, the book primarily explores the procedures of Protestants during the period from 1912 to 1920. The importance of his book is that, unlike that of scholars who had previously considered "Protestant ascendancy" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, he has found and used considerable information about Protestants, including more than just the few wealthy, aristocratic, Episcopalian males in the early twentieth century. He divides his research of those ordinary Protestants into three topics—"Orangeism," "Covenanters," and "Exodus?"—each a term of a particular narrative. *Orangeism*, of course, was a tenet of the Dutch king William III of Orange, who became (together with his wife Mary Stuart) the British ruler who defeated the Catholic James II as king of Ireland. Although an "Orange" movement probably had its launch in local rural conflict of the late eighteenth century, the author quite reasonably considers the Loyal Orange Institution that was recruited as yeomanry to fight the 1798 rebellion and would develop into a Protestant organization of several denominations by the time of 1912 to 1923. *Covenanters* were the nearly half a million Ulster Protestants (male and female) who on or before 28 September 1912 promised to resist the Home Rule Bill that was about to become the Home Rule Act. Their leaders were proposing a conflict comparable to Solemn League and Covenant of the English Parliamentarians and the Scottish Covenanters in 1643. The Ulster Covenant led to the formation of the Ulster Volunteer Force. In *Exodus?*, the title of the second book of the Bible being used in English for "departure," the author takes advantage of that word to label the relocation of Protestants within Ireland after the 1920 partition of Northern Ireland.

Fitzpatrick builds his research with statistical tables concerning topics of "Orangeism," "Covenanters," and "Exodus?". He has produced twenty-six well-explained tables of clergy, adults, females, etc. with various locations, denominations, opinions, etc. The information in those tables provides much of his narrative of Protestants during the long decade from the expectation in 1910 of a Home Rule Act of all Ireland within the United Kingdom until the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 as a dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations but without the six northern counties having Protestant majorities and with the experience of a Civil War well into 1923. In a few of the spreadsheets, he very usefully takes advantage of the relatively small Methodist denomination alone because it provides more data than do the Episcopalian or Presbyterian churches. His statistical analysis is a major source of a text that provides very interesting information concerning experience of Protestants in that period.

Consequently of the ascendancy-descendancy concept of the current generation, the author writes an entire chapter in the "Orangeism" section on the most outstanding Irish poet of period, W.B. Yeats, together with Louis MacNeice, a younger Protestant poet. He describes both as middle-class members of Protestant families with "roots in Connaught," and discusses their Orange background. I am a bit surprised that he seems to use more of MacNeice's *The Poetry of W. B. Yeats* (1941, Oxford University Press) than Yeats's own eleven episodes of his autobiographical memoirs that were mostly written and/or published during the main period from 1912 into the 1920s of Fitzpatrick book (William H. O'Donnell and Douglas N. Archibald, editors, *W. B. Yeats Autobiographies* [Scribner, 1999]). I find in MacNeice's writing more of Yeats' poeticalness than of his politicalism. Much more of *that* could have been acquired in Yeats' autobiographical memoirs, especially the one entitled "Ireland After Parnell" in which he describes his transformation of those Protestant "roots." But the most important findings of the book are not those concerning famous politicians or poets, but rather the data of ordinary Protestants. •

—Carnegie Mellon University

Fruits of New Approaches

BY PAUL TOWNEND

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK series offers an extremely useful service to scholars. In their distillation of expert knowledge and summarization of questions and insights, they pull together scholarly generations, articulate emerging interpretations, and reinforce the explanatory power of old and new understandings of the past. Not only do they help active researchers connect their subfield to what is going on in a larger frame, they also provide proper context for historical synthesis, allowing scholars across a range of disciplines connected to history to associate their own projects with evolving scholarly understandings of the past. In many respects, this substantial (786 pages) collection of essays manifests all that is admirable and valuable in such efforts.

The disciplined presentations are broadly conceived and explore the diversity of contemporary Irish historical scholarship. They serve to delineate not just our still-developing understanding of the classical concerns of Irish history, with twenty-three more conventional, chronologically focused chapters, but also, in fourteen initial thematic chapters, advance understanding of emergent focuses and broadly shared lines of new inquiry, grouped into essays on

"Land, Empire and Landscape" and on "People, Culture and the Economy." Many of the essays, whether consciously chronological or not, reflect growing historical focus on the consequential Irish relationship to the British Empire (particularly well-examined by Tom Bartlett on the emergence of the Irish Catholic nation, by Steven Howe in his chapter of Ireland within the empire, and by Matthew Kelly in his piece on Irish Home Rule) and on the richness of cosmopolitan influences on Irish development (see, for example, chapters by Enda Delaney on migration and diaspora, Toby Barnard on material culture, Robert Armstrong on the Williamite wars, Maurice Bric on Ireland in the Atlantic world, and Niall Whelehan on the Irish revolution). Irish studies scholars from all disciplines will find the pieces generally accessible, thought-provoking, and informative. Most chapters end in a section that points to possible historiographical ways forward, adding to the usefulness of the collection. Taken as a whole, the volume is fundamentally exciting and stimulating, adjectives that do not always spring to mind when considering the essentially utilitarian and "useful" character of the pragmatic Oxford Handbooks series.

Alvin Jackson, Editor.
OXFORD HANDBOOK OF MODERN IRISH HISTORY.
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2014. $150.

As Alvin Jackson points out in an invaluable (but too brief) introductory historiographical essay, Irish history has matured considerably over the last two decades and this is a timely work in a field past ripe for such an overview. Recent transformations of Irish society, culture, and politics, including most importantly the Northern Ireland peace process and the rise and fall of the Celtic Tiger have also encouraged new attitudes about historical study and inspired new research questions. At the same time, broader shifts within historical training and research towards new themes and approaches make this an ideal moment for considered reflection. This handbook does well in articulating emergent but already productive lines of inquiry. As Jackson gently suggests, this is increasingly welcome within what has been a fairly conservative historical tradition, indeed one often accused of being overly narrow, overly concerned with political narratives, and overly sensitive to longstanding, deeply felt, but ultimately parochial or tribal metanarratives that limited scholar's ability to connect the Irish story to broader questions, or to use those broader questions to inform and deepen our understanding of the nature of Irish peculiarity. If those characterizations, all present in Jackson's introduction, can be unfair to the richness and sophistication of much of the essential and admirable spade work already done and still being done in many areas of Irish historical inquiry, they derived from reaction against an historiographical tradition that often failed, in its appreciation of particulars, to do justice to the curiously cosmopolitan history of Ireland. Jackson rightly points to a growing embrace by historians of Ireland (following in, in some cases, the footsteps of scholars of Irish literature) of post-revisionism, post-structuralism, post-colonialism, and theory more broadly as they move beyond a "model of empirical, often high political, scholarship." (16) Essays in the handbook by Eamonn O Ciardha and Maria Luddy acknowledge at least two of the areas (the Irish language and Irish women's history) where innovative approaches to sources and questions are only beginning to make headway. Still, in putting front and center the complexities of the Irish experience and historians' growing acknowledgment of the need to explore Irish history from more perspectives and vantage points, Jackson and his contributors both articulate and advance a consensus about the future of Irish history.

There are criticisms to be made of any effort this substantial, and this determined to be both comprehensive and innovative. The introduction ("Part I") might have done more, particularly with relation to the thematic "Part II" that follows it, to frame the themes and articulate their progression in the volume. The lines between the chapters grouped under "Nation, Empire and Landscape" and the larger set grouped as "People, Culture and the Economy" are not always clear, and some of the chapters in these sections could, ironically, have benefitted from a broader frame or more contextualization. Indeed each of the volume's three sections might have benefitted from a very brief introduction. Finally, Jackson's introduction emphasizes, fairly enough, the controlling influence of the Irish Historical Studies "group" that came to dominate the study of Irish history within Ireland. His able description of how that influence was reshaped and transformed from the 1960s by the re-ignition of conflict in Northern Ireland, and by dissident revisionists reacting against the perceived anti-national and methodologically conservativism of the dominant approach, rightly also credits the new diversity of scholarly perspective that developed out of the Irish diaspora, particularly (although not specifically in Jackson's account) the opportunistic colonization over the last quarter of the twentieth century of important corners of the American academy by Irish specialists. Jackson's point, it can be hoped, will inspire more reflection on the profound benefits to Irish history of the intergenerational, diasporic character of its emerging scholarship. One of the most encouraging developments of the last decade has been growing interaction between international and UK and Ireland-based scholars, particularly in the realm of idea sharing. In his contribution to this volume, Enda Delaney rightly noted the insights "engaging and imaginative" diasporic scholarship have added to our appreciation of the complexity of Irish migration. (140) The essays here reflect, in their narratives and notes, the profound mutual influences of these new perspectives, but the collection might have done more to explore the growing impact of this extremely consequential increasing "biodiversity" within Irish history across a full range of historical questions.

In framing his thought-provoking *The Shape of Irish History*, (2001), the late A.T.Q. Stewart critiqued the shortcomings of the linear "railway station" approach to the study of the Irish past. Analogizing to night time long-distance rail travel, he argued that scholars understood a great deal about a few "destinations" in the Irish story—the political development of the national movement, say, or the cultural complexities of the Gaelic revival era, or the plantations of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods—but much less about the dark landscape in between well-known stopping points. Stewart noted that Irish historiography was long shaped by the interest and focuses of a few gigantically influential scholars (most of them men, one of them certainly Stewart himself), but also acknowledged that railway station history was being undermined in fascinating ways from many directions. In the *Oxford Handbook of Modern Irish History*, we see the fruits of these new approaches. The volume provides a much-needed, substantial, conscious attempt to provide a timetable and destination guide to a new, emergent Irish history that is much more like a still-developing public transit web for a vibrant metropolis than a nighttime rail journey with a handful of well-known stops. In providing intelligent and thought-provoking guidance for understanding new themes and research that cuts across and through well-marked out territory, and in indicating new paths to potentially interesting newly-accessible suburbs, villages, and eclectic neighborhoods, this work will be extraordinarily useful for students and scholars of Irish studies everywhere. •

—University of North Carolina, Wilmington

The Sporting Life

BY EOIN MAGENNIS

BEFORE THIS PUBLICATION by James Kelly, the history of Irish sports, with a few exceptions such as the works of Liam P. Ó Ciathnia, generally fell into the categories of searching for dim and distant origins or beginning in the late nineteenth century. Instead, this book recreates the history of both individual sports and the collective sporting impulse in the centuries before the Famine. While the author does not delve very far into the origins of each of the sports, he does root them very firmly in the regional and social contexts of the Irish scene.

James Kelly
SPORT IN IRELAND, 1650-1840
DUBLIN: FOUR COURTS PRESS, 2014. €39.95.

Sport in Ireland addresses five types or groups of sports: equine (horse-racing and hunting); blood sports (cockfighting and others); pugilism (boxing and wrestling); team sports (hurling, commons and football) and minority sports (from cricket to long bullets). What Kelly describes as a pyramid has horse racing at the top, organized with rules and regulations adopted first in County Down and the Curragh, and then dispersed throughout Ireland during the eighteenth century. Horse racing was national in scope, albeit with some regional concentrations (east Ulster, Galway and Kildare to name three). The maps of race meetings (found on pages 36, 38, 77, 100, 109 and 112) are an indispensable guide to the spatial spread and then contraction of the sport over the 140 years before the Famine. However, they need to be read with care or else the impact of wealthy enthusiasts, such as Sir Edward O'Brien of Dromoland, or of huge betting at individual meetings (400 guineas wagered at Bellewstown in the 1750s), might be missed. Race meetings often took place over several days, sometimes associated with fairs, but more often with dancing and with other sports enjoyed by the wealthier clientele, such as hunting or cockfighting.

The author usefully assigns periods to the development of horse-racing, from rapid growth (1730-1760), consolidation (1760-1790) and relative decline or maturity (1790-1830), where the numbers of race courses fell but the regulatory authority of the Turf Club and the Curragh grew. As noted above, hunting was closely associated with racing and shared many of the same *aficionados* and a need for significant wealth to operate at the highest level. Indeed, the necessity to stock game, keep packs of hounds, employ keepers, and own thoroughbred horses limited hunting, at least for deer and foxes, to the wealthiest gentry or, in the associational world of the 1740s onwards, to hunt clubs. These clubs, like the famous Kildare Hunt, were sometimes closely linked to a local patron of hunting but just as often came together to finance a pack of hounds.

The fortunes of other sports show how important this support of the gentry or middling sort was. Some sports and recreations were driven underground while other struggled to survive. For instance, hurling always carried an air of concern around it. Hurling games were proscribed in a 1695 Act (on "never on a Sunday" grounds) and by proclamation in 1719 on the grounds that "tumultuous meetings" were being held under cover of the matches. Much of the concern was not political but focussed on the links between hurling and violence (or what might be called "schmozzles" today). However, this seems to have been outweighed, at least at times, by an admiration, captured in Arthur Young's writing, for "feats of agility" in the sport. This attracted the patronage of the elite, including their occasional playing of the game, in ways that did not happen for many other sports.

An example of how the withdrawal of support affected the fortunes of a group of recreational activities can be seen with blood sports. The first of these to be curtailed were bull-baiting and "throwing at cocks." In part, this was because of the sheer brutality of either setting dogs on bulls or tying cocks to stakes and throwing objects at them. However, distaste at the sports was not enough, as Kelly shows. Both were predominantly urban recreations and were pursued in public spaces by the lower orders, albeit with some boisterous gentry support or betting on the outcomes. "Throwing at cocks" actually had its special day, Shrove Tuesday, while purpose-built bull rings could be found in around a dozen Irish towns in the eighteenth century (220). The reaction, coming in the shape of prosecutions, bans and newspaper condemnations at the end of the century, was swift. However, it was not decisive. What the authors

calls a "struggle for cultural dominance" or a desire to end such impolite and aggressive activities by apprentices or others in the lower orders was to prove a battle that was hard to win absolutely.

This battle over the control of public spaces is sensitively portrayed as being critically important to the history of Irish sports, in terms of which ones were "popular" and which were not. With reference to fox hunting in the eighteenth century, legislation to control the killing of game, in order to restrict hunting to a definite social class, followed closely the example set in England. Kelly also points out that horse-racing at the Curragh in the nineteenth century saw an infrastructural development which separated the *hoi polloi* from the elite. However, there was never a complete break. Even hunting remained something of a "country sport" followed by many rural dwellers of different classes. The Ordnance Survey memoirs of the 1820s and ballads and songs about champion horses remind us that these sports crossed the social divide. This history of cockfighting, too, shows how something now regarded as an underground activity had wide social support in the eighteenth century. Between the 1740s and 1790s, cockfighting was very popular in Dublin, Kilkenny and then predominantly in Ulster, according to over 300 newspaper reports of "mains" (or matches between teams of cocks). Gentry owners of cocks fought others of their class or county teams combated their rivals and mains took place over days with large amounts gambling. The structure of this resembled race meetings and indeed the two often coincided. However, in the early nineteenth century the rules of cockfighting were dropped from the *Irish Racing Calendar*, reflecting its fall from grace first in the capital and then, more slowly, throughout the country.

These regional variations are very important to sports in Ireland. What might be seen as the classic Irish sports—hurling, commons and football—all had their regional and rural concentrations. Commons, which may have had shared origins with hurling or shinty, was played north of a line from Sligo to Navan while, in the eighteenth century, football was concentrated in Dublin and north Leinster, although south Ulster gets a mention in Irish language sources. Hurling was to be found in what is now, in modern parlance, the "stronger" counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Galway, Clare and Cork, while Wexford's claim is not backed up by newspaper reports. The sources available for this research rely mainly on the newspapers of the time, supplemented by some poetry and song plus travellers' accounts and the occasional rules and regulations governing a particular activity. Sport, even then, had a symbiotic or parasitic relationship with the world of print, seen in the "Sporting Intelligence" columns which appeared in Irish newspapers in the 1780s.

Being the experienced historian he is, the author is fully aware of the limitations of these sources, the negative coverage of some sports and the fact that it is impossible to tell how particular sports were played. However, he is right to conclude that the history of sport, as portrayed here, also allows a good insight into the balance of social power in Irish society before the Famine. Although sports not favored by the elite did struggle they were not given up without a fight and the book asks some fresh questions about just how deferential Irish society was. By writing this book James Kelly has not only done sports history in Ireland a great service but Irish history in general. •

—InterTrade Ireland

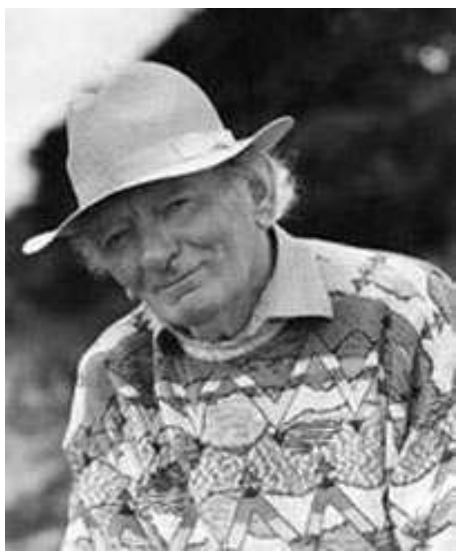
Brian Friel, An Appreciation

BY MARY TROTTER

On October 2nd, 2015, Brian Friel died at home at the age of 86. A Saoi of Aosdana, he left behind a theatrical repertoire of original plays and adaptations of European classics that are produced regularly around the world. From his first produced play, a brave first effort taken on by the Ulster Group Theatre in 1960, to his final dramas at the Abbey, Gate, and elsewhere over fifty years later, Friel wrote about his homeland with one foot in the realist tradition and one in a Yeatsian desire for transcendence, diluted with a Chekovian sense of irony. His plays captured the imagination of leading directors and actors, eager to sink their teeth into his work. He collaborated with theatre makers, intellectuals and activists to bring the performance of the Irish experience through theatre to new audiences at home and abroad. His translations of Chekov, Macklin, and Ibsen provided new insights into both those classical works and the spirit of Irish dramaturgy. To trace the history of Friel's body of dramatic work is to trace some of the most significant moments in Ireland's theatre history. It also gives us a glance into Friel's decades-long conversation with Ireland's history, politics, morals and myths; and into his many collaborations with some of the greatest actors, directors, designers and thinkers of several generations.

In 1960, his thirty-first year on earth, Brian Friel took the leap many writers dream of, quitting his "day job" as a math teacher to write full time. He kept food on the table, by publishing works in *The New Yorker*, selling radio plays to BBC Northern Ireland, and writing several dozen columns for *The Irish Press.* His first produced play for the stage, *A Doubtful Paradise* (1960) at Belfast's Ulster Group Theatre, was neither a critical nor a popular success. But after a six-month internship of sorts at the Guthrie Theatre in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Friel wrote his breakthrough play *Philadelphia, Here I Come!* (1964). Directed by the Gate Theatre's Hilton Edwards on Broadway, and starring Donal Donnelly, the play spoke to both Irish and Irish-American audiences' interests in the personal and social impacts of emigration. In 1975, Donal McCann and Siobhan McKenna starred in the 1975 film version, directed by John Quested.

Unlike his earlier dramas, *Philadelphia, Here I Come!* balanced the clichéd realist tropes of 1950s Irish drama with a modern, experimental energy. The play engaged the inner and outer lives of a young man on the verge of emigration by portraying the character through two actors: Public Gar and Private Gar. The play is clearly Friel's, but it was also part of a new drama wave that sought to capture the frustration of an Ireland (and Irish theatre) trapped in tradition. Friel's work in the 1960s, like that of Tom Murphy, Tom Kilroy, J.B.



Keane and others, vibrates with its characters' desire for personal freedoms and (obliquely) political and social change. *Philadelphia, Here I Come!* also established the imaginary Irish town—Ballybeg, in County Donegal—as a setting for his plays that Friel would return to throughout his career.

The 1970s hailed Friel's most topically political play *The Freedom of the City* (Abbey Theatre, 1973), set in Derry's Guildhall, and consciously reflective of the deadly violence the Northern Irish government used against peaceful civil rights demonstrators in Northern Ireland. The drama was one of the most moving plays about the Troubles written in that decade, and it continues to stir audiences decades later. In 1980, Friel, along with fellow Northern Irish artist/activist Stephen Rea, founded the highly influential Field Day Theatre Company, creating a space for artists and intellectuals to engage in theorizing the history and complexity of Irish's past and present while advocating for change through live performance. Field Day's first production, Friel's *Translations* (1980), took

> *Friel wrote about his homeland with one foot in the realist tradition and one in a Yeatsian desire for transcendence, diluted with a Chekovian sense of irony.*

place in the Derry Guildhall—coincidentally the setting for *Freedom of the City*—and brought the politically diverse audience to its feet. Friel's Field Day plays, like *Translations* and his 1988 play *Making History,* challenge the idea of history and identity as fixed, as we see his characters move from certainty to loss in the context of changing relationships to individuals, societies and ideologies. For over a decade, the Field Day Theatre Company performed plays written for it by Friel, Kilroy, Tom Paulin and even a play by Terry Eagleton, in small community halls as well as on major national stages.

In 1990, Friel turned to the memory play form for *Dancing at Lughnasa* at the Abbey Theatre. While on the surface a charming look at an Irish childhood, *Dancing at Lughnasa* ultimately holds sentimentality at bay to reveal the economically depressed, and often emotionally repressive culture of 1930s rural Ireland. It transferred to Broadway, winning Tony Awards for Best Play, Best Director (Patrick Mason) and Best Supporting Actress (Bríd Brennan). The cast also included Friel's long-time collaborator Donal Donnelly and Catherine Byrne. Friel's last major original work, *The Home Place* (2005), returned to Ballybeg, but from the venue of the Anglo-Irish estate rather than the Catholic home, and at the brink of the land wars (1879-1882). In *Translations*, the British mapped and renamed Irish land for imperial conquest: in *The Home Place*, a British anthropologist seeks to map the bumps on Irish Catholic craniums to make a genetic argument for colonization. After debuting at the Gate Theatre, the work was produced the same year at the Guthrie, an important site in Friel's early education in the theatre, and was directed by Friel's long-term collaborator Joe Dowling.

Friel's decades of influence in Irish theatre have only begun. Actors, producers, and audiences in Ireland and internationally will continue to be drawn to the richness of his plays for generations to come. But another legacy Friel has left theatre makers is his use of theatre as a collaborative laboratory to represent and reimagine individual and community responses to historical and present conditions. Friel certainly was not the only Irish playwright of the last fifty years to write great plays with an eye toward both philosophical introspection and social change. Anu Productions, Marina Carr, Charabanc, Frank McGuinness, and many other artists of the last half-century have also created important, internationally regarded work on the Irish experience.

And yet, as contemporary Irish theatre practitioners continue to address through their artistic work and their social activism current crises of gender, economics, race and other matters in contemporary Ireland —and in the institution of Irish theatre —Brian Friel's professional life and dramatic works will remain an integral part of the conversation. •

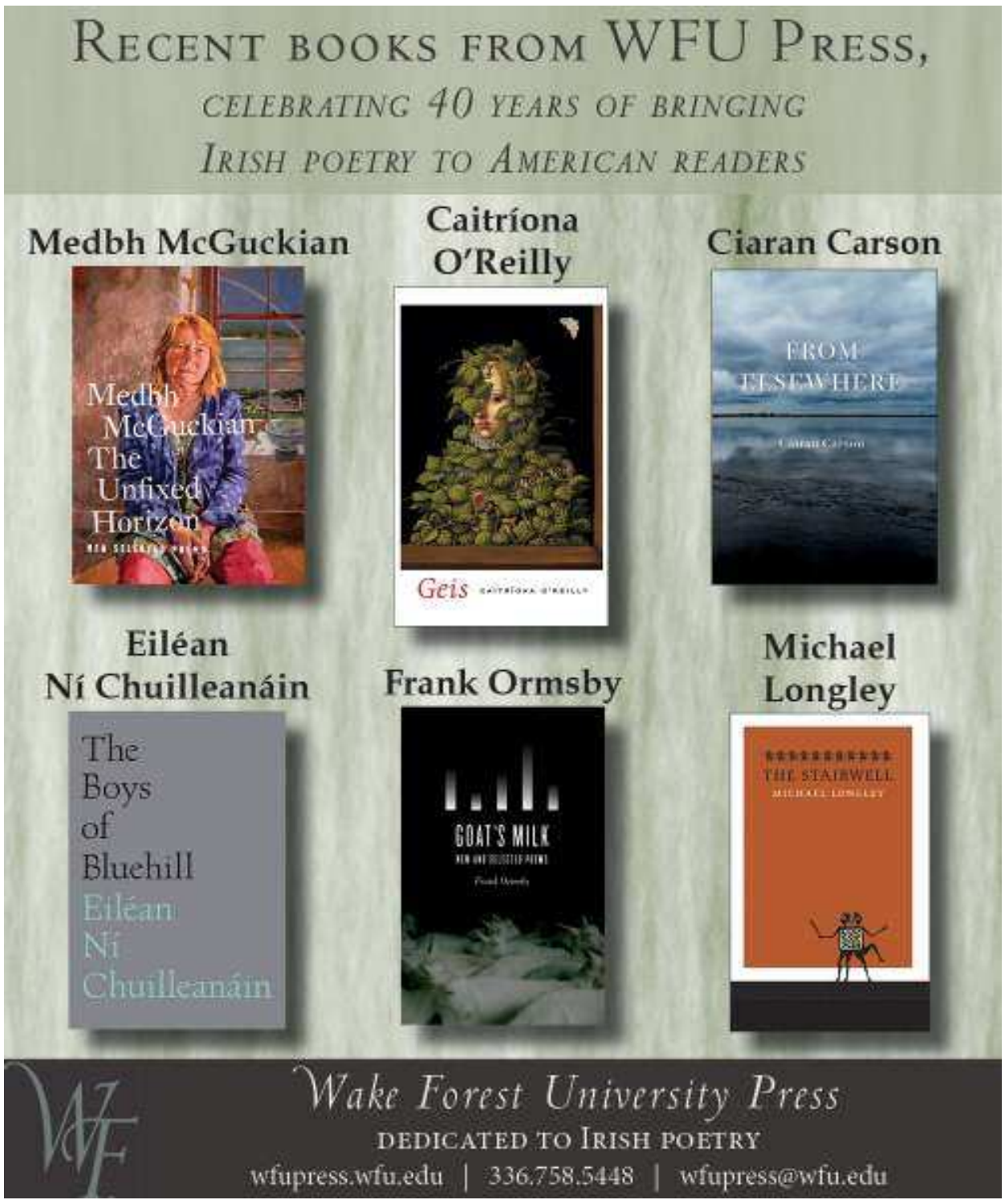
—University of Wisconsin, Madison

Photo: Brian Friel

THE SELECTED BRIAN FRIEL

The Enemy Within (1962)
Philadelphia, Here I Come! (1964)
The Loves of Cass McGuire (1966)
Lovers: Winners and Losers (1967)
Crystal and Fox (1968)
The Mundy Scheme (1969)
The Gentle Island (1971)
The Freedom of the City (1973)
Volunteers (1975)
Living Quarters (1977)
Faith Healer (1979)
Aristocrats (1979)
Translations (1980)

Three Sisters (Anton Chekhov translation, 1981)
American Welcome (7-minute one-act play, 1981)
The Communication Cord (1982)
Fathers and Sons (Ivan Turgenev adaptation, 1987)
Making History (1988)
Dancing at Lughnasa (1990)
The London Vertigo (Charles Macklin adaptation, 1991)
A Month in the Country (Turgenev adaptation, 1992)
Wonderful Tennessee (1993)
Molly Sweeney (1994)
Give Me Your Answer, Do! (1997)
Uncle Vanya (Chekhov adaptation, 1998)
The Yalta Game (one-act Chekhov adaptation, 2001)
The Bear (one-act Chekhov adaptation, 2002)
Afterplay (one-act play, 2002)
Performances (70-minute one-act play, 2003)
The Home Place (2005)
Hedda Gabler (Henrik Ibsen adaptation, 2008)



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