

Commemorations, with echoes of David Blight's *Race and reunion*, could and did result in a culture of celebratory re-enactment, evolving to meet the demands of heritage tourism.

The role of the church (explored in 'For God, Erin, and Carolina') includes fascinating sketches of chaplains and clergy, such as Father John Bannon, who travelled to Ireland to champion the Rebel cause. Indeed, it is fascinating to appreciate the way in which Ireland and the U.S. homefront became so powerfully linked during this era, as if Cork and Galway were just a bit further 'downeast' than Bangor, Maine.

Gleeson weaves into his story crucial analysis of the Irish joining the white supremacist bandwagon in the American south. Race might have been more intensely interrogated, but it is integrated throughout. After Appomattox, the Lost Cause crusade championed a Confederate memorial movement, including monuments with shamrocks and harps. (See p. 205. Handsome illustrations appear throughout Gleeson's text.) Gleeson features, for example, Father Abram Ryan, known as the poet priest of the Confederacy, who earned his own memorials in Augusta, Georgia.

Gleeson's book challenges the monolithic stereotype of 'the Irish' in America. For example, his sketch of Colonel Randall McGavock, 'the great-grandson of Ulster migrants' who during his political career rediscovered a 'certain sense of Irishness that seemed to go beyond the seeking of votes' and 'was cemented in the Confederacy' (p. 103). He introduces us to a wide range of engaging male characters, but this reviewer wishes he had embraced even more diversity, as his study rarely mentions women – although gender is invoked through masculinity. However, he glosses over the ambiguities and contributions of nuns within the Confederacy; a handful of books and articles (although not Mary Maher's exemplary *To bind up the wounds*) has escaped notice within his fine and otherwise comprehensive bibliography.

In any case, this enlightening text is highly recommended, as Gleeson skilfully navigates complex dilemmas faced by Irishmen during American secession, war, Confederate defeat and reconciliation. His vivid interpretive analysis demonstrates, once again, David Gleeson's major role within Irish-American scholarship and our debt to him for this fascinating chapter of Civil War history.

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IRISH SOCIALIST REPUBLICANISM 1909–36. By Adrian Grant. Pp 240, illus. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2012. €45.

Of all the many aspects of the left in modern Ireland, the one to attract the most attention from historians has been that of socialist republicanism. This scholarly interest is relatively recent, and had its origins in the official republican movement. The first lengthy study was Henry Patterson's *The politics of illusion: republicanism and socialism in modern Ireland* (1989). As its title suggests, Patterson's book argued that socialist republicanism and socialism were mutually exclusive, hence any political philosophy combining the two was doomed to failure. This was expanded on by Richard English in *Radicals and the Republic* (1994) which similarly argued that 'the republican socialist argument was fundamentally incoherent'. It has been followed by a steady number of publications which have studied aspects of the ideology, particular adherents and the movements where republicanism and socialism combined in the earlier decades of the twentieth century. These include books by English (1994), McGarry (1999), Ó Drisceoil (2001), Hanley (2002), O'Connor (2004) and McGuire (2008), while their relationship with the Labour Party is treated of in work by this reviewer. The republican left is also examined in substantial essays by McGarry and Ó Drisceoil and can be regarded as a well-ploughed field of endeavour.

Naturally, the emphasis and analysis differ greatly among these studies but Emmet O'Connor is largely correct in his perhaps rather blunt description of the 'conventional wisdom' of socialist republicanism which attributes its origins to James Connolly, who founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party in 1896 (examined most recently in works by Lane (1997) and Lynch (2005)) and, following the eclipse of Labour after 1922, traces the re-emergence of Connolly's influence on the republican movement after the civil war, encouraged by Peadar O'Donnell. It gained momentum in the early 1930s before coming asunder following the inaugural (and last) meeting of the Republican Congress in Rathmines in 1934. In a 2005 essay published in *Saothar*, 'The age of the red republic: the Irish left and nationalism, 1909–36', O'Connor argued that the emphasis on Connolly was misplaced. Questioning Connolly's influence, he pointed to his 'failure to grow any organization in Ireland' (as the cynics famously observed, his party, the I.S.R.P., had more consonants than members) and suggested instead that 'socialist republicanism really acquired significance when Jim Larkin founded the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (I.T.G.W.U.) in 1909 and after 1922 it was powered mainly by the Communist International, or Comintern'. Essentially, the analysis elevates Jim Larkin's deeds at the expense of James Connolly's words, and emphasises the role played by international communism in the years after the civil war.

O'Connor's provocative thesis has been taken up by Adrian Grant in his book, *Irish Socialist republicanism 1909–36*, which is based on his doctoral research (p.17). Grant explains that 'the beginning of socialist republicanism as a viable political tendency is identified with the formation of the I.T.G.W.U. in 1909. As the Transport Union expanded and widened its influence in the Labour movement, so too did socialist republicanism [although] the entire Labour movement was not socialist republican' (p.15).

The first chapter examines efforts by Larkin and other activists to establish the I.T.G.W.U. as a mass movement, and points to the role of the union's weekly *The Irish Worker* in linking the cause of labour and the cause of nationalist Ireland (to borrow Connolly's phrase). This is followed by a chapter on the 1913 Lockout, the I.T.G.W.U.'s relations with advanced nationalists, the union's role in the 1916 Rising and its efforts to rebuild thereafter until 1918. These years are profoundly important in Irish history generally and in the history of the union: it was a period where the Transport Union endured the Dublin lockout for over five months and lost two leaders in as many years (Larkin having emigrated in 1914, and with Connolly executed in 1916). It also lost swathes of its membership: in August 1913 it had 30,000 members but half that eighteen months later. In April 1916 it had only 5,000 members, only to rebuild again in the context of the First World War (figures from Francis Devine, *Organising history: a centenary history of SIPTU, 1909–2009* (Dublin, 2009)). At twenty-eight pages, the chapter here is too brief and fails to paint a picture of a union as it underwent a profound political and organisational transition. Of course, the purpose of the chapter is not to give a history of the I.T.G.W.U. but to show its importance in promoting republican socialism. Nonetheless, if its value is as a mass movement, surely at least brief attention should be paid to its size and strength, and questions asked about the type of commitment its members had to the Transport Union's politics as a whole. Moreover, while Connolly is not absent from this chapter his influence on the union's politics is less evident than might be expected. Although it is far from Hamlet without the prince, Connolly's role in the 1913–16 period is underplayed. Later chapters examine the Labour Party in the Free State, the radical left and republicans and communism and republicanism, 1929–33 and concludes with a chapter on the ideology's apotheosis and collapse, in 1933–6.

Where previous books have focused on particular areas or individual activists, Grant traces the 'tendency' from what he perceives as its origins in the Transport Union to the Republican Congress in the early to mid 1930s. He is able to move confidently among the many organisations that represented radical politics in this period and gives a fair overview of the complex world of socialist republicanism in the inter-war period. It may be that this breadth has been at the expense of depth, however. The text is peppered with

broad assertions which are made without supplying any evidence, such as socialist republicanism's 'disproportionate influence on the Irish political scene in the first decades of independence' or the assertion that in 1934 'most in the Labour Party viewed the [Republican Congress] as a threat' (p.130), when it is not clear what the nature of this threat was (presumably to Labour's popularity) and there is nothing to indicate on what basis this claim is made. Elsewhere we are told that 'the united front strategy had been working quite well' (p.190), a frustratingly vague assertion made without any evidence or reference.

Ultimately, it is a study which is primarily a counter-position to studies of social republicanism by Patterson and Richard English and, as such, the work would be significantly stronger had it been more adequately engaged with the secondary sources which have been published in the intervening twenty years. This situation is not helped by the absence of any substantial literature review at the beginning, with readers being directed to the author's dissertation. Nevertheless, readers will find this an interesting and often provocative book and a welcome addition to studies of this topic.

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THE IRISH PARLIAMENTARY PARTY AND THE THIRD HOME RULE CRISIS. By James McConnel. Pp 338. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2013. €55.00.

In this close examination of the Irish Parliamentary Party on the eve of the third Home Rule bill, James McConnel concludes that its sustaining feature was the brokerage function of M.P.s. Far from being moribund the party was a reflection of what Irish constituencies wanted. Critics of the party focused on its alleged corruption but McConnel convincingly demonstrates that the M.P.s, mainly local men themselves, were responsive to the wants of constituents, resulting at times in a tension between the party leaders and localist instincts. In a sense he confirms but extends K. T. Hoppen's well-known thesis on the localism of Irish politics. He additionally re-asserts the ongoing tensions within a movement unsure whether it was the vehicle of a single great cause or a multi-faceted grouping.

Employing a range of tools, the author breaks the study into four broad themes – constituency service, the party and its enemies, life in London and the Home Rule crisis. The first and third are especially interesting. He shows how M.P.s exploited the House of Commons mechanisms by which membership in the party was achieved, the vital part Question Time played in its work and the role of patronage, while in the third section the daily routine of members in London and their lives in the House of Commons is treated. Longer sections on the connections with individual members and Fenianism, the approach to the first Sinn Féin challenge, engagement with cultural nationalism and labour in the Dublin Lockout of 1913 form a useful second section. In the last he considers home rule, the challenge of defining a way acceptable to British and Irish audiences' loyalty to the United Kingdom and Empire, the Ulster crisis and the First World War. Overall, the conclusions are not altogether surprising and reveal no meaningful break in the continuity of the party from its past or indeed with preceding national political groupings in parliament. It is a virtue of the book that it fills an important gap in the history of the party.

McConnel skilfully underscores the vitality of the Irish movement even in possibly its most sensitive and vulnerable phase. A telling conclusion sums up much of the story for pre- and post-1921 Ireland; the essentials of ordinary politics had a notably similar (or foul) flavour. What also comes through in this study is the absence at virtually all levels of the party of a conception of what the dreamed-of self-government would do for Ireland. The idea or perhaps idealised home rule became an end in itself. Reading between the lines of McConnel's chapter on the Ulster crisis (and works by other authors), it can be