

Tammany Hall between 1908 and 1911, he clashed with party reformers including Franklin D. Roosevelt. Remaining unafraid to cross party lines, Cohalan even became closely aligned with Republican isolationist U.S. senators.

Cohalan's determination to follow his firm set of beliefs portrayed a fiercely independent streak. However, this attitude also contributed to the intractable rift between himself, de Valera and other Sinn Féin leaders during 1919 and 1920 which also filtered into Irish-American circles. Clan na Gael subsequently fractured when Joseph McGarrity from Philadelphia broke away from Cohalan and Clan stalwart John Devoy. McGarrity's re-organised Clan became directly aligned with the Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) and Sinn Féin and subsequently supported the anti-Treaty side after the Anglo-Irish Treaty and during the Irish Civil War. Cohalan and Devoy on the other hand were pro-Treaty and backed the Irish Free State.

Once the fighting in Ireland had concluded, Cohalan became deeply engaged in supporting the initial development of the Irish Free State. Doorley provides vivid details of Cohalan's visit to Ireland in 1923 and his public endorsement of the Cumann na nGaedheal party during its election campaign. This included appearing on an election platform with party leaders in Dublin as well as flying as a passenger in an aeroplane to a campaign gathering in Carlow. Interestingly enough, the aeroplane carrying Cohalan endured a rocky landing and Cohalan was fortunate to walk away relatively unscathed. The tumultuous flight, however, was a harbinger for his future displeasure with Cumann na nGaeheal's domestic and foreign policies. Cohalan was dismayed with the government's handling of the 1924 army mutiny and perturbed by the Irish Free State's economic relationship with Britain. He also voiced private and public opposition to the Irish Free State's membership of the League of Nations.

Realising how little impact he had on Irish government policies, Cohalan turned most of his attention to American politics and foreign policy from the mid-1920s onward. However, as described by Doorley, Cohalan remained an outsider in the Democratic Party. He was dedicated to isolationism and was in opposition to the New Deal policies that President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his administration enacted. Unlike the majority of Americans during the Great Depression period, Cohalan and his family still lived comfortably. Up until the mid-1930s, Cohalan made a number of journeys to Ireland where he stayed at his Irish residence in Glandore, County Cork. Cohalan continued to be a leading member of the A.I.H.S. and was still recognised as a force in Irish-American circles up to his death in 1946.

Cohalan certainly lived a transnational life that was filled with passion, tenacity and determination. Researching and writing about a figure such as Cohalan can be quite difficult due to research logistics, and the deep and varied contextualisation that must occur. Doorley has certainly risen to the challenge by delving deep into archival sources in the U.S. and Ireland and providing the reader with a balanced and thorough examination of Cohalan's life and the American and Irish causes that he stood for. After decades of being compartmentalised in the historical record, Cohalan has finally been given due recognition.

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GAVIN WILK

IRISH QUESTIONS AND JEWISH QUESTIONS: CROSSOVERS IN CULTURE. Edited by Aidan Beatty and Dan O'Brien. Pp 280. New York: Syracuse University Press. 2018. \$65.00/£50.

A poet, a journalist and the first president of Ireland once set out on a journey to the Hill of Tara to obstruct the excavation of the 'Ark of the Covenant' by a group of British Israelites. While the exploits of W. B. Yeats, Arthur Griffith and Douglas Hyde during June 1902 may appear farcical, their motivations shed light on Ireland's relationship with Jews, both actual and metaphorical. Abbey Bender's account of the Hill of Tara expedition is one of the highlights of a compelling and wide-ranging collection of twelve essays exploring intersections of Irish and Jewish culture edited by Aidan Beatty and Dan O'Brien. *Irish questions and Jewish questions: crossovers in culture* is testimony to the slow yet steady stream of

academic examinations of Irish-Jewish relations published in the last decade. Prior to the publication of Dermot Keogh's *Jews in twentieth century Ireland: refugees, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* in 1998, studies of Jewish Ireland had been largely confined to outdated communal histories. Cormac Ó Gráda's *Jewish Ireland in the age of Joyce: a socio-economic history* followed eight years later (2006), and what Ó Gráda began in his deeply detailed demographic survey of Jews across the island has been expanded by a new generation of scholars unearthing a rich and complex narrative of Jews, communal and individual.

Beatty and O'Brien consider the Irish and the Jews as 'two of the classic outliers of modern Europe', simultaneously European and not European, both portrayed as racially inferior, and both with rapidly growing national movements. These links and parallels form the central theme of the collection, which is structured around an examination of representations, realities, migrations and promised lands. A particular strength of this collection is the consideration of the popularity of the Exodus, or Hebrew, analogy as a metaphor for the Irish national struggle. Abbey Bender traces the almost ubiquitous use of the motif; so common as to be seen as a banal cliché by the Dubliners of *Ulysses* by the turn of the century. From its invocation by the United Irishmen, to its use in political persuasion by Daniel O'Connell and Michael Davitt, its popularity amongst Anglo-Irish writers (Yeats and Hyde in particular), to Charles Stewart Parnell's embodiment of Moses leading Ireland to freedom, the metaphor was regularly pressed into political service.

By the 1880s cultural and political shifts in Ireland were undermining the usefulness of the Exodus analogy, and even before the 1916 Rising the motif was disowned by republicans in favour of a more indigenous national aesthetic. Crucially, Bender also insists that Jewish immigration to Ireland contributed to the decline of the Israelite analogy: 'living Jews presented different challenges from ancient and metaphoric ones'. The same suggestion is made by Seán William Gannon in his examination of disbanded members of the Royal Irish Constabulary serving in the British section of the Palestine police in the final three years of the mandate. For the majority of these Irishmen, their posting was their first encounter with Jews. 'Occasionally friendly, but more frequently fraught', Gannon explores how these encounters defined servicemen's views of Jews, Israel and Zionism for the rest of their lives. In Ireland and in mandatory Palestine, real life encounters with Jews aroused feelings of anti-Jewish prejudice, although George Bornstein's account of a Jewish literary editor's brush with a member of Cumann na mBan would indicate such prejudices existed even when the encounter went undetected.

The question of whether Jewish immigration was itself a factor in Irish antisemitism is taken up by R. M. Douglas in his comparative examination of Irish and continental European anti-Semitism. Douglas argues that excessive attention paid to the Blueshirts overshadows a 'galaxy of right wing leagues' in existence in 1930s Ireland, with open expressions of anti-Semitism found across Ireland's mainstream political spectrum. In keeping with other European counties with small Jewish populations, anti-Jewish sentiments and incidents of anti-Semitism remained prevalent in Ireland. The claim of Ireland's unique tolerance (purported by Mr Deasy, the Orangeman and Christian of *Ulysses*) is shown to be incorrect by Douglas. Natalie Wynn expands on the issue of anti-Semitism in her study of representations of Jews and, quite rightly, cautions scholars of the need for greater accuracy when invoking the term.

A particular challenge when examining anti-Semitism is the desire of Jewish leaders to present an image of perpetual 'cordial relations' with non-Jewish neighbours. Integration was the watchword of all British and Irish fledgling Jewish communities, and Irish Jewry is no exception in underplaying anti-Semitic attacks, both verbal and physical, not least because of concerns for safety. Deviations from the Jewish communal narrative have been ignored by historians, allowing elite voices to dominate. Irish Jewish studies will, as Wynn remarks, remain 'mired' in nostalgia, without a bold robust examination of wide-ranging resources reflecting the fragmented and dynamic nature of Ireland's Jewish communities.

Two rigorous accounts of outlying Jewish experience can be found in studies of home rule agitation and 1930s Irish economic protectionism. Heather Miller Rubens's examination of the Judaeo-Irish Home Rule Association provides an insight into deviant Jewish political

voices, in which the attempts of individual Jews to engage with the Irish nationalist movement compete with a wider national Jewish narrative concerning political identity and insularity. Trisha Oakley Kessler's account of Fianna Fáil's protectionist policies demonstrates how, in the new Irish state, Jews were both obscured from the narrative (omitted from official promotional photographs of new factories), and singled out for criticism (there were no fewer than eleven lists of foreign, often Jewish, surnames, read by T.D.s in Dáil debates between July 1933 and May 1934).

While the field of Irish Jewish studies remains relatively small, it has travelled a long way in the last decade. This collection highlights the breadth of academic study dealing with Irish-Jewish relations, and the rewards of grappling with challenging sources and peripheral narratives. In time, perhaps, Ireland's best-known Jew will no longer be a work of Joycean fiction.

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PAMELA AVEYARD

FEARLESS WOMAN: HANNA SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON, FEMINISM AND THE IRISH REVOLUTION. By Margaret Ward. Pp 552. Dublin: University College Dublin Press. 2019. €30.

One month after Hanna Sheehy Skeffington died, the fifth edition of her lecture 'British militarism as I have known it' appeared in print. Four earlier editions from her provocative 1917–18 American tour, in which she exposed the murder of her husband Francis, had sold out. The *Leinster Leader* announced the publication stating in no uncertain terms that 'the heroic perseverance of the talented Irish lady achieved results which wrought considerable damage to England's prestige'. Sheehy Skeffington had written a new foreword to the publication in the weeks before she died, asserting her fight against British imperialism which had engaged 'tireless efforts' to 'prevent the truth from being made public'. Right up to the point that death took her, Hanna was politically active and, as the title of Margaret Ward's biography attests, fearless. Sheehy Skeffington continued to write letters and articles in support of numerous causes until her death. During the strike by national school teachers in 1946, she reminded readers of the *Irish Press* to show support after all 'the teachers have always played a brave part in every national struggle – Pearse, McDonagh, Thomas Ashe and how many others'. This was to be her last letter to the newspaper. However, due mainly to the recovery work of Margaret Ward, Hanna Sheehy Skeffington's memory and legacy lives on.

Ward originally published a biography, *Hanna Sheehy Skeffington: a life*, in 1997. This was undoubtedly the first comprehensive publication to make full use of the superb Sheehy Skeffington papers in the National Library of Ireland. In her review in the *Sunday Tribune*, Catriona Crowe applauded Ward's volume under the fitting heading, 'The feminist agenda'. Indeed, this original volume introduced the academic community and the wider public to the remarkable life and work of Hanna Sheehy Skeffington before Irish women occupied their due space in history books. Previous biographies of her were limited, including a volume by Maria Luddy who was confined to a succinct style as part of the Historical Association of Ireland's life and times series. An earlier biography published in 1983, written by Leah Levenson and Jerry Natterstad, avoided a thorough examination of Sheehy Skeffington's republicanism.

Fearless woman is a revised version of Ward's original biography, described on the back cover as 'substantially rewritten and updated'. A mere glance at the bibliography confirms the wealth of new sources consulted, including the more recently available Bureau of Military History witness statements, along with a host of related secondary material published on women's history since the 1990s. This rewrite is in fact extensive and adds yet more perspective to the tireless social, nationalist and feminist work of Sheehy Skeffington; her activism spanned over half a century. Of particular note are the resources at the beginning of this volume, including the 'suffrage friends and colleagues of Hanna Sheehy Skeffington' which provides a valuable overview of the main characters mentioned