

the removal of the care of sick children from the domestic setting to an array of nineteenth-century external bodies.

Whilst *Infanticide in the Irish crown files* and *Growing pains* present new sources and commentary, Mary Cullen's *Telling it our way: essays in gender history* is a retrospective of thirty years' work from a gender history pioneer. Cullen's introduction revealingly charts her personal association with a feminism that informed a generation that 'women in fact had a past of action and change' (p. 19). A diverse range of articles in terms of chronology and content consider that past: first and second-wave feminism, republicanism, women's identity and history, women in peace and rebellion, widows and the household economy. All three volumes thus serve as a timely reminder of how far history has developed since, as Maria Luddy highlights in her introduction to *Telling it our way*, Jane Austen depicted it as 'The quarrels of popes and kings, with wars or pestilences' (p. 7).

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BETWEEN RAID AND REBELLION: THE IRISH IN BUFFALO AND TORONTO, 1867–1916. By William Jenkins. Pp 511. Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queens University Press, 2013. £64 hardback.

William Jenkins's comparative history of the Irish in Buffalo and Toronto is an important and original work. Sustained in its treatment of core issues, methodologically adept, and intelligently in tune with the historiography, this work deserves a wide readership, and its findings should endure. Canadian–American comparisons are potentially important for scholars of the Irish diaspora, though few, if any, have been attempted. Jenkins has done us a service and has chosen his laboratories well.

Buffalo and Toronto are geographically close. Around 100 miles separates them. In the nineteenth century, they were part of an evolving, connected economic zone of cities and towns that shifted millions of tons of raw materials and goods through arterial waterways of lakes, rivers and man-made canals. As well as economic production, cultural exchange also was important; migrant labour passed back and forth from the U.S. to Canada, and back again, from Chicago to New York and everywhere in between, at a dizzying rate. At times, Jenkins might have made a little more of the connections between Ontario and New York State and of the human movement between the cities studied. Otherwise, what we have is a fine-grained *parallel* rather than *comparative* study of two quite different Irish communities lying close to each other, but otherwise divided by quite significant differences. It is these differences, as much as the similarities, which, for this reader, provide the engine of Jenkins's study.

*Between raid and rebellion* focuses on the period from the Fenian 'invasions' and the Easter Rising. The choice of these dates – one North American, one Irish – is deliberate, for the Irish in these communities retained a strong sense of their homeland identity over the period. Moreover, Irishness was not restricted to those who had been born back in the old country, for identity crossed the generations. On the subject of inter-generational Irish attachments, we find Jenkins offering some echoes of Timothy Meagher's classic study of the Irish in Worcester, Massachusetts, *Inventing Irish America: generation, class, and ethnic identity in a New England city, 1880–1928*.

As well as generation, Jenkins recognises the role of place – not just the new community, but also origins. What, then, emerges? This is a study of two communities that took shape at about the same time, in the years after the famine. The varying historical trajectories of English, loyalist Canada and Republican, democratic America, provide a series of contrasts between Jenkins's two cities. Visitors from Buffalo remarked

negatively on Toronto's little England feel, whereas British Canadians generally harboured mistrust of American democracy. However, the Englishness of Toronto was not as important as a mentality revealed in its foreboding appellation: 'the Belfast of Canada'. Ulster-type sectarianism – most of it intra-Irish conflict – was a factor marking out differences between Toronto and its American neighbour.

The Irish in Buffalo and Toronto may have found proximate homes in different countries, but they came from very different origins and ethnic groups. These factors of origin, as much as anything, appeared to govern the Irish cultures of the two cities. Buffalo's Irish were almost entirely Catholic. Toronto's was split between Protestant and Catholic (as was Canada's Irish-born population more generally). Surname analysis (with names being very strong regional identifiers for the Irish) shows that the Irish Catholic populations of both Toronto and Buffalo were largely southern Irish, coming mostly from the same province of Munster (over 60 per cent). In sharp contrast, the Irish Protestant population of Toronto was dominated by Ulster. The Protestantism of so many Irish in Toronto created conditions for sectarian conflict that, other than Ulster, could only be matched in parts of northern England and Scotland. Indeed, repeated incidents of sectarian violence on the 'Glorious Twelfth' in Canada appear to have been a grisly match for Ulster – even in some of the particularly rough years.

Jenkins's work charts the rise of communities, political groups, ethno-religious associations, and the comparative sectarian dimensions, as well as the part played in a retained homeland association in shaping expatriate Irish identities. He offers numerous case studies of the lives of these immigrants. An historical geographer by training, Jenkins is liberal in his use of tables, maps and figures and this shows an impressive depth of statistical work. He presents occupation statistics that reveal differences between the Irish Protestants, who are more significantly represented in better sorts of work and yet shows the significance to all groups (Catholic, Protestant, Buffalo, Toronto) of unskilled labour. The really much better off working-class families in both towns were probably English and Scots, or Germans in Buffalo, though understandably these do not feature significantly in an already huge book. Interesting analysis is offered on the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society (I.P.B.S.), whose support for the non-Catholic Irish poor is a telling reflection of the size of the group, its overwhelming (if not absolute) Ulster origins, and its large presence in Toronto. In scholarly terms the analysis of the I.P.B.S. is a refreshing parallel to the otherwise more expected focus on the Orange Order, which Jenkins certainly covers with clarity and insight.

In perhaps the most methodologically exemplary chapters ('lodges and lace curtains') Jenkins explores residential patterns, intergenerational neighbourhood migration, suburbanization (especially of Protestants in Toronto), and the development of schools, churches, clubs, societies, and mutual associations, such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians (which was strong in both places). Each of these dimensions pointed to a rich and logical sense of community. The strengths of these communities meant that, by 1916, 'lace curtain' economic improvement and social climbing had not destroyed a core ideal of being Irish. The complete fading of both 'green' and the 'orange' Irishness would come much later. While local issues, parish and borough politics increasingly exercised members of the communities, Jenkins shows in his final chapter that Home Rule versus Unionism continued to frame a core element of Irish communal and political life in both places. Such commitment would outlast the Rising of 1916. Indeed, as Robert McLaughlin's study, *Irish-Canadian conflict and the struggle for independence, 1912–25* (2013), demonstrates, the Canadian-Irish certainly remained attached to both sides of the Anglo-Irish conflict into the 1920s.

Jenkins has written a big book of significant insight. He joins a very select group of scholars who have attempted full-scale comparative treatments. Jenkins acknowledges the difficulties of comparison and, while mostly paralleling these two communities, nevertheless offers an incredibly rich and deep analysis. In many ways, Jenkins has produced two books in one: studies of both Toronto and Buffalo. Either way, such work

is time-consuming and Jenkins deserve high praise for undertaking the task with such care.

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MR PARNELL'S ROTTWEILER: CENSORSHIP AND THE *UNITED IRELAND* NEWSPAPER, 1881–1891. By Myles Dungan. Pp 384. Dublin & Portland, Oreg.: Irish Academic Press. 2014. €25.15.

JAMES JOYCE, THE NEW JOURNALISM, AND THE HOME RULE NEWSPAPER WARS. By Margot Gayle Backus. Pp 304, illus. Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame. 2014. \$37.

In this welcome addition to the growing number of works on Irish newspaper and periodical history, Myles Dungan presents an engrossing survey of *United Ireland*. Established by C. S. Parnell in 1881 to spread the gospel of the Land League and Home Rule movements, *United Ireland* was edited by William O'Brien, one of the most able and fascinating journalists – some might say polemicists – of his generation. In the first edition of the newspaper O'Brien outlined his aspiration that it would constitute 'a Weekly National Monster Meeting which cannot be dispersed with buckshot'. From then on the stage was set for a vibrant battle of wits between O'Brien and Dublin Castle. Beginning with a concise overview of the political environment and the newspaper market into which *United Ireland* appeared, Dungan notes how the then nationalist dailies, while broadly supportive of Parnell, were too metropolitan in their outlook for the leadership of an organisation whose overwhelming support came from rural Ireland. Thus the need for Parnell to establish his own newspaper: one with a mission to promote him politically within Ireland and to project this support to an external polity in London. Over subsequent chapters Dungan's thesis that *United Ireland* was a political instrument used to articulate radicalism that was designed to placate his agrarian supporters and compel the government into dealing with him is well outlined, as are successive governments' attempts to suppress the newspaper. The numerous arrests and prosecutions of O'Brien coupled with police raids and seizures had little effect as a variety of supporters kept the publication going. Dungan gives significant attention to the paper's key role in revealing the Dublin Castle 'Scandals' of the mid-1880s which leads to an interesting discussion on situating *United Ireland* within the context of the 'new journalism' of the period; a discussion that is returned to at the end of the book. Dungan concludes that *United Ireland* did not represent 'new journalism': it was, instead, 'closer to what Raymond Williams has dubbed the nineteenth century "pauper press"'. Readers will find here a great deal of fresh scholarship on the role of journalism and the press in not only reporting but also shaping Ireland's history at the turn of the century.

Also examining the 'new journalism' though this time in the context of its influence on the writings of James Joyce, Margot Gayle Backus seeks to map the broad impact of *fin de siècle* scandals on Joyce's major works and argues that his incorporation of scandal into his work grew more flamboyant and complex as his style evolved. While defining a wide range of events as scandals, in particular, Backus focuses on Joyce's incorporation of the scandals surrounding C. S. Parnell, Oscar Wilde, and W. T. Stead. The early chapters explore the rise of 'new journalism' – which, as described by one of its Irish proponents, T. P. O'Connor, 'devoted as much attention to the man in the gutter as to the man on the throne'. Backus makes the intriguing point that while most historians herald W. T. Stead's 'Maiden tribute of modern Babylon' as the genesis of 'new journalism' on this side of the Atlantic, William O'Brien's exposé of the Dublin Castle sex scandal predates Stead's series. She also noted that the failed libel suits that arose from the *United Ireland* series would have been closely monitored by editors and journalists in London. Their timing,