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THE 'OLD' BRITISH HISTORIES?*

Protestant war: the 'British' of Ireland and the wars of the three kingdoms. By Robert Armstrong. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005. Pp. viii + 261. ISBN 0-7190-6983-1. £55.00.

The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland. Edited by Alan Ford and John McCafferty. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Pp. ix + 249. ISBN 0-521-83755-3. £50.00.

Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period. Edited by Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch. Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2005. Pp. xxi + 417. ISBN 90-04-14306-8. €147.00.

Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian union with Ireland and Scotland. By Patrick Little. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004. Pp. xvi + 270. ISBN 184383099X. £50.00.

The British revolution, 1629–1660. By Allan Macinnes. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. xi + 337. ISBN 0-333-59749-4. £59.50.

1659: the crisis of the Commonwealth. By Ruth E. Mayers. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004. Pp. xii + 306. ISBN 0861932684. £45.00.

The English Atlantic in an age of revolution, 1640–1661. By Carla Gardina Pestana. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004. Pp. xiii + 342. ISBN 0-674-01502-9. £32.95.

Politics and war in the three Stuart kingdoms, 1637–1649. By David Scott. Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. Pp. xiv + 233. ISBN 0-333-65873-6. £52.50.

The Irish and British wars, 1637–1654: triumph, tragedy, and failure. By Scott Wheeler. London: Routledge, London, 2002. Pp. x + 272. ISBN 0415221315. £32.50.

Britain in revolution, 1625–1660. By Austin Woolrych. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. xi + 814. ISBN 0-19-820081-1. £25.00.

The 'British problem', the 'New British history', the 'New British and Irish histories', together with the history of 'these islands', the 'Atlantic Archipelago', or the 'Britannic Empire' is a selection of terms associated with what might appear to have become a rather jaded and sterile historiographical debate.[1] Or has it? The recent publication of collections of essays, specialized monographs, and, increasingly, narrative histories of 'Britain' suggests that, while the 'New' British histories may have matured, it is far from 'old' and stale. It seems that, despite its many critics, the 'New British histories' continue to provoke

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[1] For my own position see Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'Seventeenth-century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic histories', *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), pp. 446–62; and Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'Literature, identity, and the New British histories', in David Baker and Willy Maley, eds., *British identities and English Renaissance literature* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 245–55.

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healthy and fruitful debates, raise awkward questions that defy easy answer, and provide a useful conceptual framework in which historians and, increasingly, literary scholars can contest orthodoxies and challenge narratives.[2]

Any discussion of the 'New British histories' must begin with John Pocock's seminal article of 1974/5 in which he attempted to redefine the field of 'British history' and set an agenda for its study within the context of the English-speaking Atlantic world.[3] Pocock implored Irish, Scottish, and, above all, English historians to abandon the narrow, nationally centred approach that had traditionally characterized the study of British history. Instead, he argued that 'British history' should 'denote the plural history of a group of cultures situated along an Anglo-Celtic frontier' and should incorporate the history of the British colonies in North America (prior to 1783) and of those nations that formed part of the British Empire.[4] Though almost irrelevant to many today, the political context in which Pocock wrote is worth noting. Pocock, a New Zealander, vehemently opposed Britian's entry into the European Union and formulated his ideas against a backdrop of British exceptionalism, which was infused with anti-European sentiment. The virtual disappearance of any discussion of English history as part of continental history may well be an unfortunate consequence of that exceptionalism. Yet the significance of the wider European context – and especially the movements of peoples across the waterways that surround the British Isles – for the histories of early modern England, Scotland, and Ireland cannot be overstated.[5] English exceptionalism may also explain why Pocock's initial call for a new 'British history' aroused little scholarly response. In fact, it was another twenty years until the publication of two books by Conrad Russell in 1991 that the historical establishment's attention became focused on the 'New British history'.[6] While the context has changed dramatically, Pocock has remained remarkably faithful to his original agenda. Over the past three decades, he has promoted his version of 'British history' in a variety of scholarly publications, the most important of which have been collected into a useful anthology, entitled *The discovery of islands* (2005).[7] As a founding member of the 'British Centre for Political Thought' at the Folger Shakespeare Library in

[2] See, for instance, Keith Brown, 'British history: a sceptical comment', in R. G. Asch, ed., *Three nations – a common history* (Bochum, 1993), p. 117; Peter Lake, 'Retrospective: Wentworth's political world in revisionist and post-revisionist perspective', in J. Merritt, ed., *The political world of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, 1621–1641* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 281; and Nicholas Canny, 'Writing early modern history: Ireland, Britain, and the wider world', *Historical Journal*, 46 (2003), pp. 723–47.

[3] J. G. A. Pocock, 'British history: a plea for a new subject', *Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975), pp. 601–21 (originally published in the *New Zealand Historical Journal*, 8 (1974), pp. 3–12). The *Journal of Modern History* invited A. J. P. Taylor, Gordon Donaldson, and Michael Hechter to comment on Pocock's thesis; for their rather disdainful and unhelpful responses, together with Pocock's reply see *Journal of Modern History*, 47 (1975), pp. 622–8. See also J. G. A. Pocock, 'The limits and divisions of British history: in search of an unknown subject', *American Historical Review*, 87 (1982), pp. 311–36.

[4] Pocock, 'British history: a plea for a new subject', p. 605.

[5] John H. Elliott, 'National and comparative history' (unpublished inaugural lecture, University of Oxford, 1991); and G. Parker, 'The world beyond Whitehall: British historiography and European archives', in R. M. Smuts, ed., *The Stuart court and Europe: essays in politics and political culture* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 274–82.

[6] Conrad Russell, *The fall of the British monarchies, 1637–1642* (Oxford, 1991); and idem, *The causes of the English civil war* (Oxford, 1991).

[7] J. G. A. Pocock, *The discovery of islands: essays in British history* (Cambridge, 2005). According to his own list of publications, Pocock has written over fifty articles 'in fields constituting British history' (*Discovery of islands*, p. 311).

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Washington DC, Pocock also sponsored a number of seminars (and related publications) on Scottish, Irish, and British political thought in the early modern period.[8] These have helped to integrate the political writings of all three kingdoms into the mainstream of Anglo-American scholarship.

The terminology associated with – and working definitions of – 'Britain' and 'Britishness' continue to confound. In an open letter published towards the end of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, the Nobel prize winning poet, Seamus Heaney, captured the conundrum: 'I regret / The Awkwardness. / But, British, no, the name's not right.'[9] Despite the increased use of more neutral terms such as 'three kingdoms' or, if Wales is to be included, 'four nations', to describe the interactions within and between the kingdoms ruled by the Houses of Stuart and Cromwell and the language of 'multiple kingdoms' and 'composite monarchies', 'British history' remains for some a synonym for English history.[10] The relative position and importance of England causes particular consternation, especially for proponents of British history who are primarily historians of England. For instance, in his preface to *Politics and war in the three Stuart kingdoms*, David Scott apologizes for concentrating on English developments, adding that '[t]he charge of Anglocentrism is perhaps the most heinous in New British History, and yet it is difficult to see how an integrated account can fail to be anything but Anglocentric' (p. xii). Austin Woolrych echoes these sentiments in the preface to *Britain in revolution*:

> There is much more about England in it [i.e. the book] than about Scotland and Ireland. This is not mere chauvinism, nor just a reflection of England's greater size and power. The fact is that England was where most of the crucial decisions were taken, and most of the crucial battles fought, which determined the fates of all three kingdoms.[11] (p. 3)

Comments such as these instil fear in some that the New British history will, in fact, only perpetuate the anglocentrism characteristic of the study of early modern English history. In the words of Keith Brown, Professor of Scottish History at St Andrews, '[i]t is all very well to have our subject treated as "serious" history by the Anglo-American establishment, but

[8] J. G. A. Pocock, 'The history of British political thought: the creation of a center', *Journal of British Studies*, 24 (1985), pp. 283–310. The volumes sponsored by the centre include J. G. A. Pocock, Gordon J. Schochet and Lois G. Schwoerer, eds., *The varieties of British political thought, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1993); Linda Levy Peck, ed., *The mental world of the Jacobean court* (Cambridge, 1991); Lois G. Schwoerer, ed., *The Revolution of 1688–1689: changing perspectives* (Cambridge, 1992); Roger A. Mason, ed., *Scots and Britons: Scottish political thought and the union of 1603* (Cambridge, 1994); John Robertson, ed., *A union for empire: political thought and the British union of 1707* (Cambridge, 1995); Hiram Morgan, ed., *Political ideology in Ireland, 1651–1641* (Dublin, 2000); Jane H. Ohlmeyer, ed., *Kingdom or colony?: political thought in seventeenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000); and S. J. Connolly, ed., *Political ideas in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000).

[9] Seamus Heaney, 'An open letter', in *Ireland's field day* (Notre Dame, 1986), p. 29.

[10] H. G. Koenigsberger first articulated the 'composite monarchies' or 'multiple kingdoms' model in Koenigsberger, '*Dominium regale* or *dominium politicum et regale*' reprinted in *Politicians and virtuosi: essays on early modern history* (London, 1986). Conrad Russell developed the model for England (especially in *Fall of the British monarchies* and *Causes of the English civil war*). See also Jane Dawson, 'Two kingdoms or three?: Ireland in Anglo-Scottish relations in the middle of the sixteenth century', in R. A. Mason, ed., *Scotland and England, 1286–1815* (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 113–38; Jenny Wormald, 'The creation of Britain: multiple kingdoms or core and colonies?', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 2 (1992), pp. 175–94; and Michael Perceval-Maxwell, 'Ireland and the monarchy in the early Stuart multiple kingdom', *Historical Journal*, 34 (1991), pp. 279–95.

[11] See also the exchange between Jane H. Ohlmeyer and John Adamson in *History Today*, 48 (Nov. 1998), pp. 16–29.

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there is a danger in reaching out too eagerly for what could be a poisoned chalice'.[12] Nicholas Canny, Professor of History at University College Galway, chastises those Irish and Scottish historians who have jumped on the 'New British history' bandwagon, for neglecting 'developments that might be considered of mere local or national significance', and for ignoring the impact which England exerted upon Ireland and Scotland.[13]

As scholars define and redefine what is meant by 'British history', it becomes clear that some research topics lend themselves more readily to a 'three kingdoms' – or, to coin Derek Hirst's phrase – a more multi-centred approach than others.[14] The early modern period has attracted particular interest. Over twenty collections of essays, often deriving from conferences held across the three kingdoms and beyond, have appeared since 1990.[15] These include two volumes under review here: *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland*, edited by Alan Ford and John McCafferty, which began life at a conference held in Dublin in 1998, and *Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period*, edited by Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, which originates from a workshop held in Aberdeen in 2002.[16] Processes, especially state formation and religious reformation, have attracted the greatest interest from historians, whilst the debate has become focused on issues around identity formation as literary scholars have become increasingly involved. By contrast, less attention has been devoted to the social, economic, and cultural history of the three kingdoms, whilst comparative history and cross-disciplinary scholarship on the 'British' theme has been limited to a few pioneers.

Notwithstanding, some of the most interesting recent research on the 'New British histories' has been published in the edited collections under review. Consider, for instance, *The origins of sectarianism in early modern Ireland* which contains several essays highlighting the

[12] Brown, 'British history: a sceptical comment', p. 117.

[13] Nicholas Canny, 'The attempted Anglicization of Ireland in the seventeenth century: an exemplar of "British history"', in Asch, ed., *Three nations*, p. 50.

[14] Derek Hirst, 'Text, time, and the pursuit of "British identities"', in Baker and Maley, eds., *British identities*, p. 260.

[15] See the following, many of which derived from conferences: David Armitage and Mike Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic world, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke, 2002); Asch, ed., *Three nations*; Baker and Maley, eds., *British identities*; Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill, eds., *The British problem, c. 1534–1707: state formation in the Atlantic Archipelago* (London, 1996); Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts, eds., *British consciousness and identity: the making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998); Glenn Burgess, ed., *The New British history: founding a modern state, 1603–1715* (London, 1999); Nicholas Canny, ed., *The Oxford history of the British Empire*, I: *The origins of empire* (Oxford, 1998); Tony Claydon and Ian McBride, eds., *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c. 1650–c. 1850* (Cambridge, 1998); S. J. Connolly, ed., *Kingdoms united? Great Britain and Ireland since 1500* (Dublin, 1999); Steven Ellis and Sarah Barber, eds., *Conquest and union: fashioning a British state, 1485–1725* (London, 1995); Alexander Grant and Keith Stringer, eds., *Uniting the kingdoms: the making of British history* (London, 1995); William Kelly and John Young, eds., *Ulster and Scotland, 1600–2000: history, language and identity* (Dublin, 2004); Edna Longley, Eamonn Hughes, and Des O'Rawe, eds., *Ireland (Ulster) Scotland: concepts, contexts, comparisons* (Belfast, 2003); Allan Macinnes and Jane H. Ohlmeyer, eds., *The Stuart kingdoms in the seventeenth century: awkward neighbours* (Dublin, 2002); Allan Macinnes and Arthur Williamson, eds., *Shaping the Stuart world, 1603–1714: the Atlantic connection* (Leiden, 2006); John Morrill, ed., *The Scottish Covenant in its British context* (Edinburgh, 1990); J. R. Young, ed., *Celtic dimensions of the British civil wars* (Edinburgh, 1997). See also the works cited in n. 8 above.

[16] In 1999, the University of Aberdeen established the Research Institute for Irish and Scottish Studies (now an AHRC funded Research Centre) which sponsored a series of comparative projects on various aspects of Scottish and Irish migration, including the research undertaken by Grosjean and Murdoch. For details see www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/projects.

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extent to which in Ireland, inadequate financial and human resources, the vibrancy of the Counter-Reformation, combined with the reluctance of the Catholic elite to conform (despite being deprived of government office for failing to do so), hampered the spread of Protestantism. Other contributions reconstruct the hierarchies of the Catholic and Anglican Churches and explore the tensions within both traditions. John McCafferty, for example, examines how James VI and I and Charles I 'Briticized' the Anglican episcopate; by 1641 fourteen Church of Ireland bishops were English, five were Scottish, three were Welsh, and only three were Irish (and of Old English provenance). In Ireland, these clergymen spearheaded imperial initiatives as they set out to 'civilize' the native population and 'anglicize' the established church; elsewhere they also promoted conformity with Anglicanism.[17] This volume lacks, however, a sustained discussion of Presbyterianism which, given its focus on sectarianism, is striking. Despite this unfortunate omission, what quickly becomes clear from several essays is that national boundaries meant little: the confessional fates of Ireland, Scotland, and England were inextricably intertwined with one another and the continental context proved critical, especially for the well-being of the Catholic Church.

Religion, of course, profoundly shaped identity formation throughout the Stuart kingdoms.[18] Yet, as scholars readily acknowledge, identity formation – with its 'Cheshire cat-like qualities' – defies any easy explanation, particularly in the multi-lingual, religiously diverse, and culturally complex contexts of early modern Britain and Ireland where 'Englishness', 'Irishness', 'Scottishness', and 'Welshness' meant a variety of things to different people and where, with the exception of Protestant Ulster, few described themselves as being 'British'.[19] In *The origins of sectarianism*, David Edwards provocatively

[17] See also John McCafferty, 'John Bramhall and the Church of Ireland in the 1630s', in A. Ford, J. McGuire, and K. Milne, eds., *As by law established: the Church of Ireland since the Reformation* (Dublin, 1995), p. 104; idem, 'When reformations collide', in Macinnes and Ohlmeyer, eds., *The Stuart kingdoms*, pp. 186–203; and idem, *The reconstruction of the Church of Ireland* (Cambridge, forthcoming, 2007).

[18] Alan Ford, '"That bugbear Arminianism": Archbishop Laud and Trinity College, Dublin', in Ciaran Brady and Jane H. Ohlmeyer, eds., *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 135–60. See also Alan Ford, '"Firm Catholics" or "loyal subjects"? Religious and political allegiance in early seventeenth-century Ireland', in G. Boyce, Robert Eccleshall, and Vincent Geoghegan, eds., *Political thought in Ireland since the seventeenth century* (London, 1993), pp. 1–31; idem, '"Standing one's ground": religion, polemic and Irish history since the Reformation', in Ford, McGuire, and Milne, eds., *As by law established*, pp. 1–14; idem, 'James Ussher and the godly prince in early seventeenth-century Ireland', in Morgan, ed., *Political ideology*, pp. 203–28; idem, 'James Ussher and the creation of an Irish Protestant identity', in Bradshaw and Roberts, eds., *British consciousness*, pp. 185–212; and idem, 'Martyrdom, history and memory in early modern Ireland', in Ian McBride, ed., *History and memory in modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 43–66.

[19] For a useful review of the recent literature, see Richard Connors and J. R. D. Falconer, 'Cornering the Cheshire cat: reflections on the "new British history" and studies in early modern British identities', *Canadian Journal of History*, 36 (2001), pp. 85–108. See also Orest Ranum, ed., *National consciousness, history and political culture in early modern Europe* (London, 1975); idem, 'Britishness and Europeanness: Who are the British anyway?', a series of articles on identity formation in *Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1992); Baker and Maley, eds., *British identities*; Linda Colley, 'Britishness and otherness: an argument', in Michael O'Dea and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Nations and nationalisms: France, Britain, Ireland and the eighteenth-century context* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 61–77; idem, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707–1837* (Yale, 1992); and Colin Kidd, *British identities before nationalism: ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world, 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 1999). For early modern Scotland see D. Broun, R. J. Finlay, and M. Lynch, eds., *Image and identity: the making and remaking of Scotland through the ages* (Edinburgh, 1998); Keith M. Brown, 'Scottish identity in the seventeenth century', in Bradshaw and Roberts, eds., *British*

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concludes his seminal essay on English Catholic migration to Ireland during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries by suggesting that '[p]olitics were primarily about religion, not race; nationalism … was increasingly confessional in form, not ethnic' (p. 126). Whilst others, who stress race over religion, might disagree, Edwards's argument could nevertheless be extended to England and Scotland, where Protestantism increasingly became the glue that held together the 'British' polity and empire.[20] Yet a sense of loyalty to the House of Stuart also clearly played an important role in shaping 'Irishness' at home and abroad, as explored by Mícheál MacCraith in his fascinating study of the writings of the Louvain-based Franciscan theologians, Florence Conry and Hugh McCaughwell.[21] The extent to which overseas migration appears to have heightened senses of 'Irishness', as it did 'Englishness' and 'Scottishness', are issues also examined by contributions to *Scottish communities abroad* and discussed below. Yet what is striking is the extent to which the descendants of migrants assumed the nationality of their host nation or, in the case of the native Irish elite exiled in Spain, sought to establish ethnic identity in Spanish cultural terms, as Declan Downey skilfully reveals in his essay on the importance of purity of blood and faith. Whether in Catholic Iberia or Protestant northern Europe, shared experiences of migration did little to inculcate a sense of 'Britishness'. That said, on a visit to Hamburg during the early 1630s, the Scottish-born, Dutch-reared, and Irish-wed, John Dury, styled

consciousness, pp. 236–58; Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's past: Scottish Whig historians and the creation of an Anglo-British identity, 1689–c. 1830* (Cambridge, 1993); Mason, ed., *Scots and Britons*; idem, *Kingship and commonweal: political thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998), especially ch. 6; Alexander J. Murdoch, *British history, 1660–1832: national identity and local culture* (Basingstoke, 1998); Steve Murdoch, 'James VI and the formation of a Scottish–British military identity', in A. MacKillop and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Fighting for identity: Scottish military experience c. 1550–1900* (Leiden, 2002), pp. 3–32; Arthur Williamson, 'Patterns of British identity: "Britain" and its rivals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in Burgess, ed., *The new British history*, pp. 138–73; idem, *Scottish national consciousness in the age of James VI* (Edinburgh, 1979). For early modern Ireland, see Bradshaw and Roberts, eds., *British consciousness*, especially the essays by Brendan Bradshaw, Marc Caball, Andrew Hadfield, Willy Maley, Alan Ford, and Jim Smyth; T. C. Barnard, 'The Protestant interest, 1641–1660', in Jane H. Ohlmeyer, ed., *Ireland from independence to occupation, 1641–1660* (Cambridge, 1995); and Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'James our true king: the ideology of Irish royalism in the seventeenth century', in Boyce, Eccleshall, and Geoghegan, eds., *Political thought*; Nicholas Canny, 'Fashioning "British" worlds in the seventeenth century', in Nicholas Canny, Joseph E. Illick, and Gary B. Nash, eds., *Empire, society and labor: essays in honor of Richard S. Dunn* ([s.l.]: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1997); idem, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford, 2001); and the articles by Alan Ford listed in n. 18 above. Outlying regions within early modern England, such as Cornwall, also maintained their distinctive identities. See, for example, Mark Stoyle, 'Pagans or paragons? Images of the Cornish during the English civil war', *English Historical Review*, 111 (1996), pp. 299–323; idem, 'Cornish rebellions, 1467–1648', *History Today*, 47 (May 1997), pp. 22–8.

[20] See for instance Aidan Clarke, *The Old English in Ireland, 1625–1642* (London and Ithaca, 1966; paperback edition, Dublin, 2000); and Mark Stoyle, *Soldiers and strangers: an ethnic history of the English civil war* (New Haven, 2005).

[21] Also see Ó Buachalla, 'James our true king'. Dogged devotion to the early Stuarts also featured in the attitudes of many Scottish Protestant exiles, particularly in the years prior to the outbreak of civil war in 1638. See Steve Murdoch, 'The House of Stuart and the Scottish professional soldier, 1618–1640: a conflict of national identities', in Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton, eds., *War: identities in conflict, 1300–2000* (Stroud, 1998), pp. 37–56; and idem, *Britain, Denmark–Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660* (Edinburgh, 2000), particularly the introduction.

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himself *Ecclesiastae Scoto-Britanno*.[22] Such nuances were, however, lost on host nations who often failed to distinguish between the peoples of the British Isles, describing Irish merchants in Spain or Scottish migrants in Hamburg as 'English' or 'British'.[23]

Some historians have argued that the formation of a distinctive 'British' identity is a product of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[24] Others have suggested that prior to the personal Union of the Crowns in 1603 – never mind the political union between England and Scotland in 1707 or between Britain and Ireland in 1800/1 – the concept of 'British history' is misleading. Yet events such as the regal and political unions are obvious instances where the histories of the Stuart monarchies intersect and interact and their study has attracted considerable attention particularly from historians of Ireland and Scotland.[25] There is also a particularly rich literature on the 'Wars of the three kingdoms' or the 'British civil wars', as the conflict in and between the kingdoms of Charles I during the 1640s is now known.[26] One recent example is Robert Armstrong's *Protestant war: the 'British' of Ireland and the wars of the three kingdoms*.[27] What is so refreshing about Armstrong's volume is his perspective, which eschews national boundaries in favour

[22] Steve Murdoch, 'Kith and kin: John Durie and the Scottish community in Scandinavia and the Baltic, 1624–1634', in Patrick Salmon and Tony Barrow, eds., *Britain and the Baltic: studies in commercial, political and cultural relations, 1500–2000* (Sunderland, 2003), p. 44.

[23] María Begoña Villar García, 'Irish migration in Spain: refugees, soldiers, traders and statesmen', in Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons, eds., *Irish communities in early-modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 174–5.

[24] See for examples Broun, Finlay, and Lynch, eds., *Image and identity*, pp. 93–4; and Colley, *Britons*.

[25] For the union of the crowns in 1603 and the parliamentary union of 1707, see Bruce Galloway, *The union of England and Scotland, 1603–1608* (Edinburgh, 2003); Maurice Lee, 'Scotland, the union and the idea of a "general crisis"', in Mason, ed., *Scots and Britons*, pp. 41–57; Brian P. Levack, *The formation of the British state: England, Scotland and the union, 1603–1707* (Oxford, 1987); Allan Macinnes, 'Regal union for Britain, 1603–1638', in Burgess, ed., *The new British history*, pp. 33–65; idem, 'Politically reactionary Brits?: the promotion of Anglo-Scottish union, 1603–1707', in Connolly, ed., *Kingdoms united?*, pp. 43–5; John Robertson, 'Empire and union: two concepts of the early modern European political order', in David Armitage, ed., *Theories of empire, 1450–1800* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 11–44; Jenny Wormald, 'The union of 1603', in Mason, ed., *Scots and Britons*, pp. 17–40; idem, 'James VI and I: two kings or one?' *History*, 68 (1983), pp. 187–209; and idem, 'O brave new world? The union of England and Scotland in 1603', in T. C. Smout, ed., *Anglo-Scottish relations from 1603–1900* (Oxford, 2005). The Anglo-Irish union of 1800–1 has received considerably more attention than the Anglo-Scottish union of 1707, partly due to the recent commemorations. See, for example, Daire Keogh and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Acts of union: the causes, contexts, and consequences of the act of union* (Dublin, 2001); essays by Patrick Geoghegan, James Kelly, and J. G. A. Pocock in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 10 (2000); and Patrick Geoghegan, *Act of union: a study in high politics, 1798–1801* (Dublin, 1999).

[26] J. C. Beckett, in *The making of modern Ireland, 1603–1923* (London, 1966), first coined the phrase 'war of the three kingdoms'. In addition to the works under review see Martyn Bennett's *The civil wars of Britain and Ireland, 1638–1651* (Oxford, 1997), which offers the first integrated account of the 'wars of the three kingdoms' since S. R. Gardiner published his multi-volume narrative in 1886, *History of the great civil war, 1642–1649* (3 vols., 1886–91, new edn, 4 vols., London, 1893; reprint 1987). J. P. Kenyon and Jane H. Ohlmeyer, eds., *The civil wars: a military history of England, Scotland and Ireland* (Oxford, 1998), compares and contrasts the course of the various civil wars and the interrelationships between the Stuart kingdoms in the 1640s.

[27] For the Protestant war in Ireland also see Kevin Forkan, 'The south Ulster borderland as a political frontier in the 1640s', *Breifne*, 10 (2004), pp. 270–89; idem, 'Army list of the Ulster British regiments, 1642–1646', *Archivium Hibernicum*, 59 (2005), pp. 51–65; idem, 'The Ulster Scots and the Engagement, 1647–1648', *Irish Historical Studies* (forthcoming); and idem, 'Ormond's alternative: the lord lieutenant's secret contacts with Protestant Ulster, 1645–6', *Historical Research* (forthcoming).

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of a multi-centred approach and which reconstructs the warring Protestant communities from Ireland (royalist, parliamentarian, and covenanter) in their exploits across the three kingdoms and especially at Westminster and Oxford. This study stands as a fitting sequel to recent work on Confederate Ireland by Micheál Ó Siochrú and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and greatly enriches our understanding of the Protestant, rather than 'British', interest in Ireland, so elegantly explored for the later period by Toby Barnard and Sean Connolly.[28]

One of the greatest guardians of the Protestant interest in Ireland was Roger Boyle (1621–79), Lord Broghill and later earl of Orrery, the subject of Patrick Little's political biography. Very much a man of the three kingdoms, the early chapters of Little's volume reconstruct Broghill's education in Ireland, his continental grand tour, his time at the Caroline court, his exposure to warfare first in the Bishops Wars and later as a local commander in Munster, and his increasing involvement in Westminster politics as a leader of the 'Irish independents'. Thereafter Little, using Broghill as his guide, skilfully outlines attempts to secure Cromwellian union in all three kingdoms. Thanks in large part to his close relationship with Oliver Cromwell, Broghill played an instrumental role in facilitating the constitutional union of 1654 between England and Ireland, whilst as president of Scotland between 1655 and 1656 he promoted a moderate settlement north of the border akin to that espoused by his ally in Ireland, Henry Cromwell. According to Little, the Second Protectorate Parliament (1656–8) marked the high point of Broghill's career as he steered the controversial kingship debates through the Westminster political machine, suggesting that Broghill probably drafted the Humble Petition and Advice. Cromwell's refusal of the crown of the three kingdoms proved a bitter blow to Broghill's ambition to secure a lasting union and, although he enjoyed moments of influence and favour during Charles II's reign, his career as a politician operating on a 'British' stage had ended.

The focus of Little's study may well be Broghill's public life during the 1650s, but the private world of his relationships with his father, the now infamous 'upstart' earl of Cork, his siblings (who included the formidable Ladies Ranelagh and Warwick as well as the scientist, Robert Boyle), his wife, and extended family are fully explored and form a fitting sequel to Nicholas Canny's earlier study of Cork.[29] Probing Broghill's religious beliefs, Little demonstrates how moderate Calvinism, combined with a long-standing commitment to Irenicism (he enjoyed close contacts with John Dury), provided the context for Broghill's political motivations and actions. Less satisfying is Little's chapter on Broghill's finances, which never fully untangles his role as a landowner, nor analyses the extent to which his estates – and the revenue that they yielded – underpinned his political and other activities. More might also have been said with regard to Broghill's abilities as a military commander, especially during the later 1640s when he was responsible for a number of atrocities, and the extent to which his experiences in the Munster theatre of war influenced his later literary writings and especially his *Treatise on the art of war*, published in 1677.[30]

[28] T. C. Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649–1770* (New Haven, 2003); idem, *Irish Protestant ascents and descents, 1641–1770* (Dublin, 2004), wherein many of his essays on the Protestant interest are reprinted; Sean Connolly, *Religion, law and power: the making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1992); Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic reformation in Ireland: the mission of Rinuccini, 1645–1649* (Oxford, 2002); and Micheál Ó Siochrú, *Confederate Ireland, 1642–1649: a constitutional and political analysis* (Dublin, 1999).

[29] Nicholas Canny, *The upstart earl: a study of the social and mental world of Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, 1566–1643* (Cambridge, 1982).

[30] Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'The baronial context of the civil war in Ireland', in John Adamson, ed., *The civil wars* (London, forthcoming, 2007); Rolf Loeber and Geoffrey Parker, 'The military revolution

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An analysis of Broghill's literary output might also have brought issues of honour and representation into sharper focus and thereby assisted in recapturing the complexities and nuances of Broghill's mindset.[31] Such omissions should, however, in no way detract from an otherwise excellent study that is meticulously researched, engagingly written, and littered with perceptive insights. Like the political biographies of other leading Stuart figures, Little's book will make a major contribution to three kingdoms history as well as to the national histories of Ireland, Scotland, and England.[32] Together with Little's other published work, it stands, in fact, as a model example of the 'New British histories'.[33]

Ruth Mayers's detailed analysis of the politics, policies, and propaganda of the restored English Republic (May and October 1659) would have benefited from a close reading of Little's *Lord Broghill*. In *1659: the crisis of the Commonwealth*, Mayers suggests that 'the crisis of the Commonwealth in 1659 emerges as a major turning point in Britain's history' (p. 7). However Mayers's understandable focus on English parliamentary politics and on the Commonwealth's relations with the army and with the city of London effectively means that Scotland and Ireland receive short shrift. Discussion is limited to a single chapter entitled 'A Greater Britain' which concentrates principally on the English occupation of Dunkirk and on the possibility of union with Scotland.[34] Yet, as Derek Hirst has reminded us, 'the British problem brought down the republic as surely as it did the early Stuart monarchy' and one might have thought that 'the British problem' deserved fuller treatment than it is accorded by Mayer in her book.[35]

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in seventeenth-century Ireland', in Ohlmeyer, ed., *Ireland from independence to occupation*, pp. 66–88, reprinted in Geoffrey Parker, *Empire, war and faith in early modern Europe* (London, 2002); Micheál Ó Siochrú, 'Atrocity, codes of conduct, and the Irish in the British civil wars, 1641–1653', *Past and Present* (May 2007); and David Edwards, Padriag Lenihan, and Clodagh Tait, eds., *Age of atrocity: violent death and political conflict in Ireland, 1547–1650* (Dublin, forthcoming, 2007).

[31] John Kerrigan, 'Orrery's Ireland and the British Problem', in Baker and Maley, eds., *British identities*, pp. 197–225.

[32] Such leading Stuart figures including Scottish peers like Hamilton and Argyll, the English duke of Buckingham, and Irish lords, such as Ormond, Antrim, or the earl of Clanricard, might be regarded as men of the three kingdoms. See, for example, John Scally, 'Counsel in crisis: James, third marquis of Hamilton and the Bishops' wars, 1638–1640', in Young, ed., *Celtic dimensions*, pp. 18–34; Keith Brown, *Noble society in Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2000); Victor Treadwell, *Buckingham and Ireland, 1616–1628: a study in Anglo-Irish politics* (Dublin, 1998); T. C. Barnard and Jane Fenlon, eds., *The dukes of Ormond, 1610–1745* (London, 2000); Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and restoration in the three Stuart kingdoms: the political career of Randal MacDonnell first marquis of Antrim (1609–1683)* (Cambridge, 1993); and Patrick Little, '"Blood and friendship": the earl of Essex's protection of the earl of Clanricarde's interests, 1641–1646', *English Historical Review*, 112 (1997), pp. 927–41.

[33] Patrick Little, 'The earl of Cork and the fall of the earl of Strafford', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), pp. 619–35; idem, 'Blood and friendship', pp. 927–41; idem, 'The first unionists?: Irish Protestant attitudes to union with England, 1653–1659', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32 (2000), pp. 44–58; idem, 'The English parliament and the Irish constitution, 1641–1649', in Micheál Ó Siochrú, ed., *Kingdoms in crisis: Ireland in the 1640s* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 106–21; idem, 'The Geraldine ambitions of the first earl of Cork', *Irish Historical Studies*, 23 (2002), pp. 151–68; and idem, 'An Irish governor of Scotland: Lord Broghill, 1655–6', in A. Mackillop and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Military governors and imperial frontiers, c. 1600–1800* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 79–97.

[34] For Ireland see Aidan Clarke, *Prelude to Restoration: the end of the Commonwealth, 1659–1660* (Cambridge, 1999), and idem, '1659 and the road to Restoration', in Ohlmeyer, ed., *Ireland from independence to occupation*, pp. 241–64.

[35] Derek Hirst, 'The English Republic and the meaning of Britain', *Journal of Modern History*, 66 (1994), p. 486.

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These specialized studies by historians of England, Ireland, and Scotland have fed into narrative histories of 'Britain', aimed at a 'general readership' and published by leading commercial publishers.[36] Recapturing the complexities of the 1640s and 1650s across the three kingdoms for the non-specialist, however, poses particular challenges as revealed by David Scott's *Politics and war in the three Stuart kingdoms*, which covers the years between 1637 and 1649, and Scott Wheeler's *The Irish and British wars* which also begins in 1637, but continues its account through the Cromwellian reconquest of Ireland and Scotland. Of the two works, Wheeler's account is more satisfying. The focus of Scott's account is political and he offers little sense of wider conceptual or geographic contexts or of the scale, cost, and nature of warfare even in England, never mind in Ireland or Scotland. He makes no attempt to direct readers to the wealth of material available to those interested in pursuing the subject further. The endnotes are cursory and there is no bibliography. By contrast, Wheeler's engaging narrative, interspersed with helpful maps and diagrams, is readily accessible to the non-specialist. For political matters Wheeler relies heavily on S. R. Gardiner, but in his discussion of military affairs a series of original insights are offered with respect to how innovations in continental practice, often associated with the 'military revolution', influenced the conduct of war in the Stuart kingdoms, together with the costs associated with waging war. Wheeler's work is particularly strong for the English civil wars, but also offers a coherent and succinct account of the reconquest of Ireland and Scotland.

For the mid-seventeenth century, the finest and, at 800 pages, the lengthiest, account is Austin Woolrych's *Britain in revolution, 1625–1660*. As Woolyrch himself was keen to acknowledge, the narrative owes much to the meticulous scholarship of the Whig historians, S. R. Gardiner, and, his successor, C. H. Firth, but Woolrych has also sensitively harvested recent research on all aspects of the political, religious, military, intellectual, social, and economic history of the 1630s, 1640s, and 1650s. The result is a gripping narrative that skilfully interweaves political developments in London, Oxford, Edinburgh, Dublin, and Kilkenny with vivid accounts of key battles and sieges throughout the three kingdoms. The focus of the book is high politics but, the complexity of events on the ground, uncovered with regard to England by historians such as Alan Everitt, John Morrill, David Underdown, and, more recently, Mark Stoyle and Andrew Wood, is fully integrated and thereby provides a more nuanced and textured account. The richness of these county, regional, and urban studies for England makes the absence of comparable work for either Scotland or Ireland all the more frustrating.[37] This magisterial and accessible volume written by one of the most distinguished historians of seventeenth-century England stands as a worthy successor to Gardiner's multi-volume narrative.

Less accessible to the non-specialist is Allan Macinnes's *The British revolution*, which, after a dense opening chapter on 'British perceptions', offers a loose narrative of the 'Britannic Empire' between 1629 and 1660. Drawing particularly on the scholarship of Roger Mason and Arthur Williamson, Macinnes emphasizes the extent to which the Scots opted in and out of 'Great Britain' and adopted a British/Britannic solution to their problems depending on circumstances and context. He sensibly suggests that the 'wider contextualising

[36] Such works include Bennett, *The civil wars of Britain and Ireland, 1638–1651*; David Smith, *A history of the modern British Isles, 1603–1707* (Oxford, 1998); and Jim Smyth, *The making of the United Kingdom, 1660–1800: state, religion and identity in Britain and Ireland* (London, 2001).

[37] A few recent exceptions include Laura A. M. Stewart, *Urban politics and the British civil wars: Edinburgh, 1617–1653* (Leiden, 2006); and Aoife Duignan,'"All in confused opposition to each other": politics and war in Connacht, 1641–1649' (Ph.D. thesis, University College, Dublin, 2006).

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of British history cannot be just geographic. It must take account of apocalyptic visions as well as baronial politics, commercial networks as well as confessional allegiances, representative images as well as written texts' (p. 7). For the most part, Macinnes's argument is well made, as he emphasizes the lingering importance of the Protestant reformation, which had taken place in Scotland in defiance of monarchy; the determination to have a godly religion in the context of a godly commonwealth; and the lasting importance of the European tradition of civic law and of 'fundamental law' deriving from jurisprudence. Less helpful is Macinnes's consistent determination to categorize into 'the Britannic', 'the Gothic', 'the imperial', 'the confederal', and 'the associate' (all on p. 8), since this not only obscures his argument, but also creates expectations that his interpretation will somehow reconceptualize 'British history', something it fails to do.

Throughout his book, Macinnes places Scotland, rather than England, centre stage. He claims that Scotland asserted moral leadership in shaping, first, Great Britain and then the British Empire and drove British revolutionary politics. Certainly, James VI and I pursued a 'British' identity and this permeated his foreign, frontier, and colonial policies, as it did those of his grandson, James II and VII. After 1638, the Scots sought a 'British' solution – first in the form of the National Covenant and, later, Solemn League and Covenant, both of which drew on earlier French and Dutch concepts of resistance – as the best means of self-preservation. Yet the fact remains that it was an Englishman – Oliver Cromwell – who crushed all notions of a confederal Britain and reduced Scotland to the effective position of a satellite state. Overall, this is a book that promises much, but never fully delivers. Macinnes's account is a traditional one and little attempt is made to write an integrated narrative or to identify common denominators that characterized the revolts in the three kingdoms, nor to explain the differences.[38] Herbert Butterfield once wrote that '[t]he truth is that there is a tendency for all history to veer over into Whig history'.[39] This is as true for Macinnes's narrative, as it is for those by Scott, Wheeler, and Woolrych. The difference is that Macinnes is writing from a Caledonian perspective and the others from an Anglocentric one.

Where Macinnes's book does sparkle is in his fleeting discussion of colonialism, imperialism, and commercialism, especially in the American colonies, which is a subject developed by David Dobson in his fascinating essay on Scottish migration to the Americas in *Scottish communities abroad*. Central, of course, to Pocock's original agenda for the revitalization of 'British' history was the need to situate it in its Atlantic context. Carla Gardina Pestana's *The English Atlantic in an age of revolution, 1640–1661* does precisely this.[40] On the eve of the outbreak of civil war, the English Atlantic world stretched from Newfoundland in the north to Trinidad in the south and comprised twenty-four settlements on the mainland colonies of New England, Virginia, and Maryland, together with island settlements in Bermuda and the West Indies (Cromwell later won Jamaica from Spain in 1655). A useful prologue surveys these disparate settlements, which in 1640 were home to roughly 50,000 people, mostly of English extraction, and is followed by thematic chapters. The first two explore the political and religious responses of these communities to

[38] Geoffrey Parker, 'The crisis of the Spanish and Stuart monarchies in the mid-seventeenth century: local problems or global problems?', in Brady and Ohlmeyer, eds., *British interventions*, pp. 252–79. [39] Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig interpretation of history* (London, 1931), p. 6.

[40] Pocock, 'British history: a plea for a new subject', pp. 617–20; and idem, *Three revolutions: 1641, 1688, 1776* (Princeton, 1980). Also see J. C. D. Clark, 'The strange death of British history? Reflections on Anglo-American scholarship', *Historical Journal*, 40 (1997), pp. 789, 809.

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the outbreak and course of the wars of the three kingdoms and the third focuses on the royalist rebellions of the early 1650s and the nature of royalism in the English Atlantic. The remaining chapters assess how the metropolis attempted to re-establish control over its dominions and examine the settlers' responses to these various initiatives. Pestana's book concludes by reflecting on the impact that the changes associated with the 1640s and 1650s, especially the religious, ideological, and economic ones, had on the English Atlantic world and the significance of such changes for the English imperial system. Clearly argued and carefully researched, Pestana's book will make a compelling contribution to Atlantic history and to the history of the English-speaking Empire.[41] It should not, however, obscure the fact that for early modern England, Ireland, and Scotland, the Continent was far more significant as a destination for migrants. Nearly 50,000 English troops (the equivalent to the total English population in the New World) and a further 62,000 Scots served against the Habsburgs between 1618 and 1648 alone.[42]

Whilst Pestana's book is unashamedly Anglocentric in its focus, she is careful to point out that English involvement in the Dutch, French, Swedish, Portuguese, or Spanish Atlantics would be worth studying. What of Ireland and Scotland? Though the contributions of the Irish and Scots to the early modern English-speaking global empire, especially in the Atlantic world,[43] has received considerable attention in recent years, the study of Irish and Scottish involvement in the empires of other European powers – especially the Dutch, French, Spaniards, and Swedes – remains less well studied.[44] Much better documented for Ireland and Scotland, though significantly not for England, are connections with continental Europe, especially the intellectual, military, commercial, and clerical ones.[45] A number of essays in *The origins of sectarianism* stress the significance of the wider European context for developments in Ireland and, in his 'concluding reflection', John Morrill suggests that levels of violence in early modern Ireland 'makes Irish history look much more like continental European history. Ireland seems to have wars of religion that are in their confessional excesses of a type with the wars in the Netherlands and in Germany' (p. 230).

[41] Also see David Armitage, *The ideological origins of the British empire* (Cambridge, 2000); Armitage and Braddick, eds., *The British Atlantic world*; and Bruce Lenman, *England's colonial wars, 1550–1688* (London, 2001).

[42] Steve Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the thirty years' war* (Leiden, 2001), pp. 19–20.

[43] For recent research see Canny, ed., *Origins of empire*. See also David Armitage, 'Making the Empire British: Scotland in the Atlantic World, 1542–1717', *Past and Present*, 155 (1997), pp. 34–63; T. M. Devine, *Scotland's empire, 1600–1815* (London, 2003), Kevin Kenny, ed., *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2004); N. C. Landsman, 'The Provinces and the empire: Scotland, the American colonies and the development of British provincial identity', in L. Stone, ed., *An imperial state at war: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London, 1994), pp. 258–87; and Ned Landsman, ed., *Nation and province in the first British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600–1800* (London, 2001).

[44] There are, of course, exceptions such Mary Ann Lyons, 'The emergence of an Irish community in Saint-Malo, 1550–1710', in Thomas O'Connor, ed., *The Irish in Europe, 1580–1815* (Dublin, 2001), pp. 107–26; Jan Parmentier, 'The Irish connection: the Irish merchant community in Ostend and Bruges during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, 20 (2005), pp. 31–54. See also the essays in Macinnes and Williamson, eds., *Shaping the Stuart world*; Leos Müller, 'Scottish and Irish entrepreneurs in eighteenth-century Sweden', in David Dickson, Jan Parmentier, and Jane H. Ohlmeyer, eds., *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Ghent, 2007); and J. Postma and V. Enthoven, eds., *Riches from Atlantic commerce: Dutch transatlantic trade and shipping, 1585–1817* (Leiden, 2003).

[45] For an overview of recent scholarship in this field see Jane H. Ohlmeyer, 'Seventeenth-century Ireland and Scotland and their wider worlds', in O'Connor and Lyons, eds., *Irish communities*, pp. 457–84.

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The importance of overseas migration for Scottish history is forcefully made by the contributions, mostly by younger scholars, many of whom are working in Scandinavia and the Baltic, to *Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period* edited by Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch.[46] In an excellent introduction, the editors provide helpful working definitions of 'community' and offer useful conceptual frameworks that others might usefully borrow. The three opening chapters focus on Scottish migratory patterns as population movements to the 'near-abroad' (Ulster), 'middle-abroad' (Poland), and 'far-abroad' (Americas) and ask 'why communities might establish themselves in particular ways in particular places' (p. 4). Five of the eleven chapters look with fresh eyes at the Scottish communities 'located' in urban centres such as Bergen (Norway), Rotterdam (Dutch Republic), Gothenberg (Sweden), Hamburg (Germany), and Kédainiai (Lithuania), whilst others focus on 'communities of mind and interest' (students, sailors, and religious exiles). Based on extensive research from academic, commercial, municipal, ecclesiastical, provincial, and private archives, these contributions draw on rich local historiographical traditions in order to recover overlapping mercantile, military, and intellectual networks and highlight how Scottish migrants achieved critical mass in quite unexpected places. They analyse these émigré communities in the context of their host societies, highlight the importance of kinship links and 'chain migration', examine survival and assimilation strategies, document how migrants represented themselves, acquired wealth, landed estates, and civic office, and plot their movements across continental Europe.

Despite the recent publication of similar detailed studies of Irish migrants, attempts to compare and contrast the experiences of peoples from the British Isles who soldiered, studied, and solicited abroad are limited to concluding remarks, albeit by three distinguished scholars of migration.[47] While a few essays do acknowledge the interaction between the English and Scottish communities resident overseas, what is lacking is any

[46] Steve Murdoch and Alexia Grosjean have compiled a relational database profiling 'British' (English, Scottish, and Irish) officers serving largely in the Scandinavian forces (including hundreds of men of Scottish provenance but resident in Ireland and a few Irish Catholics), 'Scotland, Scandinavia and northern Europe, 1580–1707', database, www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne (Aberdeen, 1998–). For related research see also Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the thirty years' war*; idem, 'Diplomacy in transition: Stuart-British diplomacy in northern Europe, 1603–1618', in Allan Macinnes, T. Riis, and F.G. Pedersen, eds., *Guns and bibles in the North Sea and the Baltic states, c. 1350–1700* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 93–114; idem, 'Robert Anstruther: a Stuart diplomat in Norlan [i.e. northern] Europe, 1603–1625', *Cairn*, 1 (1997), pp. 46–56; idem, 'Scotland, Scandinavia and the Bishops' Wars, 1638–1640', in Macinnes and Ohlmeyer, eds., *The Stuart kingdoms*, pp. 113–34; and idem, *Britain, Denmark–Norway and the House of Stuart*. For other works by Alexia Grosjean, see *An unofficial alliance: Scotland and Sweden, 1569–1654* (Leiden, 2003); 'Scotland: Sweden's closest ally' in Murdoch, ed., *Scotland and the thirty years' war*, pp. 143–72; 'General Alexander Leslie, the Scottish covenanters and the *Riksråd* debates, 1638–1640', in Macinnes, Riis, and Pedersen, eds., *Guns and bibles*, pp. 115–38; and 'Royalist and Cromwellian allies? The Cranstoun regiment in Sweden, 1656–1558', in MacKillop and Murdoch, eds., *Fighting for identity*, pp. 61–82.

[47] Much recent published work on Ireland is associated with the Irish in Europe Project at NUI, Maynooth, (www.IrishinEurope.com/bibliography) including O'Connor, ed., *The Irish in Europe*; Thomas O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons, eds., *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602–1820* (Dublin, 2003); and O'Connor and Lyons, eds., *Irish communities*. In 1999, Trinity College Dublin established the Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies which oversees important Irish military migration projects to Spain and France and another on early modern mercantile networks (www.tcd.ie/CISS/projects.php). The Moore Institute for research in the humanities and social studies at Galway also sponsors interdisciplinary research on migration (www.nuigalway.ie/mooreinstitute).

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definitive discussion of England, especially London, as a destination for seventeenth-century Scottish migrants. By 1440, however, 2,000 Scots lived in England and, by the late fifteenth century, Scots represented 10 per cent of London's 'alien' population.[48] Aside from a few pioneering articles, Irish communities living in England during these years have been equally neglected.[49] So the fact remains that more is known about Scottish communities resident in Sweden or Irish ones in Spain than about those living in London or other English urban centres such as Bristol or Chester.

The direct link between Scottish migration to Europe and empire is flagged in *Scottish communities*, particularly in the opening section on 'colonies and plantations'. This is fully developed elsewhere by Andrew Mackillop and Steve Murdoch who argue that Scotland's continental trajectory, especially foreign service in Scandinavia, was a form of imperialism. This witnessed the transfer and deployment of kinship, local political association, and economic networking overseas, tactics later deployed to great effect in the eighteenth-century British imperial context.[50] In short, these experiences of 'internal colonization' and extensive interaction with the continent, especially northern Europe, shaped the Scots' understanding of empire and their effectiveness as colonists.[51] A similar argument could – but remains to – be made for Ireland. This emphasis on 'Britain abroad' and on the contribution that the Irish, Scots, and English played in shaping the continental and global empires of Britain's commercial, military, and political allies and rivals, of course, strays far from Pocock's original agenda for the future of British history. Yet it seems that, despite Pocock's Euro-scepticism and the lingering provincialism of some scholars, British history provides a useful conceptual framework which enables fresh questions to be asked not only about the histories of the Stuart kingdoms, but also of their wider dominions as well as their contacts and linkages with Europe and empire. Problems remain. Nomenclature continues to frustrate and unresolved tensions litter the historiographical landscape yet for all its awkwardness and limitations, the 'New British histories' is – as these various studies highlight – far from old.

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[48] David Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe*, 1: *Religion, culture and commerce* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 205–65. See also D. Hancock, *Citizens of the world: London merchants and the integration of the British Atlantic community, 1735–1785* (Cambridge, 1995); and idem, 'Combining success and failure: Scottish networks in the Atlantic wine trade', in Dickson, Parmentier, and Ohlmeyer, eds., *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks*.

[49] Louis M. Cullen, 'Merchant communities, the navigation acts and the Irish and Scottish responses', in Louis M. Cullen and T. C. Smout, eds., *Comparative aspects of Scottish and Irish social history* (Edinburgh, 1977), pp. 165–76; and Patrick Fitzgerald, '"Like crickets to the crevice of a brew-house": poor Irish migrants in England, 1560–1640', in Patrick O'Sullivan, ed., *Patterns of migration* (Leicester, 1992), pp. 13–35. For the eighteenth century see Craig Bailey, 'The Nesbitts of London and their networks', Louis M. Cullen, 'The two Fitzgeralds of London, 1718–1759', and Thomas M. Truxes, 'London's Irish merchant community and the North Atlantic trading world c. 1750', all in Dickson, Parmentier, and Ohlmeyer, eds., *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks*.

[50] Mackillop and Murdoch, eds., *Military governors*, especially the introduction.

[51] Andrew Mackillop, 'Review of the *OHBE*', *Scottish Historical Review*, 80 (2001), pp. 273–7.

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