

university – would be very hard to understand. Where do those Protestant Thomists who were optimistic about the human ability to establish worthwhile political relationships without God's direct intervention, like Richard Hooker, fit into Hutchinson's scheme?

Hutchinson never defines what he means by either grace or conscience. Many Protestant theologians distinguished between *gratia gratum faciens*, the saving grace which sanctified the Elect, and *gratia gratis data*, the grace by which a minister, superior, or inferior magistrate exercised God-given power, despite themselves lacking saving grace. The Emperor Nero might thus possess the type of grace that allowed him to govern (as St Paul indicated) but not the type of grace that would grant eternal life. The problem with Hutchinson's undifferentiated approach is that it suggests that all English Protestants were Anabaptists like John of Leiden or Fifth Monarchists like Thomas Harrison. These extremists were understood by contemporaries to ground *dominium* in grace; that is, to hold that those in a state of sin rather than grace could not own property or exercise political power. Since it was impossible to tell who was in a state of grace or sin, those who grounded *dominium* in grace would have been unable to tell whether magistrates' decisions were lawful, which would have made human government impossible. The English Protestants charged by Elizabeth I with governing Ireland in the later sixteenth century were surely quite different to Anabaptists and Fifth Monarchists.

Hutchinson's arguments on the state are closely wedded to Quentin Skinner's model and conclusions. Hutchinson offers his readers no historiographical treatment of 'the state' before Skinner, and no treatment of alternatives to or criticisms of Skinner's model (no Otto von Guericke, no F. W. Maitland, no Michael Oakeshott). And Skinner's arguments, as developed by Hutchinson, present the reader with a chronological puzzle: the doubly-impersonal state, apparently invented in Ireland in the 1570s, in fact played a role in seventeenth-century British and Irish political discourse profoundly subordinate to other concepts like king, people, and corporation.

This is a vigorously argued book that tackles questions of the highest importance. Hutchinson's current arguments on political Protestantism and the state are not wholly convincing: he will hopefully develop them further in the future. By contrast, his work on the Old English and limited monarchy greatly enriches our knowledge of early modern Irish political discourse.

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ARCHBISHOP MILER MAGRATH, 1522–1622: THE ENIGMA OF CASHEL. By Patrick J. Ryan. Pp xvi, 304. Roscrea: Lisheen Publications. 2014. €40.

Patrick J. Ryan is to be congratulated for writing a very fine and very substantial book about an important figure in Elizabethan Ireland, while Lisheen Publications have done a splendid high quality production. Archbishop Miler Magrath has already been the subject of two biographies, neither of them flattering; by Most Rev. Robert Wyse Jackson, a former dean of Cashel and retired bishop of Limerick, Ardfernt and Aghadoc, which was subtitled 'the scoundrel of Cashel', and by Fr Odhrán Ó Duáin, a Franciscan priest for whom Magrath was the 'rógaire easpaig'. Fr Ryan's subtitle, 'the enigma of Cashel', reflects his less judgmental attitude towards his subject.

Miler was christened Maol Muire Mag Craith. He was descended from a long line of coarbs of Termon Dabeg in western Ulster. Coarbs were tenants on episcopal lands, but they played a wider role in the Church across most of the north of Ireland.

Ryan highlights Magrath's 'great proficiency in classical Latin' and the 'quality and fluency of his English' (pp 13, 15), though we have no idea whether he acquired his linguistic skills in a local *studia particularia* in Ulster or in a Franciscan school, for Magrath became a Conventual Franciscan in 1540. He was clearly a very able young friar as he worked for his order in Spain and in the Spanish Netherlands and he impressed leading Spanish Jesuits with his commitment to Catholicism and his considerable intelligence; the latter feature attracted favourable comments from English officials subsequently. He had the education, ability and sheer confidence to allow him to command respect wherever he went in Europe.

In 1565 Magrath was appointed as the Catholic bishop of Down and Connor. However, he subsequently conformed to the Elizabethan Church. Ryan handles the bishop's conversion with sensitivity, highlighting the fact that Magrath was imprisoned for three months and was threatened with torture before he finally converted, and he may have been genuinely convinced that Protestantism was closer to the truth than what he had been taught. In view of his subsequent life, though, one wonders whether Magrath was simply left doubting the possibility of knowing what was true.

After his conversion Magrath was promoted to Clogher by the queen, but failed to assert authority there in the face of local hostility. In 1571 he was appointed as the queen's archbishop of Cashel instead, a position he held for the next fifty years. There is 'almost a total dearth' of evidence about how the Church actually functioned under Magrath's leadership (p. 65). Ryan suggests that it is 'unlikely' that Protestantism was making any headway in the dioceses since the clergy 'had neither the *Book of Common Prayer* nor, it seems, any form of catechism' (p. 62). He mentions, but does not highlight the significance of the fact that, 'No candidates for the Established Church were forthcoming from the families that traditionally supplied clergy to both dioceses' (p. 64). The people of the local towns, including the episcopal towns of Cashel and Fethard, refused to attend Protestant services or receive communion. Indeed, the bishops and priests who returned from Catholic colleges on mainland Europe found very receptive audiences for their Counter-Reformation ministry in Magrath's dioceses. Chapter eight shows that Magrath was on friendly terms with a number of the Counter-Reformation clergy operating in his dioceses, but the relationship became 'more erratic and ambiguous' because the archbishop did not hesitate to betray some of them to the English to save his job. He used the fact that he arrested three bishops and five priests as a 'trump card' whenever he was challenged for a lack of zeal (p. 89).

There is good reason to question Magrath's religious commitment to Protestantism. His wife and nine children were all Catholics, and he secured a papal dispensation to have them recognised as legitimate in the eyes of the Catholic Church. He employed a 'notorious Papist' to educate his children (p. 107), though he also sent his eldest son to Westminster College, and two other sons to Oxford. It is certain that he died a Catholic, but waited until he was 100 years old before being reconciled to Rome.

As a prelate of the Church of Ireland his greed was legendary, and he used his position in the Church to get his hands on cash to establish his children as landowners across Ormond, and back home in Termon Magrath. Ryan examines the visitations of the Church in Magrath's dioceses in the early seventeenth century which, in addition to Cashel and Emly, included Waterford and Lismore, and later the dioceses of Killala and Achonry, to reveal the pitiful state to which they were reduced under his care.

Nonetheless, as this book makes very clear, Magrath was tolerated because of his usefulness as one of the crown's most valuable and valued sources of intelligence on Ireland, and especially Ulster, towards the end of the sixteenth century. Magrath may not have become a sincere Protestant but he was a sincere anglophile. He genuinely believed that Ireland's future was tied to England's. The book concludes with a subtle consideration of Magrath's epitaph in Cashel's cathedral which highlights his fifty years of service to England, but hints at regret at not being a better pastor. All in all, this is an interesting book about a very interesting character who played no small part in religion and politics in Elizabethan Ireland. My one

criticism is that more might have been done to consider Magrath's significance in the light of the most recent scholarship.

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THE IRISH IN THE SPANISH ARMIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By Eduardo de Mesa. Pp 260. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press. 2014. £75.

This work sits well within the Irish Historical Monographs series as it takes a fresh look at an issue which has received attention in the past. The subject of Irish troops in Spanish service is not virgin territory, as Brendan Jennings, *Wild Geese in Spanish Flanders, 1582–1700* (Dublin, 1964), Gráinne Henry in *The Irish military community in Spanish Flanders, 1586–1621* (Dublin, 1992) and Robert A. Stradling, *The Spanish monarchy and Irish mercenaries: the Wild Geese in Spain, 1618–68* (Dublin, 1994) covered similar ground. Dr de Mesa, however, delves deeper into the Spanish archive material than his predecessors. The chapters progress logically, beginning with the origins and composition of the Irish *tercios*, followed by measures used to recruit and transport soldiers out of Ireland. The campaigns of the Irish in Flanders are drawn upon to counter the prevailing views of Spanish military backwardness, whereas the exceptional efforts made by the Spanish to raise new Irish forces are explored with the arrival of two Irish *tercios* in Spain. Chapters five to seven detail the Irish campaigns in Navarre, Catalonia and Portugal, where they regularly saw action. Lacking reinforcements of fresh Irish recruits, their numbers declined to the point where they were eventually merged into a Spanish *tercio*.

The author is clear from the start that he has several key goals. He engages with the preoccupation of military revolution theorists with the Dutch and French development of military technology and tactics, which has ignored the role of the Spanish military: indeed, even characterising them as redundant or backwards in comparison to the new trends in Europe. The author explores the importance of the Irish as elite forces within the Spanish army, their favoured position in the Spanish court and the extreme efforts made by those in the Spanish court to maintain and increase the numbers of Irish troops at their disposal. The book is at its strongest when exploring the circuitous and regular, though mainly futile, efforts to raise new levies of troops from Ireland. The Spanish crown took exceptional measures and invested substantial sums of money in these attempts, for relatively meagre returns. Spanish frustration was palpable as successive projects got thwarted by administrative red-tape, both in Spain and abroad, political interference, exaggeration by Irish recruiters or just bad luck. This is where de Mesa's thorough work in the Spanish archives pays most dividends, as the relationships between the crown, the Irish officers and foreign governments are examined in detail.

De Mesa is less assured dealing with Irish forces in Ireland. He makes presumptions on the capacity for Irish officers to recruit forces by exploiting of bonds of kinship. While there are clearly familial ties in the officer class, there is little to suggest that the common soldiers enrolled along clan lines. Moreover, in chapter four, the author refers to the inability of Irish officers to recruit from traditionally loyal territories, in accordance with Pádraig Lenihan's findings in *Confederate Catholics at war 1641–49* (Cork, 2001), p. 31. The book raises issues which are worthy of deeper inquiry. For instance, the author baulks at some of the less-than-honourable activities of the Irish troops. Throughout there are frequent mentions of fractious relations with civilians and civil authorities but little detail is provided regarding the activities of the Irish or the attitudes of their commanding officers. De Mesa recounts the storming of