

Calhoun highlights all the accommodations Ulster migrants made as they dealt with the multi-cultural and politically plural America.

While Calhoun's effort is in some way aimed at contemporary political efforts to elevate the Scotch-Irish as archetypal conservative heroes, he may have discovered something that united the various elements of the group. Perhaps it was a stubborn individualism, supported undoubtedly by family, community and church, which encouraged movement in search of 'independence'. It also promoted dissent within churches, democracy in church governance and an educational system that encouraged individual thought, all of which helped define these people as different from their neighbours in Ireland and America. This cultural baggage, however, was not sufficient to create an ethnic group as distinctive as the ones in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, but was enough to make them distinct in colonial America and in the early republic. The essays in this fine collection indicate this reality, and it was this sustaining individualism that made it easier for them to make choices about which elements of their background to keep and which to jettison. Only in response to a more robust ethnic politics growing in the late nineteenth-century, did their descendants try to invent a unitary Scotch-Irish identity. Ultimately, however, this effort, and those of Webb and others to encourage a renaissance of the Scotch-Irish as a twenty-first century ethnic group, failed, perhaps highlighting the persistence of individualism and moderation in those descended from Ulster Presbyterian immigrants.

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IRELAND AND EMPIRE, 1692–1770. By C. I. McGrath. Pp xiv, 310. London: Pickering and Chatto. 2012. £60 hardback.

In 1973, F. G. James published *Ireland in the empire, 1688–1773*. Since then research has multiplied and perspectives have altered, but administrative, constitutional and financial history have been revived. Symptomatic of the renewed interest is Ivar McGrath's monograph, covering much the same span as James's study. Dr McGrath's principal aim is to examine how far Ireland fitted into and contributed to the evolution (and success) of the fiscal-military state of the Hanoverians. To these ends, he analyses in unprecedented detail public finance, with the creation of an Irish national debt, and the military establishment stationed in and paid by Ireland. These are not topics for the faint-hearted. Indeed their abstruseness partly explains why previous historians have – with a few notable exceptions – shunned them.

The steady increase in the numbers of soldiers quartered in and supported by Ireland is traced. The notional maximum of 12,000 had been exceeded long before formal approval for augmentation was given in 1770. Similarly, prohibitions of men from Ireland serving there were regularly breached. As others have stressed, attitudes within Ireland to the large military presence were ambivalent, even contradictory. Proprietors on whose ground barracks were built; shopkeepers and producers whose goods were bought; provincials whose humdrum lives were enlivened; those who adopted the trade of arms: all had reason to be grateful. On occasion, though, officers asserted political loyalties at variance with their hosts'; discipline could break down; troops were required to act against local malefactors and so divided communities. Dr McGrath is keen to rehabilitate the forces, contending that they behaved no worse than their equivalents across Europe, and indeed sometimes rather better.

Dr McGrath provides unprecedented and useful detail about the numbers of officers and men, of barracks and their locations, and of those willing to invest in government funds. In the main, the developments are seen from the official perspective of London or Dublin. The convenience of Ireland in enlarging and defending the expanding British Empire is

reiterated. But because the evidence comes mainly from official reports and statistics, the extent to which the increased apparatus of the state reconciled inhabitants in Ireland to the increasingly intrusive system is asserted rather than demonstrated. More on the identities of the regiments which were recruited or lodged in Ireland and where subsequently they served, together with the comments and recollections of individual soldiers and sailors, might clarify the degree to which the processes created or strengthened a sense of belonging to an empire, rather than simply to Britain or Ireland.

Dr McGrath's contention that Ireland's contribution, in taxes, manpower and quarters, was vital to the rapid expansion of the British empire is put beyond doubt thanks to the figures that he has meticulously assembled. Yet, the apparent ease with which money was extracted, the lengthening list of commodities that were taxed and the seeming acceptance of a constantly shifting population of soldiers are harder to fathom. There were benefits: regular meetings of the Dublin parliament; more jobs both within and outside Ireland for those who cooperated; the guarantee of greater physical and legal security for the Protestant minority. There are hints that the Catholic majority was not altogether cut off from the benefits: despite prohibitions, they too enlisted in the British forces and found employment in local branches of the state's bureaucracy.

The ready compliance with British requirements could be a prime example of the pragmatism that is seen as characterising the propertied in Ireland rather than any ideological enthusiasm for Hanoverian rule from London mediated through Dublin. The retention within Ireland of an increased proportion of the mounting taxes may have reconciled tax-payers to the system. What is presently unclear is whether, as in so many other European states, the burden fell disproportionately on particular sections of the population. Dr McGrath acknowledges that the soldiery on occasion were used to quell disturbances directed against particular levies and were subjected to violence, not always ritualised in nature. The extent to which routine administration and policing in eighteenth-century Ireland were entrusted to the military is currently being investigated.

A final chapter usefully identifies the principal investors in government loans. The case is advanced that the willingness to invest showed not just financial hard-headedness but an enthusiasm for the regime. At present little is known about the investment habits of anyone in eighteenth-century Ireland, so what proportion of spare funds was put into government stock as opposed to the alternatives cannot be guessed. One implication of Dr McGrath's findings is that Protestant dissenters and Catholics chose to put their surplus cash elsewhere, but this difference (and its implications) has scarcely been explored. These unknowns arise inevitably from the nature of the surviving documentation and, to a lesser extent, from the lack of detailed research into the topic.

The illuminating investigation is incorporated into a series on 'empires in perspective', and, as yet, is the only volume relating to Ireland. It is presumably to make the work accessible to non-specialists that Dr McGrath prefaces it with chapters which cover the political, constitutional and religious background. He is obliged to trudge steadfastly though a landscape now familiar to most readers of this journal. However, the lengthy prologue should not be allowed to dull the impact of the important novelties in the later chapters.

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THE OLD LIBRARY, TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN, 1712–2012. Edited by W. E. Vaughan.  
Pp 480, Illus. Dublin: Four Courts Press. 2012. €50

For a commemoration of the tercentenary of the massive 'old' library building at Trinity College, this volume rivals its bulk. Thanks to lavish illustration it is as sumptuous as the library. Forty-nine writers contribute to the miscellany. Understandably they approach the