

ULSTER TO AMERICA: THE SCOTS-IRISH MIGRATION EXPERIENCE, 1680–1830. Edited by Warren F. Hofstra. Pp 263. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2012. \$45 hardback.

This collection of essays challenges the traditional, but still popular, opinion of the Scots-Irish immigrants in the United States. The dust jacket describes this view as ‘monochromatic’ seeing the ‘Scotch-Irish’ purely ‘as hard living, hard fighting, individualistic, elitist, and resistant to authority’. Written in response to works such as James Webb’s *Born fighting* (2004), these essays intend to provide a more nuanced examination of Ulster Presbyterian migration to what became the United States in what one might call the long eighteenth century. The collection certainly does that but as a result still leaves unanswered questions as what to call this immigrant group who Patrick Griffin named the ‘People with no name’ (Griffin, *The people with no name* (2001)).

This problem is reflected in the various titles given them in these essays. Peter Gilmore and Kerby Miller, for example, in their piece on southwestern Pennsylvania, see them as ‘Irish’. Indeed, these settlers from the north of Ireland were looking for the ‘Irish’ freedom denied them but they eventually claimed ‘Scotch Irish respectability’ instead to assimilate into the American mainstream. On the other hand, Michael Montgomery, in an essay on the South Carolina backcountry, finds ‘Scotch-Irish’ still the best for an American context because ‘it has been a simple marker of traditional family affiliation’ with ‘an eighteenth century background in the North of Ireland’ (p. 162). In another, which examines ‘the background and baggage of the Scots-Irish immigrants’ (p. 1), David W. Miller feels comfortable using the terms Ulster Scots, Scots-Irish and Ulster Presbyterian interchangeably. Perhaps this is so because, as Miller states: ‘The cultural baggage that the typical Scots-Irish immigrant brought to America in the five generations or so between 1680 and 1830 was not a precious family heirloom; still less was it loaded with unchanging primordial beliefs and practices’ (p. 20). Instead, ‘whatever identity he or she carried – whether ethnic, political, socioeconomic, or religious – was a work in progress’ (p. 20).

This ‘work in progress’ thesis is reflected in the titles of the essays, all of which begin with the word ‘Searching’. Thus, Marianne Wokeck’s essay examining the early stages of Scots-Irish settlement in Delaware is titled ‘Searching for land’ while Robert MacMaster’s two pieces on Donegal Springs and Carlisle, Pennsylvania, are ‘Searching for order’ and ‘Searching for community’ respectively. These focus on early colonial settlement and are aptly titled because for many early Ulster migrants, mere survival was enough. Later moves to what became the American South, threw up new challenges well described by Warren Hofstra (‘Searching for peace and prosperity’) and by Katherine L. Brown and Kenneth W. Keller’s ‘Searching for status’ and Montgomery’s ‘Searching for security’. All Ulster migrants needed ethnic networks based on kinship, community and church and not just their own ‘innate’ wits to adapt to their new and often dangerous surroundings. The last two essays, the aforementioned piece by Gilmore and Miller and the final one ‘Searching for independence’ by Patrick Griffin, on ‘Revolutionary Kentucky’, highlight the breakdown of these ethnic bonds. Indeed, by the post-Revolutionary era in Kentucky the Scots-Irish were pretty much a myth and their identity had become more ‘definably American and definably white’ (p. 227). An interesting sample of Scots-Irish migrants and the marriage patterns completed by Wokeck for her essay indicates that later migrants were far more likely to marry outside their group than those who had come earlier, reflecting both changing American and Irish realities through the eighteenth century.

The colonial and post-revolutionary backcountry was not culturally homogenous and Ulster migrants always had to adjust to the realities of other peoples around them. That truth allied with the fact that there were many differences within the community along class, denominational and political lines meant that rather than being prickly individualists, the Scots-Irish were much more compromisers than the popular view would have us believe. This book finishes with a fascinating ‘Afterword’ by Robert M. Calhoun, speaking to the ‘Political moderation in the Ulster-to-America diaspora’.

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