

1666, did not insure him from future financial difficulty. It did consolidate his status as a landed gentleman and a prominent member of his local community, which he held to the end of his life.

This book is not limited to providing one man's history; in some ways it supplies a partial biography of multiple characters that inhabited Greatrakes's world. This is no mean feat, and has clearly entailed an enormous amount of leg-work to achieve satisfactory coverage. The bulk of the surviving material relating directly to Greatrakes is held by the British Library; the papers of his extended circle of family, friends, patrons, clients and patients are widely dispersed across the archives of England and Ireland. The correspondence and diaries of the first and second earls of Cork at Chatsworth House, in particular, have repaid the investment they required. The result of all this research is a densely-populated story. The footnotes and two large appendices supply fulsome details about the backgrounds, marriages, intellectual influences and subsequent careers of many men and women who passed, figuratively or literally, through Greatrakes's hands. This gives rise to an effectual prosopography of Greatrakes's supporters which underpins the central argument of the book; he drew together men and women keen to see both personal and national healing, particularly in matters of religion. The cures they claimed to witness were in keeping with loyal, pious yet moderate Protestant sensibilities, and were consonant with attitudes that regretted or reproached severe penalties for non-conformists in the wake of the Restoration.

Greatrakes dispensed 'spiritual physic' to both individuals and the body politic. Contemporary belief in his power should not be regarded as an aside to seventeenth-century history but rather as exemplifying the contingency of life after 1660.

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DANISH TROOPS IN THE WILLIAMITE ARMY IN IRELAND, 1689–91. By Kjeld Hald Galster. Pp 250, illus. Dublin: Four Courts. 2012. €50.

The Williamite War was a truly international affair, sucking in Dutchmen, Frenchmen (on both sides), Germans and Danes, or at any rate, the king of Denmark's army: most of his rank and file were probably Germans. 'Danish' troops made up between one fifth and one quarter of the Williamite army during their eighteen months' (April 1690 to October 1691) campaigning in Ireland. Their story is worth telling as it has not really been told, though Kevin Danaher and J. G. Simms edited the correspondence of their commander, Ferdinand Wilhelm Duke of Württemberg-Neuenstadt for the Irish Manuscripts Commission in 1962 while John Jordan translated and published extracts from a contemporary history by a Danish soldier named 'Claudianus' in the mid-1950s in the *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society and Studies*. Those Danish/German accounts bring the outsider's relative detachment and so the reader is not wearied and distracted by the racial and religious abuse that is so often to be found in English and Irish Protestant narratives.

Kjeld Galster is a retired senior officer in the Danish defence forces and brings both a soldier's and scholar's perspective to the history of the Danish expeditionary force in Ireland. The lengthy contextual preamble (about one third of the whole) on weapons, organisation, battle tactics and strategy is peppered (as are other parts of the book) with Clausewitzian principles like 'offensive action', and 'concentration of effort' (pp 66–70, 146, 161, for instance) that staff colleges preach as distilled and universally applicable nuggets of wisdom. The preamble also helpfully teases out the reasons why Christian V of Denmark and Norway sent an army to Ireland. Christian had to burden his little state of about 1.7 million souls with a grossly swollen army in order to frighten off the Swedish

bully on the Baltic block. Hiring out part of his army to William III during a lull in Baltic hostilities eased this fiscal burden a little. Moreover, it helped cement an existing family connection to William: Christian's brother George was married to Anne, William's sister-in-law. This would make, if not allies, then friends of the Dutch and English. The Danes built on the relationship forged by Irish service to supply troops to the allies in the War of the Grand Alliance and subsequent conflicts. Indeed, Württemberg would become one of William's most trusted senior officers in the Spanish Netherlands theatre of war.

Galster notes that after a year of service in Ireland the Danish contingent in April 1691 had shed just over 1,821 troops. Some of those had been lost to privateers during the stormy North Sea crossing but additional recruits were picked up from Germans who deserted the French colours after the Boyne. With these particular losses and gains probably cancelling each other out, the overall wastage amounted to a quarter in one year. This seems shocking but was not bad, at least by the undemanding standards of English expeditionary forces as evidenced by the descent on the Ile-de Ré in 1627 and the English army disembarkation at Belfast Lough in late (too late, as it happened) summer 1689. That army lost double the proportion of men lost by the Danish contingent in half the time, without firing many shots in anger.

How well does Galster convey if the Danish sacrifice was worthwhile? Siege was every bit as important as battle in Baroque warfare and Galster's treatment of the sieges involving the Danes is comparatively cursory. Describing the attack on the breach in the walls at the south-east corner of Limerick's Irishtown in August 1690 he notes, correctly, that an ad hoc party of grenadiers 'spearheaded' (p. 146) the attack with six battalions in line behind them, and two more in reserve in a second line. A linear formation would be implausible if the object was to storm through the breach. Galster asserts that orders were given to dig-in just outside the walls but that the commander of the Danish Funen or Green battalion led them on contrary to these orders because his position outside was unsustainable. This contradicts Württemberg's own report (p.147) that the Funen battalion pursued the Irish through the breach and Jacobite eyewitnesses who state that the green coats were then first to clamber over the breach right after the grenadier storm troops. Württemberg's report as cited by Galster admitted that the Danes suffered losses of 432 officers and men (we know from other sources that all but thirty of these dead and wounded belonged to the Funen regiment, which may have been broken afterwards). This episode looms so large in the history of the expedition that the questions, evasions and contradictions in contemporary accounts should have been pursued more doggedly. Moreover, the map used to illustrate the 1690 siege of Limerick comes from a contemporary Amsterdam publication but is actually a not especially accurate depiction of Limerick (it can also be found in *Pacata Hibernia*) as it was one hundred years before. Indeed, publishers and artists borrowed far more freely than this. Tangena's depiction of Athlone in *Het Yerse Athlone stormenderhandt ingenomen* is lifted almost completely from Romeyn de Hooghe's *Belegering van Londonderry, 1689*. The map Galster uses to illustrate the 1691 siege of Limerick confuses rather than illuminates because it is taken from Story's *Continuation* which the reverend included to illustrate the 1690 siege.

On the other hand, Galster's treatment of strategy, logistics, campaign manoeuvres, battle and the little war of rapparee raids, ambushes, preys and burnings that enlivened the winter of 1690–91 is very solid and shows a thorough understanding of the constraints and possibilities of late seventeenth century warfare. He is linguistically skilled (by my count, in English, French, Danish and Latin) and up to date with the literature. His judgement is sound, and never skewed by patriotic pride. If anything, he understates the contribution of the Danes at, for instance, Aughrim. The Danish foot soldiers were fought to a standstill and spent much of the day cowering behind *chevaux-de-frises* but late on that summer evening the Danish cavalry on the left or southern wing pursued the runaways unrelentingly, so long as fading daylight allowed, and must have accounted for much of 'Sunday's slaughter' [*coscartha an Dómhnaigh*]. The author is also to be commended for using a hitherto neglected source, Claudianus's *Mavor Irlandicus*. The work is written in Latin and the

author suggests a clerical affiliation so authorities, myself included, have assumed he was a chaplain but in fact, as Galster shows, he was a common soldier and an on-off clerical student like that other Williamite ranker, the Swiss De Morsier. It is highly unusual to gain a worm's eye view of pre-modern warfare so Claudianus's work is to be cherished and the news that Galster proposes to produce an edited volume is especially welcome.

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PATHFINDERS TO THE PAST: THE ANTIQUARIAN ROAD TO IRISH HISTORICAL WRITING, 1640–1960. Edited by Próinséas Ní Chatháin, Siobhán FitzPatrick and Howard Clarke. Pp v, 183, illus. Dublin, Four Courts Press. 2012. €45.

*Pathfinders to the past* is a collection of papers that were presented at a series of seminars held to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland (R.S.A.I.). Beginning with Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbisigh in the seventeenth century and ending with an exploration of the work of J. J. Tierney in the twentieth century, the book, over the course of fourteen chapters, sets out to 'reflect the range of themes that engaged antiquarians over the centuries' (p. xvi). Particular attention is paid to the role of the R.S.A.I.

Despite the disjointed nature of the papers, the book manages to provide an interesting exploration of the role of antiquarians in preserving not only the monuments and artefacts of the past but also the historical record. In the seventeenth century Mac Fhirbisigh, for example, copied, and thereby preserved, eighth-century legal texts (p. 7). More formal antiquarian efforts in the eighteenth century are explored in a consideration of Walter Harris and the role of the Physico-Historical Society in the 1740s. The work of grand tourists is also discussed with an interesting, if slightly meandering, paper on Doctor Richard Pococke – 'the dullest man ever to have travelled' (p. 30).

Despite providing mere glimpses of the impact of the post-Darwinian revolution on the study of the humanities, *Pathfinders* offers a vivid discussion of the role of antiquarians in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century offers, perhaps, the richest vein for discussing the role of the antiquarian in preserving and presenting the past. Here, a collection of polymaths and gifted amateurs pioneered innovative approaches to the study and preservation of the past. The pioneering work of George Petrie in the field of archaeology is discussed, as is the brief sojourn in Ireland of A. H. Lane Fox Pitt-Rivers, a pivotal figure in the development of the archaeological method. A coherent and interesting discussion of the part played by learned, literary and scientific societies in Victorian Ireland emerges during the discussion of the career of Robert MacAdam. MacAdam was a member of the Belfast Literary Society as well as the Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society. He arranged for an exhibition of Irish antiquities at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Belfast in 1852 (p. 72). MacAdam was also part of that brief flowering of Protestant interest in Gaelic revivalism that arose during the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Most of the men considered here have, in some way, contributed to the preservation of the Irish past. Philip Doyne Vigors, a former soldier, antiquarian and member of the R.S.A.I. campaigned to improve the state of Irish graveyards, which stood ravished by neglect, vandalism and even robbery. Thomas Johnson Westropp, a prolific journal contributor and member of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, was a pioneer of archaeological data collection.

The nature of this book perhaps precludes a coherent narrative on the development of antiquarianism. Nevertheless, it does offer an interesting and sometimes vibrant