that is new, while the chapter on "Art and Society" is very dense. There is (unintended?) humor in the title of the chapter on "The Scandinavian Intervention" (better known to the world as the Viking invasions). The chapter on "Perception and Reality: Ireland c. 980–1229" is, in fact, a study of kingship as reflected in the native Irish literary sources of the period. That on "Conquest and Conquerors" provides an amusing contrast between the "fellowship of arms" exercised by the chivalric conquerors and the savagery of their native opponents: "So it transpired that when in May 1170 the English won their famous victory at Dún Domnaill (Baginbun, Co. Wexford), they eschewed their own military customs and slaughtered their captives" (162). This kind of special pleading is reminiscent of the bad old days of John Horace Round and his Irish disciple, Goddard Henry Orpen. Even worse, however, is the vista offered in the chapter on "Angevin Ireland" of the same benighted conquerors who "found themselves time-travellers to an Iron Age" society (205), one obviously crying out for the civilizing hand of the English (the term Anglo-Norman has been jettisoned). But how to explain "the murder, deposition and self-slaughter that characterises English elite politics in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries?" Their origins, we are told, "might better be traced to the Curragh of Kildare" (219) than to any innate disposition among the civilized elite.

But there are good things in the book: Brendan Smith, "Disaster and Opportunity, 1320–1450"; Katharine Simms, "The Political Recovery of Gaelic Ireland" and "Gaelic Culture and Society"; Peter Crooks, "The Structure of Politics in Theory and Practice, 1210–1541"; and Robin Frame, "Contexts, Divisions and Unities: Perspectives from the Later Middle Ages." The chapter on "Material Culture" tries hard to refute the view of Françoise Henry that "in many ways the Norman invasion mark[ed] in Ireland the end of a world, and certainly the death of original artistic endeavour" (*Irish Art in the Romanesque Period 1020–1170 A.D.* [1970], 25). The absence of a chapter on Anglo-Norman literature in Ireland speaks for itself.

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The Old English in Early Modern Ireland: The Palesmen and the Nine Years' War, 1594–1603. Ruth A. Canning.
Irish Historical Monograph Series 20. Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2019. xii + 228 pp. $120.

The chapters of this book successively explore different aspects of how the Old English of the Pale reacted to the Nine Years' War. The author's interpretation of Old Englishness has Catholicism as an irreducible component and is useful as a working definition. She does not delineate the boundaries of her Pale but in practice focuses

on Counties Kildare, Dublin, Louth, and Meath, together with the marcher outshot of Westmeath. This tight focus on the strategic core of English dominion is a real strength of this study. In chapter 2, Canning implicitly warns that one cannot treat zealots like the Jesuit James Archer as representative because most clergy in the Pale did not preach religious war against the English. I use the word *implicitly* because the author is rather tentative in reminding us that Tyrone's rebellion did not receive universal support from the Irish clerical community (48).

Canning's exploration of how the Old English responded to Tyrone's manifesto against the "enemies of God and of our poor country" (65) in chapters 3 and 4 is as nuanced as that response predicated as it was on "status, religion, family ties, location" (78) and other factors. Those who rallied to Tyrone were likely to be socially marginal younger sons or geographically marginal, like the Daltons of County Westmeath. Canning emphatically concludes that "the Old English of the Pale would never accept O'Neill—or any other man of Gaelic blood—as their ruler" (83, 171). Never say never. Once religious persecution began right after the war, the Palesmen were quick enough in August 1603 to choose Tyrone as their spokesman to petition for religious toleration from James VI/I. In the epilogue, the author reopens the counterfactual question: "would the Old English have been willing to rise up against Ireland's English administration at this time?" (199). One can imagine the Old English joining Tyrone if, for example, the Castle had begun religious persecution earlier.

Chapter 4 evaluates the importance of native contributions to the Crown's war effort. The reported proportion of Irish-born or native regular soldiers rose from at least 20 percent in 1595 to 75–90 percent by 1598, and Canning would seem to think that most regulars were native troops, whether Old English / Palesmen or Gaelic is impossible to say. At any rate, native troops played a decisive role, she argues, probably because the numbers of English soldiers serving in Ireland were so quickly thinned by disease and desertion. Sir John Norreys complained in July 1596 that of the 3,500 recruits sent over "within this year," all but 1,000 "are either dead, run away, or converted into Irish" (102). Norreys's estimate implies colossal wastage, even at a time when annual attrition of one half (as with Swedish troops campaigning in Poland in the late 1620s) was not unknown.

Chapter 5 captures the impact of war. The Pale was Ireland's granary, but by 1597 anecdotal evidence points to depopulated villages, untilled fields, and "an exceeding great famine" (148). Wheat was reportedly for sale at 18–20 shillings a bushel, which, by my back-of-the-envelope calculation, was about three times the highest price in England. This is an important chapter that confirms what other studies of war and society have found—namely, that the civilians had much to fear from "friendly forces" consuming and destroying the agricultural infrastructure of animals, crops, buildings, and, indirectly, the peasants themselves. In the next chapter, the author deftly traces the Palesmen's protests about their exclusion

from office and influence by increasingly hostile government. They insisted that it was "frivolous" to equate "difference in matters of conscience and Religion" (171) with disloyalty. Neither the author, nor anyone else for that matter, has explained how the Old English could be so deluded as to believe, then and later, that the *cuius regio eius religio* principle did not apply to them.

In the epilogue the author, quite rightly, looks beyond the accession of James VI/I in 1603. Indeed, the Jacobite Parliament of 1689 was the ultimate, if belated and short-lived, expression of long-standing Old English aspirations articulated as early as the 1590s. *The Palesmen and the Nine Years' War* opens many fruitful lines of inquiry and makes a significant contribution to our understanding of Irish identity formation in the crucible of war.

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The Spanish Caribbean and the Atlantic World in the Long Sixteenth Century. Ida Altman and David Wheat, eds.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019. xxvi + 302 pp. $40.

This volume offers a complex portrait of the earliest years of Spanish presence in the Caribbean. As editors Ida Altman and David Wheat assert, the field of Atlantic studies tends to overlook the sixteenth century, and their collection provides a welcome intervention. In addition to enriching Spanish colonial history, the book will be useful for scholars of other colonial powers, notably English and French. With a glossary of terms and summaries introducing each thematic part, the well-organized volume accommodates readers less familiar with this history, making it suitable for nonspecialist researchers and students.

Part 1 deals with the relations between indigenous people and Europeans, and relations among different indigenous groups. On multiple occasions, the trope of the Carib underscores the flexible appropriation of "savagery." Lauren MacDonald's examination of intercultural blending in religious practice highlights adaptable forms of Native identity expression in the face of evangelism and conquest. In a study of Native political resistance in Puerto Rico, Cacey Farnsworth demonstrates the role of Amerindian interconnectedness and alliances on both sides of revolt. Among other forms of violence, forced labor defined European oppression of indigenous people. By analyzing legal discourse and slave-raid narratives, Erin Stone describes the Spanish capture and sale of indigenous people (1503–42), an important but little-understood chapter of circum-Caribbean history.

Part 2 explores European populations. Altman's case study of local Cuban official Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa exposes the new dynamics of an emerging society where