

the Irish experience: Raymond Gillespie on sixteenth-century Gaelic Ireland, Salvador Ryan's study of the concept of sin in the verse of the *Book of the O'Connor Don*, and Bernadette Cunningham on the island's Catholic intellectual culture during the period. Moving from Gaeldom to Wales and Cornwall, the regions where P-Celtic, or Brythonic, rather than the Q-version, or Goidelic, was spoken, Alexandra Walsham provides an enlightening chapter on the state of Christianity in early modern Cornwall. Madeleine Gray, Katherine K. Olsen, Lloyd Bowen and David Ceri Jones take us from the pre-Reformation Welsh church, through popular beliefs during the Reformation and the way in which the history of Christianity was commandeered by the Welsh Reformers for evangelistic ends during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the advent and impact of the Evangelical Revival during the eighteenth. In all, a vast amount of information is marshalled in each of these rich chapters, new insights from fresh research are patent throughout while the standard of scholarly analysis is uniformly high.

A twin dynamic underlies the study. Whereas 1500 saw a considerable, if diminishing, ecclesiastical unity throughout the Celtic world, manifested in an acknowledgment of papal authority, a shared sacramental piety and doctrinal consensus along with similar patterns of parochial ministry and episcopal administration, an increasingly rigid political unity centered on the English state (conjoined after 1707 with the northern kingdom) had facilitated, however unwillingly (or unwittingly), religious diversity of a surprisingly broad kind. Moreover, by 1800 the by-then solidified domains of Irish Catholicism, Ulster Protestantism, Scottish Presbyterianism, Welsh Anglicanism—now wholly ensconced and comfortable in its Welsh cultural milieu—along with an incipient popular Welsh evangelical nonconformity (reinforced massively after 1811 by the secession from the Established Church of the Calvinistic Methodist movement), constituted a remarkable patchwork of ecclesial bodies strikingly at odds with the older concept of *cuius regio, eius religio* and the prevailing European norm. The transformation was neither uniform nor straightforward, nor did it follow identical timelines in the different lands. Linguistically, too, there remained variances, with the balance between the diverse vernaculars and the use of English (or Scots) functioning in different ways, the latter becoming the medium of higher education, chancelleries, and the legal system. Prejudice against the vernacular languages, often (though not invariably) regarded as barbarous by those most enamored of centralized power, was counterbalanced by the high status retained by a sophisticated bardic elite aided by some, at least, within a politically powerful gentry class. Armstrong's point is pivotal: "However important language might be as a marker it was no impassable barrier to the flow of ideas or of expression, theological or musical or visual, no more than changing belief ever fully blocked off access to the riches of past tradition" (195). In other words, continuity and change cohered fruitfully and creatively throughout the Celtic domains.

The great virtue of this volume that it provides a means of understanding how this extraordinary situation came about, of mapping its ambiguities and paradoxes—not least of which was the almost total (though not inevitable) schism within Gaeldom, with Ireland remaining Catholic and Scotland embracing the Reformation—and of reminding Anglo-centric scholarship that the English experience was indeed an *English* experience, and not one which characterized the history of religion in other parts of the realm.

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MURRAY PITTOCK. *Culloden*. Great Battles. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. Pp. 192. \$29.95 (cloth).
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Oxford University Press's Great Battles series is aimed at a general readership as well as enthusiasts looking for detailed analyses of specific military engagements. The volumes situate

battles within their historical contexts, highlight scholarly debates surrounding them, and discuss their immediate impact, cultural legacies, and commemoration. The series seeks to remind buffs and the rest of us of the importance of military history.

The Battle of Culloden on 16 April 1746 was the last large-scale military engagement in the last major fight to restore the exiled house of Stuart to the British throne. The defeat of the Jacobites on that day signaled the consolidation of state power in Britain. That event in turn forwarded both the integration of Scotland into the United Kingdom and the expansion of the British Empire.

In keeping with the remit for volumes in the Great Battles series, Murray Pittock's *Culloden* begins with two broad chapters on Jacobitism and the Rising of 1745 and concludes with three chapters discussing the aftermath of the battle, its historiography, and its commemoration. Chapter 3, on the battle itself, is informative, drawing on a range of sources including recent archaeological finds. Some readers will find the level of detail in that chapter daunting, but Pittock deftly uses his narrative to advance an argument with important political, historiographical, and cultural resonances: the Jacobites, contrary to long-standing myth, formed a conventional army. Despite their savage reputation, at Culloden they relied primarily on firearms, not swords.

Was Culloden a great battle? The Jacobites lost that day and never fully regrouped, but even if they had won at Culloden, it is difficult to imagine a scenario under which they could have achieved their strategic objective and placed a Stuart king on the throne. By the time of the engagement they were cut off from supplies and literally starving. Virtually all historians, including Pittock, agree that the turning point for the Rising in strictly military terms came earlier, when the Jacobites decided to withdraw their troops from England.

Pittock insists that Culloden was nonetheless pivotal because of its cultural impact. He suggests that after the battle the whole Jacobite phenomenon was reinterpreted, and Culloden came to represent the triumph of modernity against a force of backward-looking, traditionalist, primitive Scottish Highlanders. Our whole view of history may have changed as a result, because a particular view of progress took hold in Scotland and influenced the rest of the world through the writers of the Scottish Enlightenment. In contesting this outlook, as he has throughout his career, Pittock is pushing back against a strong, pervasive myth—a quaint, trivializing view of Jacobitism associating it with the Highlands, ancient tradition, and clan loyalty. The Jacobites were led by sophisticated military thinkers, and, according to Pittock, most of them believed that they were fighting for Scotland generally, not for any specifically Gaelic cause.

It is important to dispel the image of Jacobites as primitives, but in making his alternative claim for the general Scottish character of the Rising, Pittock overstates his argument on several levels. He underestimates the ideological importance of dynastic loyalty, acknowledges but downplays the role of sectarian differences, and comes close to denying the linguistic and cultural separation dividing Gaelic-speaking and English-speaking Scots. Pittock is skeptical of those who emphasize the ways in which Jacobitism divided Scots because that analysis has political implications. It serves to lessen our appreciation of the deep-rooted power of Scottish nationalism (146). He writes, “it has always been tendentious to say that more Scots fought against the Jacobites than for them at Culloden” (83). Nonetheless, perhaps unfortunately, even if that statement is tendentious, it is true.

Pittock is far more interested in the Jacobites than in their opponents, and this leads him to slight not only the Scots who fought for George II but the British army in general. Even if the Jacobites believed that they were engaged in a national struggle for Scotland, their opponents had much more complicated views. Some supporters of George II denigrated all Scots, but it was also common for them to emphasize the “Highland” character of the Rising. Others clearly viewed the suppression of the Rising as a police action, holding all the Jacobites criminally responsible, viewing them first and foremost as British subjects and interpreting their actions as treason. These strands of thought long predated the Battle of Culloden, and we need to recognize this if we hope to understand what happened immediately after the fighting ended.

Pittock's analysis of the combat is incisive and important, and should disabuse anyone who still thinks that the Jacobites were primitives. His later chapters on the aftermath of the battle, historiography, and commemoration illuminate the ways in which the battle has been successively reinterpreted, revalued, and infused with politically charged meanings. But Pittock's insistence that the battle itself was the critical turning point, that a new set of prejudices began to take shape that day, weakens his analysis of the intellectual and cultural history of anti-Jacobitism. It also undermines his ability to explain why the victorious army opted to kill rather than capture its defeated adversaries. Unable to advance any cultural explanation for the slaughter of the Jacobite soldiers, Pittock falls back on a nearly trivial analysis: it was a bad decision taken by one evil British commander, the Duke of Cumberland.

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LOIS G. SCHWOERER. *Gun Culture in Early Modern England*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2016. Pp. 272. \$39.50 (cloth).
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Two gun massacres that occurred in the United Kingdom during the late twentieth century prompted Lois Schwoerer to research people's views of guns in early modern England. In an era when mass shootings occur weekly in the United States and gun rights are at the forefront of political debates, her work is especially timely. Schwoerer, professor emerita of history at George Washington University and scholar-in-residence at the Folger Shakespeare Library, avoids the widely studied military gun culture of England and instead focuses on the domestic gun culture that developed between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Hers is the first comprehensive analysis of early modern England's civilian gun culture, but it is more than that. It is the story of a new technology gaining acceptance that begs the reader to ask larger questions about the connections among firearms, legislation, and crime.

The most impressive aspect of Schwoerer's study is the depth and quality of source materials that she examines to prove the pervasiveness of guns in England. Visual sources like the famed Agas Map of the early 1560s are a favorite for scholars of Elizabethan London, but no one to my knowledge has cited it as a basis for the popularity of guns. Schwoerer points out that gun-making is the only industry depicted in multiple places on the map, even though firearms were relatively new to England at the time. The material sources that she surveys range from toy cannons unearthed from the River Thames to the Pasfield Jewel, a seventeenth-century emerald-encrusted toiletry case shaped like a wheel-lock pistol. Firearms mentioned in poems and plays make it clear that they were *en vogue*.

Though today's American gun culture receives more attention from scholars, Schwoerer dis-unites American and English gun culture while proving the relevance of the latter by comparing gun legislation from each place. She deftly traces the controversy surrounding Article VII of the English Bill of Rights (1689), which stipulates that "Protestant Subjects may have Armes for their defence Suitable to their Condition and as allowed by law." Unlike the more liberal (and more controversial) Second Amendment to the United States Constitution that guarantees "the right of the people to keep and bear Arms," England limited gun ownership by religious affiliation and economic standing. Only the wealthiest 2 percent of English subjects could legally possess firearms, leading Schwoerer to cast doubt on the long-held belief that the Second Amendment resulted from Article VII, conferred a century earlier.

Schwoerer also impresses by determining how guns affected women and children, since hunting, soldiering, and gun use in general were male prerogatives in early modern England. She discovered that widows of gunmakers often took over for their deceased