

closely associated with political activity in Norwich (203), perhaps regional or national issues inflamed this local conflict? Further, were there any lasting implications of the conflict for the social life of their parish, or for business at the Golden Dog? Available sources may not have allowed such questions to be answered, but drilling further into the Frogg-Austin feud could have given Williamson a setting in which to test her general theories about how space influenced social relations in seventeenth-century Norwich.

The publisher is to be commended for providing several highly useful illustrations, and the book also includes an impressive thirteen-page bibliography. Given the significant historiographical engagement of Williamson's argument, it was surprising to find that the bibliography did not include important, quite relevant research by historians such as Muriel McClendon (on the efforts of city leaders to maintain the image of Norwich as a well-governed community), Mark Jenner (on the seventeenth-century urban environment), and Jeremy Boulton (on urban social life). That said, the very positive consequences of this book for the historiography of seventeenth-century Norwich society and culture are clear, and they are very likely to be long-lasting.

Rhys Morgan. *The Welsh and the Shaping of Early Modern Ireland*. Woodbridge and Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2014. 242 pp. £75.00. Review by CHRIS R. LANGLEY, NEWMAN UNIVERSITY, BIRMINGHAM, UK.

Rhys Morgan's work seeks to throw a spanner into the works of Anglo-Irish historiography. Based upon his doctoral thesis at Cardiff University, Morgan evaluates the human interactions between Ireland and its near neighbour Wales across the early modern period. The author addresses the use of Welsh military personnel in Ireland and the manner in which they acted as a foothold for other Welsh settlers to arrive in later waves of migration. Using muster rolls and documents in Ireland and Wales that survive from the plantation schemes, Morgan combines prosopographical and social historical approaches to underline how a Welsh presence continued to exist in Ireland, in varying numbers, across the period.

To appreciate some of the wider significance of Morgan's work, one must see it in relation to the field of New British History—an approach to understanding the interconnectedness of the territories that make up the United Kingdom and Ireland advocated, above all, by John Pocock in the 1970s. Morgan approves of such an approach but has two particular gripes with its application. Firstly, the position of the Welsh and Wales within New British History remains largely neglected by historians of the early modern period and, secondly, that proponents of the New British approach have privileged the political narrative at the expense of other historical approaches (2-5). Morgan seeks to redress this imbalance by writing about the people involved in the political meta-narrative.

The book is divided into two clear parts. The first follows a chronological trajectory, charting the size and influence of the Welsh population across Ireland. The second, less extensive, section makes use of a number of case studies from across the period to show how these communities worked in practice. In addition to these two sections, the author has included four appendices that outline some of the methodology used in identifying the Welsh presence in Ireland. Within the first section of the book, each chapter opens with an introduction that outlines the methodology used and the structure of each chapter. The author is also at pains to stress the importance of the work at these key junctures. This becomes a little tiresome and is a legacy of the doctoral thesis on which the book is based. This does mean, however, that each chapter can be read as a standalone text which will aid the book's adoption for undergraduate teaching.

The Welsh presence that Morgan identifies in Ireland adds another layer of complexity to early-modern Irish society. The lacuna in our understanding of Welsh migration to Ireland is puzzling when one considers the proximity of the West Wales coast to the eastern seaboard of Ireland and that historians have spent significant amounts of time identifying Scottish connections with early-modern Ireland in places like Ulster. The prosopographical analysis in part one identifies the Welsh proportion of the Irish population across the period with numbers ranging from two-and-a-half to over fifteen per cent of the population. Morgan opens with a systematic analysis of the number of English and Welsh men levied for service in Ireland between 1558

and 1640, revealing the impressive numbers of Welsh men who entered into service (19-23).

Morgan's analysis of migration to Ireland is particularly revealing for the importance of military connections between the two territories. Most studies of settlement in Ireland focus on plantations but the work under review here actually downplays their importance. Welsh involvement in centralised plantation schemes was relatively small but between six and eleven per cent of the planters of Munster and Ulster originated from Wales. This again stands as an important corrective to the usual image of plantations dominated by English and Scottish settlers.

The Welsh presence and composition within the settler community did not remain static. Morgan effectively shows that the dominance of Welsh military figures before 1588 changed as they percolated into administrative positions. Following the end of the Nine Years' War in 1603, the population of demobilised soldiers—many of whom were Welsh—created another moment for the consolidation of the Welsh presence on the island (67-68). These figures provided important sources of patronage for subsequent settlers (40-41). Indeed, Ireland offered a variety of opportunities for those looking for military preferment in Wales (42).

Morgan's analysis shatters any lingering ideas that the migrant communities created a unified "New English" population in Ireland. While one remains cautious over calling this group of settlers "New Welsh" (103) rather than New English due to their anglophone connections, this certainly provides a corrective to presentations of the settlers as entirely English subjects. The settler population was clearly a multifarious grouping with few shared aims and a variety of different backgrounds. To call these settlers "English" fails to do justice to this complexity. The settlers had not cut all ties to their former homelands either and remained connected to Wales. Morgan suggestively states that "settlers remained an integrated part of social, political and economic communities in their region of origin" (129). The second part of the book illustrates how members of the nobility would hold interests in both territories. What we are left with, in these cases, are "truly Cambro-Hibernic figures" who straddled lands either side of the Irish Sea (119).

The connections between settler communities and their places of origin were based on practical considerations that often remain hidden. Morgan manages to find glimpses of these aspects of the migrant experience. The majority of Welsh soldiers who saw action in Ireland were, perhaps unsurprisingly, from the counties near the coast and along the two major postal routes (44). Welsh regiments who saw action in Ireland expected to be commanded by an officer who could speak their language (33-35) leading to a disproportionate number of Welsh leaders in these units. These vignettes provide welcome additional considerations for scholars assessing the motivations for migration. Morgan's findings are revealing but one sometimes yearns for more detail. Due to the nature of the source material, the voices of these "Cambro-Hibernic" actors remain disappointingly quiet. This is perhaps more of a reflection on the surviving source material than Morgan's analysis but there are a few tantalising glimpses of what future research may find. The author's use of the depositions of those who witnessed violence following the 1641 Rebellion is particularly revealing in showing the impact on the Welsh settler community but says little about Welsh identity when faced with the threat of expulsion (100-03).

Military service in Ireland allowed members of the Welsh nobility to prove their value to the English Crown while providing them with an important sense of honour that remained central to Welsh bardic cultures (47). Initially, many of the figures who went to serve in Ireland had previous military experience on the continent (20-24). Morgan does not outline if these militaristic traditions changed during the migration and settlement process but this information does provide an insight into another way that the growing Tudor state contained and then handled different interest groups.

This is a rich work but does it manage to create the "plural history" that previous proponents of New British History failed to achieve (3)? Unfortunately, no. By providing a corrective to narratives that ignored the Welsh presence, this work continues to use New British History as a way to rescue forgotten historical actors from the dominance of Anglocentric history. This is entirely valid—and important—but it serves to shift the problem. Instead of focusing on the political narrative, New British History is now being used as a vehicle to position

other interest groups. This does not serve to show interconnectedness but, rather, neglects to show the connections that New British History originally intended to address. For example, with the notable exception of the excellent analysis of Irish and Welsh connections to Essex's failed revolt of 1601, there is often little reference to how these figures related to the government that ruled both Wales and Ireland: England. Indeed, England remains a *deus ex machina* through much of the narrative. The discussion of a Welsh community in Dublin shows us the degree of Welsh involvement in the day-to-day operations of the city, but how they interacted with *English* stakeholders is problematic. These figures were plugged into English networks in addition to the Welsh and Irish ones that Morgan so deftly illuminates. To appreciate the values of interconnectedness, New British History must not marginalize. Indeed, it was meant to prevent this. Such questions become more pertinent in the light of current discussions in Great Britain and Northern Ireland regarding devolved, perhaps federal, power arrangements.

Morgan's work sets a benchmark for subsequent studies on the settler community in Ireland. He is wholly successful in proving the existence of a comparatively small, but often influential, cadre of Welsh settlers. This is certainly a watershed moment. However, of wider significance is that Morgan's work adds another element in our understanding of how migrant communities operated and how connections to the places of their birth had potent and enduring impacts on their new homes. Indeed, in some cases, the words "settler" or "migrant" may be too strong as many of these individuals continued to operate in the land of their birth while expanding their influence in Ireland. More exploration into how this duality worked in practice and its impact on settler/migrant identity or culture should be the focus of so-called British history going forward. For all of its very specific aims, Morgan's work is undoubtedly an important part in this process.