

chapter by extending her focus outside the traditional domain of the holy household to the marginal spaces occupied by the banished, the vagrant, and the itinerant. Noting how the independence and vulnerability of these individuals encouraged a different and often pragmatic form of interactions, as “porous selves open to new relations and engagements” (171), Barclay likewise probes some of the inherent tensions and limitations of *caritas* as it was embodied in early modern Scotland. This last chapter is among the most fascinating, with its treatment of loneliness and exclusion, providing a useful reminder that charity might begin at home, but it does not stay there.

With *Caritas: Neighbourly Love and the Early Modern Self*, Barclay offers a sensitive and thorough account of social life in eighteenth-century Scotland. She is least persuasive in her repeated gestures linking the particularities of Scotland to the European mainland, as if Scottish society (and its kirk) were an easy synecdoche for early modern Europe. But this study of Scotland’s lower orders is rich enough on its own. Indeed, Barclay’s nuanced treatment of *caritas* as an emotional ethic is a productive lens through which to investigate the lived experience of charitable norms in early modern society. Shuttling between public customs and private experiences, Barclay’s nuanced examination of the interchange between the communal norms of *caritas* and the construction of the self is persuasive and provocative.

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CHARLES BEEM. *Queenship in Early Modern Europe*. Queenship and Power. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019. Pp. 284. \$34.95 (paper).
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The study of queens and practices of queenship has expanded rapidly over the last two decades. Works by scholars such as Clarissa Campbell Orr, Sarah Duncan, Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, and Elena Woodacre demonstrate that queens were able to exert power within patriarchal societies and, via their dynastic networks, could become channels of influence. Charles Beem’s latest monograph—part of the Queenship and Power series edited by Beem and Carole Levin—is a wide-ranging survey of the roles played by queens in the political, religious, and cultural life of early modern Europe and is billed by the publisher as a companion volume to Theresa Earenfight’s *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (2013).

Beem’s book covers the period circa 1500–1800 and is organized into six chapters. In chapter 1, Beem provides an introduction to early modern European queenship. In chapters 2 to 6, he presents comparative case studies centered on a “series of four concentric circles emanating out of Europe’s major kingdoms” (12): chapter 2 concentrates on queenship in Britain, chapter 3 on Franco-Iberian queenship; chapter 4 on the Holy Roman Empire; chapter 5 on the Baltic kingdoms; and chapter 6 on Russian queenship. Beem opens each of these chapters with a profile of a queen Beem argues was “emblematic to that region” (13) before moving on to a broader chronological discussion of queenship within that geographical zone. Beem argues that it is possible to identify a “pan-European template of queenship that possessed some universal characteristics but was subject to regional variations” (3). He applies this template whether the queen in question is a consort, dowager, regent, or queen regnant.

Beem makes clear at the start that his book is a survey rather than a work of original scholarship. Nonetheless, this is an ambitious volume, written in a lively and accessible manner, and Beem is to be commended for the way in which he deftly weaves together the complex political, religious, and cultural histories of the period with an assessment of the queenly strategies

of the women under investigation. One of the strengths of the book is the way Beem draws the reader's attention to comparisons across time and territories. Historians often remark that Philip II of Spain (1527–1598), husband of Mary I and King Consort of England, was largely an absentee husband, but Beem notes that once Philip was crowned King of Naples (1554) and then Spain (1556), Mary became “the only absentee queen of Spain in the early modern era” with implications in that kingdom (101). Beem also points out the similarities between royal actors in different regions driving home his argument on the pan-European nature of queenship. For instance, in the chapter on the Baltic kingdoms, where he discusses the political strategies of Bona Sforza, Queen Consort of Poland (1494–1557), he compares her approach with the way Catherine of Aragon operated (160). Beem also pays due attention to the importance of material culture to the practice of queenship, from clothing and jewels to the paintings, sculpture, and palaces commissioned by royal women. It is therefore disappointing to find that Beem includes only one image in the entire book—a small black-and-white image of a painting on page 157—and there are no illustrations of maps or tables and timelines to guide novices.

The emphasis Beem places on religion accords with the work of scholars such as Michael Schaich, who argues that religion remained a “vibrant force” in the courts of the eighteenth century and contends that the devotion to “conspicuous religiosity” expected of the queen consort in the early modern period continued (*Monarchy and Religion: The Transformation of Royal Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe* [2007], 4, 24). But the issue of religion was by no means straightforward, and from the “Reformation onwards marriage alliances had to be made within the boundaries of one of the three confessional blocs: Catholic, Lutheran or Reformed” (Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, “Afterword: Queens Consort, Dynasty and Cultural Transfer,” in *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics, c. 1500–1800*, ed. Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly and Adam Morton [2017], 231–49, at 233). Most monarchs kept within confessional boundaries, but England was unusual in that throughout the seventeenth century the Protestant Stuart kings married Catholic brides. Beem dedicates a section of chapter 2 to the “Catholic queens of seventeenth-century Britain,” opening with an assessment of Anne of Denmark, Queen Consort of James VI and I. Anne was Lutheran when, in November 1589, she formally married the Protestant King James VI of Scotland, and Beem discusses her conversion to Catholicism. While Beem acknowledges that Anne kept her “conversion and religious observances quiet,” he maintains (without referencing any historical evidence) that “the Scottish Kirk, the Anglican hierarchy, and the English puritans all took exception to the religiosity of a Catholic queen” (59), thus implying that Anne’s Catholicism was, in effect, general knowledge among the ecclesiastical establishment in England and Scotland and that it caused difficulties. There are problems with Beem’s analysis of Anne’s religiosity: he does not reflect on the fact Anne skillfully hid her Catholicism and maintained an outward show of Protestantism, and he fails to engage with the ongoing debate among scholars over Anne’s faith. Anne was not openly Catholic, and in a recent article Jemma Field convincingly argues that the continuing “ambiguity surrounding the dates of [Anna’s] conversion and the inconclusive nature of the evidence concerning [her] Catholicism are proof of her success in keeping knowledge of her genuine beliefs contained” (“Anna of Denmark and the Politics of Religious Identity in Jacobean Scotland and England, c. 1592–1619,” *Northern Studies*, no. 50 [2019]: 87–113, at 108). It seems that Anne continued to attend Protestant services with James after her conversion (Field, 99), and whatever was taking place in her private apartments, the precise nature of her faith remained secret to everyone outside her inner circle and close confidants (see Field 95n30 for a list of those who knew or suspected). In terms of her religious practices, Anne was not like Henrietta Maria or the other Catholic Stuart consorts, who maintained a Catholic chapel and would not attend Protestant services.

At the very least, Beem might have noted that Anne’s religiosity was not clear-cut; preferably citing the ongoing debate over her faith in his footnotes (Field’s article appeared too late to be included, but other recent works on this subject are available). Unfortunately, the

reductive coverage of Anne's religious practices weakens Beem's argument in this part of the book. Nevertheless, this is still a valuable survey of early modern European queens and their queenship and a useful introductory text for undergraduate and postgraduate students with an interest in the subject.

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MARTYN BENNETT, RAY GILLESPIE, and R. SCOTT SPURLOCK, eds. *Cromwell in Ireland: New Perspectives*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021. Pp. 312. \$130.00 (cloth).
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A new book on Oliver Cromwell will generate little surprise, but one providing new perspectives on his time in Ireland is surely welcome. Cromwell's shadow casts considerable shade over Ireland, making it all the more remarkable that he spent barely nine months of his life in Ireland. In *Cromwell in Ireland: New Perspectives*, edited by Martyn Bennett, Ray Gillespie, and R. Scott Spurlock, Cromwell's importance, significance, and reputation in Ireland are all subjected to important new analysis here, ensuring that multiple contributions will be of interest to anyone eager to learn more about Cromwell's time in Ireland.

Bennet, Gillespie, and Spurlock organized the collection into four neatly coherent sections: "Cromwell at War," "Commanders in Ireland," "The 'Settlement' of Ireland," and "Cromwell's Legacy." The initial section does not shy away from the massacres and brutality so often associated with the General Cromwell. Pádraig Lenihan offers detailed evidence and helpful tables on the siege massacres perpetrated in both England and Ireland during the civil wars, with a particular eye on Drogheda. While acknowledging that the massacre at Drogheda was not uncommon, he cannot avoid the conclusion that the numbers involved were far greater than were those of other siege massacres he examines. Lenihan places Drogheda in context but does not minimize the extent of the brutality. The same cannot be said for Tom Reilly's continuing defense of Cromwell. Reilly's advocacy of "this fascinating historical character" (52) is matched by his hostility to experts and historians who, he feels, have blackened Cromwell's name. The rejection of any ill-conduct at Drogheda is not new, relying on the rejection of many (Catholic) accounts and suspicions of anyone editing contemporary accounts too long after they were written. Much of the case hangs on the phrase "and many inhabitants" that appears in some if not all reports of the siege. If they were added to Cromwell's letters, then the case for an atrocity directed at noncombatants falls by the wayside. Reilly is admirable in the space he gives to the harsh words of his critics and thorough in his efforts to discredit accounts of wanton slaughter, but a later essay in this same volume offers considerable contemporary evidence that "many inhabitants" were victims of the massacre. Nick Poyntz provides a fascinating account of some of the *newsbooks* accounts of the events at Drogheda. Several include the phrase "many inhabitants"—and this at a time when the Council in London had well-established censorship polices in place. Indeed, one account from Hugh Peter had the words "none spared" (272) removed before publication. In the end, Reilly's defense raises doubts about several witnesses, yet the preponderance of the evidence still supports the brutality inflicted at Drogheda.

There are several revealing chapters on the generalship and commanders who joined Cromwell in Ireland. Alan Marshall's wonderful account of the siege of Clonmel reveals both the abilities of Hugh Duff O'Neill when defending the city and the impatience and inexperience of Cromwell with siege warfare. The man of action chafed at any delays, and at Clonmel his