Sheilagh Ogilvie’s study is a micro-historical investigation of the upland Black Forest district of Württemberg around Wildberg, a region which she has already examined intensively in *State corporatism and proto-industry* (Cambridge, 1997). There she was concerned to examine the way in which institutions shaped the development of the worsted textile industry; here she turns her attention to the female section of the labour force and the ways in which, in her argument, women suffered persistent and deliberate discrimination in the choice and remuneration of employment, thereby becoming a drag on the region’s potential economic development. Although a micro-study, *A bitter living* is not only at pains to set the Württemberg findings in the context of the by now very substantial historiography on women’s work in Western Europe, but also to take heed of recent writing in the economics of developing societies. In most respects, upland Württemberg was not exceptional: it had a low illegitimacy rate, and broadly conformed to Hajnal’s ‘west European marriage pattern’, but there was a permanent deficit of males, attributable to poor employment opportunities and consequent emigration. Thus whilst there should, in principle, have been enhanced opportunities in the labour market for the women who remained, such opportunities were, however, restricted by institutional hurdles put up by guilds and by communes.

Ogilvie bases her study on the evaluation of the *Kirchenkonventsprotokolle*, which survive for several communes from the middle of the seventeenth century, taking 1800 as her cut-off point. These church court records, which are remarkably forthcoming about the status of women, are subjected to detailed regression analysis, and it is this econometric approach which enables many of the previously impressionistic and qualitative judgements on the role of women in early modern society to be properly tested for the first time. In four chapters, Ogilvie examines in turn the work of daughters, of married women, of widows, and of independent married women. Under all four headings she is able to show that current explanations of the poor status of women are often unsatisfactory: the technological approach, which stresses women’s reproductive function and lack of upper-body strength; the cultural, which attributes to women an innate aversion to the market and its inequalities; and the divergent ‘pessimist’ and ‘optimist’ interpretations of what prospects (proto-) industrialization offered women. It is striking that many of her findings chime with recent work by female historians (Wiesner, Roper, Wunder, Ulbrich), and cast doubt upon that of male historians (Medick, Sabean).

Contrary to the common ‘technological’ view, daughters can be found in agricultural work, in arable as much as pastoral, though their non-domestic labour was less marked than that of married or widowed males. Few daughters engaged, however, in industrial work – excluded by guild and community regulations – even though late first marriage and high rates of female celibacy should have encouraged the acquisition of craft skills.
By contrast, through their husbands’ craft membership, married women were able to participate in work beyond household production, and indeed they also engaged in the land market. But institutional pressures ensured that on widowhood such opportunities dwindled, and there was every incentive to remarry. Contrary to the views put forward by Medick and Sabean, Ogilvie argues that community courts did not treat spouses impartially. Indeed, she almost creates a caricature of the industrious wife supporting her abusive, drunken, idle husband to whom the courts extended leniency.

On the contentious issue of breast-feeding – Württemberg lay in a part of Germany with high infant mortality – Ogilvie argues that if breast-feeding was rare, then that derived not from a cultural imperative but from an economic one: labour demand in an area of deficient males. More generally, production for market was commonplace, but sumptuary laws prevented women from becoming significant consumers and thus contributors to Jan de Vries’s ‘industrious revolution’. Ogilvie reveals widows’ active involvement in the land market and in unguilded crafts (spinning, knitting, lace-making), but after 1600 all land transactions had to be ratified by the community, with women deprived of legal autonomy and required to have a male steward to validate all such transactions. In short, Ogilvie is convincingly dismissive of those who have sought to argue that the social networks necessary to achieve social capital through ‘closure’ stabilized and reinforced local communities; rather, they ‘used their social capital systematically to discriminate against widows’ (p. 266). Even independent unmarried women were disadvantaged on account of ‘occupational crowding’ in the few occupations open to them, since they were rigorously excluded by the craft guilds. Some weavers’ and tailors’ guilds allowed elementary work by females, but kept their wages low.

Ogilvie presents a depressing picture, where the institutional discrimination against women runs as a red thread through all social and occupational relations. It is hard to demur at this verdict. But she is treating a region of fairly poor economic endowment (hence male emigration!). Would the findings have been the same in the lowlands or in areas of viticulture – or, if similar, for similar reasons? The social corporatism of Württemberg, a principality administered through Ämter, is particularly pronounced (surviving well into the nineteenth century), and not necessarily echoed elsewhere. But this is an issue which can only be resolved by further studies deploying the same analytical and methodological rigour. The book is handsomely produced and gratifyingly free of errors, but Ogilvie should not believe that women (or anyone else) made wefts; what they made were warps.

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Until 1859 the liturgical calendar of the Church of England officially enjoined penitential commemoration of the events of January 1649, when Englishmen tried, convicted, and executed their anointed king. The monarch was proven a man, the aura of divinity cut by the executioner’s axe. Yet the very act of regicide sacralized not just kingship, but one particular king; a monarch whose very failure and defeat transformed him into the
standard-bearer of royalist ideology well into the nineteenth century. Andrew Lacey’s *The cult of King Charles the martyr* is the first detailed analysis of the various manifestations of royalist remembrance of the regicide, successfully demonstrating that commemoration was not merely nostalgic mourning for a king murdered, but a deliberate strategy to bolster a ‘Royalist Anglican’ conception of the polity, becoming an arena for political argumentation. The book is thus a valuable addition to Boydell’s ‘Studies in Modern British Religious History’ series, tying together religion and political thinking.

The paradox of the cult of Charles the Martyr is how a king who managed to alienate so much of the political nation could be celebrated so widely. Lacey stresses that there was a genuine popular devotion to Charles: the Anglican clergy provided the vehicle for the public celebration of his virtues, and of the political theology of *iure divino* monarchy, non-resistance, and passive obedience; but this seemed well received by their congregations. The creation of a suffering Charles enduring the same miseries as the Church and nation was, Lacey argues, founded from 1646, in the years of Charles’s imprisonment. The regicide provided the capstone to a martyrology, but the cult took off so quickly because it originated long before the axe fell. The first commemorative sermon was preached on 4 February 1649, the bestselling *Eikon Basilike* (the purported meditations of the imprisoned king) was available by 9 February at the latest. Whilst the first two-thirds of Lacey’s book explicate the ideology of the cult, the later chapters emphasize its longevity, since commemoration of the regicide flourished well into the reign of George III. Whilst the density of citation used to prove this survival can at times seem overwhelming, it is mostly lightened by carefully chosen case studies. Hence Lacey’s account also deals with the implicit tension between those who kept the faith in its original purity, and those who sought to adapt it to changing political events. Especially welcome here is study of the cult as a manifestation of ‘political theology’, whose lifecycle matched that of Anglicanism, and whose opponents recognized its clerical nature, even as they misunderstood and/or misrepresented the principles of obedience on which it rested.

Another important balance is struck in the sources used, preventing a study of the martyr cult from turning into one on the *Eikon*; implicitly symbolized in Lacey’s choice not to use its famous frontispiece as a cover for his own book. Charles’s own work (or was it? – the debate over its authorship is only briefly touched on) provided royalism with an officially sanctioned text, which set off a European philosophical debate. Miracles and, briefly, architectural memorials (churches, the plans of the 1670s for a grand mausoleum) are discussed; although perhaps more might be said about the post-1720 history of the *Eikon*, and its citation in wider royalist polemic. But Lacey has chosen, rightly, to emphasize (especially for the eighteenth century) the 30 January sermons which explicated the cult from its inception to, in some cases, the present day. Indeed, the bibliography supplies a useful tool simply by listing these texts, which could fruitfully be used by historians of sermon culture as well as of royalism.

As a certain amount of background knowledge of the seventeenth century is assumed, this book speaks more to the research student and teacher than to an undergraduate, although it would offer the latter a good example of historical interest in cultural memory. Indeed, for such a purpose it is especially useful, for Lacey forthrightly insists on the need to look at royalism as well as radicalism – an important corrective to the general tendency towards remembering whigs, republicans, and non-conformists; royalism too had its historical ethos. Charles’s martyr status, and hence his cult, rested on a history which vindicated him from blame for the civil wars, and which attempted to prevent further debate
about monarchical powers. As this royalist historiography was increasingly questioned over time, commemorations on 30 January offered an annual chance to challenge royalist politics and political thinking. Whilst Lacey notes the reiteration of ideas and values, he describes a changing cult reflecting political and religious developments, partly because it helped to define the identity of royalists in ‘mental exile’ in the 1650s who became a powerful Restoration establishment and partly also because it was exploited after 1688 by Williamite and Hanoverian tories and whigs who used it to defend the post-Revolution ‘powers that be’.

Lacey’s book should be read by anyone interested in royalist culture and its evolution over time, both for its own research and for the hints it gives as to the richness of the as yet underexplored terrain of royalism. For his account reveals the diversity of cultural manifestations of royalist remembrance, from the secret worship of 1650s Anglicans to the Tunbridge Wells church of Charles the Martyr; from the sermons of Sacheverell to Sarah Robinson’s embroidered tribute of 1759 (fig. 5), poignantly ‘Dedicated to all true Lover’s [sic] of Church and Monarchy.’

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Éamonn Ó Ciardha’s comprehensive reconstruction of popular Jacobite political culture during the period 1685–1766 is an original contribution to Irish political and cultural historiography, with its analysis of Jacobite culture over la longue durée. Ó Ciardha argues trenchantly that an underemphasis on the Jacobite tradition in the historiography of eighteenth-century Ireland has obscured the primacy of popular Jacobite political culture, especially among the Irish-speaking population, in the eighteenth century. Deploying an impressive range of source material such as state papers, newspapers, sermons, correspondence in foreign archives, and popular Gaelic poetry, Ó Ciardha details how the various episodes in Irish Jacobite politics were influenced and determined by broader dynastic and diplomatic developments in Britain and on the continent. He essentially centres his analysis and proposed model of popular Jacobite culture on three elements: the activity of dispossessed outlaws known as rapparees, military recruitment to the Irish brigades largely maintained by the French monarchy in the wake of the Jacobite defeat at Limerick in 1691 and the popular poetry of poets composing in the Irish language. By their nature, the first two of these elements reveal more of the sociology of Jacobite culture than its ideology. Interestingly, Ó Ciardha himself admits that it is the third element that has primary significance in terms of transmitting an ideological message – Gaelic poetry, for him, was the ‘principal medium through which Irish Catholics could articulate and disseminate their political sentiments with relative impunity’ (p. 44).

The coherence and viability of Irish Jacobite culture was fundamentally based on the notion that the return to the British Isles and the re-establishment of sovereignty by James III, or in turn by Charles Edward Stuart, were both imminent and feasible. As in England and Scotland, the ideology of the Jacobites in Ireland was implicitly predicated on
hereditary right and divine providence. However, notwithstanding a small and occasion-
ally influential Protestant Jacobite interest in Ireland, Irish Jacobitism was also intimately
linked to Roman Catholicism, not least by virtue of James III's exclusive right to nominate
bishops to Irish sees. The alienation of the Irish Catholic elite from the British state in the
wake of the Williamite settlement and the subsequent anti-Catholic legislation known
popularly as the 'Penal laws' and the contemporaneous development of an Irish Catholic
polity in exile on the continent provided a context in which Irish national identity and
political consciousness were refined and reformulated in response to prevailing oppor-
tunities and challenges. Ó Ciardha emphasizes the larger geographical framework of Irish
Catholic political activity and argues that what he terms the Irish diaspora in Europe was
pivotal to Jacobite ambitions for the restoration of the house of Stuart and the demise of
Protestant Ireland. He disentangles often opaque evidence to illustrate how the nature of
the interaction and relationship between domestic Irish Catholics, their exiled aristocratic
elite and the clergy fostered the initial growth and longer-term survival of Irish Jacobite
culture from the 1690s into the mid-eighteenth century. While possibly underestimating
financial imperatives underpinning enlistment in the Irish brigades, Ó Ciardha's use of
recruitment depositions to illustrate popular politicization is striking. A deposition such as
that reporting the covert recruitment activities and visceral anti-English sentiments of
Toby Butler in Waterford city in 1714 casts a vivid light on popular grievances and political
alienation.

If Ó Ciardha reconstructs the outlines of a popular political culture on the basis of
contemporary accounts of rapparee activity, illicit traffic with continental Europe and
recurring rumours of a French invasion with complementary Irish Protestant reactions, his
analysis of poetry in Irish highlights particular interpretative and contextual issues. In an
avowedly polemical introduction, Ó Ciardha argues that Gaelic source material is key to
understanding the ecology of Jacobite popular political culture. In response to recent
sweeping characterizations of contemporary poetry as politically unrealistic, he argues that
Gaelic poets were consciously Jacobite in outlook and conversant with Irish and European
politics. In a society whose socio-cultural fabric was informed simultaneously by oral and
manuscript transmission of its historic and contemporary literatures, it could be argued
that poets played an important role in popular politicization. Drawing in particular on
poetry composed in south-west Munster in the first half of the eighteenth century, Ó
Ciardha describes a popular culture centred on a quasi-messianic cult of the exiled Stuarts
who were portrayed as poised to return to redress the political and religious wrongs
inflicted on their Irish Catholic subjects. For instance, Aindrias Mac Craith, composing in
the buoyant aftermath of the Jacobite victory at Falkirk in 1746, declared that the house of
Stuart would now regain Ireland, restore the Roman church to its rightful position, and
expel the English Protestants. With the Gaelic Irish in possession of Ireland, Charles
Edward would become their king. Similarly, as late as 1754, Seán Ó Cuinneagáin
expressed his hope that the return of the Irish brigades to Ireland under Charles Edward
would finally rout the English Protestants. In spite of what appears to have been a highly
informed awareness of current British and European affairs, largely gleaned from con-
temporary newspapers, Irish poets remained wedded to what was surely an increasingly
fatalistic commitment to the Jacobite chimera in their poetry.

Ó Ciardha has unquestionably established the importance of Gaelic poetry in the
delineation of Jacobite mentalités. However, given that the greater part of such evidence
derives from Munster, it is necessary to caution against a systemic characterization of
Gaelic political sentiment as Jacobite and Catholic in affiliation. The apparent indifference of the eminent Ulster poet Peadar Ó Dóir^nín to Jacobitism and his anti-clericalism suggests a layered texture to contemporary Gaelic culture which remains largely uncharted. Moreover, Gaelic intellectuals operated within a bilingual public sphere. For example, Charles O'Conor, arguably the most influential of eighteenth-century Gaelic intellectuals and author of significant historical works in English, was a prominent member of the Catholic Committee which favoured accommodation with the Hanoverian establishment from the 1760s onwards. The impact of socio-economic and regional variation undoubtedly resulted in Gaelic intellectual diversity. Ó Ciardha’s work is of value in putting the spotlight on one element of the palimpsest of eighteenth-century Irish popular politics. As such, it whets the appetite for further studies on other aspects of this culture.

IRISH RESEARCH COUNCIL FOR THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES


This handsome and well-illustrated volume is a distinguished monument to the monasticism of the ancien régime. As an expanded version of the Birkbeck Lectures in Ecclesiastical History given in 1993 it recaptures something of the esprit which the original audience must have enjoyed, not least some amusingly mild malice in comparisons with aspects of collegiate life at Oxford and, of course, above all at Cambridge. The heart of the volume, as might be expected, is consideration of the religious houses in the family lands of the Austrian Habsburgs and, in second place, in the Holy Roman Empire. But important space is also dedicated to France, while some attention is given, at intervals, to the states of the Italian peninsula (and not only those under Habsburg rule), to the Netherlands, to Spain and Portugal, and occasionally to other areas, including the Swiss lands and Poland. The geographical as well as chronological range (indicated in the book’s subtitle) enables some careful distinctions to be argued, within the lucid and easy discourse. In ways that are, not perhaps accidentally, reminiscent of substantial volumes by John McManners and Owen Chadwick, anecdote and quotation are judiciously and wittily employed. One difficulty which is faced from the start is that of terminology. The solution consciously adopted, explained, and defended is to extend, for most purposes, the term ‘monks’ to all male religious, whether eremitic, canonic, monastic, or mendicant, and also to male members of the so-called ‘New Orders’ (itself an English historiographic usage which has conventionally embraced even the Roman Oratorians who insistently preserved their status as secular priests). Finer distinctions and necessary contrasts are in fact made at moments throughout the text, though the return of the portmanteau term in the conclusion might lead to some misunderstandings among incautious readers. However, even the most casual observer would note from the table of contents that the axis of the book is a chapter not about monks in the restricted sense but on the suppression of the Jesuits. In that
chapter, as indeed throughout, discriminating use is made of secondary literature, but from such sources much is obtained in the way of precise and often statistical information. Moreover, from first to last there is an evident and avowed sympathy not only with the culture of the old monastic regime, its scholarship, architecture, and music above all, but also with the fundamental purpose of the monastic life, its vicarious spiritual endeavours on behalf of the living and the dead, its pursuit of an exemplary form of Christian living, usually in community, and the sustaining ideals, not least of chastity and obedience, distinguishing such community from wider Christian society. Service to that society in other forms, whether educational or charitable, is also considered, as appropriate, but not as though it eclipsed more ancient and persisting identities.

The historical distinctions which emerge from the whole course of the text are most valuable. The mid-eighteenth century evidently represented, in most parts of Catholic Europe, a peak in terms of the membership of religious orders and equivalent, not least if lay brothers are included, and certainly if nuns and lay sisters are considered additionally. Virtually everywhere this was absolutely true, and often represented as well a relative imbalance in numbers of male regulars as opposed to those of the secular clergy. Such a ratio, or that of female to male regulars, differed from one part of Catholic Europe to another at this date, as also did that of regulars, however defined, to the general population of an area. But even if there was some decline from such a peak in France during the second half of the eighteenth century, establishing rather the prominence of female communities dedicated to the active provision of education or care in society, that was not at all universally true elsewhere in Catholic Europe. Monastic life in its more specific and traditional sense was still dominant in many of the German-speaking or related parts of Catholic Europe, even allowing for the important differences between, for example, the Austrian lands proper and Hungary. In the former, furthermore, regular clergy, and not only those from mendicant or ‘New’ orders, were already an important element in the provision of pastoral care to the laity, before the advent of Joseph II, unlike the very different situation, say, in Habsburg-ruled Lombardy. More generally in German-speaking Catholic Europe, for many observers at the time and since, the Baroque rebuildings, on a massive scale, of institutions like Melk, Weingarten, or Ottobeuren, solidified the image of a rich and all-powerful monastic estate, within a more generally triumphant Counter-Reformation Catholicism. But here again a fascinating particularity emerges: some of the abbots who successfully led such conspicuous campaigns of enlargement and rebuilding, from the later seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, were not themselves by birth aristocrats, but determined and enterprising commoners, leaders of a delayed German Counter-Reformation in this sphere.

Review of the attack on the Jesuits, first in Portugal and then in Spain and other Bourbon states, establishes that in the Iberian states no wider campaign against religious orders was initially intended. The subsequent state investigation of the religious houses in France is then shown to have been originally aimed at raising their standards, before quite distinct developments overtook both France and other, occupied territories in revolutionary and Napoleonic times. The climax of the volume, in many ways, is the precise analysis of evolving policies adopted by Joseph II or his ministers, and the differing outcome of these in his various territories, not least in the Netherlands. By such comparisons the ultimate survival of Austrian monasticism is convincingly explained.

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