

example, to claim that John Henry Newman's 'Second Spring' sermon, delivered in 1852, was the beginning of the so-called Papal Aggression (p. 157). Nor is it entirely fair to claim that the Tractarian view on the doctrine of justification was somehow a return to a 'medieval notion' (p. 120). Twice Scotland quotes a speech of Francis Jeune (later bishop of Peterborough) written in April 1845 with 'Newman's departure to the Church of Rome still fresh in everyone's minds' (pp. 124, 142). Newman did not convert until October of that year. Nor has Scotland been well served by his publisher. The book has been poorly edited, and is unattractive and badly designed. In places, the text comes to within one-eighth of an inch of the bottom of the page and the margins are uniformly narrow. It is also surely not too much to ask that a Cambridge publisher be able to spell the names of colleges in that town correctly. At £40 there can be no excuse for such a sloppy production.

This book will prove useful to any one interested in the character of those bishops appointed during Palmerston's administrations. Scholars seeking fresh arguments or material will have to look elsewhere.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND,
MAYNOOTH

COLIN BARR

Red-hot and righteous. The urban religion of the Salvation Army. By Diane Winston. Pp. ix + 290 incl. 44 ills. Cambridge, Mass.–London: Harvard University Press, 2000 (first publ. 1999). £11.50 (paper). o 674 86706 8; o 674 00396 9
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In this book, historian Diane Winston uses the lens of commercial culture to trace the development of the Salvation Army in New York City between 1880 and 1950. Unlike other scholars, who often place the Army at the margins of urban life, Winston portrays a religious movement attuned to its surroundings. Infused with a pragmatic spirit and a postmillennial desire to saturate the secular with the sacred, Salvationists employed aspects of the emerging commercialised metropolis – including slick advertising, parades and theatre – to attract the unsaved. Although such strategies were calculated to win the secular world for Christ, they lost their sectarian edge as the Army courted a wider audience. Respectable outsiders embraced the movement's social work but increasingly rejected its evangelical message. Winston contends that Salvationist leaders, with their need for external funding, responded to these public sentiments by promoting humanitarianism over militant theology. She believes that in the end this kind of cultural accommodation transformed the Salvation Army from sectarian 'evangelical outsider' into quasi-denominational body and 'philanthropic insider' (pp. 193, 249). While the historical argument outlined by Winston has merit, it would have benefited from a broader range of Salvationist primary sources. Winston makes good use of archival material and popular periodicals like *The War Cry*, but she refers only briefly to published Army books (theological, instructional) designed solely for internal consumption. This latter material was often quite sectarian in tone throughout the period in question, and would serve to qualify Winston's overall conclusions.

UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

ANDREW EASON

A prodigal saint. Father John of Kronstadt and the Russian people. By Nadieszda Kizenko. (The Penn State Series in Lived Religious Experience. Studies of the Harriman Institute.) Pp. xiv+377 incl. frontispiece and 13 figs. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000. £16.95 (paper). o 271 01975 1; o 271 01976 X
JEH (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690222575

The Russian Orthodox Church in the years before the 1917 Revolution deserves much more detailed and sympathetic study than it has yet received. Blackened in the Soviet Union by propaganda and savage attack, falsified in the west by yielding to the dominant image of Rasputin (who is mentioned in this book), the Church of those years has received an almost universally negative press. It is now time for a more nuanced and balanced picture to emerge. Nadieszda Kizenko's magnificent study of Fr John of Kronstadt (canonised by the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad in 1964 and by the Moscow patriarchate in 1990) provides a substantial contribution. Writing with great flair, she depicts him in the round, with all his defects as well as his immense spiritual authority. Not many saints have been married priests. St John is an exception, but only by dint, apparently, of treating his wife as an asexual organiser of his household. The way in which his minders controlled access to him by means of exacting financial favours reminds one of the fuss surrounding some of our modern cult gurus. Yet the immense spiritual power, which Kizenko so well portrays, is there for all to read, starting from his early days as a liturgical reformer. His informality at the altar was beautiful to experience. The Soviets may have forced his cult into the catacombs, but his legacy bound together Russian Christians scattered in exile after 1917. The story of his reinstatement in Russia itself gives us insight into the sometimes controversial present.

KESTON INSTITUTE

MICHAEL BOURDEAUX

Percy Dearmer. A parson's pilgrimage. By Donald Gray. Pp. xi+212+18 plates. Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2000. £12.99 (paper). 1 85311 335 2
JEH (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902232571

Until quite recently any modern, self-respecting liturgical scholar would dismiss the work of Percy Dearmer along with Knott's *Ritual notes* as trivial choreography and fancy dress. Now, with the growing realisation that the programme of liturgical reform unleashed in the 1960s and 70s was at times more a reflection of that tumultuous period and crisis in western culture than the prompting of the Holy Spirit, a more sober appreciation of the aesthetics of worship is emerging. There is a growing awareness than the informal style of late twentieth-century worship, which now seeps into the twenty-first, may not be so desirable after all. The time is ripe, therefore, for this reassessment of the contribution of Percy Dearmer to the worshipping life of the Anglican Communion. Gray has used some of the Dearmer family archives, and memories, as well as Lambeth Palace Library papers, to give a fuller picture of this remarkable parson. As is so often the case, the Church of England had no idea or imagination as to how to use his skills and vision. *The parson's handbook*, for which Dearmer became famous, was the result of meticulous research and scholarship and, until the 1960s, extremely

influential in the Church of England. Though remembered for walking on Hampstead Heath in cassock, gown, tippet and bands, and for his years at Primrose Hill, his service in the Great War is less well known. His first wife, Mabel, also served as a nurse, and was to die of fever in Serbia. Returning to a Church which was suspicious of him, he was later found a niche at King's College London, where he championed the Church and the arts, and sided with the 'liberals' of the Grey Book in the debates over the proposed 1928 Book of Common Prayer. Almost sixteen years after leaving Primrose Hill, he was restored to official favour, and appointed to a canonry at Westminster Abbey. Gray also documents the part Dearmer played in producing *The English hymnal*, and *Songs of praise*. Though often mockingly referred to as 'Percy Dreamer', ecclesiastical dreamers often have much inspiration to offer the Church; alas, the Church is often in too deep a slumber to be inspired. We are grateful to Donald Gray for reminding us of Dearmer's talents and gifts. Perhaps it is time for *The parson's handbook* to be retrieved from the Genizah.

YALE UNIVERSITY

BRYAN D. SPINKS

Catholicism contending with modernity. Roman Catholic modernism and anti-modernism in historical context. Edited by Darrell Jodock. Pp. xiv + 345. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £40 0 521 77071 8
JEH (53) 2002; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046902242578

Pope St Pius x's condemnation of Modernism as 'the synthesis of all the heresies', in the encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis* of 1907, led, according to Darrell Jodock in the introduction to this collection of essays, to measures 'so stringent' as virtually to slam the door 'on any historical study of the Bible, on theological creativity, and on church reform'. This became a stock view of the subject in the upheaval in the Roman Catholic Church in the 1960s, and has been sustained by a substantial body of scholarship on the leading modernists, such as George Tyrrell and Baron von Hügel. The narrowness of this view, however, shows in the inclusion in Jodock's list of Pius' supposed ban 'on church reform'. Pius gave the Vatican bureaucracy canon law, catechesis, the seminaries, liturgy, church music, the age of first communion and much else in the most far-reaching reforms between the sixteenth century and Vatican II. This might not have been the sort of reform that the modernists, wanted, but 'church reform' it was.

Jodock also suggests a more critical position by arguing that simply treating the modernists as heroes de-historicises them, and that insofar as some of their ideas have become generally acceptable within the Church, this is within a wide spectrum of opinion which is not necessarily modernist. Jodock also points out that post-modernity may have made modernism as problematic as modernism had found tradition, raising the issue that the modernists had raised about tradition, of what in modernity should be preserved.

Jodock's useful outline of the 'modernists' also makes the point that there is no easy correspondence between doctrinal modernism and commitment to social reform. It could be said even more strongly that the Catholic tradition on the latter was often hyper-orthodox and ultramontane, and that some of the modernists were political conservatives. The point is made in Peter Bernardi's

important essay here that while the socially reforming *Semaines sociales* were accused of modernism, as having been influenced by the philosopher Maurice Blondel, their founders were as 'integralist' as the anti-modernists in their vision of a totally Catholic society, while 'some of their anti-modernist critics showed greater sympathy for economic liberalism, fruit of the French Revolution'.

More negatively, Gary Lease explains the condemnation of modernism as a consequence of the seizure of the States of the Church in Italy and a reversal of Leo XIII's policy of restoring them by diplomacy. Pius and his secretary of state, Cardinal Merry del Val, were intent on control of the faithful, and the anti-modernist campaign was ancillary to this. Lease thereby misinterprets the essentially pastoral character of Pius' pontificate, conceiving it instead in terms of an exercise in brutish *realpolitik*. This represents a return of modernist polemics. Paul Misner argues powerfully that anti-modernism existed before modernism, and while acknowledging Leo XIII's 'determination, resourcefulness, and flexibility', identifies one of its sources in Leo's enthronement of an extrinsic, intellectual Thomistic neo-scholasticism. Misner also usefully traces the origins of papal anti-capitalism, but only implies the connection between such Catholic anti-liberalism in the social sphere and in the intellectual one. In a chapter notable for its beautiful lucidity, Gabriel Daly also beats the modernist drum, and also finds the anti-modernist villain in Leonine neo-Thomism, yet like Pius X he suggests that one difficulty of modernism lay in its 'appeal to pre-linguistic experience' as the foundation of dogma.

Among the most satisfying essays in the volume is Phyllis Kaminski's on Blondel. Although Blondel's method of immanence was anti-scholastic, Kaminski demonstrates that it was opposed to the immanentism characteristic of some of the modernists, and she shows great delicacy in relating the God-centred Blondel, with his eye 'on something other than modernity', to a fundamentally conservative French Catholic culture, his mother-in-law having been a major pioneer of the cultus of the Sacred Heart. George Tavard also seeks to place Blondel in a context, that of a tradition of Catholics deriving from Lamennais who wanted to reclaim post-revolutionary society for religion through education, despite the secular character of the French university system.

It is difficult to see much in common between the orthodox Blondel, with his dislike of historicism, and the biblical scholar Alfred Firmin Loisy. As Harvey Hill reports of him, by 'the 1890s, he no longer accepted the literal truth of a single article of the creed except Jesus' crucifixion under Pontius Pilate'. Any orthodox Church would have condemned him, so that Hill's account of the political dimension of his theology in education, the Ralliement and the separation of Church and State is rather beside the point. Hill does, however, indicate the wider setting of Loisy's ideas, as does C. J. T. Talar, who locates them within the new tertiary secular context of French religious studies.

Lawrence Barmann's moving essay on von Hügel pinpoints the baron's depth of mystical experience and hunger for sanctity as the driving forces of his life, but does not really refute Tyrrell's view that it was von Hügel's very fervour which enabled him to take such pronouncedly critical views of both the factual foundations of Christianity and the politics of the institutional Church. Sister Ellen Leonard's essay on von Hügel's English Catholic context ignores the wider religious background, in which English intellectuals like Chesterton and Ronald

Knox were drawn to Rome by its resolute opposition to modernism. Sister Ellen unconsciously records a paradox, that the 'Church of outsiders' was taking root in English soil. It was becoming more confident, distinctive, assertive and ultramontane, and therefore more rooted in English soil, as the English conservative alternative to liberal religion. If one wanted radical immanentism or radical historical criticism, one could get the real thing in Liberal Protestantism.

Quite the most interesting contribution to this volume is Michael Kerlin's essay on the complicated and contradictory politics of the resolutely anti-modernist neo-Thomists, Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange and Jacques Maritain. This is the one essay which pays sympathetic attention to the much-abused bogey of the neo-scholastics. Theirs, after all, was a Church which abounded in life, some of it of the highest spiritual and intellectual kind, covering as it did the whole domain between the two canonised Theresas, the Little Flower and Edith Stein. Sister Ellen's 'more open Catholicism', was a world below theirs, and her 'more open Church', holding to, say, Loisy's Gospel, would not have been a Church at all. Yet modernism consists in being up to date, and this collection is haunted by the modernist sense that modernism is itself outdated. The real issue here is not modernism itself but outrage against the counter-cultural papal authority which condemned it. St Pius x lives on in the pages of his traducers.

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

SHERIDAN GILLEY

Kirche, Politik und Gesellschaft im 20. Jahrhundert. By Gerhard Besier. (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte, 56.) Pp. xiv + 184. Munich: Oldenbourg, 2000. DM 68 (cloth), DM 29.80 (paper). 3 486 56438 2; 3 486 56437 4
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Years ago it used to be affectionately related that the economist Joan Robinson worked to a two-year cycle, appearing with a fat new volume under one arm one year, and a fat new baby under the other the next. As a mere male Gerhard Besier is disqualified from this competition, but he runs it close by producing a vast treatise one year and a *Lehrbuch* the next. This being the off-year, he has produced a useful little tome as a contribution to an encyclopaedia of German history projected to run to a hundred volumes. He divides his space into three roughly equal parts, a narrative of his theme, masterly both in its brevity and in the lucidity of its style, a bibliography of some 500 items, and a centre section divided into two parts. The first discusses the historiography in terms both terse and (where necessary) tart, and the second assesses the state of scholarly play and the present *desiderata*. The whole adds up to an admirable insider's account of where outsiders should enter upon a classically exiting theme. Looked at from a British standpoint it is striking that the social history of the Churches, a mainstay of our historiography, has made little headway in Germany; this is partly due to the fact that the German Churches, more establishmentarian than our own, have suffered violent revolutions of state which we have escaped. But the historiographical *lacuna* has been partly filled by sociological pollsters who show that not many of the clergy believe many of the doctrines professed by the Churches which pay them so handsomely. No great surprise of course, but a depressing

example of convergence between German Churches which have traditionally ascribed too much importance to sound doctrine and British Churches which have ascribed too little.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

Franz Hildebrandt. Ein lutherischer Dissenter im Kirchenkampf und Exil. By Holger Roggelin. (Arbeiten zur Kirchlichen Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Darstellungen, 31.) Pp. 352. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999. DM 82. 3 525 55731 0
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Theologians and, sometimes, historians who have sought to draw the figure of Dietrich Bonhoeffer into the foreground of the history of the German *Kirchenkampf* have produced a debatable sense of perspective and emphasis. Some participants in that crisis have been defined by their proximity to Bonhoeffer himself. At some times, particular figures have been eclipsed altogether; at others, characters of significance have been absorbed within the Bonhoefferian drama itself, and have lost their distinctive, independent identity. Franz Hildebrandt has in some ways been the beneficiary of the Bonhoeffer enthusiasm, for without it he might perhaps have disappeared from view. But in other ways he has been recommended to posterity largely as the great friend of Bonhoeffer, and has become an aspect of another subject. Part of Holger Roggelin's achievement in this fine book is to make him into his own subject. It is well worth doing, and much may be gained from the enterprise.

But the book also draws attention to another historiographical problem. It is no surprise to find that the discussions of those pastors who left Germany after 1933 are largely disregarded by historians who continue to insist that narratives occur neatly within national boundaries. To what extent did exile simply remove Hildebrandt and his contemporaries – men like Büsing and Rieger – from the arena of action, or fortify the international dimensions of a controversy which was no simple, local matter in the first place? Owen Chadwick once laconically remarked that English history does not only happen in England. German history, too, does not only take place in Germany. The study of the experience of exile should well unsettle the historiographical categories we still, all too comfortably, rest upon.

This book is framed by the clear announcement of its defining questions and perspectives, and they speak through the narrative itself. That begins with Hildebrandt's upbringing and student years, and moves into the Third Reich, where the narrative and the material naturally intensifies, and then through the experience of exile and, sketchily, into the post-war period. In exile, indeed, Hildebrandt enjoyed friendship and admiration, but he could not be completely converted to particular traditions, or domesticated by individual denominations. He once confessed that his true home lay in the theology of Luther, the Book of Common Prayer and the hymns of Wesley. Hildebrandt's theological character remained individualistic, but also indebted to the Berlin schools in which he was taught. His work showed striking parallels with that of another exile from Germany, the systematic theologian, Otto Piper. The theological 'realism' of *Das*

Evangelium and die Humanität remains his most potent contribution, and Roggelin devotes a whole chapter to it, commending it thoroughly, thoughtfully and convincingly.

Hildebrandt himself, who was partly-Jewish but made very little of an issue of it, certainly found himself classed as an outsider in the Third Reich. But he also sensed that he was an alienated figure within the Confessing Church itself, where his youthful radicalism sat uneasily alongside more conservative, pragmatic and establishment-orientated perceptions, in what was a difficult coalition of personalities and opinions. But in these early years his relationship with Bonhoeffer flourished, in Germany itself and in London, where Bonhoeffer became, for two years, pastor of the German congregation in Forest Hill. In 1937 Hildebrandt left Germany and came to England, to Cambridge. Before the outbreak of war he ministered to the German congregation there, and to some extent he found a home in that city. Thereafter, he was interned, but soon released. He spent the remainder of the war in Cambridge, and found himself moving towards Methodism, to the sympathetic regret of his Anglican friends and patrons. He also struggled to engage with a very different set of intellectual manners. Used to assertive, energetic argument, he found that a public riposte to Charles Raven could wound fatally a valuable friendship. Roggelin is particularly good on these war years. His discussion of the work of the BBC German service, which sought to broadcast the Christian faith to the German people without attracting accusations of exploiting religion for the purposes of mere propaganda, emphasises the strengths of his analytical approach. He places the deliberations on Eric Fenn and his allies firmly within a central dilemma, making it a significant discussion, of the 'grey zone' that lies between 'proclamation' and 'propaganda'.

The relationship between Bonhoeffer and Hildebrandt was, as Roggelin insists, a fragmented one. At crucial junctures they were separated, and their development was often parallel and different, converging only when opportunities arose, in brief and fragmentary correspondence and encounters. The outbreak of war divided them utterly, and in this period Bonhoeffer matured most decisively. After 1945, he finds, Hildebrandt's own view of burgeoning culture of Bonhoeffer interpretation in the west after 1945 was an ambivalent one. Roggelin concludes that he was certainly more than a friend, and more than an outsider; instead, a thinker who had something distinctive to commend him, and a participant of genuine significance in the dramas of his age.

This is really a very good book indeed. Roggelin places personalities and ideas securely in their contexts, observes their movements sensitively and measures them astutely. His research itself is exhaustive: he has got into just about every archive of relevance in Germany and in Britain, and has mined them well. At the close some revealing examples of correspondence between Hildebrandt and Barth, and also two typescripts, *A word on the Jews* and *A word on freedom*, are served up in their entirety as appendices. There is even a comprehensive biographical index. Who, as they say, could ask for anything more?

QUEEN'S COLLEGE,
BIRMINGHAM

ANDREW CHANDLER