the real can reside only in ideal possession of the process by which the real comes to be. While Pinkard conveys this adroitly, he is equally concerned to clear away some still commonplace misunderstandings of Hegel; for example, that he glorified the Prussian state and thought it the culmination of human history, and that he claimed that reality developed according to a process of thesis/antithesis/synthesis.

The biographical sections (chs i–iii, vi–vii, ix–x, xii–xiii) are minutely researched and highly informative on almost every knowable aspect of Hegel’s life. Hegel’s marriage and amorous life, his money worries, his academic ambitions and setbacks, his struggle for social standing, his professional relationships, his formative years at the Protestant seminary in Tübingen, his early companionship and later falling out with Schelling, his friendship with Holderlin, his health problems, his move to Heidelberg in 1816 and his final years at home, for instance, are all brought to life in an engaging and sympathetic manner.

The account of Hegel’s philosophical development (which may be read separately from the biographical sections) summarises all his main writings, such as the Phenomenology of spirit, the Science of logic, the Philosophy of right and the Encyclopaedia of the philosophical sciences, but also focuses on some of his lesser known works, such as his early theological writings, his later lectures on the philosophy of religion, the philosophy of art, the philosophy of history and the philosophy of nature. This account is outstanding in its ability to make universally intelligible some extremely complex philosophical ideas and arguments. Moreover, the book contains brilliantly clear sketches of the critical philosophy of Kant, the Romantic idealism of Schelling, and of Fichte’s conception of philosophy as Wissenschaftslehre, all of which must be understood to understand Hegel. Pinkard also expertly records the not always favourable reactions of Hegel’s contemporaries and peers (most of them now forgotten) to the Master’s philosophy.

It is difficult to find fault with this illuminating work. Perhaps the reader might have been given a more heightened sense of the problems with Hegel’s idealism, such as its deduction of the act of thinking from Nature and Nature from the Logos (and the contents list on pp. vii–viii should have included the subsections to each chapter). But it would hardly be fair to expect the author to have given more and better than he has here, in a single volume.

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In Disraeli’s novel Tancred, Lady Constance Rawleigh insists that ‘all is development’. First there was nothing, ‘then there was something; then, I forget the next, I think there were shells, then fishes; then we came, let me see, did we come next?’ Never mind that, she continues. The next change will bring ‘something very superior to us, something with wings. Ah! That’s it we were
fishes, and I believe we shall be crows. But you must read it’. Tancred is sceptical (‘I do not believe I ever was a fish’) but is urged once again to read it, for ‘everything is proved: by geology, you know’. The ‘it’, the parodied text, was *Vestiges of the natural history of creation* (1844), a book that had caused a sensation by arguing for a law of organic development having comparable status to Newton’s law of gravitation.

James Secord’s book about this book, its conception, production and reception is a masterpiece. You must read it, for everything is proved: by history, you know. Or rather by the author’s ‘experiment in a different kind of history’. By this Secord means that he has explored the introduction of an evolutionary account of nature into public debate ‘to see what happens when a major historical episode is approached from the perspective of reading’. *Vestiges* was certainly read. Selling like hot cakes, it was digested by royalty and by aristocrats. It was discussed in railway carriages and Oxbridge colleges, in clubs, pubs and novels. *How* it was read, and how so many different readings were possible, are the absorbing questions pursued here with relentless energy and in enthralling detail. The result is a brilliant contribution to our understanding of popular science in the early Victorian period.

For some it may be a surprise to learn that a treatise on human evolution was published in Britain fifteen years before Darwin’s *Origin of species*. Its anonymity added to the sensation. *Vestiges* was described by *Punch* as ‘the book that goes a-begging’, in that no-one owned up. Speculation became a dinner-party sport. Was the author Harriet Martineau or Ada Lovelace, Sir Richard Vyvyan or George Combe? The secret, when finally divulged, was Robert Chambers, the Edinburgh publisher who, defending his audacious thesis, complained that the gentlemanly elite of science, picking holes in his cosmic story, were missing the wood for the trees. His thesis was audacious because it applied the concept of natural law to the workings of the human mind, ostensibly dissolving the soul. Secord himself describes the book as an ‘evolutionary epic that ranged from the formation of the solar system to reflections on the destiny of the human race’. As a radical cosmological synthesis, it was arresting. Those who had marshalled evidence for Providence in a fossil record suggestive of progressive creations, were mortified to discover they were playing into the hands of materialists who could exploit the same progressive pattern to argue for continuity of natural causes in a developmental process. Disparaging *Vestiges* as ‘one of the most insidious pieces of practical atheism’ of the century, the evangelical geologist Hugh Miller switched attention to degeneration rather than progression within geological epochs to scotch the most subversive continuity – that between man and beast.

Chambers’s language was not that of an atheist. Indeed one reason why so many readings were possible was his use of a natural theology in which laws, even of organic development, testified to a divine legislator. For some readers that simply confirmed how vacuous natural theology had become if it could be wedded to what the Cambridge geologist Adam Sedgwick called ‘rank infidelity’ and ‘base materialism’. For R. W. Church, historian of the Oxford Movement, *Vestiges* was warning ‘if proof were required, of the vanity of those boasts which great men used to make, that science naturally led on to religion’. In earlier studies, Secord has observed that Chamber’s God-talk, by his own admission, was a palliative to soothe ‘the saints’, as Chambers dubbed those from whom he had
already parted company. Some readers clearly drew that conclusion for themselves. The former Whig minister Sir John Hobhouse decided that ‘the introduction of an author of all things seems very like a formality for the sake of saving appearances’.

Those uninhibited by the extension of natural laws found Chambers’s argument seductive; but a certain amateurishness in its scientific control invited criticism from newly self-conscious scientific specialists. Ironically these included the young Thomas Henry Huxley, later Darwin’s bulldog, who found ‘reason to doubt if the author ever performed an experiment or made an observation in any one branch of science’. A common complaint was that without a mechanism for organic evolution a ‘law’ of development explained nothing. This was a little hard since Chambers had proposed protracted gestation in the womb as a possible source of mutation. Relieved to find that his covert theory was different, Darwin portentously studied public reaction.

Not all readings were negative. The Unitarian physiologist William Carpenter responded well to the notion of progressive development, while a former critic of the Unitarians, Baden Powell, maturing into his ultra-liberal Anglicanism as Oxford’s Savilian Professor of Geometry, was also drawn to a philosophy of nature in which the deity was excused from intervening. Those looking for spiritual meaning rather than dry bones could also find solace. Secord has illuminating pages of Tennyson who found in *Vestiges*, with its vision of a future crowning race, a corrective to his earlier melancholy over nature’s careless extinctions.

Multiply such vignettes many times and one may begin to grasp not only the richness of Secord’s study but the sophisticated message it conveys. He has preached an irresistible sermon on the text ‘books are not the interpretative property of authors’. He must have wondered what bearing that might have on the control of his own readers. His concluding paragraph, however, is concerned more with irony than reflexivity: ‘The texts of science have no meaning apart from what readers make out of them, yet – ironically – they aspire to be a transcript of the truth of nature’. That very aspiration has another aspect: ‘Few subjects other than science incorporate their past so completely into present experience, while throwing it so violently away.’ If Darwin’s *Origin* made *Vestiges* invisible, Secord has restored to our consciousness one of the most notorious texts of the nineteenth century in all its ambivalence and power.
published, it seems the deliberate intention is to make available those works which are comparatively inaccessible. These attractively produced volumes contain a short introduction and explanatory notes. It is a popular rather than critical edition, and its inauguration coincides with the bicentenary of Newman's birth. This second volume is edited by the series' general editor. He points out that although, when Newman became a Roman Catholic, he gave up his Anglican practice of reading from a text, that did not mean that he turned to extempore preaching, which he abhorred as irreverent. Instead, he preached from carefully prepared notes, except when he was called upon to preach on a special occasion that called for a publishable text. But, apart from a few sermons which he preached in St Chad's Cathedral, Birmingham, on his return from Rome after his ordination, and which he wrote out in full (they have been posthumously published), we are dependent on these sermon notes for our knowledge of Newman as a pastoral preacher in the Catholic Church. These liturgical and scriptural sermons show a clear continuity with his Anglican preaching. My one serious complaint about this edition is that, inexplicably, the original introduction, brief as it was, containing memories of Newman’s manner and practice in the pulpit, is omitted.

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With this substantial tome, Professor Callahan, already known for his sound and readable monograph Church, politics and society in Spain, 1750–1874 (1984), brings his study of the Catholic Church in Spain up to date. This dense but always lucid volume is best described as monumental, since it not only looms large in the historiography of both Spanish and church history but it is also encyclopaedic, based as it is on wide research into primary and secondary sources, as can be seen in the nineteen pages of small print that constitute the select bibliography. The book provides extensive and detailed coverage of its subject, ranging from political and social background through civil–ecclesiastical relations to the internal life of the Church, with a little sociology and anthropology added when relevant. Callahan’s distillation of the voluminous material he has consulted is sensibly and neatly organised and is presented in a generally cautious scholarly fashion which should ensure the longevity of his book both as a well-indexed work of reference and as a reliable treatment of its subject. His text is enriched and enlivened by a good deal of well-chosen quotation from primary sources.

After an opening chapter, ‘A Church transformed’, which covers the nineteenth-century background up to the restoration of the monarchy in 1874, ten chapters are given over to the period 1874–1930. The author’s method, repeated for later periods, is first to fill in the necessary political background while examining chronologically the evolution of Church–State relations, which then allows him to have descriptive and analytical chapters on Catholic Action,
Catholic unions, ecclesiastical organisation, the clergy and the religious orders and their work, before concluding this part of the book with a chapter mapping religious observance, remarking further on the dominance of ultramontane piety and the use of missions and glancing at ‘popular religion’. Statistics are incomplete and sometimes unreliable for important aspects of these latter topics and there is often insufficient source material to permit systematic study, but the author puts anecdotal evidence to good use and makes it clear to the reader that the plausible conclusions drawn have a tentative quality about them. His overall verdict on the years 1875–1930 is that ‘Spanish Catholicism represented less a highly unified structure of faith and practice than a complex, multilayered body of orthodox belief, regular observance, ultramontane piety, and popular religiosity that defied clerical attempts to create a single religious model applicable to all Spaniards in every region of the country’ (p. 273). As in later parts of the book, Professor Callahan draws attention to the low levels of religious observance in the south, a constant at least since the destruction of the orders in the 1830s, but he puts forward no very definite explanation for this. Another constant from earlier decades of the nineteenth century is the division (though put less starkly by the author) between the integrists, with their intransigent outright rejection of all naturalism, rationalism, liberalism, socialism, communism, materialism and realism, and reformists (or possibilists, in Balmes’s terminology) who sought the defence and furtherance of Catholic interests piecemeal within the established framework of liberalism: it is with this latter approach that Callahan seems to find it easier to empathise. To this lack of monolithic unity on the part of Catholics the author adds the failure of the ecclesiastical leadership in Spain up to 1930, and indeed in later decades, to formulate and apply an agreed and coherent strategy to combat the ideological and sociological challenges posed by twentieth-century developments.

There are three substantial and balanced chapters on that most controversial of decades, the 1930s, which saw the laicising Second Republic disestablish the Catholic Church and proclaim religious freedom. The evidence gathered here shows that a negotiated settlement with the Vatican would have been quite possible but the ‘wild boars’ of anticlericalism preferred to charge, opening a constitutional wound which politicians could not heal. In practice, most of the hierarchy gave support to the new mass Catholic party, the CEDA, though the author would seem to go too far in stating that the Church ‘cast [party political] theoretical neutrality aside’ (p. 308). Be that as it may, the victory of the Popular Front in the 1936 elections ruined the ecclesiastical ploy of obtaining influence through political lobbying combined with pressure from a loyal mass political movement. Although the hierarchy played no part in starting the civil war of 1936–9, most of its members (but not bishops in Catalonia and the Basque Country) soon identified with the Nationalist side, not least because of the slaughter of clergy – numerically the largest instance of persecution in Catholic history – in Republican areas. The bloody crusade became a new opportunity for the re-Christianisation of Spain by means different from those that had failed in the past.

Callahan’s next four chapters discuss the use the Church made of this opportunity in the era of ‘National Catholicism’ from 1939 to the Second Vatican Council. The author is not entirely happy with the term, since the period
was characterised by what he calls ‘conflictive accommodation’. These chapters, drawing on numerous Spanish monographs, will arguably prove the most novel for non-specialists inasmuch as they reveal the extent of the tensions between Church and regime. Cardinal Goma wanted a ‘generous and splendid pardon’ for the defeated. Cardinal Plá y Deniel, who lent Franco his palace for his headquarters when he was bishop of Salamanca, emerges as a doughty adversary of Francoist regalism. The pronouncements of the returned Cardinal Segura are duly noted, showing that the arch-integrist was as bold a critic of Francoism as he had been of Republicanism, though this reviewer is puzzled by the author’s verdict of ‘contradictory’ on one of his pastorals in which he attacked both racism and liberalism (p. 396).

The last six chapters bring the story up to date, covering the impact of the Second Vatican Council, whose declarations delegitimised Francoism by kicking away its main prop of religious unity; and the emergence of a new ‘conflictive accommodation’ between an again disestablished Church and the new democracy, especially in the years of socialist government (1982–96). These developments, like the earlier ones, are well covered. At the end of this tour de force of a magnum opus, Professor Callahan is tempted into a little prediction, but here again he is characteristically canny, opining that present trends weakening Catholic practice in Spain are likely to continue.

University of Birmingham

R. A. H. Robinson


This elegantly written and beautifully produced book makes a distinguished contribution to the history of American religion in the modern period. As Satter makes clear, New Thought was not so much an organised movement as a highly eclectic group of predominantly female religious thinkers loosely unified by a belief in the healing power of mind or spirit over matter. In the long run the most successful of these in terms of institutionalisation was to be Mary Baker Eddy’s Christian Science movement. Part of the fascination of Satter’s study is that it brings back to life a gallery of other now largely forgotten women healers including Emma Curtis Hopkins and New Thought novelists such as Helen Van-Andersen and Ursula Gestefeld. Yet this ambitious work is far from being simply an act of retrieval in the field of women’s religious history. It also makes effective use of gender discourse analysis to show how both internally, as well as in dialogue with Social Darwinian and Progressivist ideologies, New Thought both reflected and helped to shape ongoing debates about the nature of masculinity and femininity in American society. As Satter shows, the traditional equation of the masculine with rationality and materialism and of the feminine with self-abnegation and spirituality, created acute tensions and paradoxes for the middle-class women involved in the leadership of New Thought. Here she is particularly
good at bringing out the diversity of ways in which they sought to negotiate and in some cases redefine these gendered polarities. If this book has a limitation – and it is one freely acknowledged by the author – it is that it is exclusively an intellectual history of the movement and attempts no sociological analysis of the rank-and-file membership. This of course raises questions about the longer-term significance of a movement which by the 1930s had lost its religious roots and was in the process of being transformed into the psychologically based credo of positive thinking popularised by the egregious Norman Vincent Peale. Yet given the staying power of therapeutic spiritualities, as evidenced in the contemporary New Age movement, and the emergence of the diffusive belief system which characterises post-Christian societies, it might be suggested that historians of religion could fruitfully pay more attention to their precursors. Satter provides an exemplary model of one way of approaching such topics.

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The distinctive spatial patterns of British religion, as the authors remind us in the introduction to this book, are relatively poorly understood. A similar poverty extends to the use of sophisticated quantitative techniques – well developed in disciplines like historical demography but rarely employed by historians of religion. This work aims to satisfy both these wants via an investigation of the much discussed, but rarely intensively analysed, religious census of 1851. The authors have proceeded by computerising the published census report and subjecting it to a careful investigation at the level of the 624 registration districts into which the country was divided. For a sample of fifteen counties in England and Wales, a further data set was produced by computerising the original manuscript returns, allowing an analysis to be made at parish level for the 2,433 parishes lying within the sample counties. As an exercise in cliometrics this is hard to fault. The sheer scale of the exercise in number crunching and the sophisticated nature of the statistical techniques employed are considerably in advance of anything previously seen in the historiography of British religion. The book is also notable for the clarity with which the data is presented, both in tabular form and by a series of maps which certainly represent the best available cartography of English and Welsh religion at mid-century.

The book is divided into two main sections. The first, based on the analysis of the published report, assesses the relative strength of the main denominations in 1851. The Church of England is shown to have been strongest in central southern England and weaker in the north and west while old Dissent was strongest in south Wales and parts of the midlands and the Methodists in the west and north-easteren parts of the country. These broad patterns are established features of the historical landscape, but what is available here is a new precision in the mapping of denominational strongholds and greater statistical depth. Existing under-
standings, therefore, are refined, extended and placed on firmer foundations. However, some care is required in interpreting these results. The main indicator used for a denomination’s strength is its proportion of the total index of attendance in each registration district. In other words, what is being measured is the relative influence of each denomination rather than its absolute size. Thus, the Independents, for example, are shown to be much ‘stronger’ in Essex than in Lancashire, though since the latter county registered considerably more attendances on the census Sunday it was probably more important to the denomination. The second section, based on the parish sample, concentrates on five main issues – the stability or otherwise of Catholicism and Nonconformity between 1676 and 1851, the influence of Sunday schools, the effects of free and appropriated sittings on church attendance, the influence of landownership on the spread of Nonconformity and finally the relationship between urbanisation and church attendance. In each case, statistical ingenuity produces interesting conclusions. Old Dissent is shown to have only weak levels of continuity at a parish level between 1676 and 1851, Sunday schools were at their most influential in small rural parishes rather than large urban ones, landownership rather than parish size was the key determinant in the presence or otherwise of dissent, and there is no evidence of a relationship between the provision of free seating and a high level of church attendance. Perhaps most important is the authors’ extension of Callum Brown’s findings that there is no significant relationship between urbanisation (except perhaps in its most extreme metropolitan form) and church attendance.

Rival Jerusalems is thus in many respects, an admirable piece of work. Nevertheless, some concerns remain. The statistical work behind the study is often stronger than the interpretative superstructure built upon it. Sometimes this is revealed in reliance on obsolescent historiography, as in the authors’ pessimistic account of eighteenth-century church building. There are also missed opportunities, for example the failure to relate areas where the occupancy of seats in Wesleyan chapels was low to the strongholds of the Wesleyan Reform secession. Perhaps inevitably in a large multi-authored study, problems also arise from points being made in one part of the work which are not carried through elsewhere. For example, in the first section, the authors make the important point that the census records the presence of denominations only in the locations where they worshipped. However, this point is not recognised in the chapter on landownership. It is not surprising that landownership emerges as a key variable in the location of churches and chapels, but it is difficult to draw conclusions about the nature of the religious culture in parishes with few landowners especially when their populations may have worshipped in large numbers in dissenting chapels just over their borders. Finally, some issues arise with regard to the interpretation of the census data. In relation to Sunday scholars, for example, the authors assume that the census recorded the pupils attending Sunday school classes and that moreover, since the numbers for the morning and afternoon are often very similar, those attending were probably the same people. In fact, as some manuscript returns make plain, what was often being recorded was not numbers in classes, but those scholars brought to the service – sometimes in groups segregated by age or gender and therefore not the same people. It is unfortunate that the study does not use the figures given, for example, in the
Education Census in order to test its hypothesis which, if incorrect, may have almost halved the true number of attenders in this group. There remains therefore a considerable amount of work to be done both to integrate the findings of this study into a modern historiography of English and Welsh religion and to extend its results. The authors are to be congratulated, however, for providing such an excellent set of tools with which to begin this task.

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Mark Smith


For much of the twentieth century the historiography of the American West was dominated by the ‘Frontier’ thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner. In the last twenty years the ‘F’ word has lost much of its power as discussion has moved into fresh areas. ‘New western historians’ such as Patricia Nelson Limerick and Richard White have, unlike Turner, looked at the process of western expansionism from the viewpoint of Native Americans rather than white settlers. The history of the modern West, since 1900, has also received overdue attention. Professor Szasz is sympathetic to these developments but argues that the focus of discussion on issues of race, class and gender has meant that historians ‘have either marginalized or ignored the theme of organized religion’ (p. xi), despite its major influence in the history of the region. Religion in the modern American West aims to fill this void. This is a bold undertaking. The first problem is that of space. Szasz’s definition of the West is the land between the Pacific Coast and the 100th meridian, ‘which divides the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas’ (p. xiv). To provide meaningful generalisations about such a vast area, encompassing large cities and remote rural settlements, barren deserts and fertile plains, is no easy task. Time is another difficulty, with Szasz’s work covering the period from the 1890s to the present. This is a brave decision given the complexity of the subject matter and the tradition of religious diversity in the United States. Reflecting this fact Szasz does not confine his discussion to Christianity and Judaism, but also looks at the impact of Native American, Islamic and Buddhist beliefs on the life of the region. Albeit commendable this further adds to an already considerable task.

Inevitably in such a project there are shortcomings. At times Szasz’s resolve to look at as many groups and individuals as possible gives the impression that the reader is being presented with a collection of disparate facts at the expense of structured discussion. Some important issues are given only the briefest of consideration. The Populist movement of the 1890s is covered in just seven lines,
despite the author’s seeming agreement with historian Peter Argersinger that it was ‘a movement of religious people and a religious movement of the people’ (p. 26). In the modern period, from the 1960s to the present, Szasz admits that there are so many groups that could be mentioned that ‘one simply has to be arbitrary’ over which are included (p. 165).

For the general reader the best passages in the book are those in which the author engages in a broader overview of his subject. On the 1890s he concludes that ‘the virtual absence of any social institutions’ in many communities meant that religious leaders in the region became actively involved in the problems of daily life well before the growth of the Social Gospel movement in the East (p. 7). In the 1920s the tradition of inter-denominational cooperation meant that the region was spared the worst of the divisions caused by the national resurgence of nativism and religious fundamentalism. During the 1930s the experience in self-help enabled the West to meet the different challenges posed by the Great Depression. By the 1990s Szasz observes that the most striking feature of religious life in the West was its sheer diversity, with major cities like Seattle, Denver and San Francisco containing ‘every religious group imaginable’. None the less, a growing common concern over the environment ‘may provide a basis for twenty-first century ecumenicism’ (p. 196).

In contrast to the religion of the West, the black American struggle for civil rights, in the 1950s and the 1960s, has received considerable attention from historians. In 1996 the mainly black, middle-class, Sixteenth Street Baptist church, in the centre of Birmingham, Alabama, was recommended for ‘Historic Landmark’ status by the National Park Service. The Bethel Baptist Church, with a black working-class congregation, located in an outlying industrial neighbourhood was not. This was despite the fact that Bethel was a headquarters of the 1963 protest in the city and the pulpit of the Revd Fred Shuttlesworth, leader of the Birmingham-based civil rights organisation, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR). The publication of Birmingham revolutionaries marks an ongoing effort to correct this injustice.

The six essays in the volume were first presented at a 1998 symposium timed to coincide with the publication of a pictorial chronology of the civil rights struggle in Birmingham. The theme that unites all the contributors is their desire to secure greater recognition for the contribution of black blue-collar church congregations and their ministers to the 1963 campaign. Despite this worthy aim, this is in several respects a disappointing work. The first source of regret is that the two essays by participants from 1963, Wyatt T. Walker and the Revd Fred Shuttlesworth, are all too brief. Given that 60 per cent of the membership of the ACMHR was female (p. 38) it is also a pity that there are no reminiscences from women campaigners. Excluding a brief preface and introduction, by Marjorie White and Andrew Manis respectively, the rest of the book is comprised of essays by four historians, Wilson Fallin, Jr, Aldon D. Morris, Glenn T. Eskew and Manis himself. Paradoxically, it is the excellence of these contributors that is the problem. The ideas expressed in their individual essays are less original than brief distillations of findings that each has published in more satisfying depth elsewhere. In particular Andrew Manis’s, A fire you can’t put out: the civil rights life of Birmingham’s Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth (1999) is an outstanding, richly detailed, study of its subject. Birmingham revolutionaries suffers by comparison,
and, being not a great deal lower in price, constitutes a slim volume for the

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The Liturgical Movement in its early years did not have as its goal the authoring of new liturgies; rather, it was concerned to rediscover the meaning of the liturgy then in use, and to release its power to make the Church the Body of Christ, and to enable it to engage in social action and interaction in the world. This study traces its origins in Belgium, Germany and Austria, particularly focusing on Lambert Beauduin and his concern that through the liturgy the laity could confront the secular world, with discussion of the contribution of Maurice Festugière. It traces development through the Great War, with the work of Odo Casel at Maria Laach, and the various movements such as the ‘Action Catholique de la Jeunesse Belge’, and the insights of Romano Guardini. Particular attention is given to developments in France after the Second World War. A final chapter considers whether the Vatican II reforms really do engage with society. This is a useful book for those who wish to see how the insights of the Liturgical Movement were taken up and applied by individuals and church groups.

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This is a gem of book by an American religious historian widely admired for his broad-ranging scholarship, enterprise and intellectual honesty. It grows out of a series of lectures delivered at the Harvard Divinity School and, true to the promise of its title, provides an authoritative, scholarly introduction to a defining element of American life. For those whose understanding of American evangelicalism has been filtered through the distorting prism of the activities of the modern Christian Right, Mark Noll offers a valuable corrective, demonstrating the richness of evangelical religion as it has evolved throughout the nation’s history. But there is more here than careful historical-sociological examination and description. As a member of the very evangelical milieux which he is analysing, Noll has also set himself the task of reflecting critically on that world, and the final chapters of the book move overtly from explanation to opinion and evaluation, and to a sermonic mode. Drawing on the author’s own considerable learning, and synthesising a wide range of other scholarship, the work is intended chiefly for a non-evangelical, non-specialist audience, and as
such meets a real need. But it also aims at encouraging self-reflection and self-criticism amongst evangelicals themselves.

The first six (of twelve) chapters are concerned with the historical roots of American evangelicalism, its relative strength today, both in the United States and abroad, its core beliefs and doctrines, and its historic and current make-up by region, race, class and gender; there is also a nuanced, sympathetic assessment of the most influential and visible evangelical over the last half-century, Billy Graham. Stressing evangelicals’ increasing diversity, their flexibility and their ‘culturally adaptive biblical experimentation’ (p. 2), Noll is at pains to challenge monolithic or monochrome representations of his subjects. Thus, evangelicals may be highly visible today, but they have not always been so. They may be particularly concentrated in Baptist, Adventist and Pentecostal churches, but over a quarter of those who affirm core evangelical beliefs are Roman Catholics or mainline Protestants. They may be especially strong in the South, constituting ‘an informal state within the state’ (p. 71), but over half of all American evangelicals are to be found in other sections of the country. Evangelical groups may historically have begun poor, but they have tended to show remarkable upward mobility, and modern evangelicals are by no means as uneducated and socially deprived as they are represented in popular and journalistic imagination. While many evangelicals have congregated around the Religious Right, moving into the orbit of the Republican Party, by no means all are militantly pro-life or hostile to gay rights, and about 50 per cent favour active federal intervention in fighting poverty and providing health insurance. (Many of these more social democratic, statist attitudes are held by African Americans, whose historical and cultural experience has left them with similar evangelical beliefs to those of whites, but with a quite different political perspective.) While modern evangelicals are commonly champions of traditional family roles and hold conservative attitudes toward sex, the fact is that evangelical beliefs, past and present, have also encouraged female consciousness and opportunities for women’s ministry.

American evangelicals have been no strangers to controversy. Indeed, conflict for some has been a life-enhancing element of their existence, and a means of self-definition. Noll devotes a chapter apiece to three particular areas of religiocultural controversy. Evangelicals’ relations with Roman Catholicism, once distinguished by profound hostility and suspicion, have in recent times (since the watershed years of John F. Kennedy’s election and the Second Vatican Council) yielded to more complicated patterns – featuring positive inter-relations as well as residual suspicion – between the pluralist communities on each side of the divide. In a sharply argued chapter on evangelicalism and science, Noll deftly shows how the legacy of the Scopes trial and the activism of ‘scientific creationists’ have obscured the more complicated historical reality of evangelicals’ positive wrestling with science; if ‘creationism’, floating on ‘oceans of nonsense’, is a modern departure from evangelicalism’s thoughtful engagement with scientific practice, its exponents’ defects have, in his view, been matched by the ‘obsfuscatmg banality’ of those who erect unstable cosmological superstructures on the cautious judgements of the laboratory scientist (p. 175). To similar ends, Noll examines the nation’s founding and its subsequent political course to challenge today’s conservative evangelicals’ assumptions that they are
the true inheritors of the founders’ vision; he points to the role of evangelical religion in the controversies that led to the Civil War as a chastening lesson, still to be learnt.

Three chapters of a more polemical character, together with an epilogue, bring the book to a close. Noll’s examination of how evangelical theology and the Canadian experience might be deployed to produce a better, more just and less conflict-driven politics may be designed chiefly for an evangelical audience, but for non-evangelicals the analysis instructively demonstrates the variegated perspectives within American evangelicalism. A fresh and lively examination of the religious message, social vision and chronological pulses of evangelical hymnody provides the final chapter. Noll celebrates the classic evangelical hymns for their ecumenism and for their freedom from the offences that for three centuries have disfigured the religious tradition that produced them: racism, anti-intellectualism, vulgarity, callousness to the dispossessed, treating political allegiance as divine mandate, equating bourgeois decorum with the workings of the Holy Spirit. (A. M. Toplady, for example, was a Calvinist chauvinist capable of thundering nonsense, including the calculation that an average person committed 2,522,880,000 sins in the course of a lifetime; yet he also wrote the unsectarian classic, ‘Rock of Ages’, which continues to be sung across the spectrum of churches.)

Blackwell, at whose suggestion this book emerged, have produced an attractive, well-organised volume. It is equipped with statistical tables and a more-than-useful twenty-page guide to further reading. As an introductory volume, designed mainly for secular readers, it might have benefited from a glossary of terms. A map or two would also have helped. Most important, though, Noll writes clearly and with the distinctive voice of the critical scholar, disinterested historian and prophetic insider. It is a rare and formidable combination.

University of Sheffield

Richard Carwardine


Lesslie Newbigin (1909–98) was a Presbyterian missionary in India for many years, a prominent ecumenist and a prolific writer on theological topics. Geoffrey Wainwright, who is Professor of Christian Theology at Duke University, gives a longer account of Newbigin’s religious opinions than one might have expected: they are those of an orthodox, neo-fundamentalist Evangelical with conciliatory views on ecumenical policy. Wainwright, thinking in religious rather than secular and political terms, says that Newbigin was ‘an ineluctable presence in his era’. This seems to me to be a generous estimate: it was not Newbigin, but the conservative movement of which he was a part, that was inescapable in the history of the twentieth-century Churches. This was an anti-modernising campaign to restore the absolute authority of the Bible as the unique revelation of the will of God for the human race. The aim was as much political as theological. For Newbigin, for example, the ethical implications of the Scriptures
were the Law of the Creator with jurisdiction over the entire human family. This meant, as he understood it, that when the United Reformed Church proposed to liberalise its attitude towards homosexuality, he mobilised support ‘for the scriptural and traditional teaching on men lying with men and women lying with women’; he resisted what he regarded as ‘a surrender to claims of “individual choice” [and] a substantial abandonment of the divine order made known in Scripture’. He opposed abortion in the same style, asking how could ‘our so-called modern, Western, rich, developed culture, connive at the wholesale slaughter of unborn children in the name of the central idol of our culture: freedom of choice?’ A conservative drive to restore a past, real or imaginary, in which society was dominated by religion, is a characteristic of religious communities which feel their existence threatened by the power of an expanding society with a rival ethos. For a missionary like Newbigin, the threat to Christianity was double, because apart from the growing secularisation of the west, in India Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam all reacted to the penetration of western colonialism and Christianity by the formation of vigorous conservative religious reactions of their own. Newbigin shared, after the Second World War, in the formation of the Church of South India, but this was a palliative, a relief from pain, a response to the Indian achievement of independence, not a solution to the future of the missionaries. Wainwright sympathises with Newbigin’s point of view, and although he writes at length, leaves himself little room for critical discussion. Most important is the absence of sustained analysis of Newbigin’s favourite contrast between the absolute truth of conservative Christianity and a secular culture made up of science, technology, the free market and the cult of the autonomous individual whose freedom of choice comes before all else. This contrast, common to Catholic and Protestant conservative apologetic, needs fresh examination.

Bristol

John Kent


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This contribution to the Outstanding Christian Thinkers series fills an obvious lacuna. Karl Barth is widely regarded as the most significant theologian of the twentieth century, his influence if anything more marked amongst the current generation of theologians than the one which preceded it. Despite the challenge of the quantity and range of Barth’s writings, John Webster has produced an admirable introduction. He covers the main themes of the Church dogmatics without neglecting Barth’s more occasional writings; he sets his subject in historical context without being unduly diverted by his life and times; and although deeply committed, he registers some significant criticisms while also interacting with recent (and problematic) attempts to enlist Barth as a postmodernist. Karl Barth emerges from this study as one of the great classical thinkers of the Church – steeped in its Scriptures, alive to its theological traditions, he was confident of his central theme yet engaged with the intellectual, political and
moral issues of his day. One particular achievement of Webster’s account is its display of the deep connection between dogmatic theology and ethics in Barth, a feature of his thought that is sometimes overlooked yet which is highly pervasive. One might have wished for further discussion of the reception of Barth’s theology in the twentieth century, yet this may be to ask for too much in a volume of this length. As it is, Webster’s clear though sometimes rather technical description of Barth’s thought is likely to prove too demanding for those with little or no previous knowledge of his work. Yet it remains a rich and incisive account from one of the leading Barth scholars in the world today. For those already seeking their way around the complex edifice of Barth’s theology, it should prove an invaluable guide.

University of Edinburgh

David Fergusson

*Sailing on the next tide. Missions, missiology, and the Third Reich.* By Werner Ustorf. (Studies in the Intercultural History of Christianity, 125.) Pp. 280. Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang, 2000. £25. 3 631 37060 1; 0 8204 4815 X; 0170 9240

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In his latest publication, the Birmingham-based professor of mission Werner Ustorf looks at one aspect of Christianity’s struggle with modernity. He argues – following Eric Voegelin but also reflecting current fashion – that National Socialism was a politicised religion with a ‘missiology’, described as a violent form of home mission. For Ustorf there was considerable ideological and cultural overlap between contemporary bourgeois Christianity and National Socialism which helps to explain some of the collaboration. They are taken to task for supporting or sympathising with the national revolution of 1933. Amongst missiologists so-called German Christians as well as members of the Confessing Church welcomed the turn of events, hoping not least for a government-backed impetus towards home mission. To safeguard their own interests they were willing to go on board the Nazi warship. In his study Ustorf seeks to underline Johannes C. Hockendijk’s 1948 conclusion that German missiologists remained ‘on the wrong side of the revolution’, blissfully unaware of their anti-revolutionary programme. Ustorf presents the views of a small number of missiologists (Martin Schlunk, Johannes Witte, Heinrich Frick, Joseph Schmidlin) and discusses them within the context of the ecumenical attempts in the 1930s to rethink Christianity and reinvent its missionary movement. German missionary societies were not attracted to these modernisation projects. Ustorf argues that German missiology in particular was a pretext for the continuation of a socially and politically conservative agenda, little more than politics in disguise. He does not claim to have provided conclusive answers to the many questions raised by the direction missiology took in the first half of the last century. This is not a comprehensive study of foreign missions in the Third Reich. Many missions are not mentioned, let alone discussed. Ustorf has asked a few important questions. Yet there are still lacunae. Why were missionary societies criticised by contemporaries and some dissolved by the government if the ‘missionary movement’ was so supportive of Hitler? The reasons for Nazi
suspicions are only hinted at in footnotes. Why is the role of the organisationally independent Arbeitsgemeinschaft der volksmissionarischen und diakonischen Werke und Verbande, of which the Missionary Council was a member, not discussed? It is well known that this body protested in letters to the Reich Minister of the Interior and to Reich Bishop Müller about governmental treatment of critics. The numbers of missionaries who are said to have joined the Nazi party – described in one place as considerable – remain extremely vague. The focus in this study is on ivory-tower academics rather than on the grass roots activists of the missionary movement. Moreover, Ustorf accepts that the missiologists he deals with can hardly be seen as orthodox evangelicals. Evangelical missiologists or the Pietist support networks of the missionary societies are still awaiting historical treatment. Ustorf has, however, made a useful start.

**University of Ulster**

**Nicholas Railton**


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A crisis of the idea of ‘Christendom’ within post-war Catholicism has been a significant concern of Italian and French historians who have been personally involved in the experiences of the Catholic intelligentsia. Traditionalist clericals assumed a historic identity between Catholic Christianity and western civilisation. In their vision, a ‘decline’ of the latter was the result of attacks on the Church and of the weakening of religion; conversely, the restoration of society could only come about through a general return to the Church, supported by the State. These ‘integralists’ refused to come to terms with a pluralist society. For them, ‘so-called modernity’ was an evil. This integralist vision, however, came to be questioned by the more radical members of the Catholic intelligentsia from the 1930s. The two works reviewed here illustrate respectively two styles of Catholicism: on the one hand, traditional integralism and, on the other, streams that were, in sundry ways, seeking to come to terms with ‘modernity’.

The scope of Susan Zuccotti’s book is wider than its title implies. It encompasses, *inter alia*, the responses on the part of the papacy and authoritative Catholic journals to Nazi and Fascist antisemitism in the 1930s and also the role of the Italian Church generally in the face of round-ups and deportations of ‘Jews’ after the German occupation in late 1943. It shows that, while the Church’s spokesmen roundly condemned Nazi racism in terms of principle, they barely mentioned its Jewish victims. They did not object in general terms to the restriction of the civil rights of Jews under the Italian legislation of 1938; Catholic publicists had indeed long called for a ‘friendly segregation’ of Jews. The dispute between the Vatican and the Fascist regime over the racial legislation pertained
to the Church’s powers in the area of marriage and to the issue of who counted as Jews; for the Church, Jews were emancipated from pariah status by conversion to Catholicism. Zuccotti argues that the Vatican’s interventions on behalf of Jews in territories occupied by the Italian army were not a decisive factor in saving lives. She de-bunks the myth of Pius XII as saviour of the Italian Jews, showing the tortured passivity of the Vatican in the face of the German invaders. Here her argument is less polemical and more developed than that of John Cornwell in *Hitler’s pope: the secret history of Pius XII* (1999). She shows that the role played by certain bishops and clergy in assisting Italian Jews from late 1943 was essentially in collaboration with Jewish organisations and was independent of the Vatican. Broadly her conclusions on the attitudes and policies of the Catholic Church are in line with those of Giovanni Miccoli, perhaps the leading Italian authority in the relevant field. Where she breaks new ground is in her examination of the concrete realities of rescue efforts, showing the central role of Jewish organisations. Here she builds on her earlier work, *The Italians and the Holocaust: persecution, rescue and survival* (1987). The heavy accumulation of factual detail is relieved by illuminating insights into the mentality of mandarins in cassocks, from whose ranks Pius XII himself was drawn. Like Miccoli, Zuccotti relates the moderate antisemitism of so many Italian churchmen, which was perhaps the deep underlying factor behind the Vatican’s failure to respond adequately to what it recognised as ‘inhuman treatment’ of persons of Jewish descent, to the clericalist siege-mentality: emancipated and successful Jews symbolised the menacing ‘modern world’.

The contributions to the volume on *Left Catholicism* are in the final analysis concerned with the many Catholic groups which broke with this siege mentality and indeed with the whole integrist (anti-modernist) and integralist vision. The contributors recognise the problematic nature of the term, which is, perhaps, an unhappy one. G.-D. Horn in his introductory essay identifies three main areas: political movements, theology and pastoral action. The progressive political movements ultimately came to be distinguished from relatively conservative mainstream Christian democracy; in general deeply critical of ‘bourgeois liberalism’, they might be philo-Marxist or strongly anti-Marxist. Discussion of theology here is primarily concerned with the influence of Jacques Maritain, Emmanuel Mounier and Marie-Dominique Chenu. These sought an engagement on the part of Catholics with modern society, as a leaven within it, not aiming to master it, as did traditional integralists, but to transform it from within. The area of apostolic and social missions is essentially taken up with the worker-priest initiatives in France and Belgium. The studies are mainly concerned with France, Belgium and Italy and, to a lesser extent, Germany. They focus on a certain phase of ferment around the end of the World War II. The experience of Nazism and the sundry Fascisms had led Catholic intellectuals to rethink their political assumptions; Catholics had co-operated with Communists and other secularist political groups in resistance movements and at the end of the war expectations of a brave new world were in the air. The phase ostensibly came to an end in the late 1940s and early 1950s, firstly as mainstream Christian Democrat movements became identifiably conservative, with the ‘Catholic Left’ currents becoming isolated and marginalised, and secondly when the Vatican in 1953, alarmed by the radical political involvement of the worker priests, abandoned its initial
support for their movement and sought to reimpose traditional conceptions of priestly mission. However, there were significant elements of continuity between the movements of this phase and the more powerful ones from the late 1960s, notably the many streams of ‘dissent Catholicism’ in Italy and ‘liberation theology’. Ultimately the ‘Catholic-leftist’ political movements were ones of minorities with limited appeal within the Catholic community at large and this made them vulnerable to the heavy hand of the Vatican. However, as Martin Conway points out, ‘the real significance of Left Catholicism … lay not in its very modest impact on the politics of the age but in what it revealed about the diverse and to some extent contradictory currents which existed within European Catholicism during the era stretching from approximately 1943 to 1949’.  

University of East Anglia

Oliver Logan