iconography of title pages, frontispieces and broadsheets, ranging from Martin Droeshout’s engraving of Richard Smith’s *The powder treason propounded by Satan, approved by AntiChrist, enterprised by papists* (1615) to, fascinatingly, Michael Burghers’s engravings of Satan (one with the face of Charles II, the other with that of James II) for the 1688 folio edition of *Paradise lost*. While this volume was a culturally prestigious artefact, sponsored by Lord Somers and a group of Oxford Tories, King insists that ‘the “low” world of antipapal broadsheets and street processions’ (p. 78) was no less important. According to him, ‘Miltonic gravity coexists with a vulgar satirical strain’ (p. 123) evident in the profusion of coarse puns, burlesques, parodies and travesties that align Milton with the scatological and carnivalesque religious satire of Luther and Rabelais. All these materials are brought to bear on often critically neglected features of the poem, including the demonic conclave in Pandaemonium, Sin and Death, the Paradise of Fools and the War in Heaven. Some of King’s insights are far-fetched, but many more are genuinely illuminating. Thus his account of divine laughter successfully historicises an aspect of the poem that scandalised William Empson and still troubles many students of Milton. However, since most of King’s previous work has dealt with the Tudor Reformation, he is sometimes less reliable on the history and politics of later periods. For example, the duke of York’s public declaration of his conversion to Roman Catholicism and his marriage to Mary of Modena are mistakenly alleged to have happened before the 1673 Test Act (p. 134). Notwithstanding these slips, there can be no doubt that this book provides a valuable corrective to those who still persist in reading *Paradise lost* without a due sense of ‘the centrality of religion in early modern culture’ (p. 200).

Royal Holloway College, Martin Dzelzains

*Archbishop William King of Dublin (1650–1729) and the constitution in Church and State.*


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The brooding presence of Archbishop William King pervades the history of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ireland. In both Church and State he was omnipresent and, more important from the historian’s point of view, he wrote about his experiences in thousands of letters which form the largest single collection of correspondence for this period. Curiously, despite his significance, King has never attracted the attention of a biographer until now. Part of the explanation may lie in the sheer volume of correspondence, library lists and accounts which have survived, but equally King’s enigmatic character may help to explain his neglect. On the one hand he was a High Church reformer who should have been a Tory but was, in fact, a staunch defender of the Glorious Revolution and wrote what became in the eighteenth century the standard justification of Protestant support for William III. He was also a political administrator who spent a great deal of time arguing with his political masters. This biography tackles these fundamental problems by emphasising that King was not primarily a politician or administrator but a churchman who tried to secure the position of the Church of Ireland as the main shaping force in Irish
society. Thus his political life and his concern to establish the Irish body politic free from interference from the London parliament, O’Regan argues, needs to be seen in this light. There is therefore no division between King the exponent of colonial nationalism and King the churchman whose agenda was dominated by the desire to establish the Church of Ireland, free from outside interference. His loyalties were with King William, and later Queen Anne, as the sovereign of Ireland, and his bête noire was the corrupt Westminster parliament. However there is more to this book than the resituating of King’s political life, for it ranges over King’s entire, and remarkably wide, interests from early science to philosophical speculation. As a result it is a dense book which is carefully documented from King’s own works. Covering such a range of subjects it is inevitably uneven and some of the discussion on King’s philosophical ideas, on the origin of evil for instance, and on his European contacts, is rather thin. Overall, however, this is a soundly researched and well written survey of King’s life which should make him more accessible to a whole new generation of scholars and permit a greater understanding of his motives.

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND,

RAYMOND GILLESPIE

MAYNOOTH


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This is the second volume of a study of religious and ethical thinking in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is a meticulously researched and presented study. It covers the areas of natural and revealed religion; natural affection in Shaftesbury; the ethical positions of Hutchinson, Butler and Paley; and the controversy surrounding Hume’s attempt to sever religion from ethics altogether. It is an invaluable resource: both in terms of the limpid and graceful narrative of a complex debate with the British Isles, and the detailed analysis of the writers themselves.

The most striking aspect of the book is the centrality of Shaftesbury. He was usually perceived on the continent as a major player in eighteenth-century British thought, but he is rarely accorded this significance by Anglophone historiography, perhaps because his resolute theism does not quite fit into the common picture of the age as a battle between rigid orthodoxy and the rampant ‘Deists’. Shaftesbury’s distaste for orthodox Christianity seems to have been quite matched by his fear of atheistical tendencies.

Rivers’s story concerning the pivotal position of Shaftesbury runs thus: Shaftesbury effectively developed a view of ethics in opposition to the prudential ethics of obedience and reward which is important for any Lockean model, and which had a particular importance in eighteenth-century Cambridge in figures such as Edmund Law, Paley and Watson. Shaftesbury’s grounding of ethics in ‘nature’ was the basis for both those of his successors like Butler who effectively Christianised him, and those like Hume who pushed his ethics in a direction which Shaftesbury himself would have found equally troubling.
My only criticism is that I am not sure that Rivers does justice to the continuity of the Platonic strand from 1660 to the nineteenth-century. After all, Shaftesbury’s Platonico-Stoicism was much influenced by the Cambridge Platonists (or the ‘Latitudinarians’, as they were known to their contemporaries) who were deeply opposed to a prudential view of ethics. As Rivers shows quite superbly, this tradition was continued after Shaftesbury by Butler and Price. It is hence no accident that the Platonist S. T. Coleridge should attack Paley in his *Aids to reflection* of 1825 for failing to distinguish prudence, morality and religion. Coleridge is at the end of a tradition which can be clearly traced to Whichcote.

Clare College,
Douglas Hedley
Cambridge


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This thoughtful and thought-provoking book deals with the German medical theorist Georg Ernst Stahl (1659–1734), whose life and work involved an interesting fusion between the methods of the Enlightenment and the religious perceptions of that strain of German evangelical Protestantism which, despite the divisions within it, is usually described as Pietism. Stahl was no stranger to worldly success, even if he did not seek it. When he died he was the leading physician in the kingdom of Berlin-Brandenburg, personal doctor to the king and president of the Prussian College of medicine and surgery, which set the rules of medical practice for the whole country. He had been for many years a professor in Halle, he was a chemist of renown and the author of a treatise, the *Theorie medica vera* (1708), which influenced not only medical practice but also psychology throughout the eighteenth century. Stahl’s concept of medical science was based on his view of the importance of practical experience rather than of experimentation on specific areas of the body. He regarded it as the task of medicine to help the body heal itself, and was sceptical of chemical cures or other intrusive procedures which might actually impede the body’s own recuperative powers. Stahl’s medical works stressed the unity of body and soul. He thus denied the ‘enlightened’ view of the body as a mere mechanism whilst employing what we might consider to be a genuine scientific method in his approach to medicine. He developed his theories at the University of Halle, a centre of radical Protestantism, where he enjoyed close contacts with Pietist circles. Many of his assistants, who popularised his work in treatises and handbooks, regarded Stahl as a champion of enlightened Christianity against the ‘atheistic clockwork’ of mechanistic rationalist theories. The Pietists believed that ‘the truth was simple’ and that inspiration from God, which might come through servant girls as well as university professors, was a more important source of enlightenment than inductive reasoning. They wanted to spread knowledge as widely as possible and therefore wrote in German, not from nationalist motives, but in order to extend their views to the masses. Stahl’s followers usually wrote their commentaries on
his work in German; he himself still chose Latin for his major works. Geyer-Kordesch points out that, despite his influence on various areas of medicine, the domination of mechanistic rationalist thinking in the medical world from the middle of the eighteenth century meant that Stahl was regarded as a pioneer of medical science who nevertheless had a ‘darker’ side – meaning his insistence on the indivisibility of the body and the soul and his holistic approach to therapeutic medicine. In fact it is this combination of deeply-held religious views and scientific observations about illness and recuperation which make him of particular interest to both medical and ecclesiastical historians.

St Antony’s College, A. J. Nicholls
Oxford


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This work convincingly disputes the tendency to allow the 1670s to be overshadowed by the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis. Five narrative chapters offer a sense of life through these years, and five more offer thematic discussions of issues that concerned the English. Spurr carefully places events in their historical context and avoids anachronism by emphasising the contemporary perception of events. A wide variety of sources, including literary texts, illustrate this. Spurr is judicious in his treatment of literature and consequently makes a particularly strong case for its reflection of period concerns. Whilst there is continuity with the 1660s it is also clear that the 1670s should be viewed differently. Apart from commercial and technological developments there was a marked shift in outlooks. Following the departure of Clarendon and his generation, a burgeoning religious tolerance was combined with a greater openness to wit, irony and emotional experimentalism. In public life this was expressed by the growth of political awareness through institutions such as coffee houses which helped to politicise the lower classes. Spurr is undoubtedly correct that their increased desire for news helped to fuel the Popish Plot. Although he concludes with an account of the supposed plot and exclusion debate he rightly dislikes the narrow restrictiveness of these terms. Political confidence, as he has already compellingly argued, was lacking due to anxieties about the whole range of court misgovernment and immorality, royal ambiguity towards France, the abuse of the law and the persecution of dissenters.

St Stephen’s House, M. A. Brydon
Oxford


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This wholly admirable monograph offers a fascinating set of insights into Ziegenbalg’s achievements in South India between 1706 and his death in 1719.
Though there is a fine recent study in German by Daniel Jeyeraj and some earlier German studies, this is the first work in English to present a rounded portrait of a remarkable pioneer. Ziegenbalg’s work included the study of Tamil language and culture, the establishment of schools, forays into the interpretation of Hinduism, and what Brijraj Singh calls, anachronistically but accurately, ‘interfaith dialogue’. Ziegenbalg’s tireless activity is set within the context of the German Pietistic background, the tensions within the Danish court and with the Danish governor in Tranquebar, and on the Indian side, of rapid social change within Hindu society. Ziegenbalg’s enthusiasms were a far cry from the concerns of later missionaries, and he was without the taint of racism or imperialism manifested in another eighteenth-century pioneer of the study of Indian language and customs, Sir William Jones. He was wholly against the westernisation of Indian Christians, and was assiduous in teaching Tamil schoolchildren their own language and customs. In a brilliant final chapter Singh challenges those nationalist historians who have concluded that ‘missionaries were bad for India’. The allegation that missionaries were always participants in the hegemonistic processes of colonialism undoubtedly needs reassessment in the light of such a figure as Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg.

BRITE DIVINITY SCHOOL, KENNETH CRACKNELL
FORT WORTH, TEXAS
other a theologically motivated antagonism to Judaism drawing on orthodox Lutheranism, which at times found considerable popular resonance.

The Open University  Ole Peter Grell


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The imperialism identified in this study originated in ‘a mentality which assumed the natural and necessary coinherence of church and state, [and] in particular of Anglicanism with English constitutional government’ (p. 13). In The Language of liberty (Cambridge 1994), J. C. D. Clark drove his examination of ideas articulating the relationship between Church and State toward the conclusion that the American Revolution can be understood as a war of religion. Doll’s account of the creation of a religious policy for the North American colonies covers similar ground while avoiding such grand claims. He argues that ecclesiastical principle rather than sectarian chauvinism was uppermost in the minds of those High Churchmen in Britain, Canada and the American colonies who created ‘a distinct imperial religious policy for the North American colonies around the American revolt’ (p. 12). Accordingly, Doll pays considerable attention both to the theological context in which colonial religious policy developed and to issues arising from the practical application of that policy within North America. His book casts new light on the evolution of policy toward conquered French Canadians and native peoples. It places major legislation such as the Quebec Act (1774) in a stimulating and unfamiliar context. Doll is able to demonstrate the distinctively ‘imperial’ qualities of the policies that developed by discussing opposition within governmental bodies to measures such as the creation of an American episcopate. His account is informed throughout by wide and productive research in sources seldom used by historians working on the thirteen colonies that formed the United States of America. However by building his book around a discussion of those ideas which Anglican theorists in Britain, Canada and America held in common, Doll tends to move away from the discussion of ‘national identity’ announced in the title. The focus of this study is ‘transnational’ and the unit of analysis is the Atlantic world. Doll is surely right to argue that ‘everything the English and American clerical episcopal advocates and their allies among the laity did – their missionary projects among the Indians, the reservation of land grants as glebes for the use of missionaries from the SPG, the foundation of colleges – seemed to militate towards a greater degree of imperial control over the colonies’ (p. 156) and thereby fostered in reaction the creation of an American national identity. However this argument does not break new ground. Doll’s conclusions in respect of Britain, that many Britons saw the American Revolution as strengthening rather than weakening the case for the coinherence of Church and State, is also generally familiar. This study ought however to contribute to further discussion of the creation of corporate identities within Canada and sectional identities within the United States. It has also
rescued from relative obscurity a body of ideas in which Doll clearly finds enduring value.

St Cross College, 

Oxford 


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This, the first critical edition of the famous Traité, offers scholars of Voltaire and the Enlightenment an outstanding resource for interpreting the key events surrounding Voltaire's response to the Calas case and its significance in the emergence of religious toleration in the west. John Renwick's long introduction sets out to place the Traité in its broader context and to move beyond the standard, yet 'unassailable', interpretations of the Traité which see in it a call for toleration as a moral imperative. These standard interpretations, Renwick claims, 'have masked from us the true complexity of the work' (p. 2). So, while acknowledging that the defence of Calas became 'an absolute priority' (p. 51) for Voltaire, Renwick pursues several other intriguing lines of questioning, including the issue of France's economic woe at the time, which was a significant factor in the discussion about the toleration of French Calvinists, whose abilities as traders were widely recognised. In arguing that by 1750 there was already a large body of work extant in France in favour of the Calvinist cause, Renwick places the Traité in perspective and gives the lie to the simple idea that Voltaire alone introduced the idea of toleration. Renwick's detailed notes to the French text are a superb resource in their own right and a delight to read. This critical edition of the Traité should prove indispensable for scholars of the period for many years to come.

St Michael's College, 

Vermont 


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The traditional, and still the normal, picture of religious development in this period shows both Catholic and Protestant Churches somnolent and decaying, and Christianity intellectually in retreat. No one has challenged this view more effectively than Louis Châtelier in The Europe of the devout and The religion of the poor, which are concerned with Catholic Europe, especially France. In editing this collection he takes his counter-attack onto a wider front by dint both of collaboration with Italian historians, headed by Mario Rosa, and of extending its scope – somewhat tentatively – to Protestantism. The book consists of twenty articles linked together by succinct statements of the editor's general position. His aperçus are eminently quotable: ‘it is not a question of dechristianisation, but of an effervescence of religious thought’ (p. 74); ‘The role of missions – which were
not only Catholic – is truly the capital fact in the history of eighteenth-century religion. Through them Catholicism became, more than it had ever been, a mass phenomenon (p. 138). The end of the century is a period of ‘full-scale renewal of Christianity’ (p. 230). If the articles do not fully bear out these large claims, they are of high quality and great interest. Common themes are the blow dealt to missions by the suppression of the Jesuits; the importance of new orders and devotions; the cult of the ‘good pastor’, a concept which seemed to unite Catholics, Protestants and leading philosophes; the increasing emphasis on individual rather than institutional or collective religious experience; and renewed attention in religious teaching to the printed word. Among especially interesting contributions are Paolo Vismara Chiappa on the diocese of Milan, with an aperçu to rival the editor’s: ‘the Church’s great conquest in the eighteenth century is certainly the countryside’ (p. 35); Gérard Michaux illustrating that Enlightened ideas had penetrated French monasteries of the old orders; M. H. Froeschlé-Choppard on indulgences and the confraternities, showing how this aspect of popular piety lost its élan in most of France and Italy while continuing to develop in central and eastern Europe; Viviane Barrie on reform in the Church of England, especially the diocese of London; Bernard Heyberger on Catholicism in Aleppo from 1750 to 1850; and Châtellier himself on Buffon’s changing ideas about the chronology of the Creation. In his conclusion Mario Rosa dares to describe the volume as presenting ‘an extraordinarily contradictory picture’ (p. 282). Thereby it does justice to its theme, at least so far as is possible within its limitations. If it included discussion of the real religious revolution, the suppression of Christianity under the Terror, the contradictions would appear still greater. The contributors, apart from Viviane Barrie, show a remarkable lack of awareness of English-language scholarship, and Froeschlé-Choppard seems not to know of the impressive work of the Hungarian scholars Gábor and Éva Túskés (mostly published in German), which is absolutely central to her subject. The book’s usefulness would have been enhanced by an index of topics as well as proper names. But this is an unusually well-edited collection containing much lively and original work.

SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, DEREK BEALES
CAMBRIDGE


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It is a cliche everywhere in evidence that religion and atheism are opposite sides of the same coin. Unlike the religiously indifferent, the declared atheist is inescapably part-and-parcel of the religious condition of the age. As Priestman
acutely comments, ‘atheism depends on religion to mean anything at all: if the latter simply went away so would the former’. One cannot understand the irreligion of any period without first understanding what is being denied – and, as any historian of religion knows very well, the commonly held (or commonly enforced) religious views of English society – ‘orthodoxy’ – have varied vastly over the centuries.

Though Priestman at least recognises that in this context ‘orthodox’ is ‘an inherently spongy term’, neither he nor Hedley are prepared to take on board Peter Harrison’s argument that as early as the end of the seventeenth century England was an inherently pluralistic society – already too radically divided for any generalisation about orthodoxy to be meaningful. Yet if one needed an example, it is here in the apparent polarity of Priestman and Hedley. For Hedley, the British empiricist tradition, or what he sees more broadly as the ‘Anglo-Gallic’ tradition of Christian apologetic from Locke to Paley, is an Enlightenment aberration from the true European mainstream of Platonic and Neoplatonic metaphysics, which he convincingly finds re-stated, and triumphantly reinstated, by Coleridge in the 1820s with *Aids to reflection*. For Priestman, on the other hand, that Lockean tradition of Hartley and Paley is itself the orthodoxy against which his ‘atheists’ are rebelling.

Thus, though Joseph Priestley, the Unitarian scientist and theologian, is Hedley’s enemy, he treats him with surprising sympathy as a scholarly mainstream Lockean figure who believed that the doctrine of the Trinity was a Platonic corruption imposed by Greek metaphysics upon the purity of Hebrew monotheism. But for Priestman, though Priestley was a ‘hectically versatile defender of Christianity against attack from many directions’, as a legal heretic he was, as he himself noted, arguably ‘in more danger than a declared unbeliever’ – as the destruction of his house and laboratory in the Birmingham ‘King and Country’ riots was to prove. His Priestley, so far from being a pillar of orthodoxy, is, if not an atheist, at least a leader of the opposition. Nor, for Priestman, is Priestley the only such resister of orthodoxy; to the familiar names of Erasmus Darwin, Sir Francis Dashwood, Benjamin Franklin, Volney and Shelley are added Blake, the early Coleridge and Wordsworth.

The problem, of course, is that the ‘orthodoxy’ being resisted varies so wildly as to make the term impossible. Dashwood was a founder member of the Hell Fire Club – so was Franklin, but that did not stop him helping to compose the American Episcopalian Prayer Book. Volney is opposing the Catholicism of the *French ancien régime*, but not with Enlightenment scepticism so much as a shadowy mysticism of his own. Coleridge starts, like Priestley, from Lockean ‘reason-ability’, only to turn against it, while Blake was totally opposed to it from the start. Wordsworth, as Priestman observes in one of his best insights, opts for ‘collected silence’.

In such a fluid and pluralistic context, where atheism and orthodoxy dance a convoluted tango, gaps are the more significant. Priestman’s emphasis on the English context makes him miss both Chateaubriand and Schleiermacher, both of whom were profoundly influenced by the English religious debates of the 1790s, and whose ultra-Protestantism and ultra-Catholicism respectively were both in turn to influence the debates of the 1820s. Similarly, he discusses Blake’s relationship to Joachim of Fiore (whom he calls, curiously, ‘Joachim of Flora’)
without reference to Marjorie Reeves's and Warwick Gould’s magisterial study of precisely this point of his influence on Blake. Even more seriously, neither Hedley nor Priestman makes any reference to Robert Lowth’s *Sacred poetry of the Hebrews*, which was arguably to have a greater effect on religious debates of the later eighteenth century than any other work. Not merely did it trigger the higher criticism in Germany, but in England it undermined conventional distinctions between prose and verse, offered a new conception of sublimity and, above all, established the role of the poet as prophet. The *Lyrical ballads*, like Shelley’s *Defence of poetry*, may not have been the product of orthodoxy, but both were most certainly the children of biblical criticism.

Marianne Thormählen’s *The Brontës and religion*, is, in contrast, a work of extraordinarily comprehensive scholarship. She seems to have missed very little. In a way that few of her contemporaries match, she is at home in both the literature and the convoluted religious politics of the early nineteenth century. She is fully aware of the pluralism of the period, and her use of such terms as ‘evangelical’, ‘antinomian’ or even ‘Calvinism’ are never fixed units, but always qualified and related, both aesthetically and intellectually to the actual context. Contrary to the now widely-held assumption of Emily’s and even Charlotte’s heterodox beliefs, Thormählen sees all three sisters’ novels as being profoundly theological in character, and argues that their ‘heterodoxy’ is usually based on modern critics’ ignorance of, and insensitivity to, contemporary religious markers. Thus *Wuthering heights* is interpreted as not so much a godless, as a truly apocalyptic novel. But Thormählen’s thesis is much wider than her rather prosaic title might suggest. Religion is not an add-on topic. For her, the Bronte’s novels are not merely profoundly theological in character, but as important a part of the theological debate of the period as many works of overt theology. A comparison of the influence of Jane Eyre with that of *Aids to reflection* would be as interesting as it might be ‘unorthodox’.

All three books, however, are works that change the scholarly landscape and give interesting new insights into a period whose complexity and subtlety of thought we are still grappling with.

University of Glasgow  Stephen Prickett


This is a remarkable book: a brave, perhaps foolhardy, work from a historian of religion and folklore at the height of his powers, passionate yet written with calm and clarity. His subject is modern pagan witchcraft: Wicca and its associated traditions. He is clear that this is not an ‘ancient religion’ in the sense which most witches still claim. His evidence strongly implies, although it cannot prove, that Wicca’s first public appearance in Britain in the 1950s followed hard on its creation. Instead, he provides an alternative narrative of the movement’s emergence. The first half of the book identifies its precursors in British culture going back into the eighteenth century and in some cases beyond. The tradition of rural cunning-folk and the ritualistic quasi-religion of Freemasonry are minor
themes; but the focus is on the many faces of Romanticism, which coupled the language and imagery of ancient paganism with a wholly idealistic view of nature – undeterred by the highly cultivated quality of the English ‘natural’ landscape. He traces this tradition through literary heavyweights – Keats, Hardy, Kenneth Grahame, D. H. Lawrence and Yeats – and through the nineteenth-century folklorists who insisted, in the teeth of the evidence, that the oral traditions they were recording were timeless. In the twentieth century these threads come together with the neatness and cohesion of an origin myth. Romanticism’s elitist contempt for real peasants (underpinned by shoddy scholarship which Hutton exposes mercilessly); its love of ancient traditions, real or invented; its enjoyment of ritual; and its undercurrent of hostility to Christianity, fostered something more than a mere interest in ancient paganism. Finally, the chaotic change and barbarity of the modern age allowed this to crystallise into a real religion. Its claim to be ancient belies (if it does not betray) its modernity; one of Hutton’s achievements is to demonstrate how closely the ideological world of paganism has been related to ‘mainstream’ western culture, including academic culture. If nothing else, this survey should settle for good the myth that we live in a secular age.

The second half of the book traces modern paganism’s history since the 1940s, from the early covens in the New Forest to a movement which Hutton estimates to be some 100,000 strong in Britain today. As a kind of mystery religion, paganism is resistant to research; its formidable ability to invent tradition, and its playful relationship with fact, have left a thick layer of myth and misinformation crusted especially onto its early history. Hutton deals expertly with these difficulties, but his own sympathies are clear throughout. He is often scathing about academics, popularisers and journalists; yet witches are always handled gently, even when criticised. In Hutton’s eyes, modern paganism is a distinct religion in its own right, a (thankfully rather selective) revival of ancient paganism rather than a wing of the New Age movement. He is also concerned to stress its benevolence; the resulting view is perhaps too rosy. Most strikingly, he insists on taking pagans’ religious claims seriously, and refuses to arbitrate between rival claims of natural and supernatural causation. His own beliefs are never spelt out, but he does not disguise his contempt for the trite rationalism of most academic discourse. As he hints in his carefully worded introduction, his willingness to take such a view in print entails a lowering of the academic’s normal shield of dispassionate detachment. It may be questioned whether this can be sustainable. Hutton’s achievement, however, is that this approach has not compromised his scholarship; and it has allowed him to write a passionate, important and consistently fascinating book.

University of Birmingham

ALEC RYRIE


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Forty years ago Ford K. Brown’s attempt to demonstrate that the Hanoverian evangelicals should take the blame as the Fathers of the Victorians encountered
memorable critical fire, and few have since essayed the synoptic treatment that the theme invites. It is all the riper for fresh investigation in the wake of recent work illuminating central dimensions of the evangelical contribution to the Victorian world-view. Herbert Schlossberg sets out to fill this gap. He argues that the evangelical revival inaugurated a ‘silent revolution’ which transformed the culture, institutions and structures of English life. If evangelicals led the way, both the Oxford Movement and Arnoldians made distinctive contributions reflecting their affinities with evangelicalism; so did the cultural ‘prophets’ Coleridge and Carlyle, if not the utilitarians. The ‘revolution’ was manifest in new moral understandings of the ‘Condition of England’ and of poverty, provoking remarkable initiatives in philanthropy; a massive educational project fuelling a significant rise in literacy; a new, morally and doctrinally informed, high culture in literature, music and the visual arts; a moralisation of the working classes marked by declining illegitimacy, a new domesticity in family life and Sunday observance; and indeed a similar moralisation of the political classes, manifest in parliamentary behaviour and early nineteenth-century reform projects. If the ‘silent revolution’ created Victorian England, however, by the end of the reign ‘a gathering putrescence’ (p. 314) was apparent as the evangelical impulse was diluted in the cultural mainstream and paid the price for its theological undervaluation of the creation and incarnation. The chief strengths of The silent revolution lie in the author’s informed concern for theological nuances in evangelicalism that escape many commentators, his attention to the arts and the breadth of his reading on the nineteenth century which stretches from Tocqueville and Baring-Gould to Bebbington, Hilton, Poovey and Walkowitz. Yet while few would dispute the claim that evangelicalism helped transform English society and culture, one suspects even fewer would accept Schlossberg’s simplistic characterisation of that transformation, of which the main engine was evangelical preaching, as ‘making almost all things better’ (p. 314), replacing a ‘rough, uncouth, brutal society’ by ‘a kinder, more decent one’ (pp. 287–8). The thesis thus emerges as virtually the antithesis of Brown’s, and equally parti pris. It is founded on a crude portrayal of the eighteenth century as violent, drunken, corrupt and depraved. If the author knows his Hogarth, he appears to have no acquaintance with the very different eighteenth centuries which emerge from the work of Brewer, Clark or Langford; indeed coffee-houses are here presented not as a characteristic eighteenth-century cultural form, but as a feature of the transition to the sober Victorian period (p. 242). His account of the Hanoverian Church is equally uninformed by recent scholarship. Schlossberg is fiercely critical of the work of Victorianists whose ‘antinomianism’ renders them incapable of a sympathetic reading of the nineteenth century, but it is clear that he has a similar blind spot when it comes to the eighteenth, which prevents him from properly evaluating non-evangelical theological and secular contributions to the fashioning of Victorian England. As a result this account of the evangelical impact on the nineteenth century ultimately fails to convince.

King’s College, London

Arthur Burns

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The thirty-two contributors to this reference work on the Lutheran Church in Bavaria should be congratulated for responding to an initiative of the Landeskirchenrat of the Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirche in Bavaria. This new compendium builds on the works of Matthias Simon and Claus-Jürgen Roepke. The focus is very much on the Lutheran Church, though short essays on the Presbyterian Reformierte Kirche, the various Free Churches and a number of popular sects are tagged on to the end of this study. The history of Bavarian Lutheranism is approached chronologically. All the essays are set within the wider socio-political and economic shifts. The role of the Church up to the revolution of 1918/19, under the Weimar Republic and National Socialism and finally in the post-1945 period are comprehensively analysed. Developments in a range of areas are considered in each of the three main periods. Short chapters, each introduced with references to the key sources used by each contributor, cover constitutional issues and political interests, church life and theological trends, home mission, education and youth work. There are altogether six chapters dealing specifically with developments in the fields of art and church music during the last two centuries. The plates underline the rich variety of expressions of faith that have characterised the region. The reader is treated to an excellent survey of two hundred years of Bavarian Lutheranism, which has incorporated the fruit of recent research, as testified by the large number of footnotes and an excellent bibliography. My appetite for volume one of this history, covering the previous three centuries, has been well and truly whetted.

University of Ulster

Nicholas Railton


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Until 1855 the ecclesiastical courts had jurisdiction over defamation cases in which the slander was an accusation of an offence at ecclesiastical law – that is, adultery or fornication. This jurisdiction, although technically ‘ecclesiastical’, was not in practice regarded as being closely connected with the institutional Church. This book asks: what was the law, how was it administered and how did it affect society?

This study may be compared with other work challenging the classical view of nineteenth-century modernising reforms. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction for defamation was available to relatively poor people, and placed a degree of direct power in the hands of women, who brought 90 per cent of cases. Waddams shows that the abolition movement’s case was characterised by inaccuracies bordering
on dishonesty; one is reminded of Trollope’s novels. The Slander of Women Act 1891 was in many ways less satisfactory than what had been abolished in 1855.

Cases were brought to protect reputation, something that was especially important to people who belonged to the ‘lower orders’ but not the very poor. Useful insights into the ways in which people—especially but not only women—understood and valued reputation can be found in the detailed examples the author analyses. It is interesting to note that truth was not in itself a sufficient defence for destroying someone’s reputation, and that what litigants wanted was not money but an apology.

The book is written with admirable clarity, making its complex and detailed material easy to follow.

University of Botswana


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According to Inger Hammar, feminists have rightly accused more traditional historians of being ‘woman blind’, but historians of women have themselves often been ‘religion blind’. Hammar is one of a team of historians from the Nordic countries who are seeking to cure both forms of failure of vision. As Pirjo Markkola suggests in her introduction to this very useful collection of essays, some historians of women and of feminism have ignored the influence of religion altogether, while others have assessed its role in a superficial or one-dimensional way. One reason for this has been the assumption that women’s emancipation must be a fruit of secularisation. Yet Hammar shows that the Swedish pioneer of feminism, Fredrika Bremer, cannot be understood without reference to the debates within Protestantism in the mid-nineteenth century. Bremer herself was both devout and liberal, influenced by contemporary biblical criticism and by the assertion of freedom and equality as core Christian values. Ellen Key, a very influential figure in the later nineteenth century, did eventually reject Christianity, but her feminism too was originally rooted in liberal Protestantism. Another source of misunderstanding has been the assumption that the impact of Lutheranism can be defined by reference to the pronouncements of certain bishops. Markkola shows how Lutheran teachings, and especially the Lutheran concept of vocation, have had varied and sometimes contradictory effects on the public role of devout women. While insisting that all callings were of divine origin and of equal value, Luther saw woman’s vocation as being mainly to motherhood and management of the household. However, Lutheran beliefs and a sense of divine calling led some women to an expanded concept of the domestic sphere and of motherly responsibility, and inspired them to enter the public sphere as preachers, political activists or moral campaigners. In her own contribution on Finland, Markkola examines women’s involvement in social reform movements, and stresses the dual role of Lutheranism in promoting a strong sense of gender
difference, while also providing a motive for activism. Similarly, Karin Lützen, looking at the ideology underlying women’s philanthropic activity in Denmark between about 1870 and 1920, stresses the importance of concepts of domesticity and motherhood. Women justified their interventions in the public sphere by arguing that the city should be like an enlarged home: women should act as mothers towards those, like sailors, who were most vulnerable to the dangers of drink and prostitution. Inga Huld Hakonardottir, in a more descriptive piece, notes the role of philanthropic Christian women among the pioneers of the welfare state in Iceland. For me, the highlight of the volume was Bjørg Seland’s account of the role of women in the mission societies in the Pietist strongholds of south-west Norway. In the early nineteenth century women had quite a prominent part in the evangelistic movement led by Hans Nielsen Hauge. However, as the movement became more organised and formalised, women appeared to be pushed into the background. Certainly the mission societies insisted in theory on sharply separated gender roles and most women seem to have accepted this. But Seland, drawing especially on oral history, identifies two ways of refusing to conform. There were rebels who openly challenged orthodox taboos by, for instance, claiming that they had a call to preach. But there were also those who contested these restrictions in more subtle ways. Typically they were in jobs like tailoring, where they were part of an extensive local network. As teachers in Sunday Schools, leaders of prayer groups, visitors of the sick, or simply through personal authority, they could exercise considerable local influence, and force ministers to take notice of them, without ever directly challenging their authority. Thoroughly researched, clearly presented and persuasively argued, these essays will be of value alike to historians of religion, of women and of welfare, and they can also be recommended for use on undergraduate courses.

University of Birmingham

Hugh McLeod


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Charles Cashdollar has written a fascinating book from a refreshingly different perspective. *A spiritual home* examines the interior life of approximately 150 British and American Presbyterian and Congregational flocks, exploring how they operated as individual congregations and ‘how local religious life changed during an age of industrial and urban growth’ (p. 3). Among many intriguing discoveries, the author discerns a fundamental shift ‘in emphasis from piety to fellowship’ by the eve of the First World War (p. 11). Although the denominations represented in this study experienced serious debate and division over ecclesiastical and doctrinal questions in this period, local congregational life appears to have been characterised by consensus rather than conflict. Changes in worship and hymnody that did occur seem to have resulted from pragmatic concerns for efficiency, comfort and professionalism. Hence, ‘ambitious programs
employing organists and [trained] choristers’ arose from a popular desire to
discard amateurish psalm-singing (p. 75). Similarly, administering communion
with congregants seated in their pews and using individual glasses arose from
practical concerns for efficiency and hygiene. Meanwhile, an increasing concern
for privacy gradually undermined old patterns of public discipline. By the early
twentieth century, doctrinal commitments had been eclipsed by other con-
siderations as ‘affability replaced piety as the primary trait that members were
expected to acquire’ (p. 207). Cashdollar’s book is a clearly written and
impressively researched contribution to the literature on Anglo-American
religious life in the Victorian era.

Grove City College                            Gillis J. Harp

_The Oxford Movement. Nineteenth-century books and pamphlets in Canterbury Cathedral
library._ Compiled by Brian Hogben and Jonathan Harrison (introduction
Canon Michael Chandler). (Canterbury Sources, 1.) Pp. xxi+73 incl.
frontispiece and 3 ills. Canterbury: Canterbury Sources, 1999. £8 (paper)
plus £1 post and packing from Canterbury Sources, Canterbury Cathedral
Library, The Precincts, Canterbury CT1 2EH. 0950 13922 X

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This well produced and illustrated volume is the first of a series intended to draw
scholars to the wide range of printed and manuscript sources in the library and
archives at Canterbury Cathedral. It catalogues much of the Oxford Movement
material in what is now the Howley–Harrison Library; its presence there is owed
chiefly to Benjamin Harrison, domestic chaplain to Archbishop Howley from
1838 to 1848, residentiary canon of the cathedral and archdeacon of Maidstone
from 1845 until his death in 1887, early adherent of the Movement and author
of four of the _Tracts for the times_. Harrison left some 16,000 books, pamphlets and
periodicals to the library: most were collected by Harrison himself (including a
number purchased from the library of Hugh James Rose), some were bequeathed
to him by Howley, and others by Sir Robert Inglis, joint guardian to Harrison’s
wife, Isabella Thornton. Items in the collection are presented chronologically
with corresponding call number and grouped by theme where possible (‘Tract
90’, ‘The Jerusalem bishopric’ etc.); cited by author, short title, place of
publication and publisher, date and pagination; and helpfully indexed by
author, place of publication and general index. While the editors’ exclusion of
material pertaining to later Ritualist and Anglo-Catholic movements is surely
justifiable in terms of the cohesion and indeed scale of the enterprise, it remains
unfortunate that they elected to omit ‘a substantial number of sermons and other
works on general or even secular subjects by Tractarians’, for this both
undermines the comprehensiveness of the catalogue, and pre-judges the focus of
scholarly interest in the material at a time when historians have begun to
examine the extra-theological purchase of the Movement’s commentary. The
historical introduction and biographical notes contain a number of inaccuracies
and will probably be superfluous to the specialist reader by whom the volume is
likely to be used. But these remain petty cavils given the ambition of the broader
undertaking, and the editors are to be credited for their initiative in thus
rendering the cathedral’s holdings more accessible. It is one which other ecclesiastical archivists can only be exhorted to follow.

Balliol College, S. A. Skinner
Oxford


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Günter Biemer gives us a lengthy and exhaustive analysis of the development of Newman’s doctrine, in the consistent search for truth. The title quotes Newman’s own appeal to (apocryphal) Scripture in his last letters to Keble before the inevitable step into the ‘One fold of the Redeemer’ (1 Esdras iv. 41). Newman never wavered from that search for truth, despite moors, fens, crags and torrents in his path. To illustrate Newman’s thought, Biemer draws copiously on original sources, the letters and diaries, and the sermons, showing how these reflected the preacher’s concerns. He also quotes much of Newman’s poetry (such as ‘Lead kindly light’ translated into almost singable German on p. 100). This is very much an intellectual biography, speaking of the mind more than the emotions.

The two significant influences on Newman’s two lives were the Church of England and the Oratory. No one from another country can possibly understand the Church of England, and Biemer is in danger of projecting modern Anglicanism onto the early nineteenth century, with a number of embarrassing small errors. Newman, for instance, could not possibly have cultivated devotion to the Reserved Sacrament in Oriel Chapel in the 1830s (p. 123). To understand Newman at Oxford, one really does need to look more at what the Church of England then was, and its curious relationships with the State and with foreign Protestantism. For his contemporaries, such outrages as the Irish Church bill, or the Jerusalem bishopric, were perfectly sensible actions for an Established Protestant religion: the reactions of the Oxford men were far from typical, and indeed it was this forced realisation of how untypical they were that eventually led them into the Catholic fold. To understand Newman at Birmingham, one needs to investigate the Oratory, not least in his own Oratorian papers.

Newman’s understanding of the priestly community, and, more important, of the role of the laity, has a distinctively Oratorian touch. The Oratory is a puzzle even to most Catholics, but its secret is that it had an essentially lay apostolate from the very beginning, so that Newman’s celebrated emphasis on the laity was something he learned from St Philip and St François de Sales, not a freak anticipation of the 1960s (p. 257). In concentrating on the written record, and Newman’s philosophical theology, Biemer gives us less of the human person. We hear little about his many intense friendships: Bowden, Froude, Maria Giberne, Ambrose St John . . . Indeed the deaths of Bowden and Froude, which affected Newman so deeply, are barely mentioned in passing, though Ambrose does get his due (p. 471). Nor is Newman’s pastoral involvement with the people of Littlemore, and his deep affection for them, given enough weight. Illustrations
are mostly commonplace, and badly reproduced – that on page 35 is appalling – and bear little on the text. A hefty necessity for any Newman library, this is unlikely to find a home on the shelves of the ordinary English reader.

**Oxford Oratory**

**Jerome Bertram**


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The centenary of the death at Tegernsee of Lord Acton (1834–1902) is likely to be widely commemorated internationally. The influence of this great historical thinker has, remarkably, outlived his own Victorian age. This is due less to any particular book, or to his role as *eminence grise* to Prime Minister W. H. Gladstone or to having been the first Catholic Regius Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge, than to his thinking on the corrupting effects of power in State and Church. In this he can be said to have truly anticipated the totalitarianisms of the twentieth century. Born in Naples of Anglo-German parents, Acton was also, through family connections and upbringing, a true European before his time, equally at home in England, Italy, Germany and France. Rocco Pezzimenti, who teaches political thought at the Guido Carli Free University of Rome, shows through his familiarity with Acton’s life and work how they are becoming increasingly known abroad. Unfortunately, relying as he does almost exclusively on secondary sources, this entails absorbing their mistakes as well. Thus he neglects, above all, Acton’s correspondence with his Munich teacher, Dr Ignaz von Dollinger and their shared friend, Charlotte, Lady Blennerhassett. These letters, in German and English (published between 1963 and 1981) were edited in four volumes by Victor Conzemius, and are quoted by Pezzimenti but only at second hand. They are, however, essential for the understanding of Acton’s life and work. Over-reliance on some lesser authorities on Acton has also contributed to the major misapprehension that Dollinger, the leading German Catholic scholar of his time, did ‘corrupt the souls of others’, and, moreover, ‘with all his followers left the Roman Church and provoked… a schism’. As is now widely known, the saintly Döllinger bore the severe public excommunication, for which he was singled out in 1871, with exemplary humility, and, though sympathising with the Old Catholics, who misused his name and reputation, never joined them. Pezzimento makes much of the term ‘liberal Catholicism’, hailing Acton and the Catholic reviews which he edited in the late 1850s and early 1860s as among its precursors. But since Acton was a Liberal MP and shared none of the ‘religious liberalism’ triumphant among Anglicans and continental Protestants of his time, the ‘liberal Catholicism’ debate tends to be more fashionable today than helpful. The battle of Catholic and non-Catholic minds then raged between various forms of ‘Gallicanism’ (‘Erastianism’) and ‘Ultramontanism’, with the latter being victorious in that long and politically disastrous pontificate of Pius IX (1846–78). Acton’s Burkean Catholic liberalism needs also to be distinguished from the revolutionary,
state-centred, anticlerical views of the liberals fighting for an independent Italy. The term ‘liberal Catholic’ is certainly laughably wrong when Pezzimento applies it to John Henry Newman, an arch-Tory, for all his ‘liberal’ sympathies for the younger Acton. After all, Newman had ‘gone over’ to Rome when he realised that the Church of England lacked or rejected the Roman Apostolic claims. It is at least open to doubt whether Newman, the ‘inopportunist’ in regard to papal infallibility, would have converted at all if the dogma of the First Vatican Council of 1871 had been in existence in 1845. (Acton and Döllinger supported some hundred bishops of the Vatican Council’s minority, the intellectually leading bishops of France, Austria, Germany, England and USA who opposed infallibility.) Nor can Döllinger be described as a ‘liberal Catholic’ much as he was flattered to be called one in the Catholic Church’s heady days of Lamennais and pre-1848. The author’s Italian perspective is better suited to his analysis of Acton’s belief in federalism as the ‘best realisation of the principle of constitutionalism’, and of ‘intermediate powers [rendering] the individual secure from all possible oppressive power of central government’. But his abstract treatment of Acton’s life and times is certainly not helped by blithe statements such as ‘The Church is the enemy of the despotism of the state – despite certain historical contingencies’ (my italics). This is the author’s favourite, euphemistic expression for aberrations of the temporal power or similar clashes between theology and inconvenient historical facts. And when the author states that ‘from 1829 onwards [English] Catholics had the right to vote, to sit in Parliament and occupy almost any of the high offices of state’ he merely describes the legal theory of Catholic Emancipation, which, however, needed much more than another century to become full reality in British society.

No North Sea. The Anglo-German evangelical network in the middle of the nineteenth century.


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The title of this book is taken from the words of Sir Culling Eardley Smith, the president of the British Evangelical Alliance. Addressing the international conference of Protestant Christians in Berlin on 9 September 1857 he announced that there was ‘no longer a north Sea’. In this detailed study, which is richly rooted in primary source material, Nicholas Railton presents us with convincing evidence that this was indeed the case. In chapters which focus on the theological, London, Missionary and Jewish connections, Railton demonstrates the many links and networks which existed between British and German Evangelical Christians in the early and middle Victorian years. These links were visible at almost every level from Queen Victoria’s family ties with German royalty and Lord Shaftesbury’s friendship with Carl Bunsen down to Elizabeth Fry’s association with the deaconesses of Kaiserwerth. Each of the eight chapters is rich in biographical cameos of English and German Protestant Christians. Additionally, the author draws out the links established by inter-marriage and family
networking. In his chapter on the Anglo-German theological linkage, Railton shows that there were shared concerns. Protestant Christians in Germany were troubled by the writings of Ferdinand Baur and David Strauss whose *Life of Jesus* and *Essence of Christianity* were perceived as having undermined the historicity of the Gospels. Although their influence was held back by the Oxford Movement and the Recordite fundamentalists, English Evangelicals were profoundly disturbed by the publication of *Essays and reviews* in 1860. Anglo-German networking was also seen in a number of educational and medical home mission societies working in London and among the English-speaking communities of several German towns and cities. The British and Foreign Bible Society had a considerable impact in Germany and in 1813 King Frederick III of Prussia received a delegation from Lord Teignmouth. It was, however, the setting up of the International Evangelical Alliance in 1846 which issued in a whole range of collaborative Christian enterprises. One particularly significant aspect of these endeavours was a variety of missions to the Jews and a growing desire to support the return of the Jews to Palestine. Both British and German Protestants became interested in Old Testament prophecies relating to the return of the Jews to Israel, both sponsored Jewish colonies in Jerusalem and other Palestinian towns and cities and both believed that such schemes would speed Jesus’ return and the inauguration of the millennial kingdom. The establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric in 1841 as a joint Anglo-Prussian venture promoted by Frederick William IV and Lord Shaftesbury was felt to be ‘a most powerful instrument for the spread of the Gospel among the Jews’. Railton concludes with an apt postscript making the point that these Anglo-German evangelical networks promoted international understanding and fostered numerous friendships in a period of growing tensions. This is a scholarly, readable book which engages with an important chapter in missionary history.

School of Theology and Religious Studies, Nigel Scotland Cheltenham


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This history commemorates the 150th anniversary of the founding of Saint Vincent Archabbey in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, and was commissioned by the archabbey as a comprehensive study of its history from the founding of Sportsman’s Hall parish in 1790, through the arrival of the first Benedictines in 1846, to the election of the abbey’s seventh archabbot in 1963. Making good use of extensive archival material in the United States and Europe, Oetgen sets out to provide a biography of Saint Vincent’s Archabbey within Benedictine monastic tradition as well as in the broader sweep of American Catholicism. He succeeds admirably in both. Oetgen has a deft touch as an historian, particularly when integrating a chorus of voices from the past with the larger histories he pursues. *Mission to America* provides local colour as well as a sound perspective on the rapid
changes in American history from 1848, when the first three Benedictine priests to come to America served more than two dozen towns dotted over 3,500 square miles of Pennsylvanian missionary territory (one wrote charmingly to a sponsor back in Bavaria that ‘my horse is a wandering chapel’ [p. 73]), through the American liturgical reforms of the 1930s in which Benedictines played a pivotal role, to the disastrous fire in 1963 that destroyed a great part of the archabbey itself. Oetgen’s work is a fascinating and authoritative portrait of American Catholicism.

Mount Angel Abbey and Seminary, Seymour Baker House, Oregon


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The title of this book under-represents its content. It does indeed contain the portrait of a marriage but, after a short-lived attempt at the style of a romantic novel in the opening pages, it quickly becomes an excellent joint biography of two people of high capability and achievement. Mandell Creighton (1843–1901) combined the careers of historian and Anglican cleric, rising to eminence in both as Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge (1884–91) prior to nomination to the see of Peterborough and then to London in 1897. His early death, at the age of fifty-seven, prevented the final preferment to Canterbury which many had confidently expected. The writing and research for his five-volume History of the papacy (1378–1527) was squeezed into a lifetime of parochial and teaching duties along with less strenuous projects like his biography of Elizabeth I (1896) which is, according to Covert, ‘one of the better interpretations’. He completed a number of other short histories, as did his wife Louise, who proved an able exponent of the popular and school genres. She was an ideal partner to the energetic and convivial Creighton, organising their regular moves from one large, rambling home to another and educating all their seven children up to the age of twelve. They both loved travelling and annually spent several weeks on holiday alone together, often in Italy. Surviving her husband by thirty-five years, Louise wrote an exemplary Life and letters which is the chief source for this book, along with her own letters and autobiography, discovered and published by the author, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Portland.

University of Sheffield

Helen Mathers


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This collection of twelve essays is a tribute to A. C. Cheyne, formerly Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Edinburgh. There is a tribute to him, and an
introduction which is essentially a summary of the subsequent articles. Of these, two are about Thomas Carlyle and only incidentally about Christianity. The one on Carlyle’s background in the Seceder congregation at Ecclefechan suggests that he himself may have been ignorant of that tradition which is scarcely touched on here; the one about Auchtertool Kirkyard is a delight to read. Six of the articles are only incidentally about Scotland, the one on Christian faith and unbelief being a very uncritical account based on England, the one on the education of Victorian children being far from uncritical but also based on England, one being about a Scot in New Zealand and another about John Baillie in Germany, one being about Wales and another about Malawi. Of the twelve, four may be described as pedestrian, while four are outstanding.

Barbara MacHaffie, once a talented student of Alec Cheyne, has contributed a study of Old Testament criticism in the education of Victorian children. This was only accepted from about 1880 when the critical view saw ‘enormous variety’ in the Bible, and ‘a developing process’ with ‘its highest point in Jesus’. But this only applied to the Old Testament, the New Testament was taught to be on ‘solid ground’. And ‘the authors’ use of progressive revelation obscures the complexity of ‘the Old Testament material’. However, the most astonishing thing is that teachers of children were expected to use critical material at all, when so many regarded the Bible as ‘dictated by God’. But perhaps equally astonishing is the fact that women teachers were expected to cope with this material. However, ‘The fact that mothers and female authors were simply acting as conduits of scholarship produced by men was compatible with the popular Victorian idea that women were not capable of great intellectual breakthroughs on their own; they were consigned to passing along the achievements of male academics.’ But this article is based largely on texts for teachers and, as Dr MacHaffie observes, ‘nothing is harder to document than what actually happened’.

The article by Owen Chadwick on Queen Victoria receiving the sacrament in the Church of Scotland at Crathie in 1873 is a gem. Every participant in the debate is given a fair hearing, and an intelligent hearing, and if no lessons are drawn from the incident, we are left with a far clearer picture of how people believed than is usually found in textbooks. As for Queen Victoria herself, she comes across as a serious and devout Christian trying to do the right thing by her tenants at Crathie, the Scottish establishment, the English establishment and God. She believed in establishments, and thus ‘she regarded the Episcopal Church as a disaster for Scotland – as one more way of keeping some of the people of Scotland, and especially the upper class among the people of Scotland, away from their Presbyterian parish church’. Dr Norman MacLeod said that aristocrats built the Episcopal chapels and no-one else went to them, and when she turned to the dean of Windsor for advice about this, he could only reassure her by saying that the Episcopal chapels were few and had little influence. But there was another question – was she entitled to communicate under the rules of the Church of Scotland?

The paper by Keith Robbins on ‘Establishing Disestablishment: some reflections on Wales and Scotland’, is almost entirely about Wales, and all the better for that. There is a telling reference to the ‘virtual disestablishment’ which has been gradually achieved by the Church of England, evidence on how the
social assumptions and conventions’ of the Church in Wales lingered after disestablishment and a suggestion that the Church in Wales did not respond to its new status as well as some historians have asserted. On the other hand, Welsh Nonconformity has also had to rethink its identity since there is no virtue in being Nonconformist in a nation without an Established Church. About the Church of Scotland it is noted that ‘with the creation of a Scottish Parliament, its pretensions, long since somewhat bogus, now stand out as anomalous, even offensive’.

Stewart J. Brown on Presbyterians and Catholics argues that the anti-Catholic campaign of the 1930s ‘also forced Presbyterians in Scotland to recognise the darker side of national religion’. He shows more feeling for what lay behind and beneath the union of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church in 1929 than the institutional and bloodless article in this volume which is solely concerned with that event. ‘But in one sense the triumph had not been complete, for church reunion in 1929 had not been accompanied by the announcement of co-operation of Church and State for the reduction of Scotland’s large Catholic community.’

The tribute to A. C. Cheyne by D. W. D. Shaw is sprightly and right on target. He comments on Alec Cheyne’s return to New College, Edinburgh, in 1958 as lecturer, ‘he did appear absurdly young then, and his boyish experience has stayed with him into his eighth decade’. Alec Cheyne was and is a great teacher, not least because ‘he is a genuine man of culture’. But it is his kindness that is most notable.

St Andrews

Gavin White


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There has not been much serious research on the church history of Estonia in the twentieth century. There are two major reasons for this. First, in the interwar period, an Estonian scholarly tradition was only just beginning to develop; until then, all historical and theological research had been done by the Baltic Germans. Second, in the Soviet era, religion was to a large extent a forbidden subject and thus could not be discussed publicly. All research on religion and church history had to be carried out from an atheistic point of view. Scholars outside Estonia were not allowed into Soviet archives, a circumstance which forced them to rely only on such material as could be found in western archives and libraries. Furthermore, the Faculty of Theology at the University of Tartu was liquidated in 1940, not to be reopened until 1991. The work of a new generation of Estonian church historians has only begun to bear fruit recently. 1995 saw the first dissertation on Estonian church history published since the 1930s.

The Tartu Faculty of Theology still lacks a chair of church history. For this reason the department of church history at the University of Helsinki has over the
last ten years developed into an important centre for studies on Estonian church history. The Tallinn-born Riho Saard has researched and written his doctoral dissertation under the auspices of the department at Helsinki.

Saard’s book is divided into two parts. He examines on the one hand the appearance or formation of the first generation of a Lutheran clergy of Estonian descent, beginning in the 1870s. The typical Estonian student of theology had to face many obstacles, from economic hardship to social and national pressure, on his way to a clerical position in a Church dominated by the Baltic German clergy up until 1919. Saard has meticulously tracked the careers of all the Estonian pastors ordained in the period 1870–1917, and presents the results clearly in several tables and appendices. His analysis is sound and balanced. He is able to disprove some long-standing misconceptions, for example the claim that there were no Estonian pastors in office in the Estonian consistorial district before 1905.

The second part of the book deals with the progress towards the establishment of a programme for ‘a free people’s Church’. In some parishes the Estonian parishioners’ growing dissatisfaction with the old patronage system boiled over into aggressive attempts to prevent the installation of a pastor chosen by the Baltic German patron against the wishes of the people. Saard gives colourful accounts of these ‘church wrangles’. He then examines in detail the several proposals put forward by mostly Estonian, but in two cases also German, would-be reformers of the Estonian Church. The development culminated in the Tartu Church Congress in 1917, which prepared the ground for the later independent Estonian Lutheran Church.

Saard’s research is based on extensive Estonian archival and printed sources, supplemented by Latvian, Finnish and Russian material. The book has a German summary.

University of Helsinki

Mikko Ketola


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As Dr Williams reminds us at the outset, most of the writing about nineteenth-century religion places centre stage the activities and travails of the institutional Churches and tends to be dominated by issues of decline. In place of this approach, Williams proposes popular culture as an interpretative model for understanding late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century religion. Her subject is the borough of Southwark where the stability of local communities, which persisted until after the Second World War, provided a basis for strong local identities and the persistence and development of folk traditions including a distinctive understanding of Christianity. Religion in the popular culture of Southwark was a rich mixture of superstition, folk tradition and orthodox belief of the sort more usually associated by historians with rural areas. Religious practices such as participation in the rites of passage provided by the Churches or occasional attendance at special services carried a correspondingly rich variety of meanings for the participants – meanings which could all be held together
simultaneously. Thus women might seek to be ‘churched’ after childbirth because the ceremony was seen to avert bad and attract good fortune without diminishing the importance to the same women of the orthodox meaning of the rite as a thanksgiving to God. This form of popular religion had its own norms of conduct and an ideal of the true believer that placed a premium on practical goodness and that, while respecting the institutional Churches, did not allow them the position of ultimate arbiters of belief and behaviour in the community. Those who did indicate a serious religious commitment by more frequent participation in church-based activity were expected, in the popular mind, to behave to an even higher standard both of private morality and public generosity than their neighbours. This created a barrier to entry into church culture, especially since to profess involvement while failing to live up to these expectations was to incur the charge of hypocrisy. This is an important book, especially in its determination to treat popular religion as a phenomenon in its own right. This approach has certainly yielded dividends – especially in its challenge to the assumption that casual or irregular contact with the Churches was, in this period, an indication of religious indifference. Its picture of a vital, if eclectic, religious dimension to popular culture from within which the people interacted with the Churches largely on their own terms is a convincing one. It is to be hoped that Williams’s thesis will also be fruitful in stimulating further lines of enquiry into the actual nature of the religion of those who did attend church regularly in the late modern period as well as the religious culture of those who did not.

Kings’ College, M. A. Smith
London


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John Wolffe’s new book takes further the consideration of issues of identity that were prominent in his earlier work but he approaches them from a new and distinctive angle. His focus is on the deaths of ‘the Great’, seen in their social, religious and cultural contexts, in the period between the 1840s and the First World War. However, the author does not limit himself entirely to this period and the blurb tells us that the book ‘helps us to understand the public’s response to the death of Diana, Princess of Wales’. On that particular matter, allowing for specific contingent circumstances, he argues that what is striking is that the events of September 1997 can still be fitted into a recurrent long-term pattern. Once again, a sudden high-profile death led millions to focus on the image of a person whom they had never met. Once again, an appropriate ritual to assuage febrile popular sentiment had to be devised. It would be quite wrong, however, to suppose that the value of this book lies merely in providing a background to the events of 1997. Wolffe has provided a richly-textured set of case studies to which all students of this period will turn with profit. What emerges very clearly, and is indeed stated to be a premise underlying the analysis, is that clear-cut distinctions between ‘religious’ and ‘secular’ are not appropriate in relation to
the events with which he is concerned. Confronted by a ‘Great Death’, indeed by a ‘Great British Death’, the boundaries of life became vulnerable: venerable institutions awkwardly adjusted, words stretched their meanings and music mediated harmony where there had been discord. Although, naturally, the book cannot deal with the death of every public figure in this period, Wolffe has intelligently selected a cross-section for detailed scrutiny. Inevitably and properly, death and the royal family receive much attention, climaxing in the deaths of Victoria and Edward vii as marking ‘ends of eras’. It is, however, with the burying of ‘the last great Englishman’, the duke of Wellington (Irish?), that the book begins. Other less military politicians receive consideration later. Livingstone and Gordon, ‘martyrs of empire’, raised complicated issues before they could be fully nationally incorporated. The focus is normally on the ‘management’ of these deaths in terms of ceremonial, location and language but Wolffe is also very much concerned with ‘reception’, drawing on a rich array of published and unpublished material to illuminate perceptions of significance throughout the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Detailed attention to ‘reception’ in such different locations as Exeter, Leeds, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Dublin enables pertinent points to be made about the interaction between official Christianity and the quasi-religion of civic consciousness. Wolffe concludes that historical analysis needs to give due weight to the impact of the exceptional as well as to that of the routine in collective human experience. This book makes the point effectively.

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The Irish Protestant Churches in the twentieth century. By Alan Megahey. Pp ix + 239. Basingstoke: Macmillan/New York: St Martin’s Press, 2000. £42.50. 0 333 73251 0; 0 312 23601 8

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With the recent publication of works by Marianne Elliott and Oliver Rafferty, Irish Catholicism, at least in Ulster, is increasingly well-served in print. That cannot, however, be said for the other religious tradition in Ireland. There are, it is true, numerous accounts of Irish Protestantism and the Irish Protestant Churches, but these are either old, as in the case of Mant’s Victorian classic, or idiosyncratic, as with recent histories by Desmond Bowen and Alan Acheson. Alan Megahey does not claim to match the sweep of Rafferty or the depth of historical engagement of Elliott, but he does, nevertheless, provide a responsible history of the development of the Protestant Churches since 1900, which can be highly recommended. It is, by and large, a narrative and factual account, focusing upon institutional developments, largely reliant on printed primary and secondary sources, but using some telling manuscript material too. Megahey opens with an ‘anatomy’ of the Churches in 1900, then examines their attitude to political issues up to 1922, and traces their separate responses to the northern Protestant and the southern Catholic states. He provides a brief but useful account of the Churches’ institutional responses to the Troubles, and the dilemmas they faced – forever torn between the need to retain the loyalty of their
flocks and the desire to win them over to more tolerant attitudes – and he finishes
with an analysis of the challenges facing the Churches in the latter part of the
twentieth century. In between the narrative chapters Megahey examines wider
issues of religious practice and morality and how they changed during the
century, providing vignettes of shifting stances towards, for example, those twin
evils, smoking and going to the theatre, where he shows how Methodist
disapproval of the former was sufficiently resilient to last into the 1960s, when it
could graduate effortlessly from moral to medical arguments. Perhaps the most
valuable aspects of the book are those covering less frequently examined areas,
such as Protestant emigration and missionary activity, and, in a delightful
chapter entitled ‘Seeing and believing’, the grim plainness of Irish Protestant
churches and liturgy. In short, this book provides an admirable and well-
researched introduction to the history of the Protestant tradition in Ireland in the
twentieth century.

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Catholicism, politics and society in twentieth-century France. Edited by Kay Chadwick.
Pp. xiv + 295. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000. £34.99 (cloth),
£16.99 (paper). o 85323 974 6; o 85323 984 3

This volume seeks to provide, in the words of its editor, ‘a reading of Catholicism
in twentieth-century France’ (p. 5). As such, it contains twelve essays which
analyse different aspects of the political and social history of French Catholicism
while largely leaving on one side the more strictly ecclesiastical and spiritual
facets of the subject. The intention is a much-needed and laudable one, but it is
only partially fulfilled by the volume. Like so many edited collections, it suffers
from the uneven quality of its component essays. The five French participants,
who include such eminent names as Yves-Marie Hilaire and Emile Poulat, don’t
really break sweat, supplying tame contributions that one can only assume
(charitably) were written in the belief that their previous work is entirely
unknown to a British audience. This is all the more strange given that these essays
remain (presumably due to a lack of funds for translation) in the original French,
thereby depriving them of any potential wider audience. The more present-
oriented essays, with the exception of a lucid overview of contemporary French
Catholic culture by Colin Roberts, suffer too from a sense of being condemned
to deal in superficialities. The collapse which has taken place since the 1960s in
the structures and mentalities that for so long had bound together French
Catholics is visible for all to see. But, as the essays here demonstrate, it is much
more difficult to discern the emergence of any new pattern. From a historian’s
perspective, however, the interest of this volume, lies elsewhere. Two splendid
survey articles, by Michael Kelly and Nick Atkin respectively, trace the
complicated history of relations between Catholicism and the political Left in
France and Catholic attitudes to the Vichy Regime. Rather neatly (though, one
suspects, accidentally), these are complemented by two research-based articles
which provide further food for thought about each of these themes. In an
excellent piece of detailed analysis, David Curtis demonstrates that, despite the
overwhelming rejection by French Catholics of the main tendue offered by Maurice Thorez in 1936, there was an influential constituency of Catholic intellectuals who already recognised the need to engage critically with the intellectual corpus of Marxist thought. Thus, he argues, rather than being a product of the exceptional circumstances of the war years, the rapprochement evident during the later 1940s between a radicalised Catholic intelligentsia and the French Communist Party had its origins in a more durable shared critique of liberal modernity. In a similar revisionist vein, Kevin Passmore’s contribution reassesses the origins of the Vichy Regime by analysing the history of the Fédération Républicaine. As the major political party of the Catholic Right during the interwar years, the Fédération has been neglected by Catholic historians more inclined to study the smaller Christian Democrat groupings of the time. And yet, as Passmore argues persuasively, the Fédération was a successful political organisation which, despite challenges from the fascist right, developed a rhetoric of populist Catholic nationalism that subsequently contributed much to the ideology of Pétain and his supporters. Neither Curtis’s essay nor that of Passmore aids attempts to impose a simple shape on the political evolution of French Catholicism during the twentieth century. But that, one is tempted to conclude, is their great merit.

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Church, State and propaganda. The archbishop of York and international relations.

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Political historians do not often venture into the realm of the Church, and church historians like to stay clear of concepts such as ideology. This well-written reflective monograph, however, combines both of these areas of neglect with regard to the transition period between the Second World War and the Cold War. Kirby uses the life of Cyril Foster Garbett, who succeeded William Temple at York when the latter moved to Canterbury, to illustrate how the Cold War from its very beginning was not only a war of ideologies, but one in which religion was used as one of its key tools. The Churches and their leaders were recognised from an early stage as non-diplomatic key players in international relations and as those who could be relied upon for their strongly anti-Communist stance. At a time when more marginal figures such as the dean of Canterbury, Hewlett Johnson, were travelling the world to proclaim the virtues of socialist Soviet Russia, Garbett almost appears as a counter-figure who enabled and assured good relations with the US through his ‘apostolic journeys’ to both the US and USSR. These were, as Kirby shows, used by both the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Information as propaganda tools which helped to establish an anti-Communist consensus at the beginning of the Cold War. Kirby’s book, written from her perspective as a political historian, provides a valuable contribution to the emerging discipline of Cold War studies and contemporary church history.
and draws widely on primary and secondary material. It shows that religion and
the role of the Churches cannot be ignored by those who study the history of the
Cold War and that church history of the twentieth century cannot ignore the role
of ideology and propaganda in the development of the Churches during and after
the Second World War.

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The globalisation of charismatic Christianity. Spreading the gospel of prosperity. By Simon
Coleman. (Cambridge Studies in Ideology and Religion, 12.) Pp. xii+264
incl. 4 ills. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £37.50. 0 521
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The story of Word of Life, a new charismatic entity – part Church, part
broadcasting agency, part educational network – is eloquently told here. Word of
Life was founded in Uppsala, Sweden, by Ulf Ekman in 1983 and has since
burgeoned into a congregation with more than 2,000 members, a Bible School
that has had more than 6,000 graduates since 1983, secondary and high schools,
a university offering undergraduate and master’s degrees and branch works in
Moscow, Albania and the Czech Republic. The Church preaches a strong
prosperity doctrine that identifies financial success, physical health and cultural
dominance with the correct use of faith. Coleman reaches back into the origins
of the Pentecostal and charismatic movements, to the emergence of the ‘faith
doctrine’ emanating from E. W. Kenyon (1867–1948) and transmitted through
a series of, usually American, preachers like Kenneth Hagin and Morris Cerullo
and the healing or televangelists of the post-war period. But Coleman’s main
concern is with the anthropological or sociological reality of the current Church
in Sweden and he sets his study in the context of globalisation. He does not
condemn the Church’s theology or the negative press it has often attracted in
Sweden and elsewhere. Rather he wishes to show how charismatic identity is
relativised and yet confirmed in a universalising system of truth, or how Faith
adherents seek to materialise the sacred while objectifying the body. Or, again,
how charismatic personae are constructed with the aid of technologies and fit into
a vast global network that is both the creator of sacred space and an aid to the
strengthening of each nation state as it fulfils its place in God’s plan for the planet.
Along the way we learn of the aesthetics of Word of Life, its ventures into
broadcasting, its political influence, its associations with the USA, South Africa
and Korea and how its preachers create legitimisation and meaning. The
ambivalent stance of the older Pentecostal Churches in Sweden is also a motif. At
the beginning of the twentieth century these Churches went through their own
painful process of birth and detachment from Baptist and other Free Church
structures in a burst of spiritual enthusiasm and life which they now see in the
Faith movement. So although the Pentecostals disapprove of the emphasis on
prosperity, and indeed have lost members to Ekman, they welcome the
movement’s irresistible life and its campaigning zeal against, for example,
abortion. This is an excellent and stimulating analysis of a vigorous religious
group, written without wearisome polemics. It is very well bedded into the academic literature. If I have a criticism it is that the theological vision which drives Word of Life is oddly absent; moreover we would not know from this book that there are other forms of charismatic Christianity happily and less contentiously at work in established denominations. But this is the price to be paid for a book written by an anthropologist rather than a theologian.

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William K. Kay