

nationalism – increasingly secular in its foundations, abrasive in its tone and aggressive in its policies – did nothing to assuage the fears of Germans living along the Bavarian-Czechoslovakian border, who already by the early 1920s demanded *Anschluss* with Austria to help protect their persecuted coreligionists in the Sudetenland and fend against the threat of Slavic absorption from the East. Territorial partitions, ecclesiastical realignments, population transfers and national disagreements played decisive roles in the post-war development of Catholic Slovenia as well. Here Slovenes, who lost a third of their historic lands, found themselves in one of two disagreeable situations. Either they belonged to the new kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, where the Orthodox Serb majority dashed their hopes for national self-determination and bourgeois secularists attacked the Catholic presence in public life. Or they fell under the heavy hands of Italian occupational authorities in contested border zones, where they faced harassment, intense ‘Italianisation’, incendiary attacks on their church buildings and physical violence by rightist squads. Their complaints received but begrudging sympathy, including in a Roman Curia filled with Italian nationalists and Fascist sympathisers.

These are just some of the accounts of insult, intolerance and betrayal conveyed by this engrossing volume, which represents the study of modern religion at its finest. It coordinates the best traditions of ‘church history’ (*Kirchengeschichte*) – linguistic facility, intimate command of church archives, deep ecclesiastical knowledge, detailed appreciation of personalities and theological meanings – with the findings of ‘secular’ scholarship in a compelling demonstration of exquisite craft. While the volume features a number of well-chosen images and maps, given the complexity of the topic and the geographic range of inquiry, readers will long for a name and subject index.

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Franz Graf von Galen, 1879–1961. Ein »Miles Christianus« im Spannungsfeld zwischen Katholizismus, Adel und Nation. By Josephine Von Weyhe. Pp. x + 429 incl. 7 ills. Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2020. €61. 978 3 402 24646 7
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In this revised dissertation, von Weyhe presents an insightful and accessible biography of a leading member of the Westphalian Catholic nobility, Franz Graf von Galen, whose primary historical importance lay in the years of the Weimar Republic. Beyond a strict biography, Weyhe places Galen in his historical context and uses him to make broader points about Catholic conservatives. She uses Galen’s life in his community to further undermine the notion of a coherent, unified Catholic *milieu*. Instead, she shows that deep divisions existed even among the Westphalian Catholic nobility. Weyhe identifies Galen’s Catholic faith, the standards and responsibility of the nobility, and membership in the German nation as determinative for Galen’s views and behaviour. What distinguished different groups in the Westphalian Catholic nobility was the emphasis on each of those three elements. For Galen, all three were important, but faith and noble consciousness were primary.

Galen's parents imbued all of their children with the values that governed Galen's life. While the Galen family was one of the wealthiest landowning families in Westphalia, primogeniture meant that most family members lived much more frugally. Galen's parents turned this frugality into a virtue. With daily mass and public displays of piety, the frugal household was intended to serve as a model for the community's peasants. Galen himself was always short of money. Changing economic conditions combined with Germany's increasing democratisation, even before the revolution, left Galen sceptical of the Weimar Republic. Not only democratisation and the nobility's decreasing political and social influence alienated Galen, but perceived moral decay and secularisation concerned him.

However, unlike many of his peers, Galen did not actively undermine or reject the republic. He did not join the Catholic group of the right-wing German Nationalist People's Party (DNVP), nor, unlike his friend Franz von Papen, did he actively seek to undermine the Weimar Republic. He rejected National Socialism for its anti-Christian values. Weyhe describes Galen as pragmatic. The religious imperative to be constructive, to serve whatever government existed as long as it did not turn against Christian morality, created a good measure of flexibility. While Weyhe could have made more of this, Galen shared his pragmatism with many members of the German Catholic elite.

This flexibility permitted Franz von Galen to remain in the Catholic German Centre Party until its end in July 1933. He even served in the lower house of the Prussian parliament until he resigned in protest before the passage of the Prussian Enabling Act in spring 1933. During the years of the National Socialist regime, Galen avoided political activity and regime-sponsored organisations. Despite his patriotism, Galen saw little future in Germany for his sons, so he organised the emigration of two of them to Brazil. In World War II, he lost two of his sons and his son-in-law. After the 20 July 1944 attempt on Hitler's life, the Gestapo arrested Galen in a nationwide sweep of politicians from before 1933. From the later summer of 1944 until the arrival of the Red Army in April 1945, Galen was an inmate in Sachsenhausen concentration camp north of Berlin.

After the war, Galen hoped and believed the time had come for a religious renewal of German society and a restored leadership role for the German nobility. Like many Germans seeking to imagine a robust anti-Communist West in which Germany would again play a role, Galen promoted the concept of a recreated Christian occident standing strong against Soviet Communism. In contrast to his readiness to promote a broader Christian occident, he only slowly found his way to the Christian Democratic Union, led by Adenauer. Galen feared the inclusion of German Protestants. Socially, he lamented what he perceived to be the immodest fashions of the post-war years and the general decline in manners among the young. In the last years of his life, he increasingly withdrew from regional and national public life in favour of local leadership roles as a Westphalian notable in the greater Münster area.

Franz and his brother Clemens August were extremely close from childhood, until Clemens August died in 1946. Even after Clemens August moved to the Sankt-Matthias Church in Berlin, a diaspora parish traditionally staffed by diocesan clergy from Münster, and subsequently became bishop of Münster, the brothers corresponded frequently. Their correspondence is extensive and detailed, making it a rich source for understanding both brothers. (Any historian willing

to tackle this source, especially the letters by Clemens August, is to be pitied for the horrible handwriting of the two.) Weyhe demonstrates that Clemens August was an useful sounding board for Franz, especially in the early 1930s when the two were debating the risks of remaining in the German Centre Party and of supporting party chair Monsignor Ludwig Kaas and Reich Chancellor Heinrich Brüning. Bishop von Galen proved to be one of the greatest thorns in the side of the National Socialist regime as a fierce critic of euthanasia and the secularisation of public education.

While Weyhe is careful not to overextend her analysis, her biography of Galen provides scholars with a much more differentiated understanding of the German Catholic nobility in the twentieth century. Weyhe paints a picture of Franz von Galen as a profoundly moral, duty-driven individual devoted to his wife and children and his noble status. Weyhe also differentiates between Galen's loyalty to his sovereign, the Prussian king, and his dream of a Germany reunited with Austria under a Hapsburg emperor. While Weyhe is sympathetic to Galen, she maintains a critical perspective that permits her to highlight the strengths of his character and behaviour but also to see the increasing alienation from the reality of a secularised German state and society. Finally, as she notes, her work further undermines the already questioned concept of a coherent and homogeneous Catholic *milieu*. This work is a valuable volume for scholars of German political Catholicism and the German Catholic nobility.

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Duty and destiny. The life and faith of Winston Churchill. By Gary Scott Smith. (Library of Religious Biography.) Pp. xii + 255. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2021. £22.99. 978 0 8028 7700 0

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Winston Churchill's relationship with the Almighty, if indeed he had one at all, has been puzzled over by many historians, perhaps because, as Gary Scott Smith points out in *Duty and destiny*, 'in the final analysis, Churchill's faith is an enigma' (p. 5). However, Churchill's faith may not be so mysterious. In *My early life* (1930) Churchill described his coming of age as soldier in India where he read voraciously including Winwood Read's *The martyrdom of man* (1872) and went through what he called a 'violent and aggressive anti-religious phase'.¹ Though Churchill admitted passing through this phase, he never fully embraced the Church but rather, as he famously said, chose to be 'more in the nature of a buttress, for I support it from the outside'.² Keeping to that view, he told Lord Moran in 1952, after a medical scare, that 'He did not believe in another world; only in black velvet – eternal sleep.'³ Sir Anthony Montague Browne, Churchill's final private secretary

¹ Winston S. Churchill, *My early life*, London 1930, 129.

² Roy Jenkins, *Churchill: a biography*, London 2002, 49n.

³ Lord Moran, *Winston Churchill: the struggle for survival, 1940–1965*, London 1966, entry for 2 July 1952 at p. 417.