

Hans-Jürgen Schrader, in a characteristically meticulous bibliographical exploration, shows that the influence of Mme Guyon in Germany, though late, was much more extensive than in France, and contributed greatly to the somewhat misty stereotype of German intellect there. Hanspeter Marti shows how much Gottfried Arnold did to put Molinos in the German market, but argues that it was one stage in his development from a theoretical mysticism to the teaching of a practical piety. A comparative approach is taken by Hellmut Thomke to explain why Pietism, Jansenism and Quietism were all very hostile to the theatre. This is less of a puzzle in the case of the Pietists than the others, because theatre was part of the court culture which they detested wholesale; but the French Jansenists and Quietists had to find good reasons for rejecting the classical age of French drama. The other main contribution outside the broad religious and theological field is a piece by Christa Habrich on Johann Samuel Carl, one of the doctors and press spokesmen for the remarkably creative Berleburg separatists. The peak of Carl's career came in 1736 with his appointment as physician to Christian VI of Denmark. Carl performed a notable work of medical reorganisation, but his anamnesis of the health of the royal family was not optimistic; like Zinzendorf before him he fell out with the Pietist party dominant in the state Church which liked neither his religion nor his cures; and in 1742 the king pensioned off and expelled him.

Thus a volume which does not greatly advance the comparative study of the three movements of its title or knowledge of their interrelations, is full of excellent material, and constitutes a standing challenge to some bold single mind to build systematically on what is here offered.

PETERSFIELD

W. R. WARD

*The 'Centuries' of Julia Palmer.* Edited by Victoria Burke and Elizabeth Clarke.

Pp. xxv + 362. Nottingham: Trent Editions, 2001. £9.99 (paper). 1 84233 061 6  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903218297

Palmer's 'Centuries' illustrate two difficulties the modern literary reader has with early modern devotional manuscripts. It is a collection of 200 poems written between 1671 and 1673, which chart the spiritual vicissitudes of its Presbyterian writer, Julia Palmer. These 'private' poems, tracing the circuitous route of one soul, seem to have had some prominence within her devotional circle as meditative aids, even perhaps as proto-hymns, and were thus preserved with care: are they, then, public utterances and of what sort? That is one difficulty, which forms part of modern attempts to reassess the relationship of manuscript to audience for the early modern writer, especially the woman writer; this one will run and run. In this case it is further sharpened by the nature of the poetry itself. Palmer writes in simple metres, fiercely restricting her range of device, as Isaac Watts was to do after her. Palmer's sex makes simplicity more urgent, but the conviction is theological: dependence on grace forbids the idolatrous pleasures of paronomasia; influenced by Herbert, still she eschews (or cannot manage) his defter avoidances. Palmer's literary flatness makes it hard to decide how far our interest belongs outside pure historical inquiry; and this is its second difficulty. The editors of this meticulously produced and lucid volume are well aware of it, but have no solution to offer, beyond the gnomic (and frustrating) remark that clear assignation of the poetry's importance 'will require

the deployment of rather different literary critical paradigms than are usually in use in seventeenth century research’.

TRINITY COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE

JESSICA MARTIN

*A social history of the cloister. Daily life in the teaching monasteries of the old regime.* By Elizabeth Rapley. Pp. xiv + 379 incl. 4 ills. Montreal & Kingston–London–Ithaca: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001. £37.95. 0 7735 2222 0  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903228293

This excellent study examines the lives of women in teaching convents across France during most of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the period known as the Old Regime. In her emphasis on communities, rather than the exceptional individuals who have been the focus of so much of recent scholarship, Rapley provides an engaging, comprehensive analysis of the relationship between life within a cloistered community and the exterior world. In particular, the author is concerned with the shared experiences which mark convent life across time and space, and how socio-economic change in the culture at large affected those experiences. The goal is admittedly ambitious, considering the diversity of geographical distribution and the idiosyncracies of the individual cloisters and the orders to which they belonged (Compagnie de Sainte-Ursule, Compagnie de Marie Notre-Dame and Congregation de Notre Dame). In order to arrive at her conclusions Rapley examines the archives of several convent communities, using death notices and other monastic records as the basis of her research. Her findings reveal a striking and inevitable nexus between social and political events and the lives of women in these largely urban religious houses, although this relationship may vary significantly from one time period to another. The first section of the book documents the changing fortunes of female monasticism from the ‘conventual invasion’ of the early seventeenth century to its relative demise with the French Revolution. Despite their seeming isolation, convents were, indeed, subject to economic policy such as the amortissement, which weakened their financial status. Similarly, diverging religious ideologies such as Jansenism caused rifts between and even within convents. In the second part of the book the author documents the activities and events which lent stability and order to these communities from their founding to their disbanding. By describing in detail the novitiate, the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, and the activities surrounding sickness and death, Rapley provides invaluable insights into the workings of a female cloister. Throughout her analysis she never loses sight of the fact that all communities must necessarily depend upon the individuals who reside in them for their existence. This study is full of the voices and experiences of individual nuns. Many of these individual cases support the idea of reciprocity and conformism often associated with the monastic lifestyle, but the author is also careful to include the experiences of the less collegial or conformist members of these communities as documented in the records she explores. Although most of her analysis is based on solid archival evidence which she provides with statistics in an appendix, the chapter on teaching is by her own admission largely conjectural. Since the monastic records scarcely mention the day schools administered by the convents, Rapley fills in the gap by creating a ‘word picture’ based on the available information and her own extensive knowledge. The result is as detailed an account of the daily routine,

curriculum and administration of these schools as we are likely to find, given the limited data. In effect, this work in its entirety provides an excellent synthetic vision of the teaching convent both as a community unto itself, and within the larger social system of early modern France. It is a valuable addition to existing scholarship on female monasticism.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY

DARCY DONAHUE

*Gnadegegenwart. Johann Sebastian Bach im Kontext lutherischer Orthodoxie und Frömmigkeit.* By Renate Steiger. (Doctrina et Pietas. Zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung. Texte und Untersuchungen, II. Varia, 2.) Pp. xxiii + 400 incl. 27 ills and 64 musical examples. Stuttgart–Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002. €111. 3 7728 1821 8; 3 7728 1871 4  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S002204690323829X

The seven sections of this volume by the Heidelberg scholar Renate Steiger are introduced by means of a foreword which invites an involvement in Bach's sacred vocal music commensurate with Luther's own understanding of music's place alongside the means of grace: that music provides an aesthetic amplification alongside word and sacrament so that God's gracious presence (his *Gnadegegenwart*) may be known. In truth such an involvement requires an architectural setting hardly to be encountered in Britain (the restored Chandos chapel virtually alone sustains an adequate baroque imagery); but the volume's provision of two carefully prepared CDs at least ensures that in the absence of what might uplift the eye what is heard is heard nevertheless as performative address. The contents of the volume are encyclopaedic. The interplay of intricate commentary on text, music and (in particular) the preaching of Müller and Moller available in published, illustrated form, establishes the relationship of the cantatas to aspects of Lutheran exegesis with an exactness rarely to be found elsewhere. The applied emblematic study of 'Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen' (which this year in Heidelberg replaces the customary Good Friday Bach Passion) brilliantly reconstructs the original, sequential character of the solo cantata's imagery. The section on 'bribe' mysticism finds a powerful match with Luther's own interpretation of Matthew xxii.2. Bach's idiomatic exposition of atonement through the blood of Jesus Christ illustrates the musical plus which identifies in the prayer for grace the presence of that grace itself, and Bach's music unearths forgotten aspects of the *ars moriendi*. Renate Steiger's work on Bach's library adds also now an identification of the source of the theme of God's gracious presence. It is found in Gerhard's Schola Pietatis, where praise of God carries with it divine indwelling. Technical parodies such as the musical echo are illustrated from Bach's secular and religious music and their use is shown to have rich associations with Lutheran piety. Finally there is an examination of Bach's musical building blocks and composition, so that their aesthetic place in the conveying of theological content can be understood, and a stimulating response to Ulrich Konrad's critique of the cantata 'Bisher habt ihr nichts gebeten in meinem Namen'. Renate Steiger would no doubt be the first to recognise that there are still other aspects of Bach's symbolism which need examination, the numerical factor amongst them. But this volume must stand as an outstanding achievement in the academic study of Bach's religious music from which generations of scholars and pastors will profit.

LINCOLN

IVOR H. JONES

*The supreme harmony of all. The Trinitarian theology of Jonathan Edwards.* By Amy Plantinga Pauw. Pp. x + 196. Grand Rapids, MI-Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002. £15.99 (\$22) (paper). 0 8028 4984 9  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903248296

At long last we have a comprehensive treatment of Edwards's doctrine of the Trinity. Written by Amy Plantinga Pauw, the Henry P. Mobley Jr Professor of Doctrinal Theology at Louisville Presbyterian Theological Seminary (and member of the editorial committee of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*), this book offers a fine summary and analysis of Edwards's Trinitarian thought, demonstrating its vast significance for the rest of his theology. Pauw makes it clear that Edwards was not a systematic theologian. His doctrine emerged from pastoral ministry and his study of the Bible. None the less, she uses Edwards to mediate the debate among contemporary theologians over the merits of the 'social' and 'psychological' views of the Trinity. According to Pauw, Edwards employed the language of both Trinitarian models. He 'alternated or modulated between them depending on the immediate theological and cultural context of his writing, but never repudiated either one' (p. 11). Consequently, his writings are rife with raw materials useful to those who wish to bridge the gap between these models today. Pauw's theological interest in Edwards may prove frustrating to historians. She tends to project an ideal harmony on Edwards's Trinitarian writings and then blame him whenever his statements do not match up to her ideal. She tends to depict his views in terms that Edwards himself did not employ, terms used widely by theologians only after Edwards's death. And her analysis is suffused with doctrinal criticisms of Edwards, complaints that have little to do with Edwards's own historical significance. Pauw disapproves of Edwards's use of the Puritans' 'covenant of redemption' (for its anthropomorphic subordinationism and implicit support of patriarchy); of his (alleged) supralapsarianism (and its denigration of the creation); of his epistemological idealism (for its negative affect on his presentation of the integrity and value of the material world); of his (allegedly) crabbed exclusivism in the realms of soteriology and eucharistic doctrine; and of the severity of his notion of eternal divine punishment. Pauw presents a theologian's view of Edwards, to be sure. But her work is a treasure trove. My quibbles are those of an historian, and should not detract from her achievement. Pauw's book will remain the definitive work on this topic for years.

TRINITY EVANGELICAL DIVINITY SCHOOL,  
 DEERFIELD,  
 ILLINOIS

DOUGLAS SWEENEY

*History, religion, and culture. British intellectual history, 1750–1950.* Edited by Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore and Brian Young. Pp. viii + 289. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. £40 (cloth), £14.95 (paper). 0 521 62638 2;  
 0 521 62639 0  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903258292

Stefan Collini, Richard Whatmore and Brian Young have gathered together an all-star cast, and it does not disappoint. The essays collected here cover a remarkably diverse range of topics in the intellectual history of modern Britain. While this diversity reflects the astonishing breadth of the scholarship of John Burrow and Donald

Winch, in whose honour this volume, and a companion one on *Economy, polity, and society*, have been put together, it does not make the task of the reviewer an easy one.

The first cluster of essays *History, religion, and culture* concerns eighteenth-century historiography: Mark Phillips looks at the nature of historical distance, and J. G. A. Pocock and David Womersley explore aspects of Gibbon's work. There follows a group of essays concerned with aspects of religious and political ideas in the nineteenth century: Brian Young on attitudes to Indian religions, Blair Worden on Victorian uses of Cromwell, William Thomas on the *Quarterly Review* and John Drury on the religious sensibility of Ruskin. The final set of essays explores issues of nature, change and growth across the sciences, humanities and national culture: Boyd Hilton on anatomy, Burrow on images of time, Peter Mandler on concepts of race and nation and Julia Stapleton on national identity.

The individual essays are of a uniformly high standard. Despite their diversity, moreover, they suggest some common themes upon which we might reflect. To begin, as the volume does, with the Enlightenment and Gibbon, the essays reflect a recent trend to explore the plurality of enlightenment in diverse national contexts. The exploration of diverse enlightenments prompts a reconsideration of the relationship of Enlightenment to religious faith. Although Gibbon quickly acquired the reputation of being the English Voltaire, Pocock and Womersley suggest here that he had a more nuanced relationship to faith. Pocock does so by examining the difficulties Gibbon faced in treating the sacred within a secular history, especially in the notorious chapters xv and xvi of *The decline and fall*. Womersley does so through an examination of the contents of Gibbon's library. Together these two essays do not overturn the image of Gibbon's deism so much as complicate it. As such, they clearly complement Pocock's attempt, in *Barbarism and religion*, to locate Gibbon in a variety of contexts, including distinctive Protestant enlightenments, especially that in England. While the French Enlightenment, and to some degree other European enlightenments, sought to replace Christianity with a civil religion, the English one, as represented by Gibbon, tolerated a wider spectrum of religious convictions.

So, one strand of Victorian religious culture – perhaps most apparent among deists and Broad Churchmen – reflects the latitude given to belief within the English Enlightenment. A different strand of Victorian religious culture has been magnificently brought to life recently by Hilton's *Age of atonement*; it is an evangelicalism tied to the political economy that emerged out of the Scottish Enlightenment. In his essay, Young explores the way this evangelicalism, and also utilitarianism, promoted an almost rabid hostility to Hindu superstitions, especially phallic cults, in notable contrast to the broad sympathy shown to eastern religions by many deists and Enlightenment historians. Worden likewise suggests evangelicalism, and its moral tone, constituted one factor in the positive transformation of the image of Cromwell during Victorian times.

Ruskin, as Drury reminds us, had little time for an atonement theology in which religion constituted a system of salvation. For him, religious faith rested rather on the recognition of the beauty of creation. Yet the creation, as he saw it, was not conceived on the image of planetary motion, as it had been for many Enlightenment thinkers, but as an organic world wherein the details are infused with the meaning and significance of the whole of which they are an integral part. He thus represents yet another strand within Victorian religious culture – an immanentist one that overlaps at times with deism but also includes things such as the incarnational

theology that became increasingly common around the 1880s. To some extent, we might explore this immanentism in relation to the more diverse and subtle readings that have recently appeared of the Victorian crisis of faith. In addition, however, we might locate it in the context of a broad organicism that arose as early as the late eighteenth century. Indeed, we might even begin to think of the crisis of faith as in many respects attempts to bring religious faith in line with organicism. In this view, then, changes in religious culture are intimately connected to the changes in scientific culture that Hilton and Burrow explore here in their essays. Hilton contrasts the diverse and complex political positions inspired by the debate between functional biology and a transmutationist or evolutionary one, between those who saw all matter except mind as inert and those who believed that nature possessed active, vital powers. Burrow shows how analyses of time and change shifted from stressing events and catastrophes to concepts and metaphors of gradual, sedimentary processes within the constitution of the world.

While we should be wary of imposing a false unity on what remains a diverse collection of essays, they certainly help to provide a richer intellectual history of modern Britain. Instead of a crude orthodoxy or a dramatic revisionism, they constitute a series of careful, nuanced studies that trace subtle continuities and discontinuities within a rich and complex national and religious culture. While they do engage in polemic, it remains that of the beguiling voice of polite reason supported by thorough historical research and references to like-minded scholars, as in Pocock and Womersley's challenge to the received view of Gibbon, or Mandler's dismantling of postcolonial assumptions. In this tone as well as in the quality of the essays, the volume pays suitable homage to the work of Burrow and Winch.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,  
BERKELEY

MARK BEVIR

*William Stukeley. Science, religion and archaeology in eighteenth-century England.* By David Boyd Haycock. Pp. xiii + 290 incl. frontispiece and 9 plates. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002. £40. 0 85115 864 1

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In 1950 the distinguished archaeologist Stuart Piggott published a study of the eighteenth-century antiquary and polymath, William Stukeley, which he later revised and updated (1985). Piggott was drawn to Stukeley as one of the early practitioners of the science, but he was disappointed in the end by what he found. According to Piggott, Stukeley had begun well, carrying on the practical fieldwork of his predecessors, and extending it to the prehistoric sites at Stonehenge and Avebury, but he then got carried away by his fanciful theories about the Druids, and grew more eccentric and undisciplined with age. His decline paralleled and contributed to the decline of antiquarian studies in the eighteenth century, and it was a long while till they resumed their onward march.

Now a young scholar has set out to rescue Stukeley's reputation and put him more firmly into his own contemporary context. David Haycock Boyd is a student of Michael Hunter who once essayed something of the same task in rescuing John Aubrey from derision and turning him into a respectable antiquary. In neither case was it an easy task. Both subjects scattered their interests far and wide over a broad intellectual territory, content for the most part to dabble lightly where others were

making extraordinary discoveries. Except for their archaeology they made no original contributions, though they each took a sustained and serious interest in the whole range of natural and human history. To some extent their chief interest lies in their association with the scientists and scholars who were contributing to the work of the Royal Society and in Stukeley's case to the revived Society of Antiquaries which he helped to found.

Not long after Stukeley died in 1765, his old friend William Warburton drew his portrait. 'There was in him', he wrote to Hurd, 'such a mixture of simplicity, drollery, absurdity, ingenuity, superstition and antiquarianism ... I suppose a compound of things that were never meant to meet together. I have often heard him laughed at by fools, who had neither his sense, his knowledge, or his honesty; though it must be confessed that in him they were all strangely travestied.' It must be a peculiarly gifted biographer who must undertake so complex and eccentric a character, and it would not hurt to have a sense of humour. Neither Piggott nor Haycock, it seems to me, is quite up to the task, Piggott too unsympathetic, Haycock too serious and partisan. Haycock has certainly done a service in extending the boundaries of Piggott's work to take in more of Stukeley's career, and he has used the manuscript evidence to good advantage. He has rightly corrected Piggott's view that Stukeley turned away from his early promise and has shown how he was pretty consistent throughout his life in holding to the religious and speculative theories of his youth. Unfortunately the world was changing, and Stukeley made no effort to adapt to it. In science and in history, critical methods were improving and one by one the speculative theories of the seventeenth century were giving way to scepticism, especially as the new empirical methods of each were developing. Haycock is right and useful in pointing out that the old conviction in an ancient wisdom survived much longer than is usually recognised and that Stukeley's belief in it was not so strange as might first appear. But it was getting harder to defend with every passing generation. It is not enough to detect forerunners and followers in order to furnish a context for Stukeley (though this is certainly helpful), but it is important to notice and assess the other side of the many arguments that engaged Stukeley, the arguments of the critics and sceptics and 'moderns' who populated the Enlightenment and provided the foil for his views.

Only then can a balanced judgement be achieved. Haycock is right to point out the anachronistic vantage-point of Piggott, but he tends to err on the other side, by giving too much credit to Stukeley for defending the increasingly difficult traditional cause. It is not surprising that Stukeley cordially welcomed the impostors: the spurious Ossianic poems and the invention of a fake medieval chronicle by his great friend, Charles Bartram. He had almost no critical sense at a time when criticism of all kinds was coming into its own. And it is right and useful to be reminded of Stukeley's association and admiration for Isaac Newton, though he himself had little mathematics and no interest in the experimental method. Stukeley seems to have preferred Newton's eccentric religion and such strange Newtonians as Whiston and the Hutchinsonians whom it is likely Newton would himself have disowned.

To be fair Haycock supplies us with much new information about Stukeley's life and activities, even if he is never quite able to add them all up. And his bibliography will certainly be of use to students in the field.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

JOSEPH M. LEVINE

*Anglicanism in Australia. A history.* Edited by Bruce Kaye, Tom Frame, Colin Holden and Geoff Treloar. Pp. xxiii + 432 incl. 62 ills. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002. A\$69.95. o 522 85003 o  
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In 2001 authors of a review of Australian religious history referred to Anglicanism as a 'sleeping giant' in which 'large tracts lay unexplored'. This was somewhat mysterious since it flew in the face of the indisputable significance of Anglicanism as a numerical force in Australian history. Until recent census returns, adherents of the Church of England constituted not only the largest Christian denomination in Australia, but also the largest Australian institution of any kind. As Brian Fletcher illustrates, Anglican traditions and assumptions have dominated Australian civic religion, such as it was, and asserted themselves in the interpretation of Australia's colonial and post-colonial relationships with England. For these reasons, the need for a book such as this excellent collection, edited with care to the thematic and chronological coherence of the Anglican story, has long been felt. In answer to the call, Bruce Kaye and fellow associate editors have provided a fat (408pp.) and comprehensive account of Australian Anglicanism, elegantly produced by Melbourne University Press, with good pictures, full bibliography and the promise of a collection of images and sources available at a dedicated web site ([www.archive.anglican.org.au](http://www.archive.anglican.org.au)). There are two parts, a set of six narrative chapters dealing with successive periods from 1788 to the present, partnered to seven thematic chapters dealing with identity, theology, gender and other broad issues. The collection has many pleasures, including Ruth Frappell's witty and occasionally acidulous account of Anglican imperial fervour, Colin Holden's reflection on Anglican visual arts and architecture, the latter supported by a rich online archive of images, and Brian Fletcher and David Hilliard's contributions to the narrative overview. Bruce Kaye's presiding genius is felt throughout the volume in the disciplined adherence to the organising themes and chronology, the careful framing of the general introduction, the generous notes and images, and the conscious engagement with contemporary academic scholarship which defies the venial limitations of less ambitious denominational histories. On the critical side, John Harris's account of Anglicanism and indigenous peoples would have benefited from engagement with recent writing on Anglican missions by Noel Loos, and other missionary encounters by Henry Reynolds, Bain Attwood and Aboriginal writers. The issue of anti-Catholic sectarianism is barely touched upon, though it provides an important theme in Australian religious history. Frappell's reference to the 'anti-British sentiments of Roman Catholic prelates, especially Archbishop Daniel Mannix' (p. 78) is not tenable in the light of Mannix's published statements to the contrary. When asked in an interview late in life, whether he was 'anti-British', Mannix replied: 'My feelings then and now were always favourable to the British. I opposed their policy in Ireland, and I think for a good reason ... but otherwise I've no hatred or hostility towards the British people, or the British Empire, or the British Crown' (cited by Santamaria in *Daniel Mannix*, p. 244). While it might not reasonably have been explained in less detail, the great struggle to achieve a constitution for Australian Anglicans and formal separation of the Australian dioceses from Canterbury was covered with some repetition by a number of contributors. And though it does not seem reasonable to ask for more when so much is already crammed in, it might have been interesting to have pursued the impact of Anglicanism on Australian literature. I am recalling here Patrick White's account of the Anglican

communion service in his novel, *The tree of man*, in which a ritual act is sublimated into Stan's experience as the archetypal Australian man. Overall, *Anglicanism in Australia* represents a major contribution to Australian religious and social history and a model for collaborative historical enterprises which might seek to follow in its wake.

UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE,  
NEW SOUTH WALES

HILARY CAREY

*Säkularisation der Reichskirche 1803. Aspekte kirchlichen Umbruchs.* Edited by Rolf Decot. (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz. Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, 55.) Pp. ix + 173. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002. €28.75. 3 8053 2940 7  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903288291

In early 2002 the Institute for European History in Mainz held a conference in anticipation of the bicentennial of the event mentioned in the title: the abolition on 25 February 1803 of territorial rule by prince-bishops throughout the German-speaking lands. Overnight twenty-three prince-bishops or archbishops, and forty-four princely abbots, ruling (on the whole benevolently and efficiently) over some three million subjects were stripped of all civil authority. Suppressed also were most of the religious houses in their domains, and the Catholic schools and universities which they maintained. Without anyone having changed confessional allegiance, more than half the Catholics in German lands became subjects of Protestant princes. Karl Otmar von Aretin calls this secularisation 'The greatest catastrophe ever to befall German Catholicism. ... Never before had a land experienced such fundamental spiritual change. It was a total victory for the modern secular state spawned by the Enlightenment.' Von Aretin's description of the pre-1803 *Reichskirche* is full of interesting details. From the Peace of Westphalia (1648) until 1803 the bishops of Osnabrück were alternately Catholic and Protestant. The cathedral chapters, which elected the bishops in their respective dioceses, were firmly in aristocratic hands. Membership was restricted to those able to demonstrate at least sixteen noble ancestors, in some places thirty-two. Pluralism (the holding of more than one church office by a single person) was common. The dispensations needed for this practice (forbidden by the Council of Trent) were a welcome source of income for the Roman Curia. Many prince-bishops were unsuited for their spiritual office: some never advanced beyond minor orders. Pastoral work was carried out by auxiliary bishops. To this bleak picture there were exceptions, however. 'At the end of the eighteenth century there were a number of outstanding pastors among the noble bishops and archbishops. ... Most of the religious houses of this period were flourishing institutions.' Other contributors to this volume examine the history of the term 'secularization'; earlier attempts at secularisation, starting with the demand of the sixteenth-century Reformers for suppression of religious houses; regulation and suppression of religious houses in the lower Rhineland in the eighteenth century; financial and administrative aspects of the secularisation; the only prince-bishop to escape the debacle (Karl Theodor von Dalberg of Mainz, 1744–1817); and the attempts of German bishops after 1803 to adapt to their new role. An example of

German scholarship at its most dense and difficult, this volume is for specialists only – but for them it is indispensable.

ST LOUIS,  
MISSOURI

JOHN JAY HUGHES

*Catholic intellectuals and the challenge of democracy.* By Jay P. Corrin. Pp. x + 571. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002. \$55. 0 268 02271 2  
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The author of the book under review, who teaches at Boston University, has published a good deal on related topics, including *G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc: the battle against modernity* (1981). Challenging what he takes to be the common perception, namely that the Roman Catholic Church has invariably opposed all social and political reform, he traces the histories of the many significant figures, primarily in Britain and the United States, who, on the contrary, sought rather to develop ‘progressive’ positions and policies in tune with modern times. The Church has not always sided with right-wing reactionaries and authoritarian governments, he contends; in the English-speaking world, at any rate, progressive ideas have often been welcomed and many educated Catholics have made serious attempts to engage with the issues of modern industrial societies in the light of liberal-democratic experience.

The book opens with chapters on some famous precursors: Frédéric Ozanam (1813–53), a remarkable scholar as well as founder of the St Vincent de Paul Society for helping the poor; Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler (1811–77), bishop of Mainz, keenly interested in social questions if better remembered as an ‘inopportunist’ at the First Vatican Council; and less well remembered figures such as Karl Freiherr von Vogelsang (1818–90), René de la Tour du Pin Chambly de la Charce (1834–1924), and other aristocrats much exercised about improving the condition of the workers, tending on the whole to promote corporative institutions as the solution most in accord with Catholicism.

Chapter ii deals with Henry Edward Manning (1808–92), cardinal archbishop of Westminster, staunch supporter of papal infallibility, determined to prevent young Catholics from studying at Oxford, but certainly a defender of the poor in his last decade; and with his American counterpart, James Gibbons (1834–1921), cardinal archbishop of Baltimore, concerned (among much else) with the ‘rights of labor’.

Chapter iii rehearses the story of the pontificate of Pope Leo xiii (1878–1903), ‘a watershed in Catholic history, for it redefined the Church’s relationship to the modern world’. This it did through ‘establishing intellectual, socioeconomic and political principles that Catholics could use as guides for meeting the challenges of an ever-changing industrial society’ (p. 59).

We then jump to the heart of the book (chapters iv–viii): the social and political theories of G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936) and Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953). Here we have (surely?) a fairly familiar tale – Distributism, *The servile state* (1912) and so on. Their ferocious rejection of liberal-capitalism and (in Belloc’s case particularly) parliamentary government, as well as of socialism and communism, left some of their sympathisers ‘favorably disposed to the exploits of Mussolini’ (p. 188). Belloc’s attitude to fascism was ‘more complicated and sympathetic’ (p. 195) than that of

Chesterton. Neither of them, however, Corrin holds, was ever among 'the more blatant anti-Semites and fascists in the 1930s who warned of an international Jewish-communist-Freemason plot to take over the world' (p. 196).

No doubt. Yet Belloc was a frequent and valued contributor to *Social Justice Review*, the widely circulated organ of Fr Charles E. Coughlin, the radio priest of Royal Oak, Michigan, whose rantings against the New Deal as well as against Jews, communists and Freemasons, were defended for years by his ecclesiastical superior, Michael J. Gallagher, bishop of Detroit. Interestingly, as Corrin notes, Gallagher studied in Austria as a seminarian, where he was impressed by Karl von Vogelsang's version of social Catholicism, 'with its authoritarian, corporatist, and ideological anti-Semitic underpinnings' (p. 196).

Father Coughlin had admirers among the clergy, some of whom banded together under the name of 'Clerical reservists of Christ the King'.

One turns with relief to Corrin's account of anti-fascist Catholics. He highlights two: Virgil Michel (1890–1938), the Benedictine monk who did much to establish St John's, Collegeville, Minnesota, as a centre of well-performed liturgy; and H. A. Reinhold (1897–1968), one of the first priests in his native Germany to introduce such liturgical practices as 'dialogue Mass', 'Mass facing the people', and so on – practices which, when he emigrated to the United States early in the Nazi time, brought him under much distressing ecclesiastical suspicion. Indeed, Reinhold was suspected of sympathy with communism as well as with liturgical reform. The two 'errors' seemed to go together. In the Depression years Michel was a leader of the Catholic social movement. For both of these men, liturgy and life were complementary: community worship and social justice reflected one another.

The Spanish Civil War broke out in July 1936. While keenly aware of the Church's failure for over a century to prevent the alienation of most of the people, Belloc and most of his sympathisers preferred to support the military insurrection led by General Francisco Franco. At the news of the massacres of priests and religious spread, Catholics in Britain and the United States soon came to regard Franco's army as engaged in a battle against atheistic communism. Doubts were muted. In France such figures as Jacques Maritain and Georges Bernanos were outspoken in their criticism of Franco. As the British newspapers and journals which Corrin has explored disclose, however, most were unreservedly on the Francoist side, and by 1938 many of those he calls 'Catholic intellectuals' were beginning to admire Hitler just as much as Mussolini.

In Britain and the United States, as Corrin tells us in his penultimate chapter, the Catholic admirers of the dictators did not have it all their own way. They were challenged by 'a small but intellectually significant minority of Catholic journals and newspapers' (p. 355). In fact there were three: *Commonweal* in the United States, *The Dublin Review* and *Blackfriars* in Britain.

As editor of its successor, I am of course pleased to see *Blackfriars* mentioned, let alone discussed for as much as three pages. According to the editors, by 1938, the problems in Spain were too complex to be blamed only on communism and if the Church had paid heed to papal social teachings there might well have been no civil war. This measure of anti-fascism roused much indignation in Catholic journals such as *The Tablet* and *Colosseum*, so Corrin reminds us.

This is a fascinating book, impressively documented, with 124 pages of endnotes and a further twenty-four of bibliography. The author wants to 'give voice' to those

Catholics whose ‘liberal and progressive approach’ has, as he says, ‘too often been unheard and therefore unappreciated and undervalued because of the more strident claims of Catholics on the political right’. For all one’s admiration for his stalwart retrieval of so many interesting people, it has to be said that they are just not significant enough to undermine the standard story very much. Figures such as Chesterton and Belloc, if not depressingly ambiguous are at least so polymorphic, and journals like *Blackfriars* and *Colosseum* altogether so puny, that, at any rate so far as the British end is concerned, the evidence presented here is unlikely to persuade many readers that they must abandon the perception of the Catholic Church throughout the decades under examination as overwhelmingly reactionary and even sympathetic to the dictators.

BLACKFRIARS,  
OXFORD

FERGUS KERR

*The Puritan as Yankee. A life of Horace Bushnell.* By Robert Bruce Mullin. (Library of Religious Biography.) Pp. xv + 296. Grand Rapids, Mich.–Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002. £14.99 (\$21) (paper). 0 8028 4252 6

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Congregational preacher and theologian, Horace Bushnell, has long been seen as the father of liberal Protestantism in America. Mullin, in this welcome, sensitive biography of the mid nineteenth-century New England pastor, highlights instead Bushnell’s philosophical and social conservatism. Bushnell was both ‘Yankee tinkerer’ and a subtle defender of some aspects of the original Puritan vision. Born in 1802, Bushnell graduated from Yale College in 1827. After considering both teaching and the law, he entered the ordained ministry. As a young cleric, he soon distinguished himself as an innovative thinker on theological and social topics. In works such as *Discourses on Christian nurture* (1847) and *God in Christ* (1849) he attempted to recast traditional New England theology into fresh terms applying insights from Coleridge and from Romantic thought. Bushnell stressed the limitations of religious language and, in particular, the dangers of a blinkered dogmatic terminology. Accordingly, Bushnell broke not only with seventeenth-century Reformed orthodoxy but also went beyond the moderate revisions of Nathaniel Taylor and other antebellum theologians. His perhaps naïve outspokenness on such complex subjects got Bushnell into trouble with his fellow Congregationalists. Although its pastor was exonerated of official charges, Bushnell’s North Church in Hartford eventually separated from its parent denomination in 1852. Bushnell’s later works addressed the larger significance of the American Civil War and the meaning of Christ’s atoning death (*The vicarious sacrifice*, 1866). In the latter work, Bushnell sought to pursue a moderate course between those who wanted to hold onto a Reformational understanding of the cross and those who sought to jettison the idea of sacrifice altogether. Mullin concludes that

on the level of doctrine, and particularly in his view of creeds, Bushnell contributed to the breaking up of the old theological order of New England. Yet in other ways he was the final flowering of a remarkably inclusive Christian imagination before theological divisions splintered the religious community at the end of the century (p. 206).

While some may not be as sympathetic to this 'inclusive Christian imagination' as is Mullin, his well-researched and insightful study of Bushnell has placed all students of nineteenth-century American religion in his debt.

GROVE CITY COLLEGE

GILLIS HARP

*All Saints Sisters of the Poor. An Anglican sisterhood in the 19th century.* Edited by Susan Mumm. (Church of England Record Society, 9.) Pp. xxviii + 282. Woodbridge: Boydell Press (for the Church of England Record Society), 2001. £40. 0 85115 728 9; 1351 3087  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903318299

This is a valuable addition to the volumes of the Church of England Record Society. It is a selection of texts from the sisterhood's archive, a diary and the memories of two of the sisters as well as various official documents, the rules and statutes and some of the chapter minutes. It aims to give 'a snapshot of one of the earliest and most important Anglican communities' in its formative years, and does it very well. It illustrates some of the sisters' difficulties, such as their relationships with their parents, before and after their admission, the status of vows, and the finding of churches where they could make their confessions, or even receive communion on a weekday, when they were away from their house in London. It describes, too, their heroic work, their nursing of cholera victims in London and of typhoid victims in Manchester in 1866 and of the wounded during the Franco-Prussian war. There is also a striking vignette of the piety of Tractarian family life. The editing is exemplary; almost every person named has been identified and precise information given to clarify allusions.

BRISTOL

PETER G. COBB

*Imperial fault lines. Christianity and colonial power in India, 1818–1940.* By Jeffrey Cox. Pp. xiii + 357 incl. 13 tables. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002. £42.95. 0 8047 4318 5  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903328295

Over the past decade, Jeffrey Cox has staked out 'work in progress' in some half dozen articles and chapters, which anticipate the rich deployment of argument and evidence in this necessary and altogether admirable study of the Punjab. British imperial and mission historians have neglected the American presence in India. With family roots in Texas, writing from the University of Iowa, Cox clarifies distinctive assumptions about ecclesiastical hierarchy and indigenous religion within American missions, notably Presbyterian and United Presbyterian. Both joined an 'ecclesiastical invasion' (p. 25) of north India by thirty-four home and foreign societies, an invasion dominated by the imperial and institutional commitments of the British CMS and SPG. This entire spectrum of theological energies is pulled into comparative focus. Rigorously, always in engrossing detail, he unpacks the categories of conversion, and of a 'native church' constituted to outlast empire. He assesses disparate objectives, strategies and unintended consequences, in relation, on the one hand, to competitive caste and communal hierarchies and, on the other, to British imperialist convictions, and the intermittently evangelical social hierarchies

and more contingent preoccupations of Punjab's colonial government. He sustains a critical engagement with three powerful historiographical perspectives: imperial and clerical providentialism; the irreversible secularisation thesis; and the compelling but still arguable illuminations of Edward Said's deconstruction of imperialism. Cox's strategy is to expose rhetorically constructed myopias associated with these 'master narratives', some insufficiently examined commonplaces and, above all, some massive and systematic sexist and racist exclusions. Thus, he reconsiders the incremental statistical consolidation of the presence of women in British missions. Initially 'mere' missionary spouses, women materialised in increasing numbers as individuals with professional aspirations and career expectations, in nursing, medicine and education. Inevitably they became subordinate agents of a pervasive strategy, with self-evident appeal to Victorian clerical professionalism, that sought to establish 'Christian influence' indirectly, by founding hospitals, schools and colleges such as the elitist St Stephen's College of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. But such structures of authority compromised evangelical penetration. They created attractive, though uneven, opportunities for communities understandably concerned to consolidate or renegotiate positions of esteem (and communal self-esteem) which the 'caste' categories of censuses in British India as resolutely attempted to freeze. Cox shows, to illustrate briefly, how Bishop Westcott of Durham's 'liberal' social Christianity could take on 'a more malignant character in an imperial setting' (p. 137). Westcott's CMD disciple G. A. Lefroy found himself committed to a substantial community of 'untouchable' Chamar 'Christian' leather-workers in Daryaganj, which had developed a 'pattern of religious piety' (p. 152) distinctly independent of CMD pastoral direction, involving Scripture recitations, festival and life-cycle celebrations, and Psalm and hymn singing which incorporated *ghazals* and *bhajans*, for female Chamar Christians were 'closely associated with song' (p. 139). Lefroy responded with an authoritarian, exclusionary rigour, which no incumbent in England could have contemplated imposing on the certainly substantial quota of doctrinal illiterates in his congregations. Himself initially, and unwittingly, incorporated into Chamar social hierarchies as their patron, Lefroy ultimately defended this imperial 'fault line' with a tiny group of depressed and dependent mission tenants. Denied any sympathetically imaginative recognition, the larger community turned elsewhere, to the American Methodist Episcopalans, English Salvation Army or non-Christian Kabir Panth.

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

GERALD STUDDERT-KENNEDY

*La Place du catholicisme dans les relations entre la France et le Viêt-Nam de 1887 à 1903*. 3 vols.

By Étienne Võ Đứ'c Hanh. (Publications Universitaires Européennes, Ser. 31, Science politiques. Political science, 408.) Pp. 508; 509–1094; 468 incl. 2 ills.

Bern: Peter Lang, 2001. £81 (paper). 3 906765 21 0; 0721 3654

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After two centuries of missionary proselytism Vietnam's Roman Catholics numbered, at the start of French conquest in 1858, approximately 350,000. By the late 1990s they exceeded seven million, and are now one of the largest Catholic populations in any Asian state. From the early seventeenth century, missionising orders of regular clergy – principally Spanish Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits – had competed to establish this community. In 1664 they were joined by a French society of secular

priests, the Missions Etrangères de Paris (MEP), formed with the aim of establishing autochthonous churches in Asia. By the mid-nineteenth century the MEP had become exclusively responsible for all Vietnamese apostolic vicariates, except those of central and East Tonkin, which remained in Spanish Dominican hands. As a French missionary society, the MEP might be expected to have found comfort in the establishment of French colonial rule. But the relationship between the French mission and French colonial officialdom, initially cordial, became mistrustful and occasionally abrasive for the rest of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Since 1961 Étienne Võ Đứ'c Hanh has devoted his life to the study of the development of Catholicism in what became colonial French Indochina. It is a formidable undertaking. So far his project has run to ten volumes of commentaries and documents in 4,013 pages, and he has taken the history only down to 1903. A further two sets of volumes is shortly to appear, one covering the period from 1904 to 1913, the other from 1914 to 1920. Ultimately it is Hanh's intention to cover the entire period of French rule to 1954. The rather general title of the project may be thought to imply coverage of a wide range of dealings between France and Vietnam, but this is essentially a study of the ways in which the MEP itself evolved locally as it assisted the processes of French expansion and colonisation. Vietnamese and French political and cultural perspectives are not explained in any depth, and Hanh adopts the mission's viewpoint throughout.

Each set of volumes has been organised to embody a thesis, and the most recently published set, covering the period from 1887 to 1903, needs to be seen in the context of the rest of the work. Each set illustrates a phase of the mission's development as French power expanded. The first, 'Inspirations and Action' covers French intervention in Cochinchina from 1851 to 1871. The second, 'Breach, Pressure and Conquest' deals with the acquisition of Tonkin from 1872 to 1887. The set under review, 'Dynamic Partisanship and Collaboration' examines the process of pacification and dealings with officialdom from 1887 to 1903. In the first set the mission was broadly exonerated from inspiring, though not from facilitating, French conquest. Vietnamese Christians suffered grievously from popular reprisals at every stage of French expansion, so the mission had little to lose from lending consistent support to French annexation in the south. In the second set covering the period from 1872 to 1887, and dealing with the French conquest of Tonkin in the North, Hanh again argued that the mission did not inspire French intervention but merely facilitated conquest. He defended that formidably aggressive prelate Bishop Puginier, vicar apostolic of west Tonkin, from the accusation that he appealed for the French navy to seize Hanoi in 1872–3. But he illustrated the many ways in which missionaries co-operated with the ensuing Garnier expedition that ended in a fiasco in 1874, and then assisted the expeditionary forces that conquered and began pacifying Tonkin in the 1880s. In the three volumes reviewed here, covering the period of colonial consolidation from 1887 to 1903, the thesis is that the mission was the active and dynamic partisan of the French cause in the latter stages of pacification, receiving in return only grudging official assistance in developing the mission's proselytising role.

While the pacification process is covered in about 150 pages, the rest of this set is devoted to analysing the development of collaborative dealings with French administration, and the routinisation of mission organisation in each of the vicariates of Indochina. A large part of the set is so mechanistically organised that it reads like a handbook on vicariate administration, but herein lies its value. It is useful as a work

of reference on the traditions and practices of each vicariate, and on their widely differing social, cultural and political conditions. There were five, later seven, Vietnamese vicariates in MEP hands during this period, and we receive a clear impression of the differences in their modes of operation.

But the period 1887–1903 was also one of substantial change in French Republican attitudes to the French Church and to its missions, and it is one of the weaknesses of this work that we get little significant information on the impact upon the mission of changes in the domestic and colonial political context. Local missionary views and prejudices are usefully and fully treated, but the policies and behaviour of French officials are loosely, often dismissively, alluded to rather than explained. The book has organisational weaknesses too. The documents do not always match the structure and layout of the commentary. Groups of documents from 1910 to 1920 on the mission among the Montagnards, and a correspondence between Governor-General Klobukowski and Père Artif in 1907 fall, for no obvious reason, altogether outside the chronological parameters of the set. And while it incorporates useful collections such as the (rather guarded) Governor Lanessan–Bishop Puginier correspondence, Hanh's commentary castigates Lanessan's anticlerical prejudices without explaining the *rationale* of his political strategy, which was to proclaim the colony's confessional neutrality as one strategy among many of reconciling non-Christian Vietnamese elites to French rule. Moreover, Hanh's commentary offers excessive descriptive detail on some very minor missionary preoccupations, but omits explanation of some central issues of relevance to the mission's relationship with the colony, for instance the role of colonial press polemics against the mission, or of local masonic anticlericalism. Fleeting references (i. 470–7) to these issues are confined to illustrating missionary irritation at both. Hanh is not wholly uncritical of particular missionaries, but overall his treatment is plainly partisan. He is preoccupied with defending the MEP against contentions that inspired debate decades ago, but arouse little interest now. Sadly, despite his undoubted mastery of the mission's records, and his special expertise as a French-educated Catholic Vietnamese, he has little to say on the cross-cultural issues that excite historians of mission today. All the same this set is a richly documented explanation of the ways in which the MEP's complicated and varied Indochina vicariates functioned, and of the irritations they experienced in dealing with local French officialdom in the later nineteenth century. As such, it has considerable value as a work of reference.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

PATRICK TUCK

Alexander, *Father Arseny, 1893–1973. Priest, prisoner, spiritual father. Being the narratives compiled by the servant of God Alexander concerning his spiritual father.* Translated by Vera Bouteneff. (Trans. of *Otets Arsenii*, Moscow: St Tikhon's Orthodox Theological Institute Press, Brotherhood of the All-Merciful Saviour, 1993, 1994.) Pp. viii + 279. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001 (first publ. 1998, 1999, 2000). £11.95 (paper). 0 88141 180 9  
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This account of Fr Arseny (before ordination known as Pyotr Andreevich Streltsov), compiled by an anonymous spiritual follower from many different sources, and translated, not always felicitously, by Vera Bouteneff, reveals to the western reader one of Russia's twentieth-century saints, as yet uncanonised by the Russian

Orthodox Church. The reader is given few dates but those that are recorded help to place his life in an historical context. He was first arrested in 1933 and again in 1939 during the Great Terror when he was imprisoned in a strict regime labour camp. He was only released after an amnesty in 1958 whereupon he expanded his ministry of spiritual direction, begun before his imprisonment and continued even in the horrific labour camp conditions, to all areas of the Soviet Union from his small room in a provincial town until his death in 1973. Three people a day would come to see him, ten at the weekend, and, despite the danger, he wrote regularly to his spiritual children with guidance and help: 'In his answers Fr Arseny would pour out his soul, he would tear out a piece of his soul and give it to the other' (p. 121). He was highly educated, an art historian, who believed that as a priest in the twentieth century he had to be well-informed on every subject if he was to be able to communicate with people living in contemporary society. He exuded warmth, was a man of profound prayer with the gift of discernment. The stories of those whose lives he touched are remarkable. A young man, Alexei, was imprisoned with him in the camp's punishment cell where the temperature was  $-22^{\circ}$  and both were expected to freeze to death; instead, thanks to Fr Arseny's prayers, they emerged after two days, to the surprise of the prison guards, alive and warm: a doctor on examining them exclaimed 'Amazing! How could they have survived? It's true, though, they're warm' (p. 37). A man returning to the camp barracks after a day of hard labour with frost-bitten feet collapsed on his bunk, ready to die, unable to remove his boots; Fr Arseny, aware of his condition, gently removed them, massaged his feet and for five days sat up all night guarding his boots – otherwise they would have been stolen – as they dried on the barrack's stove. The man survived. In the case of a camp inmate ready to commit suicide Fr Arseny with his gift of discernment knew how the man felt, began talking to him and transformed his state of mind: 'He recreated my inner self' wrote this potential suicide. That this book circulated in *samizdat* during the Communist period before *perestroika* when such a powerful witness to the Christian faith could at last be published (first Russian edition 1993) explains in part how such a faith survived the onslaught of Soviet anti-religious propaganda. 'The stories of Fr Arseny ... are life itself; they are the living source that gives you the strength to believe' (p. 205): this is the effect of Fr Arseny in this book as in life.

LONDON

XENIA DENNEN

*William Temple. A calling to prophecy.* By Stephen Spencer. Pp. xii + 132. London: SPCK, 2001. £7.99 (paper). 0 281 05437 1  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903358294

Although he was seventy-eight when he retired – a retirement hardly 'early', or even on time, by any scales of reference – Archbishop Lang slipped out of the chair of Augustine when he did in order to make way for his brother archbishop at York, William Temple. And the Church would have no other. The impact of Temple's death only two years later, in October 1944, is still keenly felt in the Church of England. This book, in itself, offers some proof of that, and also evidence that Temple's thought still enjoys a constituency there. It enjoys a foreword by Frank Field and also a preface by the bishop of Blackburn.

The fundamental purpose of Stephen Spencer's book, an accessible paperback with a rather natty cover design, is largely to measure Temple's claims to enjoy a

'prophetic' stature in the Church. It seeks to examine his thought within the context of his unfolding life and to unite Temple the church figure with Temple the philosopher and theologian. Prophecy is a difficult term and it may be that Spencer's concern to explore it sets his enterprise on an essentially polemical foundation. At all events, the work is thoughtfully done. It is something of a call to attention, a *resumé* and a personal, critical response to a public life of particular vitality. The book is brief and sharply drawn, and it announces more than it quite develops. At large it rests upon Temple's own published primary material and refers fully to the studies of Temple, biographical and academic, which have followed over the last half-century. In his sympathies Spencer leans particularly towards Adrian Hastings but rather away from John Kent, whose acute 1992 study is genuinely important, but whose virtues seem rather lost on him. In sum, there is much in this worthwhile book to recommend it to the general reader and students of history will benefit from its sharp delineation of many strands and themes in Temple's striking career.

THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE,  
BIRMINGHAM

ANDREW CHANDLER

*Martin Luther, German saviour. German evangelical theological factions and the interpretation of Luther, 1917–1933.* By James M. Stayer. (Studies in the History of Religion, Ser. 2.) Pp. xv + 177. Montreal–London–Ithaca: McGill–Queen's University Press, 2000. £37 (\$60). 0 7735 2044 9

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Robert P. Ericksen, Kurt Nowak and Klaus Scholder have written much on theology and the Third Reich. In this brief but concise study James Stayer outlines the responses of seven Protestant theologians – Barth, Holl, Elert, Gogarten, Althaus, Hirsch and Vogelsang – to the demise of cultural Protestantism in the lead-up to the new *Reich*. The book thoroughly discusses the theological debate about Martin Luther's Christology and the doctrine of justification by faith which the author feels had wider significance for the twentieth century. The political ramifications of the Luther Renaissance (described as 'grave' by Ernst Wolf in a 1958 study) are, however, only hinted at by Stayer. The eleven-page epilogue highlights the positions taken by these men in the Church Struggle of the 1930s. It was no surprise to discover that all the theologians under review – with the sole exception of the Reformed Barth – welcomed, to varying degrees, the coming of Hitler to power. Stayer does not discuss theological responses to the *Luthertag* in 1933. He stays clear of studies such as Hans Preuss's comparison of the two German heroes Luther and Hitler (1933). One question left unanswered is how variants of Lutheran self-understanding helped to shape political responses and interpretations of, say, the 'national revolution'. The theory brought adherents into the Nazi camp. Presumably, moreover, there was debate in the 1920s on Luther's views on government and Lutheran political resistance theory. Was the Altona Confession of 11 January 1933, in which the limits of civil obedience are surprisingly spelled out, related somehow to Luther studies in the foregoing decade? No theologian seems to have actually perceived Luther as a 'saviour' in either a religious or political sense, but he was put to good use on the theological battlefield. German academic theologians were concerned, in the 1920s, with making Protestantism 'relevant' in the modern world. Luther's

legacy – the study makes that at least abundantly clear – was adapted, re-invented, crafted, transformed, re-worked and, of course, distorted by theologians in their own personal search for relevance. Each man remade Luther in his own image. Each drew upon philosophical ideas (Spengler, Kant, German Idealism, Bergson, Nietzsche) for their exegesis. When one considers the endproducts of these wars of words, one feels inclined to ask whether the historical Luther was actually as irrelevant to German theologians as the historical Jesus apparently was.

Here we have the sad tale of theologians leaving the straight and narrow biblical path. What use were their ‘sound scholarly and religious insights’ if they were powerless to hold intelligent people back from supporting an organisation like the Nazi party? One wonders whether the six German theologians understood the Reformer at all. Luther might have been, if not a saviour, then at least a helper in time of need; this opportunity went begging in spite of all the research that had been done.

UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER

NICHOLAS RAILTON

*The cross-cultural process in Christian history. Studies in the transmission and appropriation of faith.* By Andrew F. Walls. Pp. x + 284. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books/Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2002. £16.99 (paper). 1 57075 373 3; 0 567 08869 3  
*JEH* (55) 2004; DOI: 10.1017/S0022046903378297

This collection of essays by Andrew Walls, the doyen of British mission historians, is a follow-up to the award-winning earlier selection of his writings entitled *The missionary movement in modern history* (1996). Together these works capture a lifetime’s teaching, and demonstrate conclusively why Walls has had so profound an influence both in Britain and throughout the world. From his days in theological education in Sierra Leone nearly fifty years ago, and then in Nigeria, through to the period of his seminal teaching in Aberdeen and more recently in Edinburgh, Walls has insisted that church historians have now the opportunity to experience life in the first, second and third centuries of the Church, because those are the literal time-frames of most of the Churches of Africa, Asia and Oceania. Earlier themes of Christian history and Christian historiography recur before our eyes as the Christian message is appropriated in ever new and different contexts. Walls has also insisted that church historians take seriously the ‘shift from Christendom to World Christianity’, and the further shift to a Christianity more and more shaped and determined by the southern continents. ‘The majority of Christians now belong to Africa, Asia and Latin America. These regions will increasingly be the places where Christian decisions and Christian choices will have to be made, where creative theology will become a necessity, and where the materials for constructing that theology will be such as have not been used for that purpose before’ (pp. 81–2). In a series of brilliant papers Walls shows us how this process has already begun, how new questions are being asked about Christ and how new theologies are being born using the venerable traditions of Africa and Asia, as ‘surely as earlier generations used the materials of Platonism and Roman and customary law’ (p. 82). Particularly forceful are two central essays on ‘Africa in Christian history’ and ‘African Christianity in the history of religions’, and these are complimented by ‘vignettes’ (Walls’s own term) of African theologians like Samuel Ajayi Crowther and Harry Sawyerr. But there are many other delights in this

cornucopia as Walls ranges over the course of the missionary movement. *Inter alia* he takes a quizzical look at Latourette's *History of the expansion of Christianity*; examines the theology of Rudyard Kipling; illumines the European context of the Protestant missionary awakening; throws a flood of light on the non-clerical aspects of the missionary movement; offers expert opinion about the Scottish missionary *diaspora* and writes charmingly of two great figures in the cross cultural process: the Welsh Baptist Timothy Richard and the Afrikaans theologian David Bosch. One can only recommend this acute, insightful and frequently witty volume to all historians, both 'ecclesiastical' and secular.

BRITE DIVINITY SCHOOL,  
FORT WORTH,  
TEXAS

KENNETH CRACKNELL