

when the proclamation was to come into force, and proclaimed the 'Jubilee' promised to the Israelites in the Book of Leviticus. The famed abolitionist Frederick Douglass gave a speech to a black church in his new home of Rochester, New York, entitled: 'The Day of Jubilee Comes' (p. 181). He mixed the secular and the religious, claiming inspiration from the words of liberty in the Declaration of Independence as well as the Golden Rule. Lincoln's proclamation had finally made manifest the claims in the Declaration, itself inspired by 'the divine wisdom of the Man of Nazareth' (p. 184). As Byrd succinctly puts it, it had taken 'politics eighteen hundred years to catch up with Jesus' (p. 184).

Ultimately, from all the evidence Byrd provides, one gets the impression that the Bible worked more for Americans in terms of trying to understand what was happening to them than in telling them what the result would be. At war's end, the victorious Union side sought explanation for the massive casualties, while for the former Confederates it was casualties too but also defeat. In showing us people's use of the Bible, however, it would have been better to have organised this book thematically rather than chronologically. Important themes such as using the Bible to understand casualty totals or why one side succeeded or failed become lost among the voluminous subheadings in each chapter and the necessary lengthy background descriptions of the war's events. For example, Byrd provides some very useful statistics on the most common biblical citations used by each side, but these are confined to an appendix at the end of the book. They alone deserved their own chapter. The evidence indicates the overwhelming popularity of citing the Old over the New Testament, perhaps indicating the need for militancy, especially early in the war. Even the most popular New Testament citations often came from Paul's Epistles and Acts rather than from the Gospels. Jesus' message in Matthew 5:39 to 'turn the other cheek' did not make the top ten on either side. The book's structure is a weakness but overall, this work is still very useful in showing us how nineteenth-century Americans, whether active churchgoers or not, sought explanation, solace and even vindication, in the Bible. Yet, it also highlights that they often understood, as President Lincoln did just weeks before his assassination in April 1865, that whoever used God's word for whatever cause, 'The Almighty has his own purposes', that could never be truly knowable ('Second Inaugural Address of President Abraham Lincoln', 4 March 1865).

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The mission of Apolo Kivebulaya. Religious encounter and social change in the Great Lakes, c. 1865–1935. By Emma Wild-Wood. (Eastern Africa Series.) Pp. xviii + 318 incl. 5 ills and 2 maps. Woodbridge: James Currey, 2020. £65. 978 1 84701 246 3
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Emma Wild-Wood's new monograph is a richly detailed, thoroughly researched monograph that boldly and convincingly challenges some of the standard shibboleths in English-language scholarship on African missions. In the fascinating figure of Apolo Kivebulaya (1865–1933), Wild-Wood demonstrates the transformative appeal of what she terms 'Christian cosmopolitanism' in the life of one of colonial Africa's most influential missionaries. Moving beyond the Comaroffs' 'colonization of consciousness' paradigm, Derek Peterson's ethnic patriotism and dissent,

or modern African theology's turn to inculturation, Wild-Wood shows why Christianity could offer an appealing counter-cultural message and translocal identity to socially marginalised Africans. Kivebulaya is a fully-embodied figure, and the richness of Wild-Wood's portrait enables a deeper probing of larger themes in African religious history, such as the complexity of indigenous conversion to Christianity and the variegated sources of missionary agents' authority.

First, this study enriches scholarly understanding of African conversion in the Ugandan context. Drawing on Kivebulaya's own autobiography, personal letters, earlier biographies, seventeen archival collections and both historical and contemporary oral interviews, Wild-Wood uncovers the depth and breadth of his conversion to Anglican Christianity. This entails moving beyond a narrow focus on religious beliefs to a more holistic understanding of conversion that takes seriously the revolutions in Kivebulaya's notions of kinship, manhood and ethnic and social bonds. Following the work of Holly Hanson among others, Wild-Wood shows how and why cosmopolitan Christianity might have appealed to a Baganda peasant living during a precarious period marked by expanded slaving, disease, ritual killings and raiding, as well as the breakdown of broader kinship relations. Christianity's novel technologies, such as literacy, biomedicine and bicycles, as well as its message of salvation, international community and pan-ethnic vision, all contributed to Kivebulaya's embracing of this new, foreign religion. Kivebulaya's experience was mirrored by thousands of Baganda women, youth and other marginalized *bakopi* peasants attracted by the 'remaking of social bonds' (p. 17) that Christianity offered.

Yet what strikes the reader in Kivebulaya's story is not simply his multifaceted conversion story, but the remarkable ways in which he became the most important colonial-era missionary in western Uganda and eastern Congo. In narrating his journey, Wild-Wood moves Kivebulaya beyond Louise Pirouet's category of 'black evangelist' and classifies him as a *bona-fide* international missionary. She shows how the power relations between Kivebulaya and British missionaries were not always as one-sided as it seems, as foreign missionaries were utterly dependent on local leaders like Kivebulaya in the field. Likewise, Kivebulaya's remarkable evangelical success stemmed from many factors, some of which stood in paradoxical tension with each other. He rejected traditional healing methods, yet also gained renown as a spiritual healer. He came from Uganda's dominant kingdom, yet downplayed his own Baganda identity and advocated for a Runyoro-Rutoro Bible (over and against official Church Mission Society [CMS] policy which envisioned Luganda as a unifying national language for all of Uganda's Anglicans). And yet Kivebulaya's determination to localise the church through the vernacular language was balanced by a more universal vision of Church as a pan-ethnic, cross-border, international communion.

Wild-Wood's monograph is an outstanding example of biography as an *entrée* into a richly textured local history. I confess that when I first heard the title, I imagined that this would be a micro-study of a single Baganda missionary's life and influence in the Great Lakes region. But *The mission of Apolo Kivebulaya* is much more than this. The attentive reader also gains rich insight into the early colonial and Christian history of Buganda. In fact, Kivebulaya's roots in outlying Singo on the Bunyoro border significantly expands Buganda's Christian story beyond the

standard focus on the royal court at Mengo. In tracing Kivebulaya's peripatetic life, the book also moves beyond Buganda to offer a finely grained history of political and religious developments in Toro (western Uganda) as well as the Ituri region of north-eastern DRC.

The surname 'Kivebulaya', which he adopted in the 1890s, literally means 'the one who comes from Europe' (p. 124). Wild-Wood generally explores the positive and constructive dimensions of Kivebulaya's cosmopolitanism, but one wonders what if any baggage might have come with his dismissal of his previous identity as Waswa Munubi. Did his shedding of his earlier name, embracing of a vow of celibacy, criticisms of Baganda culture and choice to permanently leave Buganda involve any kind of self-rejection or cultural alienation? Wild-Wood does not really delve into these questions. More attention to Kivebulaya's interactions with Catholic missionaries would also have been welcome, especially in light of their shared commitment to work among the marginalised poor in regions like Toro.

Whatever these minor *lacunae*, *The mission of Apolo Kivebulaya* is a terrific book, and should be widely read by scholars and graduate students of global Christianity, East African history, Ugandan studies and missiology. Wild-Wood's framing of Kivebulaya through the lens of the 'local enactment of cosmopolitan Christian values' (p. 201) will surely be debated and discussed for years to come.

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Historians and the Church of England. Religion and historical scholarship, 1870–1920. By James Kirby. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) Pp. xi + 257. New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016. £60. 978 0 19 87615 9
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'Noticing some fair-haired children in the slave market one morning, Pope Gregory, the memorable Pope, said (in Latin), "What are those?" and on being told that they were Angels, made the memorable joke – "Non Angli, sed Angeli" ("not Angels, but Anglicans"), and commanded one of his Saints called St Augustine to go and convert the rest.' Thus the English became 'C of E'. As usual, Sellar and Yeatman's mischievous misremembering in *1066 and all that* (1930) gestures at a significant subtext. James Kirby demonstrates in this rich and utterly convincing monograph that the self-confidence of the Victorian and Edwardian Church in the present was founded on its ownership of the past. The sculpture and stained glass with which old and new churches were clad did not rehearse merely mythical origins; it drew on an 'Anglican ascendancy in historical scholarship' (p. 2). That ascendancy placed the Church of the English – founded in the sixth century, not the sixteenth – at the centre of narratives of nationhood, constitutional development and social change. To the figures with whom this book is chiefly concerned – Edward Augustus Freeman, William Stubbs, Mandell Creighton and a wide supporting cast – it was the Church that had made England, not the other way around (p. 80). They bestrode the historical profession that they created, bequeathing preoccupations whose ecclesiastical origins secularising historians of scholarship have often overlooked.