more explicitly Christological and eucharistic framework of devotion and a Romanization of liturgy. Handbooks developed a strict historicity with a strongly anti-heretical cast, and indulgences played their part in this aggressive denial of Protestantism. Above all, the experience was tightly controlled and channeled through careful devotional rituals in highly structured spaces.

Chapter 5 considers the aftermath and impact of the sacred journey, which was amplified by numerous confraternities whose liturgies and rituals commemorated and echoed the original pilgrimage. Physical souvenirs, most commonly metal badges and lead ampullae, were sought by almost every pilgrim, both as a focus of their own memories and for distribution to family and friends to allow them to participate in the experience. Some returning travelers evidently stocked up in order to sell them on their journey home or in their native localities. Small pictures, often with an indulgence or invocation, were produced in huge quantities, although relatively few have survived. Certificates became the most important souvenir of all, official attestations of pilgrimage completion.

The conclusion to the volume stresses the importance of pilgrimage as a popular phenomenon in Catholicism, in particular from the later decades of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth. As the book demonstrates, in many different ways, the Catholic Reformation both insisted on continuity with the past and instituted significant changes. Pilgrimage represents a particularly salient example of the manner in which the Reformation could inspire both a modification of traditional behaviors and an intensified attachment to the target of Protestant criticism as an overt demonstration of anti-heretical identity. While the book ostensibly concentrates on three long-distance pilgrimages, it is certainly not limited to these. Indeed, this represents one of its strengths, because it is not really convincingly argued why these three sites of themselves make up a particularly coherent field of study. By ranging very broadly, however, the book contextualizes each of these pilgrimages within the wider and intense web of sacred journeys across Catholic Europe.

Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin
University College, Dublin.
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Historical Communities: Cities, Erudition, and National Identity in Early Modern France. By **Hilary J. Bernstein**. Scientific and Learned Cultures and Their Institutions 32. Leiden: Brill, 2021. xi + 435 pp. $179.00 cloth.

This is an important book on a topic that fills a gap much in need of filling in our knowledge of early modern France. Strangely, however, most historians have been completely unaware that local history writing even was a topic, never mind such an important one. And this is because, as the author notes, "local historians and their works remained largely invisible" in the works of the major writers of the Republic of Letters in the period, as well as among the works of national historians of France (350). Thus, in the historical writings of nationally and internationally known figures such as Joseph Scaliger, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, and Pierre Bayle, the voluminous writings of local historians play very little part. As a result, the local histories of the sixteenth and seventeenth century have also been largely invisible in the works of contemporary historians of until very recently. Hilary Bernstein's *Historical Communities* contributes to a growing list of works by scholars in the last twenty-five years or so who have taken the work of local historians seriously. They have provided a new and overlooked dimension to what we know about historical writing in early modern France. Thus, the work of Bernstein and others has complemented, supplemented, and significantly updated older works by Donald Kelley, George Huppert, and Orest Ranum. What is different about *Historical Communities* and makes it stand out from all the other work done on local history in the last few decades is that most of the latter work is based on one city or region. Bernstein has chosen a much more comprehensive approach, analyzing local histories written all over France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and it is based on an impressive amount of research among scores of local histories and unpublished sources in several dozen national and local archives.

The main argument of the book is that local historians writing from the mid-sixteenth to late seventeenth century in France played a vital and significant role in the Republic of Letters and in national history writing, even though they were largely invisible in the writings of the major national writers and historians of the period. The author clearly shows that they were in contact with them, however, and not only provided many of the sources for their work but also made available to them many of the local archives to which they might otherwise not have had access. At the same time, the book illustrates how many of these local historians also advanced the methodology of writing history based on a more critical evaluation of sources a century before Jean Mabillon, who is usually credited with this achievement. In short, what is most successful about *Historical Communities* is how the author makes a very convincing case for why local histories are very important to the national narrative of the history of early modern France, and she clearly makes them visible where up until now they have been invisible. Indeed, Bernstein makes it clear that the work of the national historians and august figures who dominated the Republic of Letters in France would have been much poorer without the contributions of local historians. This is no mean achievement.

But, as readers of this journal might rightly ask, in what sense is *Historical Communities* a book about the history of religion in general and church history in particular? In fact, Bernstein shows explicitly that religion was central to local history writing in early modern France. At the end of the civil wars, national historians, both Catholic and Protestant, chose to present a France that was reunited in peace after the confessional violence of the Wars of Religion. Thus, in the seventeenth century, national histories eschewed the ideological and confessional polemics of the civil wars and portrayed a France with a strong Catholic monarch who ruled a kingdom in which both Catholics and Huguenots were loyal subjects of the king. In other words, they took seriously the Edict of Nantes's command to forget past troubles. Local historians, on the other hand, especially on the Catholic side, continued the polemics of the civil wars and persisted in referring to Huguenots as heretics and enemies of the state. At the local level, at least, some historians chose not to forget the troubled past and perpetuated confessional divisions long after 1598.

But there were also divisions among Catholic local historians over how best to narrate their past. In Reims, for example, there were competing historical narratives between the royal historiographer, André Duchesne, who wanted to write a history of Reims stressing the independence of the bourgeois of the town extending back to Gallic times. This narrative was in direct tension with the history of Reims written by the canon of the cathedral, which stressed the prestige of the archbishops and their authority over the city since the twelfth century as dukes and first peers of the realm. And there were also competing histories of the civil wars in Le Mans and Orléans, where Catholic historians Claude Blondeau and François Le Maire, respectively, were harshly criticized by some of their Catholic readers for giving even-handed and unbiased accounts of the civil wars, for not endorsing local superstitions about the role of local saints and miracles, and even for being willing to use some Huguenot sources. Thus, religion figured heavily in these local histories.

In summary, this is a book as erudite as the many local histories that Bernstein has analyzed. She shows that historians mattered in early modern France. They "helped to channel important civic debates about how competing claims for authority should be weighed and legitimized" (363). This is still our job today, which we ignore at our peril.

Mack P. Holt
George Mason University
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Quakers, Christ, and the Enlightenment. By **Madeleine Pennington**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021. xxx + 242 pp. $100.00 cloth; e-book available.

Madeleine Pennington's work takes a deep dive into Quaker Christology, seeking to show the ways that Quaker Christology incrementally came to conform more closely to English Protestant norms in the period up to 1700, roughly half of a century after the initial formation of Quakerism. The standards of Chalcedonian orthodoxy are challenging for theologians of any denomination to meet, but the emphasis among Quakers on the Light of Christ being found in every person makes for a special challenge for Quaker writers to reconcile Christ's Light with the living witness of a specific man who lived more than one thousand six hundred years previous. Pennington shows that, in the half century period in question, increasingly more strenuous efforts were made toward making Quakers be seen as reputable. Pennington opens the volume with a thorough account of why Quakers' desire for a good reputation, more than their loathing of persecution, motivated their increasing conformity on theological issues and drove the evolution of their theology, at least in the area of Christology.

Pennington then proceeds to investigate Quaker Christology proper. The Quakers of the 1650s strongly emphasized the eternal Christ, denoted as the Light of Christ, over the incarnate Christ, although they never denied the latter. Ironically, she shows that one of the most moderate Quakers on Christology at the time, one who stated in 1655 that one must believe "what Christ suffered at Jerusalem" (73) to be saved, was the controversial James Nayler, who, during the following year, entered Bristol in a manner reminiscent of Christ's Palm Sunday entry into Jerusalem and was found guilty by the English Parliament of blasphemy for having done so. Quaker emphasis on the unified, spiritual nature of God tended to leave them ambivalent toward Trinitarian theology. As they sought to bolster their reputation for Christian orthodoxy over the succeeding decades, Pennington charts diverse Quaker strategies for seeking recognition for moderate Christological bona fides. George Whitehead, William Penn, and Robert Barclay were each key figures in this effort. By the mid-1670s, the Quakers'