

is also maintained when he dies." There may be subtle differences between Machiavelli's words and Nedham's paraphrase, but the citation is surely intended to be faithful and not a conscious revision of Machiavelli's thought.

Most alarmingly, Sullivan fails to note the religious influences on American political thought. To argue that English liberal republicanism influenced the founding fathers requires that the puritan elements, for example, in the thought of Locke and the English republicans be considered. In turn, such considerations would cast doubt on the connections she makes between these writers and Hobbes, who was vehemently opposed to radical Protestantism. The assumption underlying these lacunae in her account—that liberalism and liberal republicanism are self-consciously and unambiguously hostile to revealed religion—explains her decision "not to treat John Milton...who was a very prominent republican during the Civil Wars...[because] ultimately his thought is too deeply embedded in biblical revelation to qualify as a precursor to liberal thought" (9, n.19). One is led to conclude that Sullivan is extremely selective in her choice of thinkers and topics in order to justify an ideological caricature of modernity.

Robert Bireley. *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xii + 330 pp. + 10 illus. + 1 map. \$65.00. Review by MARK CHARLES FISSEL, THE AUGUSTA ARSENAL.

In *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War*, Robert Bireley constructs a narrative of the Jesuits' activities in church-state politics, diplomacy, and strategic decision-making in the period 1618-1648. He ventures into the four most important Catholic courts of Europe: Vienna, Munich, Paris, and Madrid. Using original manuscript sources Bireley interprets the activities of members of the Society of Jesus collectively and individually. He provides background and analysis that is both chronological and geographical in scope. The author then lays bare the influence of individual Jesuits (particularly confessors) at Catholic courts. Bireley man-

ages this complex balancing act beautifully. The result is a polished study based upon a wealth of manuscript evidence from archives across Europe.

Bireley has produced a refined rendering of church-state relations in post-Reformation Europe. Omnipresent historical phenomena, such as the coalescing of a "national spirit" (in the words of Muzio Vitelleschi, the Jesuit superior general (16)) and the mechanics of state formation, loom over the actions of individuals in this book. Yet one rarely feels lost in the turmoil of the Thirty Years War. Bireley prepares the way with succinct commentary and essentially chronological chapters whose themes snap together crisply. His summary of the causes of the Thirty Years War is clear-headed and insightful. Transitions from the European macocosm to the microcosmic labors of individual Jesuits blend seamlessly.

Thought-provoking conclusions are reached: "the Jesuits were not a monolithic organization" (267). The book resoundingly demolishes the myth of a Jesuit consensus regarding a grand strategy to extirpate Protestantism. Certainly from 1517 to 1648, Jesuits, like most Roman Catholics, desired the annihilation of the heretics. However, honest differences of opinion among the more conciliatory members of the Society and the Jesuit militant wing prevented the superior general from imposing a common political agenda upon his brothers. Even more broadly, no uniform and practical directives could mold the diverse relationships between religion and politics at the Catholic courts. How far did the personal relationship between confessors and their respective princes extend into the sphere of advising on political and military decisions? At Vienna and Munich the stakes were high, for Bireley demonstrates that at those courts the Jesuit confessors did affect the prosecution of the war.

Far from appearing as calculating conspirators, the Jesuits are revealed to be divided amongst themselves, leaning after the Peace of Prague in 1635 toward a mediated settlement with Protestant powers. With the new circumstances resulting from the signing of the Peace and the entrance of France into the war, there resulted

many Jesuit "positions." Some Jesuits favored a European (indeed, global) peace that might arrest the bloodshed that seemed to be swallowing the civilized world, even if that course permitted the temporary survival of Protestantism. Compromise would ultimately benefit and complete the Catholic Reformation.

A danger in viewing the Thirty Years War from the perspective of Catholic diplomacy is that the wars of religion can too easily be seen as yet another period of chronic instability in Europe. One observes the machinations of princes and the inevitable marches of armies. From a Protestant viewpoint, the post-Reformation era was a desperate struggle for survival. That the Vatican might be swept away seemed unlikely. However, that the Protestant heresy would be crushed mercilessly, and thousands of believers murdered (as had happened to Albigensians, Hussites and other proto-Protestants), was a real and terrifying possibility.

The fundamental difference in world view can be seen in Bireley's treatment of the Cleves-Julich War of 1610-1614. Seen from the eyes of diplomats, princes, and the superior general, events such as the Cleves-Julich crisis appeared to be violent adjustments of spheres of influence, not entirely unlike the events that led to the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and then the Edict of Nantes (1598). However, the assassination of Henry IV of France (by a former student of a Jesuit College) had proved that no one was safe from the long knives. Memories of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre and fears that the dynastic contest in Cleves-Julich might turn the tide and overwhelm the Protestant powers triggered defensive preparations as far afield as England. Bireley notes that despite traditional animosities between France and Spain, the latter countries, with a papal blessing, seriously considered amassing an allied Armada to invade Britain in the late 1620s and topple Charles I. Protestant paranoia was grounded in real events.

In fact, the traditional Whiggish Protestant association of absolutism with Jesuitical Catholicism might not be so farfetched. Bireley observes, "The foundation and development of the Society of Jesus has generally, and correctly, been interpreted as bolstering the role of the papacy. But one can argue, on the other hand, that

Jesuit support of princes in the seventeenth century also contributed to the advance of princely absolutism vis-a-vis the Church” (274). In 1640 a papal nuncio acknowledged the heartfelt religiosity of the Jesuits but opined that the order more promoted the interests of Catholic princes than was a champion of the papacy. Considering the oft-recited allegation that the Jesuits strove to bring temporal powers under the authority of the Holy See, Bireley’s point is notable (particularly considering the constitutional dimensions of the Thirty Years War in the Empire and elsewhere).

It was in the Empire, where the chaos of the Reformation had so damaged the older religious orders, that Jesuits occupied with some intimacy the imperial and princely courts. In France the Huguenots had made significant advances against Catholicism. Gallican sentiments inclined French institutions to be suspicious of Jesuit influence. So members of the Society of Jesus aligned themselves closely to the French monarchy. At Madrid (as was the case in many Italian cities) the older orders maintained their pre-eminence and thus the Jesuits did not insinuate themselves as easily in the corridors of power as they did in Munich and Vienna.

Bireley’s research reveals a great deal about the rise of absolutism, the emergence of modern European states, and the origins of nationalism (Vitelleschi’s “national spirit”). Rarely does an academic work reach so many audiences: specialists can glean all sorts of evidence hitherto inaccessible, graduate students may emulate a master historian’s methodology and exposition, and undergraduates will find the synoptic overview that makes a complex period more comprehensible. In short, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War* confirms Robert Bireley’s reputation as one of the most skilled early modernists in North America.

Katherine A. Lynch. *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200–1800: The Urban Foundations of Western Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xiii + 250 pp. \$65.00. Review by ALISA PLANT, TULANE UNIVERSITY.