

*Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the development of reformed Protestantism.* By Andrew Pettegree. Pp. xii + 350 incl. maps, figs and table. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. £40. 0 19 822739 6

There is a long tradition of Calvinist, notably Genevan, historiography according to which all roads lead to Geneva and all influence emanates from there. Recent work on other centres of refuge for Reformed communities in the sixteenth century (in particular Philippe Denis, *Les Eglises d'étrangers en pays rhénans (1538–1564)*, Liège–Paris, 1984) has drawn attention to the multiplicity of exile Churches. Andrew Pettegree himself has contributed his highly acclaimed *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-century London* (1986); he now follows with this study of Emden, the most important centre for the exiled Dutch during the tortured period of Dutch history in the second half of the sixteenth century.

In a basically narrative framework, Pettegree traces the beginnings of the exile Churches and the first arrival of a Dutch community in Emden; two chapters outline 'Emden as Mother Church'; after a chapter on the city's role as a printing centre for the exiles, he treats the too sudden success of 1566, the 'Wonderyear', in The Netherlands, and the subsequent repression directed by the duke of Alva; he follows with the period of reconstruction, leading finally to the successful establishment in Holland of independence from Spain. Throughout the story there is a seesaw movement – Emden flourished in times of repression at home, and her fortunes declined when the exiles were free to return (though the net result was that Emden quadrupled in population in the second half of the century); consequently the study is as much about the history of The Netherlands as about Emden itself. In a final chapter the author brilliantly summarises the salient points which arise from his narrative, and sets the story in the wider context of international Calvinism, bringing out lucidly the relationship with, and the independence from, the Genevan model.

An important feature of the book is the study of Emden printing and printers; in an appendix the author lists all (some 240) Emden printings between 1554 and 1585, in a 'short-title' presentation. This is the first such survey ever produced, and is an important contribution to the history of the book in the Reformation, though I confess that all my attempts to identify the order in which items are listed (beyond the basic chronological structure) failed: it is neither alphabetical, nor grouped by language, nor ordered by printer. An index of authors (though not of anonymous titles) overcomes this problem to some extent. In several cases the list corrects information in the *Index des livres interdits*, ii (Louvain) and vii (Antwerp), to which the author does not refer; in one case (No. 16) the *Index* locates a copy unknown to Pettegree.

Throughout the work the author demonstrates mastery of his abundant scholarly sources. This is the first major study which has been able to exploit Schilling's *Kirchenprotokolle der reformierten Gemeinde Emden, 1557–1620* (2 vols, 1990, 1992); in addition the author has drawn on the Emden church and city archives, and on a comprehensive bibliography of printed sources. He is fully at home with his material, and is able to evaluate it judiciously and authoritatively. Thus, in examining the contribution of Calvinist Churches to the development of a new national consciousness in Holland (pp. 244ff.), he points out the evidence for an increased sense of the wider community fostered in the melting pot of the exile Churches, but conversely finds indications of the 'enduring localism of the Netherlands provinces'; here as elsewhere 'the exile Churches presented the new Dutch State with a mixed heritage'. He proposes a re-evaluation of the generally

accepted view that the 'slow transition of the Netherlands from a loyal Catholic territory to a Protestant State' was characterised by fluidity and diversity, arguing that the experience in Church organisation, as well as in doctrinal coherence, acquired during some fifteen years of exile gave the Reformed Churches a critical advantage which showed in the rapidity with which Calvinism spread when not actively suppressed.

Pettegree is a social historian and, while paying proper attention to questions of doctrine and belief, he is concerned to give the wider context of social, economic and commercial factors which also influenced events. The exiles were of course moved by genuine religious reasons; but he notes that 'the decision as to where they would settle was often made on the most pragmatic grounds, having more to do with the cost of living and the prospect of gainful employment than religious pieties' (p. 226). His discussion of the influence of the exile Churches in social matters (pp. 247ff.) makes fascinating reading. He suggests that 'it was probably in the exile Churches that the full implications of Calvin's [social] teaching came closest to being realized'. The Churches established in Holland after 1572 did not carry with them the whole array of social egalitarianism and consistorial independence developed in the exile; the characteristic features of Dutch Protestantism evolved slowly over the succeeding decades:

These later developments were of central importance to the emerging shape of Dutch Calvinism; as important, it should be acknowledged, as the spiritual and organizational legacy of the exile years, or as the theological disputes which came to a head at the synod of Dort. To recognize this is not to diminish the importance of the exile years, but to place their achievements in a proper context (p. 249).

This judicious, scholarly, lucidly written book is an important contribution not only to the history of Emden itself, but also of The Netherlands during the period of their greatest internal conflict, and of a significant aspect of international Calvinism. The scholarly community has much for which to thank Dr Pettegree.

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*Richard Hooker's Doctrine of the Royal Supremacy.* By W. J. Torrance Kirby. (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, XLIII.) Pp. xi + 136 incl. frontispiece.

Leiden: Brill, 1990. Gld. 72. 90 04 08851 2; 0081 8607

This resolutely argued study offers both less and more than its title suggests. Less, in that it is concerned almost exclusively with issues raised in but one of the nine chapters of the defence of the English royal ecclesiastical supremacy which concludes Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. More, in that it seeks to understand Hooker's justification of the title 'head' as applied to the monarch in relation to the English Church (ch. iv of book viii) by reference to distinctively theological fundamental principles elaborated earlier in the *Laws* and elsewhere in Hooker's writings. Dr Kirby aims to remedy the too narrowly political treatment of his subject in much previous scholarship by showing that Hooker's defence of the supremacy, far from being a pragmatic accommodation to an arbitrarily given constitution of Church and State, rests solidly on Trinitarian, Christological, soteriological, and ecclesiological positions Hooker could have expected orthodox Protestants among his compatriots to accept. Understood on the basis of these principles, book viii is an irenic demonstration that the crown's