

severe than its Episcopalian forerunner. Further studies of the effects of the Presbyterian settlement on those subject to ecclesiastical discipline would be worthwhile.

Muirhead's main sources are the records of the presbyteries and parishes, to which he adds a wide range of other local records, correspondence, sermons, and the life-writings of the comparatively well-known contemporary clergy George Turnbull and Thomas Boston. Through close attention to these sources, he is able to follow the struggles of ministers and elders to exercise discipline, and the successes and failures of the presbyteries in settling ministers, in pleasing detail. Even when tracking convoluted court cases and dilatory ecclesiastical business, Muirhead's prose is clear and entertaining.

Throughout the book, readers are treated to insights that arise from a mastery of local sources and contexts. This is evident not only in Muirhead's comments about the social status of elders and heritors (landowners), but also in his accounts of religious politics in Stirling, the region's main urban center. The book's final chapter, which assesses local participation in the debates over union with England in 1707, exemplifies the nature of Muirhead's contribution. Residents of Stirlingshire, the members of the presbytery of Dunblane, and inhabitants of the towns of Stirling and Culross and parishes of Tulliallan and St. Ninians submitted addresses to the Scottish parliament against the union. These texts have been edited by Karin Bowie and analyzed in other publications by Bowie and Jeffrey Stephen. Nevertheless, Muirhead's discussion draws on a fuller appreciation of the dynamics of each locality, adding depth to our interpretation of petitioning against the union. In this and other respects, Muirhead's book is valuable not so much for asking new questions as for furnishing sophisticated, local perspectives on familiar historical problems.

To understand the re-establishment of Presbyterianism in appropriate detail, we could do with several other studies like Muirhead's. *Scottish Presbyterianism Re-Established* provides an example for the authors of those books to come.

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doi:10.1017/S0009640723000070

***Catholic Social Networks in Early Modern England: Kinship, Gender, and Coexistence.* By Susan M. Cogan. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021. 296 pp. € 113,00 cloth.**

The confessional divisions and battles of the post-Reformation period are well known. In accounts that now seem *démodé*, emphasis tended to be on the vast gulf that existed between Catholics and Protestants. Scholarship has now long underlined the insufficiency of that analytical framework by, for example, accentuating the differences *within* confessions. In the past couple of decades, much work has also focused on the ways in which neighbors overcame these divisions, either because syncretic dynamics mitigated differences or because there was *de facto* tolerations for those who diverged in matters of ritual and belief. Susan Cogan's book examines this dynamic through the lens of the English Catholic nobility during a time of deep religious tensions at the end of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth centuries. While it is easy to imagine a beleaguered Catholic

caste cursed by the state's distrust, in fact, Cogan ably shows that nobiliary networks undermined the potential negative consequences of being Catholic within a context of confessional dissensions.

Cogan's argument is premised on the notion that kinship and social networks forged before the Reformation established firm roots. Her study of these webs of connectivity is focused geographically in Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Warwickshire and chronologically between 1400 and 1630. This long period is important because, as she suggests in chapter 2, kinship networks of the post-Reformation period did not emerge out of thin air, and, importantly, the underlying logic of these networks were not ephemeral. They existed and then continued to exist because they "could stabilize or augment [. . .] social status, economic health, and political influence and [. . .] those connections could protect individuals or families from political tumult" (64). These established relationships allowed Catholics—even recusants—to maintain access to patronage and clientage as a function of "coexistence." One manifestation of the cultural unities that bound families and groups of different religious allegiances is in the realm of architecture and gardening where aesthetic values, assumptions about the communicative possibilities of home design, and patronage connections were reinforced. As she explains, "common interests drew people closer to one another and helped to bind them to patrons and the state." Not only did these networks share craftsmen, but they could articulate reverence for patrons by encoded messages in these aesthetic endeavors, or by means of imitation. Aside from such cultural affinities, Cogan emphasizes the extent to which the Catholic nobility was ensconced in political spheres as office holders, soldiers, and petitioners to central authorities, thus forging a tight bond to "the state" and thus establishing a form of "citizenship." Ultimately, the possibilities of Catholic embeddedness in the State relied on bonds of patronage, the establishment of protection, and promotion in exchange for services and loyalty. This system only worked when parties developed relationships based not on confession but on commonalities and mutual interests. These relationships were of particular import for Catholics as it was a matter of raw survival within a cultural-political sphere that often publicized hatred for them.

These network connections take on a gendered quality. A set of particular bonds established among women themselves were "part of a family's coordinated strategy to maintain their wealth and status, and to provide women their own networks of power" (107). Women's power sometimes intervened in the realm of masculine authority as they became defenders and petitioners on behalf of husbands who had come into trouble with authorities, a symptom of a particular kind of recusant "problem" of masculinity. In a society in which "normative masculinity" emphasized a strong, virtuous, and well-connected *pater familias*, recusancy often prevented performing or reflecting these ideals, therein lay the importance of network formation across confessional boundaries, even if those patronage networks ended up affirming subordination to patrons. To be outside of these networks undermined the possibility of fulfilling masculine ideals.

Cogan's book ably shows—using a range of archival and other sources—that the permanence of some kind of Catholic "community" depended on mutual support among confessional allies and among people across confessional boundaries. Without a doubt Catholics had a range of responses to their position in post-Reformation England and this variety evolved within families and changed over time. Throughout her book, there are intimations of times when a family (or individuals within the family) stopped playing "nice" with authorities, thus puncturing the semblance of unity that existed, even if frailty. I would have appreciated just a little more discussion of these dynamics, the ruptures that might shed light on the norm of coexistence as she frames it.

Overall, however, this book allows us to look at the social groupings and positionings that recusancy (and other states of Catholicism) required and that, as political and cultural studies of recent years have inevitably argued, the “Catholic” story is messy—and perhaps more importantly, that the Catholic story cannot be told outside of the realm of English history as a whole.

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doi:10.1017/S0009640723000562

***The Body of the Cross: Holy Victims and the Invention of the Atonement.* By Travis E. Ables. New York: Fordham University Press, 2022. ix + 260 pp. \$35.00 paper.**

This is a thematic study in historical theology, unified by an analytical perspective—a focus on what the author calls “the logic of vicarity” in Western Christianity (2, 9). Ables covers most of the same chronological sweep (early church to seventeenth-century Reformed divines) as many classical treatments of atonement doctrine, and he touches most of their usual way stations. But he seeks to expand the frame of reference beyond a canon of elite texts to include devotional, heterodox, artistic, material, and otherwise overlooked sources. These include prayers of Anselm, beguine texts, writings of Katrina Schütz Zell, and manuscript illuminations. He resists the architectural dominance of typologies of atonement theories, although he acknowledges that there is an incipient reformulation of “patterns of atonement theology” (7) in his own work, oriented toward participation in Christ as the key notion upon which complex changes are rung. The book’s analytic perspective offers a reversal of trajectory and asks not how theology of the cross has shaped Christian understanding of holy victims, but how Christian views of holy victims have determined theologies of the cross.

Chapter 1 deals with early Christianity and argues that the cross functioned mainly in this period as a boundary marker, liturgically and socially dividing the elect community from competitors and the world at large. The image of the cross figures often as a victory standard, displacing by similarity a Roman imperial military standard. The rest of the book proceeds in pairs of chapters. The first pair, chapters 2 and 3, deals with the martyrs as a crucial part of the atonement story. Chapter 2 examines the role of the cross for the martyrs and their narratives themselves, while chapter 3 treats the reception history of martyr traditions—what the church made of them in “catechesis, polemic, and theological production”(10). Ables argues that Jesus’ death is not a self-sacrificial model that invites and valorizes martyrs. Rather, evolving conviction of the vicarious power of the martyrs’ actions and relics finally prompts his death to be conformed to their image. The very idea that Jesus’s death “procures forgiveness for transgressions originates from these martyr traditions” (10). If the church later came to sacramentally administer the merits won by Christ’s suffering, the original deposits in that account were actually made by his followers, attributing power to the suffering of martyrs who themselves had seen the cross more as a sign of victory and hope.

The next two chapters are a medieval pair. Chapter 4 treats Anselm, Abelard, and Heloise. Ables maintains that beneath the supposed differences in their atonement