

for all future work on Alan of Lille, that she has done so much to establish the complete canon of his writings, and in particular that she has discovered this remarkable *sermo* and edited it in exemplary fashion.

PETER DRONKE

REFORM AND REACTION: THE POLITICO-RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, by José M. Sánchez. *University of North Carolina Press*, 1964, 6 dollars.

THE SPANISH INQUISITION by Henry Kamen. *Weidenfeld and Nicolson*, 1965. 45s.

They are all here, the things other people detest about Spain and the Catholic Church, and which every post-Conciliar Catholic must confront: the bigotry, the censorship and the secrecy, the close links with reactionary governments, the clerical interference in politics, the blindness to reform and to education, the tendency to live in the past. It would have been easy for Dr Sánchez, writing in the United States from within the Catholic tradition, or for Mr Kamen, writing in England from outside it, to fall back on the liberal-democratic complacency of pluralist societies. That they hardly ever do so is greatly to their credit. Their two accounts, which deplore without too much bitterness and explain without too great condemnation, are therefore all the more telling and disquieting.

Dr Sánchez's book is a case-study of church-state relations written from a moderate Catholic angle. His main theme is how the Left in Spain threw away its chance of achieving economic and social reform by following the Spanish (and indeed, European) 'liberal' tradition of attacking the Church and religious education – thereby offending the religious sensibilities of the Spaniards and provoking reaction. He points out that the army was a much greater danger to the Republic, and concludes that Church reform could have waited. He is equally good on all that fomented anti-clericalism: clericalism of the worst kind, papal and episcopal intervention in politics (from Pius X's *Inter Catholicos Hispanae* onwards), the dependence on established governments of the state-salaried clergy, the absence of any uniform Church lead in socio-economic matters (despite noble exceptions) and the consequent apostasy of the town workers. Anti-clericalism and clericalism formed a vicious spiral which forced the Church further to the Right. 'Neutrality (p. 69) offered only hope with no assurances, and support of republicanism was suicide.' Yet even this course was not simple: open support of the Right led to church-burnings!

His second theme is the failure of the Right (with its sometimes reluctant appendage, the Church) to put through even minor political and social reforms when it had the power; he blames them, in fact, for making the same mistake as the Left – overestimating the *priority* of the religious problems in politics. The analysis is convincing, and the remedies, in the light of cool reason, would seem simple: that liberals should be patiently educative with clerical obscurantists; that the Church should learn the difference between its rights and its privileges, and should care for the poor and the illiterate. But the atmosphere was far from cool. It was Azaña who wrote:

Although it was not democratic to prohibit religious education, the public 'mental health' had to be preserved, for the Church taught everything contrary to the basis of the modern democratic State. (p. 126.)

And Dr Sánchez's casual comment must give us all cause to think:

Like most of his anti-clerical colleagues, he (Azaña) had been educated in church schools . . . and had developed a strong antipathy towards the Church.

The whole atmosphere of the struggle demonstrates yet once more the 'out-of-phase' development of Spain: it is strongly reminiscent of France at the turn of the nineteenth century, with the bitterness and fanaticism on both sides. Though Dr Sánchez quotes with apparent approval papal remarks about disestablishment not being in itself a panacea, it is difficult in the light of both these books and of recent events in Spain not to think that it must come, and come soon, if the whole vicious pattern is not to be repeated in one form or another. Fortunately, a part of the Spanish church is coming to see this.

Research on Spanish history is only now becoming popular either inside or outside Spain, so that both these books are doubly welcome. Breaking newish ground is in one sense easier for the non-Spaniard historian who has been trained in the exacting disciplines of

the last few decades, and who has not been subjected to the emotional pressures inside Spain. There intellectuals still quarrel as to whether the expulsion of the Moors was inevitable and justified, or whether Spain has 'never been the same since' – though the wisest are now beginning to strike a balance. Yet foreigners, too, have often taken sides according to their own political and religious views – as did the late J. B. Trend and Allison Peers, and the foreign historian is also subject to his own pressures. Mr Kamen, whose scholarly book now replaces all others and becomes the standard work on the Inquisition – until he himself writes a better one – leans over backwards to be fair to all parties. He has been criticized for playing down the religious factors in the history of the Inquisition, and replacing them by racialism, class, politics, or economics – thus somehow 'absolving' the Church from blame. Mr Kamen, though he may suffer from the twentieth-century inability to *imagine* religious fervour, is much too subtle to make such a mistake. He knows well that 'the weight of themes we have been analysing bears down heavily on the modern historian' (p. 302). He is aware that he is trying to drive a number of unmanageable horses at once: he is trying, rightly, to correct the balance between the foreign 'black legend' and the Spanish 'white legend' of the Inquisition; he is trying to show that the Spanish 'decadence' is still not fully understood, and that for the Spaniards the Inquisition was not so much a dark terror as an accepted phenomenon dragging on almost into the modern world. Every now and then he falls into over-simplification (as who would not, with such a theme?): at one moment he seems to throw all his weight on the side of anti-semitism, using phrases like 'the final solution' which are deeply emotive for us all; at another he stresses the sinister interests of the aristocracy; similarly phrases like 'the closed society' recur perhaps too frequently. But Mr Kamen,

conscious of his difficulties and of his prejudices, disarms us by confessing how impossible it is for one of his generation *not* to judge racial intolerance through memories of Hitler and other segregators and eliminators.

This, then, is a just, stimulating and well-written book. It is refreshing to find the over-praised Menéndez Pidal criticised (for Spaniards, like Germans, are too prone to revere.) Mr Kamen is not afraid to rely fairly heavily on reputable secondary sources, though he has used much primary material and has clearly read widely. Where gaps occur, they come as a surprise. He seems curiously unaware of the flood of writing emanating from the Dominicans and Jesuits of all the peninsular universities against forced conversions, relying almost exclusively on Mariana and quoting only from the Erasmian university of Alcalá. His knowledge of Mariana's life also seems restricted; it would have added fuel to his arguments to note the purely political reasons for which the Inquisition released Mariana. Again, towards the end of his book, the French Revolution occurs with a curiously muted impact. The Inquisition was dying of inanition, and anti-clericalism rose to take its place. Mr Kamen modestly disclaims the ability to pronounce on the connection between the two, but the question falls into perspective if one notes the rise of anti-clericalism in *all* Catholic countries affected by the French Revolution.

Like all good books this has an open end. The reader feels that he understands a great deal more about Spain and about the Inquisition, yet he is left with his mind full of questions. What is peculiarly Spanish, what historically accidental, what intrinsic to the structure and habits of the Catholic Church in the pathological situations described here, and indeed in both these books, – these are questions which no one reading can fail to ask, and try, however partially, to answer.

BERNICE HAMILTON

SCIENCE, MAN AND MORALS by W. H. Thorpe. F.R.S. *Methuen*, 25s. 176 pp.

Christians should not fear the scientists' ability to explain how human moral behaviour has evolved. We are after all witnessing the latest stages of that evolution and anyone familiar with Biblical and European history should admit it. What we should be careful to avoid is reductionism, the claim, for instance, that morals are *nothing but* innate or cultural devices

for guaranteeing survival of the group. This is a formula for automata, not men. Dr Thorpe avoids this kind of scientism by assuming a distinction between 'ethics' and 'morals'. 'Morals', he says, are irreducible and I take it that he is referring to the fundamental obligation to do the good and avoid the evil. For him, as a Christian, this is the sphere of