Arguably, the most controversial claim in the book is the one made by Otfried Czaika in his chapter on dying unprepared in early modern Sweden. Analysing funeral sermons that discuss the lives of a drowned person, soldiers killed in action, children who died young and a mother who died with unborn twins in her womb, Czaika concludes that “nobody died unprepared in early modern Sweden” (144). When describing the lives of those who had died unprepared, early modern funeral sermons emphasized the piety of the deceased. Whether this means that “nobody died unprepared” is debatable. In her chapter on suicide, Riikka Miettinen points out that although funeral sermons presented pious life as a sufficient “means of grace even in cases of sudden deaths,” in practice “the manner or way of death also mattered” (176). As Miettinen concludes, “suicide was certainly not a ‘good death’” (177).

The book makes an excellent contribution not only to the history of *ars moriendi*, but also to our understanding of the everyday concerns and anxieties of medieval and early modern Europeans. By and large, it confirms Philippe Ariès’s observations about the communal nature of medieval death and the later, anxious attitude towards the demise of self. Given that the book focuses on Northern Europe (and especially Sweden), the Society of Jesus plays no role in it. However, its discussion of everyday spiritual concerns in Northern Europe is valuable also for those historians whose primary interests focus on early modern Catholicism and early Jesuits whose ministry to the dying and their own writings on *ars moriendi* were paramount to the Society’s mission.

Jaska Kainulainen

University of Helsinki

jaska.kainulainen@helsinki.fi

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Vera Moynes, ed.,

The Jesuit Irish Mission: A Calendar of Correspondence, 1566–1752 Subsidia ad Historiam Societatis Iesu series, Volume 16. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. Pp. xxxviii + 654. Hb, €60.00.

Here is Father General Claudio Acquaviva being very fatherly in March 1612. Writing to the scholastic Laurence Lea [Lee] of Waterford, he expresses concern for the twenty-eight year old: “I hope that it will be possible that all deep melancholic trouble be taken away and followed by the desired calmness of the mind; this I wish God give you, together with a bountiful blessing of heavenly offerings” (29–30). Lea must have remained unsettled because he later

left without being ordained. Acquaviva's consolatory letter was directed to Antwerp. The Spanish Netherlands, Portugal, France, Spain and Italy all recur constantly throughout this calendar as places of formation, of refuge, of respite, fund-raising and action for Irish Jesuits. Indeed, during the 1670s the college at Poitiers, which is extensively covered in this volume, was the key to the survival of the entire Irish endeavor. Jesuits from Ireland were part of a highly reflective organization whose genius for assiduous internal reporting was the epistolary counterpart to the rhythmic self-scrutiny found in the *examen conscientiae*.

Compared to the Franciscans, and other orders of earlier foundation, the Jesuits were never very numerous on the westerly island. Vera Moynes notes that there were two men in 1598, sixty-seven in 1649 on the cusp of the Cromwellian conquest, eighteen in 1654, six in 1690, only twenty-seven in 1755, then falling off to seventeen at the point of the suppression in 1773. It has been a convention of Irish historiography that these men were predominantly Anglophones, loyal to the English crown in the complicated knotted way of the "Old English" of Ireland but nonetheless influential. Whether that influence stemmed from the dark cachet they commanded in Dublin Castle, their customary closeness to the Irish hierarchy or their élite supporters has been hard to determine precisely. For well over a hundred years historians of the Society and of religious change in early modern Ireland have mostly depended on Edmund Hogan S.J.'s printed volume of 1880, *Ibernia Ignatiana seu Ibernorum Societatis Iesu patrum monumenta* along with John MacErlean S.J.'s transcripts in the Irish Jesuit Archives [IJA] in Dublin.

This sixteenth volume in the *Subsidia ad Historiam Societatis Iesu* series is set to change all that. Vera Moynes has produced a calendar of 2,644 discrete items. These are broken into four parts. Copy letters from Rome now stored as ARSI *Anglia* 1 I and *Anglia* 4a extend from 1605 to 1737. They are matched by letters from Ireland to Rome in IJA Mss A & B, as well as ARSI *Anglia* 6 & 25. List material from ARSI *Anglia* 9 i-ii makes up a third part and ARSI *Anglia* 41 titled "Historia" comes last. Moynes has realized a meticulously detailed calendar of the truly useful kind but what really makes this volume sing is the apparatus. She has drawn on unpublished typescripts of biographical information in IJA. Deploying her own deep awareness of the existing historiography she offers a concise historical overview of a mission Fr. John Young, S.J. defended in 1661 as stretching back to Father Ignatius himself (433). The bibliography here is a delight in itself. Appendix 4, to look elsewhere in the supporting material, offers a list of the 291 Jesuits active on the Irish mission (or being considered for service on it) who occur in the calendared correspondence. For the first

time this brings the fruits of Francis Finegan, S.J.'s typescript "Biographical dictionary of Irish Jesuits in the time of the Society's third Irish mission, 1598–1773" to a wider audience. Historians of the Irish church and of the pre-suppression Society will want to read Moynes's calendar in conjunction with her full edition and translation to English of the surviving Annual Letters for the period 1604–74, which is due out from the Irish Manuscripts Commission in the second half of 2019.

The indices, lists, and level of cross-referencing in this 691-page volume make the exigencies, anxieties, and quirks of the Irish mission immediately present. Jesuits from Ireland were members of a global order with its own concerns and rhythms and so Ignatius of Loyola's developing cult as a *beatus* and then as a saint weaves through the worries about money, suitable recruits, and state harassment that are so recurrent throughout. All Irish Jesuits were read Muzio Vitelleschi's circular letter on the centenary of the Society during the summer of 1640 (402–3). Three years later, getting wind of petition of "20,000 Irish exiles" on the island of St Kitt's, Fr. Matthew Hartegan, writing from Paris asks to be allowed minister to them as he has command of the requisite three languages—Irish, English, and French (409). While relations with the bishops were often (but not uniformly good) (439), traces of vicious rows with other orders, especially the Franciscans (121–22, 397, 400–1) point to one of the rotating tensions of the seventeenth-century Irish Catholic church—that is the manner in which the regular suspensions of state persecution rapidly segued into intense competition for devotees and their donations. The long gaps in the record caused by war and disturbances tell a familiar story but the letters presented here add an often dark depth to our understanding. Finding himself in London in November 1640, the Jesuit Edward Archer relayed rumors that parliament would soon require all Catholics wear "some distinctive sign" (404). Old circumspection died hard, it seemed, so much so that Irish Jesuits stood out from other clerics during the heyday of the Confederation of Kilkenny by continuing to wear secular attire. In June 1649, less than two months before Oliver Cromwell set out for Ireland a Jesuit Visitor Mercure Verdier recommended the men there should don clerical dress. The amount of time they spent on their pocket watches also bothered Verdier nor was he impressed by their custom of greeting women they knew with a kiss (426–27).

This Calendar does far more than assist with research on the Society in Ireland. It can be read for its witness to the broader events of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It might be fine-combed for its descriptions of devotional and liturgical life. It has valuable information about female patronage of the Society. It has much potential for social and economic historians or

those interested in Irish exiles. This is a plainly magnificent achievement by Vera Moynes, today's Irish Jesuit Province, ARSI, and the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.

John McCafferty

University College Dublin, Ireland

john.mccafferty@ucd.ie

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Liesbeth Corens

Confessional Mobility & English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. Pp. xii + 240. Hb, \$78.00.

Fearful of divine wrath, secular and ecclesiastical elites in early modern Europe, demanded the purgation of heterodoxy lest the contagion spreading through the commonwealth infected the godly people. Nicholas Terpstra has proposed a radical revision in our traditional understanding of the Reformation. Instead of attributing its initiation to Martin Luther's "95 theses" in 1517, we should assign that role to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 because it was "the first of a series of state acts bent on creating exclusive religious 'imagined communities' throughout Europe" (*Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015], 12). The Reformation inaugurated "the first period in European and possibly global history when the religious refugee became a mass phenomenon" (*Religious Refugees*, 4). Going into exile meant abandoning family and friends, hearth and home, sacred memories and holy places. Remaining meant compromising one's faith and religious traditions, or risking life and limb as a Nicodemist juxtaposing outward conformity with inner integrity. Earlier historical studies of English Catholic exiles focused on those who did not return or on continental institutions that trained clergy; more recent studies have examined the role played by the colleges in fashioning and maintaining the cultural, religious, and ethnic identity of the refugees.

Liesbeth Corens provides an idiosyncratic spin of this phenomenon: "confessional mobility," a curious expression that demands definition: "This is a term," the author explains, "for the practice, not a label for the people, because their mobility is accidental, not constitutive" (2). One can debate, perhaps endlessly, whether the mobility exercised by English Catholics in their quest for religious freedom was "accidental." Permanent exiles in "Little England" enclaves in continental cities hold little interest for the author. As we read on