narrow, parochial concerns of Father John Sheeran, a Redemptorist chaplain in another Louisiana regiment who viewed the overwhelmingly Protestant revival as a “humbug” (66).

Jeffrey’s study of Hubert is also hampered by a lack of engagement with relevant scholarship. The aforementioned omission of recent scholarly inquiries into the Jesuits’ relationship with slavery is one example of this tendency. Incorporating the findings of recent studies of Confederate soldiers’ backgrounds and motivations by Joseph T. Glatthaar and Jason Phillips would have given weight to Jeffrey’s assertion that Hubert helped fortify and sustain the soldiers to whom he ministered. Likewise, putting her study of Hubert’s wartime chaplaincy into conversation with George C. Rable’s seminal 2010 book *God’s Almost Chosen People: A Religious History of the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press) might have crystallized what was exceptional about Hubert’s labors and where his services should be seen within the broader religious landscape of the Civil War era. Many of Hubert’s surviving sermons were delivered at dedications of monuments to Confederate soldiers and leaders or Decoration Day services in Louisiana from the 1860s–80s. One such occasion was an 1881 benediction delivered by Hubert at the dedication of the Army of Northern Virginia monument in Metairie Cemetery that Jeffrey describes as a “concise and compelling Lost Cause panegyric—expressing the paradoxical connection of passionate allegiance and loving memory with spiritual acquiescence” (124). Yet neither her analysis nor her footnotes engage with a robust body of literature on the Lost Cause or Civil War memory.

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Thomas J. Morrissey, S.J., *Irish Jesuits in Penal Times 1695–1811: Thomas Betagh and His Companions* (Messenger Publications, Dublin, 2020). Pp. 166. Pb, €19.95.

Todd Morrissey has a prolific and distinguished record as an historian documenting the contribution of Ireland and the Irish to the history of the Society of Jesus. His output has been extensive and impressive with some twenty or so books to date and many more articles ranging over four centuries of Jesuit activity in Ireland and overseas. In terms of material and scope, the range of his interests is wide. A substantial part of his output has been concerned

with Jesuit engagement in education, and here, his primary concerns have been the sixteenth-century student diaspora and the principal figures of nineteenth-century Jesuit education in Ireland (incidentally, the topic of his doctoral thesis).

This latest book provides something of a bridge that helps us close the gap in our broad understanding of the hundred years or so between these two periods and he offers us an account of Jesuit activity through the “long” eighteenth century. It is a period that can be characterized by official anti-Catholicism and persecution (albeit fitful and periodic) in Ireland and a growing hostility to the Society of Jesus throughout Europe that culminated in the forty-year hiatus of the suppression.

Much of the book is concerned with the educational activities of Thomas Betagh (1738–1811) and his immediate circle of former Jesuit confrères, most of whom were based in Dublin and who had moved, post suppression, relatively seamlessly into the body of the diocesan clergy. Unlike their counterparts in the English province, Irish Jesuits enjoyed relatively cordial relations with the Irish bishops and secular clergy and long years of operating “below the radar” meant that they were adept at protecting and, when necessary, concealing, the very substantial assets that they and their predecessors had accumulated to the benefit of the Irish mission.

As long as these assets remained hidden from public view, their existence (and their very substantial quantum) gave little cause for friction. However, as time passed and the numbers of former members of the Society still living, dwindled, the issue of the future disposition of the Jesuit patrimony became a matter of immediate and pressing concern for the diocesan leadership in Dublin.

Morrissey’s primary focus is on the pastoral and pedagogical aspects of the work of Betagh and his colleagues. He calls upon the rich treasure trove of material in the Irish Jesuit Archive to flesh out his narrative. However, rich as this source may be, I think it might be prudent to suggest that he does not interrogate the nature of the material closely enough. Jesuit letters were drafted according to specific directions set out in the *Formula scribendi* with an overriding imperative was that reports should “edify.” As a system of institutional internal reporting, this might work in the short term, but as a reliable historical source it must raise questions.

Although it is addressed, Morrissey does not devote too much attention to the issue that seems to have animated the attention of Betagh, his circle and of Archbishop John Murray at the time. This account would be enhanced by a fuller exploration of the mechanics of the web of technical financial arrangements and jurisdictional complexities that enabled the reconstitution of the

Society and propelled it, fully fledged into a beginning in post union Ireland. This is a key element of the story, and its layers would determine the tenor of relations between the English and Irish Jesuits, the Irish Jesuits and the Irish bishops and the Irish Jesuits and the representatives of the state in Ireland during the restoration period and throughout the extended period of its aftermath.

We now know from the work of scholars such as Martin Foerster that the Society of Jesus in post-Williamite Ireland was in a (rather uncomfortable) position where it continued to accrue significant donations to its already substantial endowment while at the same time its core donor base was finding itself progressively impoverished by confiscation, focused penal legislation, and the generally harsh realities of economic change.

Money was central to the events that led to the suppression of the Society in 1773. But in this account all emphasis is placed on grand strategy and a narrative focused on the movement of chess pieces on the board of European high politics. And yet, without such extreme financial pressures, the Society could well have weathered the storm it faced. The situation was exacerbated by a sequence of missteps and errors of judgement. Many of these mistakes were made by members of the inner leadership group who thought they had succeeded in navigating and containing the immediate fall-out from the activities of Antoine Lavalette (1706–78) (On Lavalette, see a recent article in this journal: Andrew Dial, “Antoine Lavalette, Slave Murderer: A Forgotten Scandal of the French West Indies,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 8, no. 1 [2020]: 37–55, <https://doi.org/10.1163/22141332-0801P003> [accessed December 3, 2021]. They were mistaken.

The tsunami effect of Lavalette’s investment “strategy” exposed the French province (initially) and ultimately the entire Society to a catastrophic collapse of institutional credit and enabled a concerted assault by a combination of interest groups who were hostile to the Society.

It was a spectacular own goal. To our eyes, it is probably most easily understood as being something akin to the spectacular (and at the time for many, baffling and incomprehensible) collapse of huge multi-national financial institutions during the “financial crisis” of 2008–9. In similar fashion, no individual actor within the Jesuit Curia involved in any of the final decision-making processes appears to have fully comprehended what they were dealing with or what the potential extent of the corporate liabilities involved might amount to.

In terms of organizational theory (and its own structures), Jesuit provinces and missions were regarded as discrete, stand-alone units. They were to be financially independent (or at least non-dependent). In financial terms, the closest contemporary business analogy might be that of a franchise. Therefore, what happened should not have happened.

By taking the decision to underwrite Lavalette's activities, the Society exposed itself to an overwhelming deluge of claims and this emboldened more malicious actors to attack on other fronts. This is crucial to the story, but it is not included as a significant part of the suppression narrative presented here.

At suppression, the accumulated assets of the Irish Mission were placed in the hands of trustees. John Fullam (1719–93), one of Betagh's colleagues who initially managed the fund, established regulations regarding the immediate use of the money and its potential disposition in the event that the surviving members pre-deceased the anticipated revival of the Society.

The capital fund (invested in a portfolio of British government and civic securities) was to remain intact. However, any interest earned on the fund was to be used to fund annuities to support the surviving former Jesuits. In the event of a restoration, the fund was to revert to the Society. Fullam maintained a firm grip on the fund. However, some of his methods and strategies to protect the assets might now appear "unorthodox" and departures from best practice. For example, he bequeathed a substantial portion of the assets to his sister (no doubt to protect them—this was not an unusual stratagem and was not without precedent). When he died in 1793, control of the fund passed to his colleague Richard Callaghan (1728–1807).

As this was happening, on the other side of Europe, four Jesuit colleges and two residences in what is now Belarus suddenly found themselves part of the Russian empire (a fiat of the chess board of high politics consequent upon the partition of Poland). The Russian state refused to admit the promulgation of the papal brief of suppression. Subsequently, Catherine II extended her patronage to the Society. Her successor, Paul I, obtained papal recognition for the Society as then constituted in Russia.

The threads of capital, continuity, and control are the three key drivers that propelled the Society towards restoration. In recognizing the Society in Russia, Pius VII opened up the mechanism that allowed for the incorporation and aggregation of Jesuits in other jurisdictions into the Russian community. However, as his consent was *viva voce*, this also opened up a problematic "gap in the hedge" for conflicting interpretations as to the status of former members of the order and of ownership of surviving assets in various jurisdictions

Therefore, it is not surprising that various parties (and these were primarily diocesan ordinaries and their agents) were quick in moving to occupy this grey area of jurisdiction. The actions taken by Archbishop Murray of Dublin as he sought to secure control of the Jesuit patrimony earned him the soubriquet of the "prelate blinded by the glare of gold."

In their maneuvering to control what had become, by the first decade of the new century, very considerable and significant assets (in current terms the

fund of £32,500 would have been worth roughly equivalent to £25 million in raw inflationary terms but in terms of output worth these assets had an equivalent value of £135 million). Unsurprisingly, each of the major protagonists in this story, Archbishop John Troy (1739–1823), Marmaduke Stone (1748–1834), William Strickland (1731–1819), Betagh, and Callaghan all resorted to tactics that owed as much to a street fight as they did to the studied politesse of official correspondence. There was much to play for.

In fine, Morrissey has provided us with an important account. It offers us a keystone for an arch that will connect our more granular awareness of the history of the Society in Ireland in both the early modern and post-restoration periods. These periods of Jesuit history have attracted most popular attention to date. This account is a very welcome addition to our growing awareness and understanding of what has so far been a largely invisible and unexplored aspect of the long continuum of Jesuit activity in Ireland.

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John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The Education of a Historian: A Strange and Wonderful Story* (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2021). Pp. 192. Pb, \$30.00.

Expanding on the contents of a lengthy interview published in 2020 in this journal (https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/7/1/article-p117_117.xml), *The Education of a Historian* is at once a delightful memoir of O'Malley's life, a discussion of his intellectual journey through the religious culture of the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries, and a manifesto of the meaning and the methods of historical research.

The book tells the strange and wonderful story of a boy from a small town in Ohio who “dreamed of being a foreign correspondent and writing books about exotic places or being a diplomat traveling hither and yon, meeting people and working for peace and prosperity” (173). His life is the fulfillment of this dream in ways that are different (but no less exciting) from those he had imagined. Readers are accompanied inside the novitiate of Milford, OH to discover O'Malley's training as a Jesuit. They read about him studying in Florence during the famous 1966 flood and traveling to Vietnam to discuss the origins of the Society of Jesus with a group of local novices. They learn about his many