

Considering the centrality of discernment to H.'s thesis, there is a certain ambiguity surrounding references to "God's will." Was Nieremberg concerned primarily with helping readers recognize God's presence in creation and his general will for human salvation so that they may reorder their lives correctly, or does he mean to communicate a more refined discernment on how God speaks to individuals in specific, unique circumstances, "according to his or her capacities, commitments, and desires" (25)? H.'s citations of Nieremberg usually seem to suggest the first, in which case positing Ignatius as an immediate inspiration becomes more tenuous.

This volume is an excellent introduction to Spanish literary and spiritual motifs of the seventeenth century. H. ably succeeds in his case for Nieremberg's continued place in the pantheon of Jesuit writers; indeed one is left wondering why Nieremberg has been all but forgotten today (a question that H. does not address). *Jesuit Polymath* is also edifying in its own right. One could not ask for a richer illustration of the Jesuit principle of finding God in all things.

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Establishing Religious Freedom: Jefferson's Statute in Virginia. By Thomas E. Buckley. Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2013. Pp. xii + 359. \$39.50.

A central source of meaning for the Supreme Court's religious liberty jurisprudence has been the successful campaign in 1785–86 to defeat the general assessment—a proposed tax for the evenhanded support of all Christian churches in Virginia—and to enact instead Thomas Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom. But this was only one episode in a much longer story. And while the Court attributed the victory to James Madison and Jefferson, the political muscle came from Virginia's evangelical Christians. Thomas Buckley told the story of this battle in his definitive 1973 book, *Separation of Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776–1787*.

After an interval of forty years, B. has given us a far more sweeping history of church and state in Virginia, from the mid-seventeenth century to the turn of the millennium. More detailed accounts end with the 1928 presidential campaign, when Herbert Hoover carried the state for Republicans for the first time since Reconstruction, running against the Roman Catholic, Al Smith.

Those who revere what Madison and Jefferson accomplished in the 1780s, and thus think of Virginia as a leader in the cause of religious liberty, tend to forget the reason that battle had to be fought: Virginia had long fought a rearguard action *against* religious liberty. The Anglican Church was established, and dissenting preachers were first banned, then permitted with unacceptable conditions, harassed, and sometimes jailed up to the eve of the Revolution. Patrick Henry, the "bad guy" of the general-assessment fight, was one of the "good guys" in the earlier fights for freedom to preach. B. reviews this history and the critical role of the evangelicals in the battles first for free exercise of religion, largely achieved by 1776, and then for disestablishment.

Disestablishment is conventionally thought to have been achieved with the defeat of the general assessment and the enactment of Jefferson's Statute for Religious Freedom (1786). But disagreements continued as evangelicals fought to dismantle every vestige of the old Anglican establishment—now renamed the Protestant Episcopal Church. The state gradually reclaimed the glebes, land granted by the colonial government to endow the Anglican clergy, despite a Supreme Court decision that the state was confiscating vested property rights and thus violating the Constitution.

Episcopalians, unable to envision operating on a wholly voluntary basis in a world without an established church, obtained a law incorporating their church and regulating its internal governance—at a time when corporate charters required a special act of the legislature and were viewed as a form of special privilege. The other churches successfully demanded repeal of this law, and it became an accepted principle of religious liberty in Virginia that no church could be incorporated. But this rule became a huge disadvantage for churches as the economy expanded and incorporation became a matter of filling out a few forms. The ban on incorporating churches persisted until a federal judge held it unconstitutional in 2002, in a lawsuit filed by Rev. Jerry Falwell challenging a rule his Baptist forbears fought hard to establish and preserve.

As evangelicals came to dominate the state during and after the Second Great Awakening, and even Episcopalians sounded like evangelicals, Virginians sought and often received non-financial state support for their religious teachings. This support included Sabbath laws, moral regulation, and religious exercises in the public schools, all rationalized as somehow consistent with Jefferson's Statute. On these issues, Virginia looks much like other states at the same time, but without the substantial Catholic population that had immigrated to states further north.

B. tells the post-1786 story in well-crafted chapters on property, litigation, culture, politics, education, constitution (Virginia's constitutional convention of 1901), and the Bible. The effort to present all these issues as disagreements over the meaning of Jefferson's Statute necessarily fades into the background as the nineteenth century wears on. These were religious and political disagreements, and the Statute was just a talking point. B. occasionally assumes that *the* meaning of church–state separation is the meaning intended by its most aggressive advocates. And he occasionally knows so much that he neglects to explain points that are likely to confuse less informed readers. There were two James Madisons playing key roles, two John Lelands, and two Patrick Henrys.

But these sorts of quibbles are about all the criticism I could muster. The story is well told and well researched, with nearly a hundred pages of end notes and bibliography and heavy reliance on archival and other unpublished sources. For readers with any interest in what came before and after the more famous church–state events in Virginia, this book is a great read.

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