As the editor of this fine new edition acknowledges, however, the diaries themselves may initially appear disappointing as a historical source. Robin Eagles even wonders out loud whether ‘diary’ may be a misnomer. ‘Dining book’ may be a more appropriate label, given that the daily entries almost exclusively record where he dined, and with whom (p. xxxii). These are not ‘journals’ in the same sense as those of his friend James Boswell. There is almost no narrative, little anecdote and nothing overt about the inner life. As Eagles argues in his introduction, the diaries ‘may say little of what he thought of it, but they do reveal much of the environment in which he lived’ (p.xii). To take a typical entry, that of 30 July 1786 reads: ‘dined at Richmond with Sir Joshua Reynolds, Miss Palmer, Mr W[illia]m Windham, Mr Cambridge, Mr Boswell, Mr Malone, Mr Courtn[eye]nay, Lord Wentworth, Mr Metcalf, &c.’ (p.188). What immediately strikes the reader is the sheer extent of his acquaintance – the diaries read like a Who’s Who of Georgian Britain – and the regularity with which Wilkes dines out, and in company. Rare indeed is the entry ‘dined at home alone’. The editor’s excellent footnotes (which are more interesting than the diaries themselves) reveal that entries like this can be tellingly gnomic: ‘it is perhaps significant that he sought to dine alone’ on 16 October 1771, when he attracted criticism for presiding over the execution of an eighteen-year-old woman (p.27). Using the diaries in conjunction with our wider knowledge about Wilkes can therefore hint at his character. His choice of dining companions can also tell us a lot about his politics. On 21 April 1784, when Charles James Fox was fighting the famous Westminster election, Wilkes dined with his opponents Hood and Wray, revealing that he had by then decisively gone over to Pitt the Younger.

This is a handsome edition. Eagles has done some judicious editorial tidying up, combining various sources into a single chronological thread and cutting out duplication. The introduction gives us an excellent potted biography and reflects interestingly on the nature of the sources themselves. Few readers will read this book from cover to cover, as the present reviewer did for this review: it is more likely that researchers will head for a particular date, or will go in via the index (which only lists names and places, given that this is all there is to list). The only potential misgiving is whether a book is the best form for these sources. Although a conventional book is the obvious vehicle for an edition of a diary, this is essentially quantitative rather than qualitative data, which lends itself to an electronic format. Given that this is basically a record of people and places, Wilkes’s diaries present opportunities to map networks and locations. Crunching these data via an online tool such as Locating London’s Past could tell us a great deal about the social and political spaces of the capital. Wilkes was constantly on the move, often on foot, and often spending the night with friends or mistresses. The diaries also reveal how often this quintessentially metropolitan character travelled beyond London, such as when he took an excursion to the West Country in August 1772 on a pilgrimage to the site where William of Orange made his landing. It is therefore up to readers themselves to decide what they are going to make of these deceptively revealing sources, but Eagles deserves our thanks for bringing them to a wider audience.

Matthew McCormack
University of Northampton


The War of the Camisards, a prophetically inspired uprising of Protestants in southern France that erupted in 1702, has not received the attention it deserves. Most scholarship on this bloody revolt has been unremittingly confessional in outlook, as Protestant and
Catholic historians claimed the victims as martyrs for their respective cause. Recent work by Philippe Joutard and Chrystel Bernat has done much to help us understand the Camisard revolt in less binary terms, yet a similarly fine-grained account for English-speaking audiences was still lacking. Based on extensive archival research, Gregory Monahan’s book now offers them a comprehensive overview of the Camisard rebellion, from its origins in the post-Revocation years to its denouement in 1710. While some readers might have wished for more analysis, Monahan argues that only a detailed narrative can explain why participants involved in the conflict took such fateful decisions.

The particular strength of Monahan’s study is his willingness to take seriously the prophetic element to the conflict. Whereas previous scholars – and indeed the French authorities at the time – condemned the Camisards’ prophetism as irrational, Monahan shows that prophecies truly fuelled their conviction that it was possible to restore freedom of worship by stealth. Ironically, this prophetic movement was the result of French government policy: the 1685 revocation of the Edict of Nantes had banned Huguenot ministers from France, while those who preached illegally were imprisoned or killed. In the absence of professionally trained clergy, Protestants turned to lay preachers, but the authorities quickly arrested most of them as well, including the famous Claude Brousson, who was executed in 1698. By this time, however, a new generation of Protestants had come of age. Born after the Revocation and lacking any experience with formal church services, they began to fill the spiritual gap by prophesying about the imminent restoration of Protestant worship. These uneducated men and women channelled the voice of the Holy Spirit in clearly intelligible French instead of their local patois, telling lapsed Huguenots to shun the Mass and return to the Protestant fold.

By 1702 the prophetic movement became an armed rebellion because prophets began telling Protestants in the Cévennes that they had a right to exact vengeance on the Catholics who had persecuted them for refusing to conform to the Church of Rome. Armed bands were formed by Camisard captains-cum-prophets such as the famous Jean Cavalier, who believed the Holy Spirit directly guided his actions. Initially the Camisards attacked priests and burned down churches, but by 1703 hit-and-run tactics gave way to a religious war, as they attacked entire Catholic villages and murdered the inhabitants in an attempt to cleanse the region from heresy altogether. The authorities, led by the intendant Nicolas Basville and aided by Catholic vigilante groups, responded in kind: they expelled thousands of Protestants from their homes and burned some 500 villages to the ground. Monahan convincingly argues that what began as a rebellion to obtain freedom of worship soon morphed into outright civil war, echoing the religious violence of the French Wars of Religion – hence the apt subtitle of Monahan’s study, which captures the evolving nature of the conflict.

By 1710 the Camisard revolt had been crushed, its leaders either expelled or killed, yet Monahan argues that it still teaches us the valuable, though perhaps unsurprising, lesson that the Bourbon monarchy was in no way absolute, relying as it did on the co-operation of local elites to maintain a grip on the kingdom. Far more provocative is Monahan’s conclusion that the Camisard revolt was about ‘a failure to communicate’, a dialogue des sourds between the major stakeholders in the conflict. Whereas the clergy and local Catholics saw the Camisards as heretics who had to be eradicated, French authorities rather viewed them as rebels to be subdued by force. Unfortunately for Basville, however, Versailles treated the revolt as an unwelcome diversion from the War of the Spanish Succession, which explains why troops and money were slow to arrive in the south, and why the rebellion was not subdued until 1710. The Camisards, on the other hand, were motivated by a genuine belief that the Holy Spirit would lead them to religious freedom.
They also firmly rejected the sobriquet of ‘rebels’, maintaining they were rising up not against their lawful sovereign but against the ‘oppressors of conscience’ who failed to see that the Edict of Nantes had to be restored. It was this failure to communicate, Monahan argues, that explains why the Camisard rebellion spiralled out of control. Overall, this is an excellent book for readers wishing to familiarise themselves with the Camisard uprising and for those interested in the history of religious conflict in early modern Europe.

David van der Linden
University of Groningen


In Handel scholarship David Hunter has an established reputation as an energetic excavator, generous communicator and challenging interpreter of primary sources. This book brings together many of his articles concerning Handel’s life and times along with some new material. It has three intermingled subjects: Handel the man, Handel’s English-language biographers and Handel’s audience.

Hunter finds that previous biographies polarise Handel’s life as Handel vs. his enemies. He adopts a Hobbesian outlook: ‘The chapters focus on sites and moments of conflict: class, nationality, politics, religion, gender, publication, finances, friends and family, occupation, compositional practice, self’ (p.4). The Handel that emerges was fat, touchy, cushioned by patrons and pensions, and often ill mannered; he put on performances that were beyond the pocket of the man in the street, had a genius for arranging notes affectingly and was not popular. Only the last of these would be contested by Handel scholarship of the last quarter of a century.

For Hunter, ‘audience’ means people who attended Handel’s performances. Few could regularly afford to do so. Therefore Handel was not popular. A contrasting view of Handel’s music is gained from the ongoing George Frideric Handel: Collected Documents, edited by Donald Burrows et al. (Cambridge University Press), to which Hunter has been a notable contributor. Even if shoe-shine boys were not really singing Giulio Cesare at every street corner (Handel: Collected Documents, vol. II.85), Handel’s music, clearly, was everywhere: in repeated publications for home consumption by competing publishers, in ballad operas, in the spoken theatre, at festivals, in the provinces and overseas – as Hunter occasionally acknowledges.

The book, its author tells us, is the fruit of thirty-four transatlantic journeys to libraries and record offices, during which over 5,000 volumes or folders or boxes of archives were summoned (p.xi), using up ‘about 3,680 hours’ (p.402-3). A wealth of informative detail has resulted, which can be enjoyed without any interest in Handel as well as by Handel specialists, from the symbolism of owls (shedding light on Goupy’s caricature) to the dimensions of London Bridge, the cost of crossing the Thames and the time of high tide on the day of the rehearsal of the Fireworks music. The latter part of the section on sculpted images of Handel, newly published here, is excellent.

According to Hunter, ‘Every commentator has an axe to grind’ (p.319). His own expressed aim is to correct earlier ‘biographers’ (too often unspecified), and since many of them heroised Handel, the result is a Handel cut down to size (apart from corporeal). The whipping boys, other than a gluttonous, self-deluding, insecure, dishonest, slave-trade-investing, ungenerous, ruthless, unreasonable, foul-mouthed Handel, are mainly