believe. There are four principal sources: statements against him by witnesses (particularly a fellow-student, Mungo Craig), the official indictment at his trial; his own petitions in reply to this indictment; and the written testimony that he produced at the scaffold. All these documents are partis pris, and it is hard to recover a single coherent picture from them. Graham does his best, though, focusing on the scaffold testimony, which is persuasively argued to be closest to Aikenhead's true beliefs. He concludes that Aikenhead was a deist, unable to take the Bible literally, clearly antitrinitarian, skeptical of the idea of divine punishment after death, and groping toward a rational faith based on "natural religion." Toland was an influence on this, but a larger influence was the more radical English deist Charles Blount.

There may have been other influences, and this returns us to the Enlightenment of the book's title. One way in which Graham could have engaged more with the Enlightenment would have been to pay more attention to another heterodox philosopher, Baruch Spinoza (1632-77), a pantheist whose views, like Aikenhead's, were considered blasphemous by Christians. Graham is in fact well aware of Spinoza and in his conclusion draws a parallel between Spinoza's and Aikenhead's intellectual development—sensibly suggesting that Aikenhead's future, had he lived, probably lay in a contrite return to orthodoxy rather than in pathbreaking intellectual innovation. But Spinoza was not just a heterodox individual. Jonathan Israel's book Radical Enlightenment (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) has detected Spinoza's influence in a great deal of other radical and progressive thought of the later seventeenth century. Spinoza in turn was influenced by Descartes, and Cartesianism provoked open and vigorous debate in late seventeenth-century Scotland. Perhaps this was not just the "eve" of the Enlightenment; it may already have arrived.

The sad story of Thomas Aikenhead, then, is very much of its time; it could not have happened thirty years earlier or later. As a microhistory, Graham's book is valuable in drawing attention to important developments in late seventeenth-century Scotland and Britain. It may not become an international best seller like Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's Montaillou (London: Scolar, 1978) and it will probably not lead to a feature film like Natalie Zemon Davis's The Return of Martin Guerre (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983). But it deserves wide attention nevertheless.

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REVIEWED BY: Elise Dermineur, Purdue University

Well-known French historian of the Reformation, Thierry Wanegffelen focuses his attention on gender and women's history, and notably on female sovereigns of early modern Europe with this new book. Following the path of his last book, a biography of Catherine de Médicis, he looks at how women exercised state authority. Indeed, he seeks to analyze how state power could be embodied in a woman through the examples of thirty-three queens, princesses, regents, or duchesses. The bulk of his book deals with Western Europe from the Renaissance until the classical age, roughly from 1470 to the 1660s. Wanegffelen raises important issues such as the reaction of elite men to female authority and the conception of women's own power and role. Wanegffelen's book is based partly on letters, diplomatic sources, and printed primary documents, but largely on secondary sources.

In the first part of his book, Wanegffelen explores the discourse by men on women in early modern elite society and above all on the opinions of scholars regarding state author-
it embodied in a woman. He argues that Renaissance discourses were not favorable to women, and that the expanding literature on politics denied them the right to govern. Wanegffelen also stresses that the French loi salique was an invention of the Renaissance to prevent access by women to power.

In his second part the author examines the characteristics of women in power. His sample of thirty-three reigning women is extremely diverse. Indeed, queens mix with regents, duchesses, and consorts. Despite the great variety of these women, Wanegffelen argues that marital status was central to and defined the limits of their authority. Firstly, as wife, a female sovereign may or may not be associated with the decisions of her husband. Thus, Mary I of England never gave her husband, Philip II of Spain, the legitimacy he asked for through coronation, and, therefore, he had no legal authority in England while she remained the only sovereign. But other married women, such as Joanna of Castile, saw their rights and even their crown usurped by their own husbands or sons or even both. Second, as widows, or when kings were away, queens frequently became regents. Wanegffelen demonstrates the complexity of their role as regents and shows how men still exerted influence from the shadows. Finally, the lack of a husband may be crucial as well, especially for Elizabeth I of England. Indeed, despite the length of her reign, it seems that public opinion never ceased to be critical of the queen and her will to remain single. Moreover, the difficult issue of her succession raised the question of the need for a king. Thus, in this part, Wanegffelen places marital status at the center of his analysis, arguing that men were always present in some fashion in female government. He makes clear that even women of the elite were part of a patriarchal society.

The third and last part seems the least satisfying. Wanegffelen attempts to examine whether female sovereigns with power and authority have gendered distinctiveness. For Wanegffelen, women exerted power through other means than did men. He underlines the close relationship between women's exercise of authority and dance, art, and diplomacy, notably at the courts of Elizabeth I and Catherine de Médicis. He argues that because they were women they used feminine qualities, such as sweetness, to govern. Wanegffelen's interpretation in this part seems anecdotal and thus lacks depth. A deeper analysis based on more sources and examples would be welcome.

Wanegffelen concludes that women in power had less and less authority and latitude of action by the end of the period. Indeed, he indicates that the entire society had become more patriarchal since the Renaissance. He states that women now operated in a misogynist and male chauvinist sphere.

Scholarly readers will regret near total absence of useful footnotes (perhaps an editorial choice). The only ones that do appear are of little value. It is also regrettable that the author never cites the primary sources that he used. Finally, the book focuses solely on the elite, and some discussion of the perception of women rulers by other sectors of society would have strengthened this volume.

Wanegffelen's inclusion of diverse forms of female reigns in western Europe during the period does offer a look at queens and princesses of small territories such as Montferrat and Mantoue, which are usually left out of grand syntheses. It is thus disappointing that he presents this material in catalog fashion, drawing only sweeping and general conclusions that assert that the relation between a female sovereign's power depends above all on her own personality and her perception of her role. If Wanegffelen's book is short on analysis, its descriptive weight does nonetheless prompt us to rethink the importance of female authority and gender within monarchical Europe.