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ALICE RAMOS AND MARIE I. GEORGE, EDs., *Faith, Scholarship, and Culture in the 21st Century*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2002. Pp. 337. \$14.95.

Reviewed by Maxie B. Burch, Grand Canyon University

The annual meeting of the American Maritain Association hosted at Notre Dame in the fall of 2000 is the source for the essays contained in this publication. Though essays by non-Catholics like Dallas Willard, a Baptist, and Leon Klenicki, a Jewish scholar, indicate the association's intent to continue the broad, ecumenical spirit that permeated the work and life of Jacques and Raissa Maritain, the majority of the essays selected for this volume are written by Catholic scholars. (For those readers unfamiliar with the Maritains, Ralph McInerney's essay, *Maritain as Model of the Catholic Scholar*, provides a concise assessment of their contribution to Catholic thought.) Weighting the book's content more heavily toward Catholic thinkers does not prove to be a weakness of the text. On the contrary, this decision seems to support one of the volume's essential arguments: that the Catholic Thomist tradition as reflected in the life and work of the Maritains offers a viable intellectual and spiritual alternative to modernity's Cartesian duality and postmodernity's anti-metaphysical Rortian plurality. In a sense, this collection of nineteen essays—divided into four sections, entitled "Faith and Reason," "Faith and Science," "Scholarship and Education," and "Society and Culture"—speaks broadly to the numerous challenges faced by scholars attempting to situate themselves and their religious communities in a transitioning culture trying to navigate between modern and postmodern perspectives.

To some degree, all the authors in this volume carry on a conversation with John Paul II's encyclical *Fides et Ratio*, the current pope's most recent pronouncement outlining the critical intellectual and cultural problems facing the world and his Christocentric approach to knowledge that seeks to address these problems. The first three essays provide different perspectives on the current epistemological and metaphysical questions raised by the modern/postmodern debates. Alfred Freddoso offers his interpretation of *Fides et Ratio* as a "radical" vision of intellectual inquiry that values humans as being made *imago Dei*, precisely because of its

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transcendent commitments, not in spite of them (13). Gavin Colvert refuses to accept the postmodern premise that philosophy as a truth-seeking system is bankrupt, suggesting that the moderate realism of Thomas Aquinas offers hints at resolving the epistemological challenges related to faith. Heather Erb takes the discussion in a different direction when she argues that the Thomist tradition includes a deep spiritual dimension that is both incarnational and sacramental, doctrinal and spiritual. She offers this approach as a solution to a fragmented modern individualism that has lost its sense of divine presence.

In the second section, Mariano Artigas and Warren Murray each offer an essay that argues for the role of philosophy as a necessary bridge between science and religion. Artigas believes that philosophy can raise the “boundary questions” of ontology, epistemology, and ethics that science cannot, but must raise, if scholars are to “reenchant” the world without losing genuine scientific progress (115). Murray proposes that Thomist thought could provide scholars with a much needed philosophy of nature that would not only complement the natural sciences but could also lay the groundwork for a cooperative dialogue between religion and science. John Morris’ article seems to be less about a Catholic identity in bioethics and more about the legitimacy of a Catholic voice in public debates regarding issues like bioethics. He argues against the modernist assumption that a religious argument is rationally untenable and inappropriate for the public realm of debate because it does not meet the modernist definition of autonomous reason. Teresa Reed’s essay on the modern idea of time and its relationship to self and God provides a helpful perspective on the problems of integrating faith in a culture defined by artificial constructs of time and space.

The essays on scholarship and education are perhaps the most diverse in the book in terms of approach. Dallas Willard presents a case for the lack of moral reasoning as one of the glaring weaknesses in the modern university system. Moral reasoners would seek to connect their rational beliefs to their moral lives in order to live consistently; if inconsistency is observed, then reason would assist them in realigning their beliefs with their moral actions. For Willard, reason alone cannot sustain a culture without a body of moral knowledge to inform it. John Goyette contrasts Augustine and Cardinal Newman on their views regarding the role of the liberal arts in the education of a person of faith, or, as it could be stated, the essential but not to be enjoyed view of liberal arts versus the non-essential, extra-curricular view. Goyette believes that resolving the conflict between these two views is essential for dealing with the current crisis in Catholic higher education. The lack of Catholic students at Catholic universities makes Frederick Erb uncomfortable as he considers the future of Catholic thought. His suggestion is to provide Catholic studies at non-Catholic institutions, a suggestion that is not without its obstacles, but Erb believes that the significant Catholic presence in American life and the numbers of Catholic students make this a viable option for “preserving the Catholic moment” (247).

The final essays in the volume are a commentary on society and culture. James Schall and Alice Ramos confront the problem of evil and its impact on the political and social order. Schall examines Maritain’s interpretation of Aquinas regarding the complicated relationship between God’s sovereignty, human freedom, the

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will, the presence of evil, and the implications of these relationships for political philosophy. Ramos also engages the problem of evil and suffering, drawing on Augustine's *privatio boni* argument and the concept of the *mysterium pietatis*, the mystery of divine love as a call to be involved in the suffering of others. Leon Klenicki's essay is one of the most engaging in the book. Whereas Christians tend to think in terms of the problem of integrating faith and learning within the culture, Jews think more in terms of the problem of the integration of Torah and culture by a covenant people. In other words, Jews see themselves historically as consummate cultural outsiders. They do not create culture; they must adapt to culture without losing the religious way of living (Torah) that identifies them as a covenant people. Whereas for Catholics faith completes reason, for Jews Torah completes culture. Much like Augustine's view of the liberal arts, for Jews culture cannot be an end in itself.

Faith, Scholarship, and Culture in the 21st Century is a thoughtful and engaging volume of essays that not only raises many of the critical intellectual and cultural issues that currently confront scholars who have religious commitments, but also offers insightful and constructive solutions to these issues

DOMINIQUE IOGNA-PRAT, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom Face Heresy, Judaism, and Islam (1000–1150)*. Trans. Graham Robert Edwards. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002. Pp. 407. \$59.95.

Reviewed by Daniel Van Slyke, University of St. Mary of the Lake / Mundelein Seminary (Ill.)

At the heart of this impressive but somewhat imprecisely titled study are the writings of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny from 1122 to 1156. By focusing on Peter, Iogna-Prat seeks to illuminate a wider phenomenon: "I want to try to apprehend the 'logic of Christendom' at work in the exclusion of those who were 'different' and thereby attempt to understand how persecution and demonization of the Other could become a 'structural necessity' for Christian society" (23). Three groups, against which Peter writes three treatises, represent the excluded "Other": Petrobrusian heretics, Jews, and Muslims.

Iogna-Prat dedicates Part I of the book to putting Peter in his proper context, and in doing so provides the closest thing that is available to a survey on the *Ecclesia cluniacensis*, described as "an ecclesiastical network of abbeys and priories with the Burgundian sanctuary at its center" (27). This survey includes a historical overview of the phenomenon under investigation, a penetrating analysis of its social, political, and juridical place within the seigneurial system, and much attention is paid to questions that at first glance seem easy to answer, such as how to define a Cluniac monk. The writings of Peter provide an anchor for this survey, although Iogna-Prat draws on a wide variety of primary sources from the founding of Cluny in 910 to the 1200s, while also engaging the secondary literature—sometimes with a healthy dose of revisionism. The overall movement emphasized in this part is integration and inclusion: the *Ecclesia cluniacensis* was so integrated into the wider Church, from the local parochial network to the ecclesiastical hier-

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archy, that its spokesmen came to identify it with the wider Church and with Rome, and to see it as having the same universal destiny.

Part II moves from inclusion to exclusion. Here Iogna-Prat gives an extended and detailed analysis of Peter's *Contra Petrobrusianos*. He begins by explaining the Cluniac connections that led the abbot to take an interest in the Provençal followers of Peter of Bruis, who had been burned on a bonfire of crosses at Saint-Gilles in 1130, nine years before the venerable abbot began writing the treatise. Iogna-Prat goes on to examine five "heretical propositions" that the abbot refutes in the treatise (109): infant baptism is to be rejected, no places are more sacred than others, the cross should not be revered, the Eucharist is a fiction of priests and bishops, and funeral piety is useless. The author does not merely describe how Peter refutes these propositions; he also elucidates how they fundamentally strike at the very heart of developing Christendom—in its fusion of the sacred and the secular—and the ideals of the *Ecclesia cluniacensis*. In doing so, Iogna-Prat skillfully synthesizes the labors of a number of disciplines, including history, sociology, theology, liturgiology, and hagiography. This last discipline is represented above all by references to Peter's *De miraculis*, a source Iogna-Prat thoroughly mines throughout the book.

After the strong study in Part II, the third and final part, focusing on Peter's *Adversus Iudeos* and *Contra sectam Sarracenorum*, is rather anticlimactic. Iogna-Prat does not develop his analysis of Peter's polemical treatises against Judaism and Islam as richly as he does that against the Petrobrusians. This part suffers from other faults as well. Calling Peter "the living incarnation of the sexual phobia inhabiting the contemplatives" (356), the author indulges in an unproven and unconvincing pseudo-psychological cliché exemplified by the following sentence: "Obsession with Islam as a religion 'of the lascivious' was the shadow thrown by insecurity of identity" (357). This final part is also marred by a moralizing tendency to link Peter's attitude with the worst of the prejudices of modern times, despite the relative ambiguity of the evidence and the author's admission that the treatises under investigation have had very little influence. For example, Iogna-Prat highlights Peter's invective, "O Jew, I dare not call thee man" (the title of chapter 10), claiming that Peter questions the very humanity of Jews because they do not exhibit rationality, the essential character of humanity, when they refuse to be convinced by the overwhelming rational evidence of Christian truth. Yet Peter obviously does appeal to reason in order to convince his ostensibly Jewish readers, even basing his argument on authorities they accept, including Hebrew scriptures and, remarkably, the "Talmud" (301). However he gained knowledge of post-biblical Jewish writings, and however much he misunderstood their content and method, the fact that he sought them out does bespeak an admission of Jewish rationality and humanity despite the abrasive rhetorical conventions employed. In an equally noteworthy parallel, Peter commissioned a translation of the Qur'an and several other Muslim works (a collection he calls a "Christian armory," 339), also with the intention of debating them on their own terms.

Graham Robert Edwards does a service to Anglophone scholars by rendering an eminently readable translation of this volume, which was first published in Paris in 1998. He thus makes readily accessible the fruit of a large body of French

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and German scholarship on and related to Cluny and Peter the Venerable. The study does indeed, as the author indicates, focus on the Cluniac microcosm; so one must be wary of drawing conclusions regarding Christendom in general during the period under consideration. It is definitely a work for scholars and advanced graduate students, who will benefit from its thorough index.

LISA M. BITEL, *Women in Early Medieval Europe, 400–1000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. xv + 326. \$60.00/\$22.00.

Reviewed by Caitlin Corning, George Fox University

This book is part of the Cambridge Medieval Textbooks series. Therefore it is aimed at undergraduates and not specialists. That said, this book provides an excellent summary of the current state of research on women in early medieval Europe. Bitel focuses not just on women, but places them in the context of the larger society. She relies on contemporary primary documents as much as possible, but due to the scarcity of sources from this period, she often must use later documents when the possibility exists that these also reflect earlier realities.

Women in Early Medieval Europe is arranged in six thematic chapters, which are loosely chronological as well. The first chapter explores issues of gender and landscapes. A geographic and chronological overview of western Europe at the end of the Roman Empire is included. Bitel examines secular and sacred views of the landscape and the problems with the eighth- and ninth-century documents that discuss this early period. She argues that “later writers of the eighth and ninth centuries could safely condemn paganism from a safe distance and could add to its bad reputation by gendering it as female” (38). This undermines theories which use this later literature to support claims of women’s rights and power during the fifth and sixth centuries. The chapter ends with a discussion of the differences between a female gendered landscape and the reality of women’s lives.

Chapter 2 explores the lives of women during the period of the barbarian invasions and barbarian kingdoms in western Europe. Bitel uses the documentary, legal, and material evidence available. As with the discussions in chapter 1, most of the written evidence for this period comes from later writers who tend not to mention women as part of the actual migrations. Women enter the stories only after the establishment of the kingdoms (93). Bitel also points out that women often play didactic roles in the literature, meant to convey lessons to the reader/listener rather than to accurately portray the past (73–80). This chapter presents an excellent overview of the current theories on the barbarian migrations and invasions and uses especially the legal evidence to demonstrate the roles women played in these early kingdoms.

Chapter 3 shifts to issues of religion. Bitel discusses not only women in Christianity, but Islam, Judaism, and paganism as well. The chapter starts with an overview of the theories about women from the Judeo-Christian tradition, and then examines women’s roles in conversion, the rules for their behavior, and the issues surrounding religious women. Chapter 4 begins with an interesting exploration of kinship, marriage, and family issues in the early medieval period. Bitel

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discusses women's situations in these complex relationships, highlighting the changes that occurred as inheritance practices shifted throughout the period. There is a focus on the obligations of women within the kin group and why these differed from men's responsibilities. She then examines the different types of marriage unions and their advantages and disadvantages. The chapter ends by trying to explain violence against women and why this was tolerated. Due to the limitations of surviving evidence, the focus of this chapter tends to be on upper-class women.

Bitel moves to the later part of the early Middle Ages in chapter 5, discussing the opportunities available for women on the frontiers of Europe. She looks at Iceland, Ireland, Iberia, and the new towns of the tenth and eleventh centuries. She discusses the gendered notion of women's work and explores the problems with the theories of a "golden period of women's labour" (262–65).

In the last chapter, Bitel includes a fascinating discussion regarding the possibilities of why the women of early medieval Europe are less well known today when compared to famous women of the high and late Middle Ages such as Eleanor of Aquitaine or Joan of Arc. She also examines how the power of women, at least upper-class women, had changed by 1100.

Overall, this is a very well-written book. Bitel's arguments are always clear and supported well with primary evidence. She clearly acknowledges when she is using documentary evidence from later periods and the problems with this. She also does an excellent job of pointing out the issues with some traditional theories and the way some evidence has been used. In terms of its use as a textbook, this text would be better for an upper-division class where students have some familiarity with the early medieval period. While Bitel sets her discussion within a wide context, there are still some assumptions made that the reader is familiar with the fall of the Roman Empire or the existence of Charlemagne's kingdom, for instance. Specialist knowledge is not needed to understand or profit from the book, however.

The bibliography is up-to-date and would provide an excellent resource for students researching topics in this area. While there are a couple of typographical errors in the text, "our" instead of "out" on page 16 and "probably" instead of "probable" on page 83, these do not detract from the overall value of the work. The book contains eighteen illustrations and two maps.

I would recommend this text for upper-division classes on the early Middle Ages or for professors wanting an overview of the current state of research in this field. Bitel does an excellent job of presenting a very difficult and complex topic in an understandable manner. Through her textual analysis, students should also learn about the complexities of working with early medieval sources.

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CHRISTOPHER P. ATWOOD, *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931*. 2 vols. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2002. Pp. 1168. \$203.00.

Reviewed by Justin Tighe, University of Melbourne

The linkages and ideological pathways between programs of social revolution, nationalism, and modern state-building in early twentieth-century China have be-

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come increasingly elucidated over the last decade in western scholarly literature, particularly in the research of such scholars as Prasenjit Duara and John Fitzgerald. Christopher Atwood's *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931* is a pioneering effort which situates political developments in early twentieth-century Inner Mongolia in this theoretical context. The author has produced a richly detailed and theoretically satisfying account which comprehensively illuminates a complex period of history in an important multi-ethnic frontier region of the modern Chinese nation-state.

The end of the last empire to rule China, the Qing, in 1911 left its former subject peoples with the troubling legacy of its territorial form. Despite the claims of Chinese nationalists, the former Qing territory of Outer Mongolia (i.e. Mongolia north of the Gobi desert) had already declared independence and in 1925 it became the first Marxist-inspired revolutionary state in Asia. Meanwhile, south of the Gobi and immediately to the north of provincial China, another relic of Qing administrative geography, Inner Mongolia, fell under the control of the Chinese Republic.

Atwood argues that the different forms of Inner Mongol political action in the early twentieth century should be seen as a response to the so-called "New Policy" reforms of the last years of the Qing dynasty and the agenda of Chinese nationalists in the post-1911 Chinese republic. Both were consciously modernizing projects of state-making which aimed at the increased penetration of a centralizing state into local lifeworlds, and ultimately, the political and economic integration of border areas within a modern Chinese nation-state. In Inner Mongolia this entailed the transformation of grassland pastures into tilled fields and the immigration of Chinese peasants to work the land. Such changes caused widespread dispossession and social dislocation and undermined the power and legitimacy of pre-existing political authority in Inner Mongolia—the nobles and princes of the former Qing order. Paradoxically, in spite of the rhetoric of Chinese republicans, because of the lack of any strong central political authority in China after the end of empire, different sections of Inner Mongolia became subject to a changing series of unstable and exploitative Chinese warlord regimes.

The author chooses the 1931 cut-off point of his study as this marks the beginnings of Japanese occupation and a new, more successful and ultimately more efficient, era of state-making in Inner Mongolia under various Japanese military-sponsored governments. The period covered by the book is then one characterized by an "interregnum"—a problem with the lack of any stable and legitimate exercise of political authority. As a result, Atwood argues, strong state-making became the central problematic for all radical forms of Inner Mongol political expression during this period. The Young Mongols and vigilantes of the title signaled two important components of this.

Atwood's narrative centers on the brief life of the People's Revolutionary Party of Inner Mongolia (PRPIM) from its creation in late 1924 to its split and dissolution in the later years of the same decade. This is partially the story of modernizing young Mongol revolutionaries—the small numbers of mainly eastern Inner Mongols schooled in modern schools—and their dependence upon and positioning between two coinciding larger revolutions and programs of state-building: the forging of a revolutionary state in independent Mongolia to the north; and the

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Chinese revolution of the 1920s prosecuted by the Chinese Nationalist party (KMT) and the infant Chinese Communist Party to the south. Yet the PRPIM was more than just this: it also included representatives of Inner Mongol "vigilantes"—the non-modernizing response to upheaval and dispossession on the part of various armed rebels in western Inner Mongolia. The Young Mongols adopted the language of Marxist class-based revolution and advocated social revolution on an Inner Mongolian-wide scale and unification with the revolutionary regime in independent Mongolia. By contrast, the vigilantes emphasized the seizure of local power, were suspicious of an Inner Mongolia-wide project and expressed their struggles in traditional religious forms of political language. As Atwood demonstrates, to escape the tensions of this uneasy alliance, each side supplicated itself to independent Mongolia to urge its own political vision. Ultimately however the PRPIM's fate was tied to shifts in political power and the changing agendas of the Mongolian and Chinese revolutions and the Comintern. By 1928 the PRPIM had lost the patronage of both the Chinese KMT and independent Mongolia and the in-between space for an Inner Mongolian revolution vanished.

Atwood renders the vast distances, both geographical and ideological, between different groupings of Inner Mongol insurrectionists and revolutionaries and their complex interactions with Chinese warlords, fraternal revolutionary parties, Soviet diplomats and Comintern advisers in panoramic detail. But the strengths of the book go beyond this. In the lengthy introduction the author provides a sorely-needed overview of the system of Mongol administration as it had developed by the late Qing, and the conclusion is a thought-provoking discussion of the fate of Inner Mongols in the face of Chinese state-making up to the present day. The length of this book and its level of detail may be daunting for the non-specialist but Atwood's text is a path-breaking work which will repay reading by all scholars interested in revolutionary nationalism and modern state-making in Asia.

PAUL D. BUELL, *Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow, 2003. Pp. 333. \$80.00.

Reviewed by Christopher P. Atwood, Indiana University

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Despite the great expansion in recent years of knowledge about the Mongols' thirteenth-century world empire, outsiders have often felt the lack of basic research tools. Paul Buell's *Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire* is thus a welcome addition to Scarecrow Press's series "Historical Dictionaries of Ancient Civilizations and Historical Eras." Like the other volumes in this series, the *Historical Dictionary* includes a chronology, several maps, a bibliography, and a main body of about 750 entries, covering persons, peoples, battles and other major events, institutions, distinctive Mongol terms, and facets of social, cultural, religious, and even culinary history. Unlike other volumes in this series, however, Paul Buell opens the dictionary with six long essays covering Mongolia before the empire, the Mongol World Empire (AD 1206–1260) and its four successor states: the Yuan dynasty in East Asia (1260–1368), the Golden Horde (1235–1502) in Eastern

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Europe and Kazakhstan, the Chagatay Qanate in Central Asia (1260–1338), and the Ilqanate in the Middle East (1260–1356). Appendices with sample texts in the various Mongolian scripts, a glossary of Mongolian-language terms, and recipes for dishes from the Mongol empire in China round out the book.

Just as the New Testament canon was assayed by a three-fold test of orthodoxy, apostolicity, and catholicity, so too a reference work may be assayed by a three-fold test of accuracy, conventionality, and coverage. Does the work get the facts (dates, places, definitions, etc.) and interpretations right? Does it avoid eccentric or novel usages, modes of expression, or viewpoints that would not accurately represent the state of the field? And does it cover the topic evenly and without bias toward the writer's personal interests? Given the fallibility of historical scholarship, some compromise of conventionality will always be necessary—nothing would be less excusable than for a historian to endorse known errors, simply because they are widespread in the field—and few would begrudge the author some extra attention to a topic of his or her special interest, especially if it yields a more lively tone than that of the usual reference work. Conventionality is a particularly difficult aim in Mongolian empire studies, as the variety of source languages (Mongolian, Chinese, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Russian, Tibetan, Medieval Latin, etc.) and fields have given rise to a cloud of spellings, perspectives, and conventions often at war.

Paul Buell's work fails to some degree in all three categories. His decision to use the Mongolian spellings for Mongolian names, such as Chinggis for Genghis and Ca'adai for Chaghatay (Chinggis's second son), is definitely defensible. *Qan* for "Khan" seems to me unnecessarily pedantic, but is often used in the field. Yet even with Mongolian words we find a number of odd or erroneous spellings. Some are due to a weak grasp of Mongolian language: *bicigci* is a mistake for *bici'eci*; "Toqta" and "Toghtō" are only dialectal variants of the same name; "kumiss" (fermented mares' milk) was called by the empire's Mongols *esüg*, not *airag* (the modern Mongolian term); and so on. Other odd spellings follow from his slavish adherence to the spellings found in the spoken dialect-based Chinese transcription of the famous *Secret History of the Mongols*, rather than the written forms usual in the literature: *daruqaci* for *darughaci*; *tenggiri* for *tenggeri*; "Kibca'ut" for the people generally known as Qipchaqs (to the Islamic authors), Cumans (to the Byzantines), or Polovtsi (to the Russians); etc. Other spellings are simply unaccountable: *Batqan* for *Batu*, *Arqan-Aqa* for *Arghun-Aqa*, the otherwise unknown neologism "Qanate China" for the Yuan Dynasty, and so on. Fortunately, the dictionary is well cross-referenced, so the reader will find entries for most (but not all) of the more usual spellings.

The *Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire* does offer basic reference information on all aspects of the empire, and in this sense meets the coverage criterion. A few areas are given unexpectedly detailed coverage. Paul Buell's previous book (*Soup for the Qan*, published by Kegon Paul) was a complete translation of a Mongol-era Chinese cookbook and here he offers quite a bit on the soups, baklavas, and sherbets of the Mongol empire. The coverage of Chinggis Khan's pre-conquest relations with the Sino-Mongolian border zone, an important topic often neglected, draws on Paul Buell's doctoral dissertation. Yet the period after

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1260, when the Mongols ruled four separate realms from China to the Middle East, is given relatively scanty treatment. Thus Lian Xixian (1231–1280), one of Qubilai Khan's most important advisors, receives no entry, while his relatively obscure father Bül-Qaya receives two paragraphs (under the common but erroneous spelling of Buyruq Qaya). Even in the essays, the domestic politico-military and financial history of the successor states is scanted in favor of the intriguing, but essentially marginal, topic of relations with Europeans and other foreign envoys.

Finally in the area of accuracy, the encyclopedia contains a few clear errors of fact and many more problems of interpretation. Examples of the former include his confusion of Qubilai's 1253–1254 campaign in Yunnan with his 1259 campaign against Ezhou (modern Wuhan), and description of Bar Hebraeus as a "Nestorian"—really he was of the rival Syrian Orthodox Church ("the Jacobite"). Examples of the latter include the claim, supported neither by the evidence nor by the scholarly literature cited in Buell's bibliography, that loyalism to the previous Song dynasty was the dominant political force in southern China under the Mongols and the implication that the great sectarian rebellions of 1351 grew out of this literati loyalism (63–64). Religion of any sort is not Dr. Buell's strong suit, and his brief summaries of the tenets of "Confucianism," "Lamaism," "Christianity" (particularly the "Nestorian" church), "Taoism," etc., are consistently sloppy. Many of the interpretive points I found most problematic reflect Dr. Buell's very distinctive understanding of the empire's institutional structure, an understanding first advanced in his dissertation, and held to, with little change, in subsequent works.

I would not like to leave this review on an excessively negative note. The *Historical Dictionary of the Mongol World Empire* is the first real attempt at a scholarly synthesis of the Mongol empire since J. J. Saunders's *History of the Mongol Conquest* in 1971. As mentioned above, synthesis is peculiarly difficult for the history of the Mongol empire, due to the variety of cultures and historiographic traditions which the empire embraced. Dr. Buell's focus on the Mongols themselves and even his sometimes eccentric point of view give the *Historical Dictionary* an appealing unity which should cover over a multitude of sins. While the reader would be well-advised to corroborate Dr. Buell's interpretations (and spellings) in the other sources referred to in his copious bibliography, the work is both a useful introduction for the reader new to Mongol history and an intriguing challenge to scholars in the field.

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BRUCE GORDON, *The Swiss Reformation*. Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2002. Pp. xxiv + 368. \$74.95/\$29.95.

Reviewed by Iren Snavely, Jr., Temple University

Bruce Gordon of St. Andrews University's Reformation Studies Institute has written a survey of the Swiss Reformation that is likely to become the standard work in English for years to come. Novices and seasoned scholars in Reformation studies can find no better introduction to the topic, since Gordon ties together the disparate strands of a movement as disunited as the cantons and territories of the

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sixteenth-century Confederation. In a recap of his work, the Canadian scholar says that he has "attempted to map the development and dissemination of evangelical ideas against the historical context of the Swiss Confederation." (349) Doubtless, Gordon has accomplished this undertaking, but more than this, he has succeeded in piecing together the puzzle of personalities, movements, and ideas that we call the Swiss Reformation.

Gordon argues that the Zurich reformer Huldrych Zwingli is the "key" to the Swiss Reformation. The author has found nothing remarkable in Zurich, the birthplace of the Swiss Reformation that would have inclined it toward reformation. Instead, he contends that Zwingli's "charismatic" personality and preaching best explain the origins of the Zurich Reformation and its expansion into the Swiss Confederation. Gordon also highlights other factors such as networks, preaching, and clerical relations with the ruling authorities to explain the successes of the reformation in Switzerland. Such strategies were critical to the triumph of evangelical reform, since according to Gordon, the Swiss Reformation never became a mass movement.

Gordon uses the research of Helmut Meyer to shed light on the situation in Zurich after the Protestant defeat in the Second Kappel War of 1531. From the perspective of Kappel it is evident that the most serious weakness of the Zurich Reformation was its complete dependence upon "the character and thought of one man." (49) This dependence nearly proved fatal to the movement after Zwingli's death in battle. Ironically, it became the life's work of another individual to rescue, preserve, consolidate, and even export the movement that Zwingli began. Defeated Zurich turned for spiritual leadership to the young Heinrich Bullinger of Bremgarten, "a talented theologian, educator, and preacher, known to oppose religious wars" (140).

One of the book's contributions is a subtle and insightful comparison of the two Zurich reformers, Zwingli and Bullinger. Gordon notes that both reformers worked closely with their "political masters" in the Zurich City Council. Likewise, both men doubted whether the Confederation could survive the religious division in its midst. But here the similarities end. In contrast to Zwingli, the "prophet," who "spoke with the authority of God's Word," Bullinger was much more of a "bishop," commissioned by the Council to control the ministers and cultivate pious living. While "the firebrand" Zwingli mustered Zurichers in a disastrous war "to punish the recalcitrant Catholics" of the Confederation, Bullinger's counsel of withdrawal fit the city's isolationist mood after Kappel. Indeed, Gordon accuses Zwingli of a misuse of power that cost the Zurich church dearly. For this very reason Bullinger was forced to agree that his ministers avoid political comment. The author concludes that "The [Zurich] Reformation had survived, barely, but . . . the price was full subordination to the state" (142).

Despite his indictment of its founder, Gordon is "unapologetic" in his contention that Zwingli was the "dominant force" behind the Swiss Reformation. There would have been no reformations in Berne, Basle, or Schaffhausen without a Zurich Reformation. And, no reformation would have occurred in Zurich without Zwingli. Just the same, the reformations that developed elsewhere in the Confederation "were dictated by local events and characters, and even had their

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own logic" (143). He devotes chapter 5 to telling their stories—stories often unfamiliar to English readers.

Roughly half of Gordon's book is chronological narrative. The rest he devotes to a discussion of the well-worn themes of religious radicalism, church life, Swiss society, international Zwinglianism, and the Zwinglian legacy.

Gordon performs an important service for students of the Radical and Magisterial Reformations by explaining the origins of Zurich Radicalism in the context of Zwingli's theology of the Spirit and his institutional policies, between the spirit and the flesh. The Radicals' revolt, he says, erupted "within the circle of [Zwingli's] close friends" (191). These men shared Zwingli's vision of "spiritual renewal." It was not the spirit that divided his disciples Konrad Grebel and Simon Stumpf from their erstwhile leader, but the flesh. Disappointed by Zwingli's political compromises over the removal of images and the Mass, they soon viewed him as an apostate. Moreover, while the Augustinian Zwingli expected believers to sin, Grebel, the Erasmian, took a "more sanguine" view of human nature. For Grebel and the Radicals, believers transformed by the Holy Spirit should lead lives of absolute moral purity. Different expectations of human potential translated into different views of Christian society. Zwingli viewed Christian society as a mixture of damned and saved. But, with their emphasis on moral purity, the Radicals increasingly defined the Christian life as a separation from non-believers in a pure church. Adult baptism became the rite of initiation into this visible body "marked by the 'rule of Christ'."

Although Gordon characterizes Zwingli's own spiritualist theology as a "Pandora's box," an even greater threat in Bullinger's eyes was the Anabaptist denial of the continuity of the Old and New covenants. According to the author, "the major question after 1531 was the relationship between state and church" (210). Bullinger saw clearly that if there were no link between the Old Testament and the New, the Old Testament partnership between prophet and king would be irrelevant for the church. Zurich's theocratic arrangement based on a clerical/magisterial alliance would be irreparably undermined.

Gordon was well prepared to address the issues of church building in chapter 7 by his earlier work on Bullinger and the Zurich Synod (Peter Lang, 1992). He also demonstrates an impressive grasp of the literature of important topics such as the Prophezei, the Zurich Bible, and the diversity of worship in the Swiss churches. Equally enlightening is his portrayal of Swiss society in the sixteenth century. The stark circumstances of physical existence and economic hardships bring the realities of Swiss church life into sharp relief. Gordon's descriptions of international Zwinglianism and the cultural legacy of the Swiss Reformation are somewhat less impressive, although his portraits of little-known Swiss luminaries such as Vadian, Conrad Gesner, and Simon Grynaeus are priceless.

The contributions of Gordon's book can be summed up in a phrase—he explains how the sixteenth-century Swiss Reformation worked. In the context of the Swiss Confederation, he describes the personalities, networks and ideas that drove the Reformation, the political forces that directed it, and the social and economic conditions that limited it.

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RAYMOND A. MENTZER AND ANDREW SPICER, EDs., *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559–1685*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. 241. \$65.00.

Reviewed by Martin I. Klauber, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

This collection of essays written by the leading international scholars in the social history of the Reformation in France, presents fresh accounts of the everyday life of the Huguenots. Based on copious archival research, this collection provides an interesting array of portraits of the French Reformed church from the French Wars of Religion to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. These essays seek to enlighten us on what it meant to be a Protestant in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and to discover how the Huguenots survived during an era of hostility and religious war under the Roman Catholic majority. Several of these articles are of particular interest.

Philip Benedict analyzes the process of “confessionalization” in France during this period. Studies on this topic focus on the changes in behavior among the laity that result from a switch in religious confession. Hence, this discussion has become part and parcel with the development of social history. The concept of confessionalization has been widely applied by scholars to Germany and the Netherlands, most notably by Heinz Schilling. Benedict notes that the situation in France was substantially different than in Germany, where local princes were the deciding factor either for or against the Protestant Reformation. Benedict calls the German theory “strong confessionalization” because of its association with state-building and social discipline. In France, the two confessions broke into distinct parities and actually served to weaken the state. Benedict argues, therefore, in favor of a “weak confessionalization” for France. According to this approach, confessionalization is the process by which distinct religious groups emerged as a result of the Reformation. Each side developed strict guidelines for orthodoxy and viewed their rivals as enemies.

Bernard Roussel pens a fascinating account of Huguenot funeral practices. He points out that the Reformed service was quite simple without pomp and ceremony, so much so that many Roman Catholic contemporaries saw it as blasphemous against God and disrespectful of the departed. For the French Protestants, however, the funeral service was the completion of the promise of ultimate union with the Savior as promised in the Lord’s Supper. The simplicity of the Reformed practice was reflective of its theology whereby the departed remained a part of the community of the faithful even though they were separated in body. In contrast, for the Roman Catholic, the deceased were beginning their journey to purgatory and the living would play a role in helping them on the road to heaven.

Luc Racaut provides an interesting slant on Jean Crespin’s *Histoire des Martyrs*, arguing that Roman Catholic polemicists set the stage for such martyrologies. Crespin resorted to responses made within English and Lutheran traditions in countering Roman Catholic arguments against the Reformation.

Timothy Watson focuses on the Reformed church in Lyon during the era of the Wars of Religion. He points out that the Reformed movement took hold there

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and by 1562, the city had about 60,000 Protestants. However, by the time of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the Reformed movement had suffered a significant decline. Watson points out the inherent difficulties of establishing a new church. It is one thing to evangelize and gain converts, it is quite another to establish the structures necessary to maintain the church. Unlike cities such as Geneva, the church in Lyon had to "confessionalize" the church without state support. As a result, it was unable to sustain its early success.

Karin Maag provides a helpful narrative on the development of Reformed academies in France. These institutions were primarily training grounds for Reformed pastors and served as alternatives to the Roman Catholic-controlled universities. By founding their own schools, the French Reformed church did not have to send its students abroad and could keep tighter controls on their orthodoxy. Maag argues that these schools were different from their counterparts in places such as Geneva because they could not rely upon consistent support from the state even in areas where Reformed congregations were especially strong.

Martin Dinges focuses on poor relief and health care in the diocese of Grenoble, noting that this was an area of competition between Catholics and Protestants. Within the Reformed camp, deacons were responsible for visiting the poor and the needy, providing confessional instruction as part of their visits. The Reformed movement provided more relief to Protestant poor, thereby using the need for assistance as a motivation for conversion. Roman Catholics has a distinct advantage, however, in providing help to the poor because they could draw from the enormous financial resources of the church, while Protestants had to obtain funds directly from donations.

All of these essays bring to light various aspects of the Reformed experience in France as a persecuted minority in spite of the protections provided by the Edict of Nantes. As a result, the Huguenots became a closely-knit community of believers who endured a significant amount of hardship in order to maintain their faith. These articles provide a broad array of fascinating information about the lives of the Huguenots during this turbulent era.

R. PO-CHIA HSIA AND HENK VAN NIEROP, EDS., *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. 187. \$55.00.

Reviewed by John B. Roney, Sacred Heart University

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The Dutch have been known for their tolerant attitudes, with both positive and negative connotations. A state rarely decides to become tolerant for no reason, and in early modern Europe state building required a clear identity and firm control. Since the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 it was assumed that every nation-state would follow the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia has pointed to the central paradox of the early Dutch Republic: "the existence of a confessionally pluralistic society with an official intolerant Calvinist Church that discriminated against Catholics, but whose pragmatic religious toleration elicited admiration and bewilderment in *ancien régime* Europe" (2). This collection of eleven essays has

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brought together some of the best-know historians of this period, and scholars and students alike will be delighted with its scholarship and the many questions and perspectives it raises.

Despite the struggle to establish a new republic, free from the Spanish Inquisition, the Union of Utrecht (1579), which brought together the seven northern provinces, held religious conscience to be one of the supreme human rights. Recognition of this internal quality did not necessarily mean the freedom of external practice. Even though no more than 30% of the new states were ever members of the Reformed church (*publieke kerk*), it became the symbol of national identity as a religious power that had stood against an oppressive regime. But, unlike any other state church in Europe, the public Reformed church did not claim all citizens of the Dutch Republic as members. They allowed other Christian groups, namely Catholics, Mennonites, and Lutherans, a degree of freedom, and in certain cities Jews found a place to live, worship, and even grow.

It is difficult to draw a firm conclusion as to whether toleration was practiced in the same way in different cities and regions of the Dutch Republic. It all depends on how one defines toleration. Certainly we cannot expect our modern sensibilities; but compared to many other states, truly the Dutch Republic had some advanced positions for their day. Almost every author uses different words to describe how the state regents and the official state Reformed church practiced toleration. Benjamin Kaplan reminds us that although they were generally tolerant, the very notion of identifying the nation with one theological position “attributed a basic illegitimacy to what was being tolerated” (25). Willem Frijhoff and Samme Zijlstra prefer the term “connivance,” which meant that the secular authorities turned a blind eye (*oogluiking*) to some practices that Catholics or Mennonites might partake in, as long as they did not disturb the peace. Turning a blind eye had a price, however, and Christine Kooi has demonstrated that in the city of Gouda, Catholics paid some 400 guilders a year as “recognition money” to allow some religious worship. This was not a fixed policy, however, and there was a “constant renegotiation and readjustment” (89) by paying for privileges for Catholics. So, despite the official illegitimacy of alternative religious ideas, the state recognized that they were still within the allowable limits of Christian conviction. In this way Joke Spaans uses the word “containment” to show that it was not toleration as we might define it today, but a matter of expediency and the degree of threat to the social order. In actual fact, many areas of the Dutch Republic were predominantly Catholic—there were about 30% in the republic, and Henk van Nierop underlines the fact that it “made effective prosecution a practical impossibility” (108). Not all authors see the same degree of toleration, and this is partially a matter of what they are using as their examples. Jonathan Israel claims a “concealed intolerance,” and this comes from his study of the rise of free-thinkers and radical philosophy. Likewise, Peter van Rooden has found the plight of Jews in the Dutch Republic to be much better than in any other part of Europe.

But, the practice of toleration goes deeper than an institutional level. Several authors have commented on how many intellectuals and leaders seem to take a harder stand against the ideas and practices of the official alternative institution, but in private they had quite a lively and good-natured correspondence with “the

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other side." Judith Pollmann has explored the dual society that was created as a means to peaceful co-existence. The Dutch term *verzuiling* has often referred to the existence of a pillarized society, and although it cannot be overstated, there was a competition for members that produced a lively pamphlet literature, rather than traditional violence. Therefore, Pollmann concludes that "Dutch Church members could and did participate *both* in the intolerant discourse of confessionalism *and* in the a-confessional religious culture" (58). This dual approach to identity and toleration suggests several issues of the time. Certainly humanism had established a means to support conscience, and understand the complexity of life. But still further, there is much to be said for the regional characteristics of Netherlandic piety before the sixteenth century. The laity had been far more autonomous from the institutional church than in most other parts of Europe, and this made it difficult at best for an outside power to win over the Dutch to a dogmatic tradition. In addition, a high degree of anticlericalism thrived in a region where serious discussions and critique of society had been encouraged through the morality plays (*rederijkerkamers* or chambers of rhetoric). Jonathan Israel, in the *Dutch Republic*, describes the republic as a "non-dogmatic pluriform crypto-Protestantism" (53). In a study of *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation*, Philip Marnef describes a large middle group, a "floating middle group"—what Frijhoff calls "intermediate groups" (42)—who were sympathetic to Calvinism, yet could not fully commit themselves to any fixed doctrines. As a result the Reformed church in the Dutch Republic, long before the Puritans allowed for a "half-way covenant," designed a category for many who were recognized as marginal members of the church, known as *liefhebbers*, or sympathizers. While Calvinist-dominated republics like Geneva are often accused of trying to set up a theocracy, in the case of the Netherlands it cannot be reasonably demonstrated. Several authors have pointed to two central religious restraints on theocratic practices. First there is a question as to what influence Augustine had on religion. It is well-known that Augustinianism was responsible for the rise of Dutch piety already in the Brethren of the Common Life movement of the fourteenth century. It encouraged a return to a more inner piety and devotion, but it included the laity and it established schools and printing presses. The classic *Imitation of Christ*, attributed to Thomas á Kempis, became the primer for an individual quest for God. I would have to disagree with Joke Spaans when she claims that it was Augustine who encouraged the secular arm of the law to prosecute all dissenters from the official church. While he has a high view of the visible church, especially given the raging controversy of his day, and the Medieval church had concentrated on the visible church alone, I would argue that his view of the invisible church gave the Dutch of the Renaissance a firm reason to be tolerant. Further again, as van Rooden points out (136), Augustine had a special place for Jews in God's dispensation; therefore toleration was necessary in order to demonstrate that God's kingdom had been re-established on earth, and that God was the only ultimate judge.

Like the Republic of Geneva, the patrician elite in the Dutch Republic never allowed the official church a central place in governing the secular realm. It was far too expedient for a policy of toleration to develop because the state had the role to keep the peace in a country with diverse religious confessions, and in encour-

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aging a vibrant merchant and trading economy that demanded a more free movement of goods and services, as well as the diversity of people who came to their cities and ports for trade, or to set up a company office or branch. Toleration was good business if it could keep the peace, order, and promote a healthy economy. Maarten Prak closes in the final chapter with a reflection on the politics of intolerance from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. He concludes that the "Calvinists had their political privileges, but day-to-day practice came closer to a seventeenth-century equivalent of a multi-cultural society" (159).

JANE E.A. DAWSON, *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2002. Pp. 274 . \$65.00.

Reviewed by George K. McFarland, Delaware County Christian School (Pa.)

This book joins a distinguished list of monographs from the Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History series, and like the previous works, it provides fresh insights about the nature of British society, culture and politics. The author, who is the John Laing Senior Lecturer at the University of Edinburgh, focuses on the very critical years of the last half of the sixteenth century and the ways in which the religious and political events helped to shape future events in the British Isles. The focal event of the work is the Treaty of Berwick of 1560, a "diplomatic revolution" (1), which uniquely brought together England, Scotland, and Ireland. The key individual in these relations, as well as the one who facilitated the outworking of these relations in the later years of the century, is the fifth earl of Argyll, chief of Clan Campbell and key aristocrat in the court of Queen Mary, his sister-in-law, and the three kingdoms. The author's analysis of these developments takes the reader through three formative topics: the earl of Argyll's credentials as an influential diplomat, the creation of the British policy from 1558 to 1560, and the collapse and reconfiguration of British amity from 1561 to 1573.

If the allocation of space is any indication, Dawson considers the earl of Argyll to be very significant in the recounting of British policies. Approximately 40% of the narrative is given to a treatment of the chief of Clan Campbell. Through careful examination of letters and state papers, the author provides a rich overview of the Argyll's life and character, education, marriage and divorce, religion, and his political and social influence. Although admitting at times that there are "gaps in evidence" (13) and that "none of the records survive" (58), Dawson paints a lively picture of a very strong personality in sixteenth-century Scotland, who helped create "a new form of British politics not seen before" (8). Indeed, it is this emphasis on Argyll's personality, rather than state centered history, which distinguishes "New British History" from conventional history. His personality, moreover, manifests itself in countless dimensions of his world, including such pivotal roles as active leader of the Scottish Protestant movement, marriage to the daughter of King James V, local magnate in the Lowlands, and diplomat in the British and Irish courts. One wonders, however, whether Dawson presents his influence too strongly when she considers him to be the "most powerful nobleman in the 16th century Atlantic archipelago" (48), or as a "sovereign prince" who was aware

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of his own power and where “states allowed him to move effortlessly onto the British stage” (85). Not to be overlooked in her analysis of Argyll is Dawson’s occasional reference to Scottish women in the age of Argyll. These are considered to be women of character and talent, and important to Clan Campbell as well as to the diplomacy of the fifth earl. A framework for understanding the development of British policies is provided through this central figure of the fifth earl of Argyll.

Second, with the formulation of British policy from 1558 to 1560, the reader discovers Argyll’s importance moving from local to regional politics, first to the British courts and then to Ireland. His “own” English policies involved an Anglo–Scottish alliance in which Argyll desired outside help to expel the French influence and the authority of Mary of Guise. This was reflected not only in his commitment to Protestantism as a “driving force behind the commitment to an English alliance” (9), but also it allowed Elizabeth to move to a Protestant ecclesiastical settlement in her own country. Dawson considers Argyll’s contribution in this diplomatic role, with the support of Elizabeth’s chief advisor Robert Cecil, as paramount in creating a dramatic change in Anglo–Scottish relations, but also in prefiguring the relations in the next century. For students of the Protestant Reformation, this is a significant chapter because it highlights aristocratic support for the Reformed Protestant changes in Scotland. Argyll, for instance, not only condoned the cleansing of idols and images in the churches, but also supported abbots and monks who kept their land if they agreed to implement Protestant reform. Argyll had achieved his goal of seeing the Scottish church become Protestant and by “the face of ane perfyrt reformed kyrk” (217). In Dawson’s opinion, it was Argyll’s defense of Scottish Protestants which “introduced [him] to international politics.” The author assumes the reader is well aware of the very tense moments involving John Knox and the church–state struggle for a reformed church (87). Students of English political and diplomatic history will realize the crucial triangular negotiations of Argyll which highlighted the sixteenth century.

Third, Dawson recounts the causes of the collapse of the amity between England and Scotland and the little cooperation they had from Ireland. The chief causes involved complex issues including Mary’s return from France, the failure of British policy in Ulster and the fracturing of the Anglo–Scottish friendship. Again, one discovers that Argyll’s influence was no less crucial. For instance, Dawson considers Argyll’s service in Mary’s government as the “high point” of his diplomatic influence. Not only did Mary accept the existence of the new Protestant Kirk and give it financial support, but she was also permitted to retain her private Catholic mass. When Lord Henry Darnley returned to Scotland in 1564 to marry Mary, Argyll’s influence waned. Mary desired to keep her place in English succession secure, but at the same time Elizabeth’s failure to meet with Mary regarding succession issues caused the Anglo–Scottish alliance to disintegrate. These events were crucial in bringing about a major realignment of British politics. The murder of Darnley, the marriage of Mary to Bothwell, and the refusal of England to support Scotland, eventually destroyed the trust the earl of Argyll had with Elizabeth. By 1573 Scotland was in the midst of Civil War, Mary left the throne, and in time Elizabeth imprisoned Mary for suspicions of treason with the

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discovery of the casket letters. However, Argyll maintained his role as Mary's advisor in the conflict with the new king, James VI. These political events and the diplomacy of the fifth earl of Argyll open "a window into the 'British problems,' reflecting in microcosm an image of the world of British politics" (209). At the same time, we also observe the failure of conciliation with Ireland and the destructive elements this would bring to English and Irish relations over the next century.

This is a must book for upper undergraduate students and graduate students as well as all students of the Scottish Reformation and English political and diplomatic ideas. On one hand, *Politics of Religion* provides a wealth of rich data to the understanding of the rich themes of Anglo-Scottish history. Thus, one does not miss the forest for all the trees, but is provided with the necessary foundational materials to make meaningful and logical sense of the whole. Despite at times an overemphasis of the importance of the fifth earl of Argyll, the author makes a strong thesis and convincingly supports and defends the position with a gold mine of mostly primary documentation. It, no doubt, reveals extensive research, as well as careful thought and application and thus serves to supplement our understanding of these crucial years and people in the three countries.

MARK A. NOLL, *The Old Religion in a New World: The History of North American Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002. Pp. 340. \$24.00.

Reviewed by Edwin S. Gaustad, University of California, Riverside (emeritus)

Over the course of my life, I have listened to many small, struggling choirs in many small, struggling churches. I could rarely relax until the soloist (male or female) managed to reach the critical notes without too much visible or audible effort. But in reading this book, one could relax at the very beginning, for clearly the reader was in the hands of a master author-conductor who would manage, effortlessly so it seemed, to hit all the right notes with authority and aplomb. A most satisfying performance.

There is so much to like about this book that it is difficult to know where to begin. It is, first of all, a survey, but if that suggests a swift skating over the surface, one quickly learns otherwise. For example, judgments are offered throughout, not just summaries. Moreover, the footnotes are numerous, engaging, and current. Instead of skating over the ice, the author is leading us through deep waters, with a frequent willingness to probe the depths.

One of the many values in Noll's approach is that he always keeps the larger picture in mind. He offers comparisons steadily between the European and the American scene, giving us clear similarities and clear differences. In certain portions of the book, he also offers helpful comparisons between the developments in Canada and those in the United States; then developments in Mexico vis-à-vis the United States. The latter is especially valuable, since the histories of the two countries are so sharply contrasting that the easier path by far would be to leave Mexico behind for another book. What he has done here with Mexico may not make all that much difference from the point of view of Boston, but it makes an enormous difference from the point of view of San Antonio, Santa Fe, or Los Angeles.

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One illustration of the effectiveness of his technique will have to suffice. In his discussion of colonization, Noll writes:

The first Christian activity in North America advanced in step with momentous religious change in Europe. As Martin Luther prepared to speak before the Holy Roman Emperor at the Diet of Worms in April 1521, a *conquistador* commissioned by Charles in his duties as king of Spain, Hernán Cortés, was laying siege to the Aztec capital at Tenochtitlán in Mexico. The success of that siege meant that, even as Protestantism emerged as a significant force in Europe, Castilian Roman Catholicism was put in place to evangelize the Indians of New Spain (28).

The author is in full control of his material.

When the author comes to more contemporary materials, for example in chapter 8 ("The Recent Past, 1960–2000"), he resists the temptation to lapse into a glib journalistic style. And when he is obliged to provide statistics, as all surveys are, he refuses to be captured or hypnotized by them. (He relegates to appendices the more elaborate tables and charts.) For the reader, he offers helpful generalizations that guide one through the forest, such as this: "Previously marginal groups have become larger and more important, while previously central denominations have moved more toward the margins" (176). Successive paragraphs illustrate the force of that observation.

Some chapters give unique strengths to this survey. Chapter 9 ("Theology") provides a most sophisticated discussion of the ways in which the American environment has shaped Christian thought, while chapter 12 ("Day to Day Christian Spirituality and the Bible") moves well beyond most textbook treatments of religion in America. A brief "Afterword" points to the unique emphases in American religion that operate as double-edged swords: positively in some respects, and negatively in others. Solid judgments abound.

To the potential readers of this book, one can only reiterate that you are in the hands of a master: relax.

THOMAS KNOLES, RICK KENNEDY, AND LUCIA ZAUCHA KNOLES, *Student Notebooks at Colonial Harvard: Manuscripts and Educational Practice, 1650–1740*. Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 2003. Pp. 228. \$25.00.

Reviewed by Richard P. Gildrie, Austin Peay State University

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Harvard College's role in helping to shape a rather distinctive learned culture in colonial New England is underlined and further clarified in this survey of surviving student notebooks from 1650 to 1740. Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (vol. 109), the work contains two long analytic essays. The first is a study of the genre of student-transcribed logic texts and of their uses and ramifications by Thomas Knoles, curator of manuscripts at the American Antiquarian Society, and Lucia Zaucha Knoles, professor of English at Assumption College. The second is an examination of Increase Mather's "Catechismus Logicus," a notable example of such texts. The essays are followed by an English translation of Mather's catechism by Rick Kennedy and Thomas Knoles and a checklist

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of all known extant student-transcribed texts with indexes of the texts and their transcribers prepared by Thomas Knoles.

This work should be of use to persons interested in the thought of American Puritan clergy, the history of higher education, and the cultural and intellectual impact of print in early America. As the particular works studied are logic texts, which were crucial to Harvard's curriculum, the book should be read with Rick Kennedy's *Aristotelian & Cartesian Logic at Harvard: Morton's "Logick System" and Brattle's "Compendium of Logick"* (Boston, 1995). Clearly, this is a book for specialists. However, there are interpretations and insights of value which transcend the immediate subject matter. In fact, one of the purposes of the work is to encourage students of early American history and culture to pay greater attention to the forms of logic taught and used in colonial schools as major indicators of intellectual, social, and cultural change. It is a point well taken and demonstrated.

The practice of requiring students to copy and then memorize manuscripts prepared or owned by the tutors served definite pedagogic purposes and had implicit social consequences as well. As the authors noted, "This tightly managed process allowed the faculty to enforce a conservative curriculum over a long period of time" (51). The collective experience of copying and reciting marked off a clerical elite from those not so exposed. It also helped shape a particular cast of mind, especially as these were logic texts. The stress was on "intellectual memory," beyond rote learning, as the basis for understanding and contemplation. "A good memory," as the authors assert, "was regarded as the chief indicator of intelligence, a critical factor in academic and professional success, and a tool in the labor of salvation" (53). This idea is obviously related to the practice of intensive as opposed to extensive reading.

The concept of "intellectual memory" and its uses are further illustrated in the essay on Mather's "catechism." Mather produced a Ramist logic, even though Ramism was in decline, as a device for simplifying and regenerating Harvard's pedagogy to encourage a clearer apprehension of "invention" (a form of analysis) and "judgment" (a form of synthesis) among students. In this effort, he was following humanist tradition which, as the authors note, puts him and Harvard in a transatlantic context. "In short, if we understand that humanist logicians in general approved of making logic more simple, then we should see Ramists in general as reductionists, with English Ramists mitigating that reductionism and American Ramists enhancing it" (95). That is an interesting commentary on the forms of American provincialism.

Finally, while discussing the demise of the practice in the 1730s, the book sheds some light on the significance of print in spreading learned forms, including the works of Harvard faculty, into the broader society. As enrollment grew, the printing of works for students and others became economically feasible while liberating tutors from a significant burden. The benefits of Harvard's learning were more available and, of course, the system changed in the process. To conclude, it was wise of the Antiquarian Society to reprint this study in book form for wider circulation, just as it was wise for the eighteenth-century Harvard faculty to turn to print.

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SANG HYUN LEE, ED., *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, vol. 21, *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003. Pp. xii + 566. \$95.00.

Reviewed by Robert W. Caldwell III, Southwestern Seminary

I write this review concurrent with the release of the long awaited sequel, *The Matrix Reloaded*, the science fiction action thriller which takes place within the virtual reality of a vast computer generated world (the "Matrix") that entombs the human minds of billions of human beings. In one scene, the main character, Neo, a man freed from the Matrix yet who hacks back into it to save his fellow human beings, enters a long white corridor of doors, which turns out to be a nexus of cyber-links connecting him to the far reaching corners of the Matrix.

In many ways volume twenty-one of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Writings on the Trinity, Grace and Faith*, is like this corridor, linking the various worlds of Edwards's unpublished and sometimes enigmatic reflections into a coherent narrative that together reveal the underlying unity of his theological vision. In it we have thirteen separate pieces: from near-polished treatises which have been published prior to the Yale edition ("Discourse on the Trinity" and "Treatise on Grace"), to less organized notebook studies only parts of which have been published before (studies on "Efficacious Grace," "Faith," and sections of his "Controversies" notebooks), to smaller studies which appear in print for the first time ("On the Equality of the Persons of the Trinity," "Signs of Godliness," and "Christ's Example"). Taken together, and prefaced with an excellent introductory essay, *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith* presents us with the theological scaffolding that framed Edwards's mental world, giving us further insight into the mind who gave us such titles as the "Religious Affections," "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," and "The Freedom of the Will."

Clearly an added bonus to the volume is the one hundred page introduction by Sang Hyun Lee, Kyung-Chik Han Professor of Systematic Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary. Lee is a senior statesman in the guild of Edwards scholars and has spent over four decades studying Edwards, specializing in the latter's philosophical theology and his doctrine of God. Lee sees Edwards as an innovative Reformed theologian who was well ahead of his time in his understanding of divine ontology. His main insight is that Edwards redefined Aristotelian metaphysics by interpreting reality not in terms of static categories of substance, but in terms of dynamic categories of disposition and habit. God's "dispositional being," according to Lee's understanding of Edwards, enabled Edwards to think of God as *both* infinitely actualized in his own fullness *and* disposed to further actualization through divine "repetitions" of his prior actuality (see pages 6–10). This characteristic of God's being, Lee argues, provided Edwards with a theological rationale for both the Trinity and the creation of the world. It also underscores the centrality of relationality to Edwards's metaphysics and accounts for the deeply personal and communal aspects of his theology of religious experience. Lee's introduction puts this thesis to the test, leading us like a skilled tour guide through Edwards's trinitarianism and soteriology as they appear in the writings of this volume, and pointing out the numerous dispositional themes that surface in Edwards's thought. While one might not agree with every conclusion Lee makes, his

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essay is destined to be regarded as one of the most important works on Edwards's theology for years to come.

Nuggets of Edwards's theological brilliance, exegetical typology, and pastoral wisdom fill the pages of *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith*. As mentioned above, the volume contains two roughly polished treatises which any Edwards enthusiast must read in order to grasp the contours of his theology: the "Discourse on the Trinity," and the "Treatise on Grace." In the former, Edwards channels a decade of reflection on the Trinity (found unsystematized in his early "Miscellanies" notebooks) into a systematic discourse which reveals the trinitarian foundations of his theology. In an age when the Trinity was quickly being discarded, Edwards was confident that "the Word of God teaches us more things concerning it to be believed by us than have been generally taken [notice of]" (139). The "Treatise on Grace" is Edwards's study on the nature of Grace and the Holy Spirit. Grace is not an "it" given to us by the Spirit in salvation, grace *is* the Spirit who is given to us and who unites himself to our souls. Other pieces, such as the forty page "Signs of Godliness," and the much smaller "Directions for Judging of Persons' Experiences," reflect Edwards's early interests in the subjective aspects of salvation and thus are prototypical to his later treatises on revival.

The general Edwards enthusiast may be somewhat frustrated by the contents of the large notebooks that occupy the middle two hundred pages of the volume. The majority of these pieces—which include Books 1–3 of his notebook on "Efficacious Grace," three sections out of his "Controversies" notebooks (sections on "Efficacious Grace," the "Nature of True Virtue," and "Justification") and his notebook on the nature of "Faith"—consist of random paragraph-studies of varying sizes and comments on various theologians he was reading. In short, they were raw materials to be used for later theological construction and thus do not make for exciting reading. Yet one person's junk may be another's treasure: the Edwards specialist and the historian of ideas, who delight in rummaging through others' private notebooks, will find much material here to sift through, unearthing who Edwards was reading, what issues he felt were important and how his theology developed. There are even a number of precious gems to be found among this heap of notes which will undoubtedly reward the study of the diligent. Most notable are the three lengthy essays in the "Justification" section of his "Controversies" notebook. There, after a lengthy lexical study on the meaning of the biblical words "righteous," and "righteousness," (Essay 1), Edwards considers the continuity and discontinuity of justification under the old and new covenants (Essay 2), and then embarks on a thirty-five page study on how the Old Testament saints believed in Christ unto justification (Essay 3). These studies, written late in Edwards's life, elaborate substantially upon his earlier statements on justification (such as his massive 1730s sermon "Justification by Faith Alone") and must be consulted in order to discern the fullness of his thoughts on this doctrine.

In short, *Writings on the Trinity, Grace, and Faith* is not for the novice looking for a bit of leisure reading in Edwards; it is for the serious student, the theologian, and the learned minister who wish to be challenged by the complex and fascinating world of Edwards's theology. Those willing to tackle its pages will be richly rewarded.

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AMY PLANTINGA PAUW, *The Supreme Harmony of All: The Trinitarian Theology of Jonathan Edwards*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002. Pp. x + 196. \$22.00.

Reviewed by Steven M. Studebaker, Marquette University

This text is the first published book-length analysis of Jonathan Edwards's trinitarianism. It is a revision and extension of Plantinga Pauw's Yale University dissertation (1990). In addition to this text, the author edited volume twenty, *The "Miscellanies,"* in Yale's critical editions of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* and several articles and an essay on Edwards's thought.

In continuity with the dissertation, *Supreme Harmony of All* argues that Edwards's trinitarian thought oscillates between the disparate psychological and social models of the Trinity. Her use of the psychological and social models reflects an adoption of a bi-polar paradigmatic interpretation of the history of trinitarianism that is rather common in modern theology. The paradigm supposes that trinitarian theology developed along dialectical trajectories. The Western Augustinian tradition stresses divine unity and utilizes the psychological model of the Trinity. In contrast, the Cappadocians of the Eastern tradition and Richard of St. Victor of the Western tradition emphasize the divine persons and use the social model of the Trinity. Plantinga Pauw argues that Edwards's genius lies in his ability to draw on both the psychological and social models of the Trinity.

After describing the psychological and social models in chapter 1, she devotes the subsequent chapters to illustrating the role of these conflicting trinitarian models in Edwards's immanent and economic trinitarianism. Chapters 2 and 3 treat the roles of the psychological and social models in the immanent Trinity. Specifically, chapter 2 argues that Edwards rejected the Reformed scholastic tendency to locate the excellency or perfection of God in divine oneness or in the simplicity of the divine substance, and replaced the scholastic doctrine of simplicity with a relational ontology. Edwards's relational ontology perceives the unity of God to reside in the relations of mutual consent that constitute the triune God. Chapter 3 contends that the robust social interaction between the Father and the Son in the covenant of redemption exhibits Edwards's use of the social model in his reflections on the immanent Trinity.

Chapters 4 and 5 argue that Edwards's theology of creation and redemption incorporates both the psychological and social models of the Trinity in unresolved tension. For instance, Edwards's depiction of the Holy Spirit's economic role in sanctification and glorification as the emanated mutual love of the Father and the Son that draws the saints into the ambit of trinitarian and ecclesial fellowship reflects the Spirit's *impersonal* identity as the act of divine love in the psychological model. Drawing on the social model, Edwards emphasized the *personal* agency of the Son in the covenant of redemption, the incarnation, and union with the saints.

The final chapter summarizes the role of the psychological and social models in Edwards's immanent and economic trinitarian theology. Plantinga Pauw suggests that modern theology should adopt the "multi-lingual character" of Edwards's use of the psychological and social models to express the varied facets of the triune God and redemption. Critically, she notes that the relations depicted among the divine persons may imply tritheism, reflect excessive anthropomor-

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phism, mirror the hierarchical social world of Puritan New England, and that the ideal of trinitarian mutual love was unattainable and resulted in the alienation of Edwards from his parishioners.

This book has numerous strengths. First, it has broad appeal because it interacts with the central Christian doctrine of the Trinity and a prominent figure in the American theological traditions and it draws Edwards into conversation with contemporary theological issues. Also, its prose is lucid, rendering it accessible and valuable for a broad audience. In addition, Plantinga Pauw clearly sets forth the thesis that Edwards adopted two trinitarian models, describes it in the first chapter, and consistently develops it throughout the subsequent chapters. Finally, it highlights the role of Edwards's trinitarian theology in areas of his life such as his pastoral ministry and personal relationships, which are often ignored in theological analyses.

My primary criticism is that the use of the threeness-oneness paradigm leads to the misinterpretation that Edwards deployed two distinct trinitarian models—psychological and social. Edwards used only one model of the Trinity—the Augustinian mutual love model, which is a variation of the psychological model. And although Edwards emphasized the social themes of loving union between the Father and the Son and the saints, he did so in the context of the mutual love model rather than a distinct social model. The strictures of the threeness-oneness paradigm seem to prohibit Plantinga Pauw from noting Edwards' consistent use of the mutual love model and lead her to see social themes as evidence of a distinct social model of the Trinity.

Overall, I strongly recommend this text to Edwards scholars. As the first published book on his trinitarian theology, it brings to light a central doctrine that undergirds other aspects of Edwards's theology and that is often missed in analyses that focus on his theology of revival, free will, original sin, and grace. Moreover, the text is a valuable resource for theologians interested in historical sources for modern trinitarian theology. The book also contains a useful index, but does not include a bibliography.

FRANCIS BREMER, *John Winthrop: America's Forgotten Founding Father*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pp. xviii + 478. \$39.95.

Reviewed by Linford D. Fisher, Harvard University

In this elegantly written biography, Francis Bremer attempts to free John Winthrop from his normal employment by historians as proof of one thing or another in early American society. While actively engaging existing early American scholarship, Bremer sympathetically narrates Winthrop's life as experienced by Winthrop in an attempt to understand the world in which he lived. The book's overarching argument comes as no surprise from Bremer, a long-time advocate of a transatlantic approach to Puritanism: Winthrop was a reconciling moderate whose time in New England is best understood through the lens of his time and life in England. Much of his vision for New England, in fact, was "rooted in traditional forms and patterns of England in which he had been raised" (385).

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The book is divided into three parts: Winthrop's heritage; his youth, education, and early adulthood; and his role in shaping the Massachusetts Bay Colony (with a short interlude on Winthrop's "Modell of Christian Charity" between the second and third sections). In the first section Bremer provides a rich and yet concise summary of the English Reformation, and more specifically, English Puritanism, situating Winthrop's ancestors in this context in the years leading up to Winthrop's birth in 1588. In the second section Bremer shows how the Stour Valley in East Anglia was "the most important ingredient" of Winthrop's heritage, primarily in the example it provided of a godly commonwealth and godly magistrates (63). Through his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, contact with a variety of Puritan leaders, and involvement in local government, Winthrop learned many lessons he would later draw upon when providing leadership for the Massachusetts Bay Colony—most explicitly in formulating the initial vision for New England in his "Modell" sermon, setting up his own godly commonwealth once in New England, shaping his governorship and the structure of the Massachusetts government, and devising a legal code for the colony.

In the third section, Bremer shows that from the beginning, there was a spectrum of Puritanism in Massachusetts, not merely two sides ("Puritanism" is not capitalized throughout the book). Tensions and differences were present, but at first, at least, ministers were willing to compromise on the nonessentials: "unity, rather than uniformity, was the hallmark of the New England struggle for godliness" (278). Bremer paints a positive picture of Winthrop as a unifying, reconciling force in the diverse context of the Massachusetts Bay. As governor, Winthrop was more lenient than his fellow magistrates in most matters, particularly in the Antinomian Controversy (286), with Roger Williams (252), in formulating a legal code (359), with Anabaptists (340), with Catholics (345), and with accusations of witchcraft (374). In all things, Winthrop tried to keep a "moderate center" (286), unlike the radical and intolerant Thomas Dudley, with whom Winthrop had repeated disagreements. Furthermore, Winthrop resisted attempts to build a theocracy; he preferred English common law, not the Old Testament, as the foundation for the laws of the colony. Winthrop also resisted having fixed punishments for crimes and the formulation of a standardized legal code (which eventually was established in 1641 as the *Body of Liberties*). Bremer asserts that Winthrop was not a misogynist, that he was generally charitable and loving toward the women in his life (especially toward Margaret, his third wife and life-long companion), and that the manner in which he dealt with Anne Hutchison was somewhat anomalous in that it was complicated by political tension with England. The character of New England society, although more flexible at first (in part due to Winthrop's influence) was over time altered by the "harder edge" of Puritanism brought by the Laudian emigrants (246). By the time Winthrop passed away in 1649, the Massachusetts Bay Colony had flourished despite several setbacks and trials, largely due to Winthrop's masterful leadership.

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On the whole, there is much that is satisfying about this book. Bremer's writing style is flowing and engaging, and the vivid descriptions throughout draw the reader into Winthrop's world, as do the imaginative vignettes that open each chapter. Bremer contextualizes Winthrop in a fresh, convincing, and comprehensive

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way and does much to improve and expand the previous assessments of Winthrop by Edmund Morgan and Darrett Rutman. And despite providing an overwhelmingly positive depiction of Winthrop, Bremer balances his praise with admission of various failures, most notably with Winthrop's intense anger when other colonies tried to lure settlers away from the Massachusetts Bay (329), his uncharitable treatment of Anne Hutchison (320), and his misjudgment in the de la Tour episode (343).

The quibbles I have with the book are admittedly rather minor. In England, Winthrop's initial election as governor seems to come out of the blue; Winthrop is rather unsuccessful and without much of a future when suddenly he is elected governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Bremer's explanation—that the venture was not very important in the big scheme of things—seems a bit inadequate. Throughout the narrative, Bremer seems to use Winthrop's journal rather uncritically in some places (as in his description of the prolonged disagreement between Winthrop and Dudley [217]), although Bremer does include a brief discussion in a different section about the constructed, one-sided nature of the journal and the interpretational problems it poses. In two places, Bremer excuses the Massachusetts Bay Colony for not engaging in missionary activity in first decade (even though outreach to the Indians was an explicit reason given for migration) by explaining that congregationalism was not well suited for missionary activity—but without an explanation of how Presbyterianism or any other form of church government would have been better suited in such a context, or how missionary activity later managed to take place within the same congregational structure (not to mention how or why congregationalism spawned the first overseas missions movement in the U.S. two centuries later) if it indeed was so unsuited for such activity (264, 376). In some sections, Bremer also seems biased against certain figures, especially Thomas Dudley and Thomas Shepard (281). In the end, one gets the feeling that the Winthrop Bremer finds, ironically enough, is surprisingly modern and not unlike what we think ourselves to be—centrist, tolerant, pious, and visionary.

These small criticisms notwithstanding, however, *John Winthrop* is a monumental work that deserves every encomium it is sure to receive.

JOHN FERLING, *A Leap in the Dark: The Struggle to Create the American Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pp. 558. \$30.00.

Reviewed by Hans P. Vought, SUNY-Ulster

At first glance, the reader may wonder if another book on the Founding Fathers and the Revolutionary period is really necessary. Certainly the crossover market is well-stocked with such volumes, since they appeal to both historians and the general public. Too much has been written on this subject (not least by Ferling himself) for his new book to contain any shocking revelations or worldview-altering insights. Nevertheless, Ferling presents a synthesis that is both readable and scholarly, and contains numerous nuances of interpretation that cause the reader to reconsider his or her own views on the founding of the United States. It would benefit, however, from more explicit reinforcement of the main points of his thesis.

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This book has the feel of a *magnum opus*, a summation of the research Ferling has done over many years. It traces the leaders and events involved in the rupture of relations between the colonies and Great Britain and the establishment of an independent nation from 1754 to 1800, drawing extensively on primary sources as well as monographs to support its arguments. As the title indicates, Ferling emphasizes the contingency of history, pointing out that at each stage of the process of becoming an independent nation leaders acted not with the assurance of future success but rather with the conviction that the present situation was no longer tenable. He also highlights the mixed motives of the Founders, incorporating brief, illuminating biographical sketches of the principal actors. He notes that they were motivated by selfish ambitions as well as political theories, and engaged in devious machinations as much as high-minded rhetoric. This realistic portrayal of the Founders corrects the over-emphasis on ideas by Bernard Bailyn, Gordon Wood, and others, but avoids the economic determinism of Charles Beard and his intellectual progeny.

The basic argument follows that of Wood's highly influential work, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*: the Revolution was begun by wealthy, conservative men who gradually lost control to the democratic, egalitarian forces they unwittingly unleashed. Rather than drowning his readers in a sea of quotations, however, Ferling keeps the focus on the events to which the Founders and ordinary Americans were responding. Not surprisingly, given his earlier work, he emphasizes in particular the key role played by war and diplomacy. The Albany Plan of Union was proposed only because the French and Indian War threatened the colonies. Moderates like Dickinson lost the battle in the Second Continental Congress to prevent or delay the Declaration of Independence in large part because the disastrous Quebec campaign led most delegates to realize that military success was dependent on securing French aid, and the French were not interested in helping to reconcile the colonies to Great Britain. The desire for a stronger national government was motivated in part by national security concerns, and the Federalists stayed in power in the 1790s despite being out of step with the increasingly Republican citizenry by taking advantage of foreign policy issues (the Jay and Pinckney Treaties) and imbroglios (the XYZ Affair and the Quasi-War with France).

Ferling's focus on the contingency of events and the personalities of the Founders is a useful corrective to the tendency to view the Revolution and the Constitution as simply the products of either Enlightenment political theory or the perpetual avarice of the wealthy. One wishes, however, that the conflict between democratic egalitarianism and traditional deference to wealthy, educated elites was more consistently analyzed. While the Federalists, particularly Hamilton, are painted as foes of the common man, the hypocrisy of slaveowners like Jefferson posing as champions of the oppressed is glossed over. More attention to the ideas of the Founders might help to elucidate this theme. In addition, the role of religion deserves some mention. Nevertheless, even historians familiar with the literature on this period will enjoy and benefit from reading Ferling's interpretation of these men and events.

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RICHARD S. NEWMAN, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. Pp. 256. \$45.00/18.95.

Reviewed by Richard A. Bailey, University of Kentucky

When the memory of the abolitionist movement is invoked, the radical version of William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* is often one of the first things to come to mind. Moreover, with the exception of a few notable African Americans, such as Sojourner Truth and Frederick Douglass, the majority of abolitionists, if memory tells the full story, were white Americans. In *The Transformation of American Abolitionism*, Richard Newman seeks to revise such memories by concentrating on an earlier, more republican brand of abolitionism that evolved into a more egalitarian, democratic movement as African Americans and women joined the struggle as activists calling for a more radical means of protest. While Newman does a good job tracing the continuity between the "first-wave" and the "second-wave" of abolitionism, seen in the work of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society and the Massachusetts Antislavery Society respectively, he only scratches the surface regarding the participation of women and African Americans in the changing ideology of abolitionism.

Newman's examination of these two phases of abolitionism makes at least two very useful contributions to the field. First, he focuses on early abolitionists, specifically the gradualists of the elitist Pennsylvania Abolition Society (PAS), who dominated the antislavery debates until the 1830s. In his first few chapters, Newman deems these gradualists as conservative, primarily because of their desires to bring about the end of slavery by working within the existing ideology of republicanism. Thus, these early abolitionists, including the likes of Benjamin Rush and Noah Webster, attempted to position the legal institution against the peculiar institution. Two of the primary ways they did this was by collecting petitions aimed at the governing elite and by arguing on behalf of African Americans in Pennsylvania courts.

Second, as Newman builds on the foundation established by the PAS, he stresses the shift in abolitionist thinking that accompanied the rise of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society (MAS) and similar organizations, which he labels egalitarian and democratic. According to Newman, these "second wave" abolitionists not only built on the work of the elite, republicans of the PAS, but they also followed the example set by African-American protestors, like Richard Allen, David Walker, and Maria Stewart. As such black men and women spoke out ever more loudly against slavery and formed their own societies, like the General Colored Association, they insisted on the immediate end of slavery. In turn, white abolitionists heard these appeals and followed black activists into the Age of Immediatism, which "provided the strategic outlook needed to eradicate racial injustice from the American polity and create a multiracial democracy" (130). As this new strategy gained momentum in the 1830s, the MAS surpassed the PAS as the main vehicle for white activism.

In Newman's estimation, this "second wave" of abolitionism would not have arisen as quickly as it did if not for the struggles of African-American men and

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women. Certainly, he is likely correct in this conclusion. One wonders, however, where these black activists went after white abolitionists, such as William Lloyd Garrison, adopted the immediatist argument in the 1830s. Unfortunately, in Newman's analysis of the movement's transformation, they all but disappear. The majority of the voices heard in his final two chapters are white men and women. Where did black abolitionists go after fostering the new form of abolition so important to the MAS? Did they really serve as a catalyst to whites and then fade into the background? More than likely, Newman does not mean to imply that this happens, but one could easily get that impression. In short, this reviewer feels that Newman's description of the "second wave" of abolitionism as an egalitarian, democratic grassroots movement could only be strengthened by a greater emphasis on the continued roles of African-American men and women in the struggle against the most pressing problem of antebellum America.

In conclusion, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism* is an insightful survey of two of the more prominent organizations waging war against slavery. Newman clearly delineates the different foci of the PAS and the MAS. Moreover, he provides a convincing assessment of why and how the abolitionist movement changed from one dominated by appeals for gradualism to one arguing for the immediate end of the peculiar institution. Despite the seeming disappearance of African Americans after the advent of the MAS, Newman at least recognizes the important role many blacks played in the ideological and philosophical changes that revolutionized the fight against slavery. Thus, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism* promises to be a valuable read for students and specialists of the early republic, the abolitionist movement, and the cultural milieu of antebellum America.

PETER NABOKOV, *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. 246. \$60.00/\$22.00.

Reviewed by Douglas M. Dye, Grand Canyon University

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This work should be of particular interest to readers of *Fides et Historia* because it considers how a specific group of people, holding non-materialistic world views, approach and practice history. Historians committed to (or even open to) religious truth will discover richly suggestive material in this fascinating study. In *A Forest of Time*, Peter Nabokov examines how American Indians view the past and various ways they construct historical reality. He writes that despite his "aversion to simplistic dichotomies, a pervasive distinction between Indian and non-Indian forms of history is the one between their 'presentist' and 'pastist' orientations, respectively" (234). By this he means that Indian history is purposeful; it recounts the past in order to give particular meaning to the present and direction for the future. Indian histories conform to the traditions, spiritual understandings, and communal needs of their nations. "Pastist orientations"—the approach of mainstream western history—strives for disinterested objectivity and is deeply skeptical of any historical construction not substantiated by direct empirical evidence. Nabokov, true to his self-described "aversion to simplistic dichotomies," stresses that Indian

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approaches to history do “not necessarily mean that the academic sense of historical accuracy” has no place in American Indian historiography (235). On the contrary, Indian history straddles “conceptual domains” in which the “world of facts” coexists with dreams, myths, and other non-literal elements (235).

Nabokov begins by considering key “dynamics” of Indian historiography that explain why Native Americans blend the conceptual domains of fact and non-literal ways of knowing. Fundamentally, he notes, an American Indian “sense of history is more than academic; its activation is intended to have effects in the real world” (50). This purpose-driven history finds expression through oral traditions and legends (chap. 2), myths (chap. 3), and folklore (chap. 4). These expressions of Indian history contain, to varying degrees, elements of literal, empirically verifiable evidence. Nabokov suggests, through a judicious analysis of the work of ethnohistorians and other scholars, that even the most fanciful origin tales and “deep time” myths contain materials that refer to actual events.

After considering how Indian historical genres treat the literal events of history, Nabokov examines important tools Indians use to construct their narratives. His analysis demonstrates profound differences between academic and Indian histories. In chapter 5, for example, he discusses how Indians use geography to recount the past. For Indians, space trumps time; geography is more important than chronology. A Navajo origin myth clarifies this point. “The Navajo have sacred mountains where they believe they rose from the underworld. No one can say when the creation story of the Navajo happened, but everyone is fairly certain where the emergence took place” (131). Nabokov’s examination of Native rituals expands on the differences between Indian and non-Indian uses of history. Rituals enable modern Indians to enter history. Indian reliving of history is a far cry from mainstream historical reenactment “where picnickers or tourists watch businessmen and truck drivers costumed as Yankees and rebels fire rifles and pretend to die” (173). Through ritual Indians enter history and, they believe, sustain life. As one Pueblo elder claimed regarding his nation’s historical-religious rituals: “We help him [the sun] daily to rise and to cross over the sky” (174).

Historians claiming religious world views straddle their own conceptual domains—a professional world grounded in naturalistic assumptions and faith traditions that insist reality is greater than empirical facts. This study offers fascinating implications for those who live in this tension. Indian histories, for example, have much to say about the purpose of historical discourse. If Nabokov is right, American Indians believe that history is an inherently moral enterprise. The historian of Christian faith will likely endorse the notion that historical inquiry should produce moral vision. Likewise, Indian histories that connect the present to the past have something to contribute to people who believe they are surrounded by a “great cloud of witnesses.” Christian people also believe in the power of ritual to reclaim and relive ancient truths.

Notwithstanding the possibilities presented in *A Forest of Time*, I wish that Nabokov had worked harder to clarify the tensions between literal, empirical facts and the non-literal ways of knowing contained in Indian histories. He made clear that Indian historians are, by and large, comfortable drawing on both conceptual domains; however, historians trained in and committed to the rational tradition

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need more help understanding how Indian ways of doing history can inform their work. Perhaps this is asking too much. Nabokov presents a way of doing history radically different from our mainstream, academic approach. He does not answer all our questions or objections, but he offers possibilities that historians of faith will muse upon for a very long time.

THOMAS BENDER, ED., *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. Pp. ix + 427. \$22.50.

Reviewed by Thomas G. Jones, Taylor University

Rethinking American History in a Global Age is not the definitive work on where the United States fits within the context of the larger world. But, it provides keen insight from some of the best scholars and teachers at work today. Bender's preface and introduction are followed with essays written by sixteen established scholars such as Robin D.G. Kelley, Ian Tyrrell, Robert Wiebe, Daniel T. Rodgers, Marilyn Young, and David A. Hollinger, who explore issues related to culture, race, migration, social politics, global power and the historian's role and obligation as scholar, critic, and storyteller. The unifying objective of the book is Bender's goal to encourage the development of "an enriched national history, one that draws in and draws together more of the plenitude of narratives available to the historian who would try to make sense of the American past" (19).

This objective is effectively developed throughout the book. For example, Kelley raises a critical question in his contribution to Part II: "What is the United States, if not a nation of overlapping diasporas?" (123). The concept of diaspora, he argues, has only rarely "been employed as the central theme of American history" (123). Although he applies the concept specifically to the African-American experience, he suggests that it is a concept that could be useful in the interpretation of the experiences of other cultural groups such as Chinese Americans or Mexican Americans.

According to Tyrrell, "the importance of southern Africa and the African diasporas for the study of race relations in the United States is already well established" (168). But there is a larger world of influence, he argues, that has been ignored by historians who tend to "promote consideration of the United States in isolation from wider intellectual, economic, and social currents" (176).

Wiebe develops the point that framing American history exclusively within a democratic context that was unaffected by European thought is inadequate. American history is best understood, he writes, through an exploration of democratic contradictions in American society and the presence of values and beliefs that were part of a larger debate beyond the Atlantic coastline. He cautions that American historians should beware of the risks inherent in an interpretation that makes "democracy, however flawed and truncated, normative" (247). He cites slavery as one example of the challenge to democracy in American life. He concludes that democracy in America has been defined through its interaction with nationalism and socialism as other two other paths competing as methods for affecting social transformation.

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That point is further discussed by Rodgers in chapter 10, "An Age of Social Politics." His thesis is that American progressives were deeply influenced by nineteenth- and twentieth-century European social and political thought as they pursued democratic reforms. British and German influences, in particular, shaped American progressive thought regarding social policy goals such as the adoption of national health insurance. While Rodgers's interpretation is not new, it is seldom included as part of the contextual background that most survey texts provide on the Progressive movement.

Young recognizes that American policy has, as Wiebe and Rodgers write, been influenced through interaction with cultures beyond America's borders. Her essay summarizes and briefly analyzes the research of scholars such as Melvyn Leffler, John Lewis Gaddis, and Michael Hunt. Indeed, Young recognizes that American foreign policy has not been developed in isolation from the world. But, she offers the reminder that "efforts to internationalize America's history, to diversify and multiply its culture, need to keep in mind the reality of American hegemony and its dominant, self-absorbed culture" (291).

In the final chapter, Hollinger presents the case that American historians should not necessarily abandon all types of nation-centered history. He writes that books, such as *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* demonstrate "that a global perspective and a national narrative are not incompatible" (388). Historians have a duty, he believes, to tell a complete story and to tell it with professional integrity. "The point is to determine when and how to bring the subnational and supranational histories into the national narrative" (388).

The most significant omission in the book is the absence of a chapter focusing on American religious thought and practice. Social and political reform movements in American history such as those that played out during the 1830s and 40s have been inspired and led by women and men with deep religious convictions. And, in this global age, increasing numbers of American voters are adherents of religious faiths that are rooted in non-western cultures.

In spite of this, *Rethinking American History in a Global Age* is a solid book and deserves serious consideration. It addresses important issues of critical interest to scholars seeking a more complete interpretation of the American story.

STUART BANNER, *The Death Penalty. An American History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. Pp. 385. \$29.95.

Reviewed by Dan Roland, The Master's College

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Capital punishment is a topic that, at its very mention, evokes an emotional response. Whether in a friendly discussion or political debate, the issue is one that arouses passion. Thankfully, this is a book that chooses the higher ground of history rather than invective, and focuses on the *how* and the *why* rather than the *whether or not*.

Historically, Banner reminds us that arguments in favor of the death penalty have focused on its role as a deterrent, as social retribution, and as a vehicle of repentance. These ideas changed through the centuries, and that is one of the better

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aspects of the book. Banner does an excellent job of relating these changes from colonial times through the present day. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, capital punishment was enveloped in much ritual and solemnity as befit an event designed to emphasize to others the horror of punishment by death. It was hoped that the criminal's death would purge society from the sin of the crime, and hopefully, lead the condemned to examine his or her own moral state and repent.

As the nineteenth century progressed however, opposition arose as to the efficacy of capital punishment, especially for crimes other than murder and treason. Juries became less likely to convict if there was no other penalty for the accused besides death. Capital punishment was also as less socially acceptable, and the venue was moved to inside a prison rather than the public square. This limited the deterrent quality of the execution, and the corresponding rituals involved in it were abbreviated. Additionally, attempts were made to make the method of execution more humane. All of these factors are discussed in entertaining detail with a variety of specific examples of trials and executions to illustrate the point.

By the twentieth century, the United States began to find itself more and more alone in the world as it persisted with capital punishment. The evolution of the judicial process allowed defendants increasing access to appeals procedures, and public opinion had lost faith in the deterrent value of death. The book reaches a climax of sorts with the case of *Furman v. Georgia* (1972) in which the United States Supreme Court declared capital punishment to be unconstitutional. The story continues, though, with the resurrection of the death penalty as state legislatures better defined their criminal codes and offered juries less discretion in sentencing. In *Gregg v. Georgia* (1976), the Supreme Court found that mandatory death penalty sentences were unconstitutional, and the states took the hint and changed their laws accordingly. Capital punishment was again a part of the American judicial process.

Banner offers all of this, and much more. The book makes compelling reading as historical trends are combined with fascinating details. Banner even manages to keep our attention through the intricate judicial proceedings of the 1960s and 1970s, though this is the more challenging part of the book for the reader not well versed in the nuances of constitutional law. These more ponderous sections are balanced by many intriguing stories, such as Westinghouse and Edison each lobbying for the other to have their device used in electrocution, or the fact that a criminal was executed by hanging in the United States as recently as 1993.

The broad scope of the book is conducive to Banner's storytelling ability, and though the book is clearly a history of capital punishment in the United States, sufficient reference is made to other parts of the world to give a context. As a historian, Banner understands his sources. He recognizes that his original resources are skewed by region and time period, and therefore he could not possibly have all the information he would need to draw precise conclusions. Knowing that, though, allows him to proceed wisely with what he does have, and that is enough. The book is readable and thoughtfully done. Banner offers us a reliable survey of an idea, and does not get bogged down in its emotion. That, in itself, is an accomplishment. It is amazing that something that touches so few Americans has such significance. Banner shows us why, without telling us how we ought to think about it.

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DAVID MARTIN, *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. Pp. xviii + 197. \$59.95/\$24.95.

Reviewed by R. Bryan Bademan, University of Notre Dame

There can be little doubt that the emergence and growth of Pentecostalism stands as the most striking development in world Christianity in the twentieth century. By a conservative estimate, David Martin places the population of Pentecostalism and its "charismatic penumbra" somewhere around a quarter billion people, one in eight Christians, one in twenty-five world citizens. Pentecostalism is now principally a "southern Christianity," meaning that the vast majority of its growth is occurring on the continents of Africa, Asia, and South America—not in the developed West. Unlike the various fundamentalisms, moreover, Pentecostalism exhibits itself most commonly as a conduit for modernization in the form of voluntarist pluralism, and not a backlash against it. It is a religion for people "on the move" (168). Thanks to books like this, the extraordinary influence of Pentecostalism is beginning to be recognized and understood by the academy.

In 176 tightly argued pages, David Martin, author of a landmark study of Latin American Pentecostalism *Tongues of Fire* (1990), provides us with a brilliant survey of world Pentecostalism, complete with historical and sociological insight on many of its continental and regional variations. Since Pentecostalism, for example, has gone hand in hand with modernization in North America, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, Martin treats the European context, where Pentecostalism emerges in an anti-modern form, as an exception. This decision in turn calls into question old forms of the secularization argument since Europe is where this model worked best. Martin likewise doubts whether Pentecostalism will be a "major power" in the developed world, since in these societies Pentecostalism usually adapts itself to existing established churches or creates them, as in the case of the Calvary Chapel movement. Pentecostalism in the southern hemisphere, however, is a creative and ambiguous (one of Martin's favorite terms) appropriation of the Christian tradition.

Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish contains several kinds of arguments that could each probably stand alone in a book-length work. There is, first, a historical argument. According to Martin, Pentecostalism is a "religious mobilization of the culturally despised" (167). Its origins lay in the Methodist movement of the eighteenth century (hence the subtitle from Welsey). "In almost every respect," claims Martin, "Pentecostalism replicated Methodism" (8). Pentecostalism emerged at the turn of the last century out of a fusion of poor black and poor white Christianity. It especially mimicked American Methodism's tactic of drawing strength from a highly explosive combination of ancient and modern elements—a peculiarly modern primitivism. Just as Methodism's uniqueness was its universal offer of salvation (all *could* believe), presaging universal citizenship of modern democracies, Pentecostalism offered all a break from time-honored traditions and categories into a "dangerous and bewildering open-endedness" characterized by individualistic readings of the Bible and the authority of charismatic leaders (168).

Secondly, Martin unfolds a cluster of sociological arguments. Pentecostalism is a religion for developing countries, often emerging concurrently with the opening of local markets to global capitalism. Markets demand disciplined workforces,

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and Pentecostalism nurtures a culture in which ecstasy and release are circumscribed, allowing for discipline outside the church. Hence Pentecostal churches are known for their increasing affluence. (Martin notes the physical growth, over time, of church buildings and the increasing prevalence of new cars in church lots.) Yet as some churches standardize into small or large denominations, others emerge to take their place in a veritable culture of schism—also a reflection of the ever-responsive market. Pentecostalism, argues Martin, may be the Christian equivalent to Islamic revivalism, but instead of Islam's fortress mentality, it abets a "fissiparous pluralism" more compatible with industrial and economic growth (167). And because it eschews direct political engagement, it does not deal in the violence often associated with religio-political regimes.

Thirdly, and least pronounced, Martin regularly provides "diversion[s] into theology" (168). The tone is much more suggestive here, but Martin offers all the materials for a theological appreciation and critique of Pentecostal spirituality. At the core of Pentecostalism is a moral dualism, inherited from evangelicalism, which capitalizes on wealth and advancement, but then appropriates them for strictly religious use. For example, Pentecostals uncritically exploit technology, but then consider it wrong to use it for purposes not strictly religious. Their entertainments "resemble lively soap operas," but with a Pentecostal message of "psychic liberation." Some of the largest Pentecostal "mega" churches, in Korea and Brazil, essentially "repackage popular shamanistic practice in Christian form" (25). Furthermore, Pentecostal practice works as a corrosive on the "organic relation" of the historic churches "to the state, nation, and local community" (72). This dynamic of course gives Pentecostalism its adaptability and power, but it also introduces the possibility of individual Pentecostal churches moving well beyond recognizable Christian practice. Indeed, by taking the traditional Christian practice of baptism a step further away from the institutional church (in the "baptism of the Holy Spirit"), the Pentecostal new birth experience itself sets the convert free from literally *all* that inhibits individual spiritual growth—even if those inhibitions come in the form of historic Christian practice.

Martin's prose is thick and assumes some familiarity with sociological methods and terms, but lively analogies, concrete examples, and charming wit compensate for the sometimes inaccessible technical language. *Pentecostalism: The World Their Parish* is an essential resource for instructors of the history of Christianity or religions; it would also make an excellent upper level undergraduate text.

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JAMES R. GOFF, JR. AND GRANT WACKER, EDS, *Portraits of a Generation: Early Pentecostal Leaders*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2002. Pp. 430. \$34.95.

Reviewed by Joseph L. Thomas, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

A Pentecostal pastor once asked a pesky faction clamoring for a full restoration of the New Testament church whether this meant they desired to follow the example of the church at Corinth as well as the church found in the Book of Acts. Birthed out of a desire to "restore" the authority and power of the first church, the first gen-

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eration of Pentecostals similarly struggled to lead others to the mountain top of spiritual experience, to see the church anew, without plunging headlong into the ravines of Corinthian factionalism. Now arrives a collection of scholarly essays bundled together in a new book, *Portraits of a Generation: Early Pentecostal Leaders*, edited by James R. Goff, Jr. and Grant Wacker, that in large part examines the conflicting impulses found at the beginning of this great spiritual movement. Choosing to highlight the lives of the second tier of Pentecostal leadership—the founding fathers of Pentecostalism, Charles F. Parham and William J. Seymour, and its first lady, Aimee Semple McPherson, are not featured here—the reader gets a sense of the creative destruction that defined early Pentecostalism. That the universe of Pentecostalism is still expanding in our own time keeps scholars coming back to its origins to delve deeper into its big bang.

Portraits of a Generation provides the reader with an insider's view of the free-wheeling nature of American religious culture at the turn of the twentieth century. The freedom to unmake and recreate a new vision of the church runs as a common theme throughout the lives of these Holiness-Pentecostal leaders. Even though the editors have organized the book into three sections—forerunners, visionaries, and builders—for purposes of narrative coherence, it is not inappropriate to think of them all as visionary. Whether it is the demonstrative John Dowie and his utopian Zion city, or the more humble Charles Mason and the Church of God in Christ, each perceived his or her own work in terms of God's salvation history. To let Daniel Ramirez's comments about U.S. Latino Pentecostals speak for all the leaders of the first generation, "these historical subjects possessed the insouciance to believe that their words and deeds carried cosmic significance" (294). Most of those portrayed here took American revivalist Christianity and placed their own distinctive imprint upon it. As the rich diversity of subjects covered in *Portraits of a Generation* aptly demonstrates, the democratic nature of the Christian faith in the United States provided one of the few means by which women, blacks, Hispanics, and lower class whites could immediately experiment with different ecclesiastical, and by extension, social realities. Within the confines of the church the world could be reborn. The original blueprint of the New Testament church might be "restored." During the expectant days of the first generation anything really was possible. Many thus heeded the call to join the true *ecclesia*, to "come out" and reestablish the primitive church.

Before "Zion" could be built, however, "Babylon" had to be threshed. As the largest Protestant denomination in late nineteenth-century America, the Methodist Episcopal Church took the greatest tongue-lashing from the preachers and evangelists of the Holiness-Pentecostal movement. Once the most energetic and uncompromising of churches, the Methodists had largely succumbed to the temptations of the world and, in effect, become "Babylon," or so the first generation argued. It is no surprise, then, to discover that many of the men and women featured in *Portraits of a Generation* had previous ties to this denomination. Edwin L. and Gertrude Harvey, and Marmaduke Mendenhall Farson, founders of the Burning Bush community, were former members of the Western Avenue Methodist Episcopal Church in Chicago. Alma White, founder of the Pillar of Fire movement, belonged to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Minnie F. Abrams, Frank Bartle-

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man, Thomas Hampton Gourley, Francisco Olazabal, Florence Crawford, G. T. Haywood, and George Floyd Taylor, all had involvement of one kind or another with Methodism. Considering the numerical decline of Methodism that began during this time and continues unabated into the present, it is tempting to speculate that Methodism lost some of its best frontline troops, the “tip of the spear,” to the Pentecostal movement.

Yet, as *Portraits of a Generation* vividly makes known, to “come out” and reconstitute the true church can quickly morph into doctrinal factionalism. What is the true church? What seemed clear in the throes of the heavenly visitations of Azusa Street quickly became obscured as Pentecostals raced across the country and into the world to spread the “new Pentecost.” Within the first two decades, the old theological fights between Wesleyan and Reformed believers, and Trinitarians and Unitarians, were revisited respectively in the “finished work of Calvary” and “Jesus Only” movements. That these doctrinal disputes tended to split along racial lines likewise signaled the triumph of Jim Crowism over the interracialism of the Azusa Street Revival. The strength of the biographical approach is demonstrated here as the reader gets to view the dissolution of the movement from the inside out.

Today, Pentecostalism has numerically overtaken traditional Protestantism, and in regions such as Latin America has broken the hegemony of Roman Catholicism. This, of course, is to say nothing of the charismatics that worship in peaceful coexistence within Protestant and Roman Catholic churches. Accordingly, one is naturally drawn back to the roots of a spiritual movement that is now re-making the face of Christianity around the globe to see how it all started. If for no other reason this makes *Portraits of a Generation* a timely publication.