

## BOOK REVIEWS

E. BROOKS HOLIFIELD, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003. Pp. ix + 617. \$35.00.

Reviewed by John Halsey Wood, Saint Louis University

It is not difficult to predict that Brooks Holifield's recent *Theology in America* will become the standard text in its field. On the one hand, it is a singular accomplishment, literally. Mark Noll has also recently published his *America's God*, impressive in its own right, but Noll's and Holifield's works have important differences. Holifield's book is purely intellectual history whereas Noll's integrates socio-political factors. Holifield also covers much more of the variety in American theology than Noll does. The only comparable text, as Holifield notes in his preface, is a much briefer introduction by Sydney Ahlstrom, Holifield's own graduate advisor. On the other hand, the book manifests the erudition of years of scholarly labor and the clarity of an accomplished writer.

Some historians are now asking whether American Christian history has an identifiable center. Countless micro-studies have attempted to answer the question in the negative by identifying subjects heretofore unaccounted for by the dominant Puritan-Protestant narrative. But Holifield is one of the few daring enough and capable of answering the question in the affirmative. His macro-study argues that a preoccupation with the reasonableness of Christianity unifies antebellum American Christian theology. Holifield also interweaves five supporting themes that nuance this account: "the continued insistence of theology's 'practicality' and its ethical functions, the importance of Calvinism, the interplay between Americans and Europeans, the denominational setting of theology, and the distinction between academic and populist strands of thought" (4). The denominational setting of theology provides useful divisions that are reflected in the chapter titles, and it is an obvious taxonomical device since most American Christians in this period identified themselves by their denominational affiliation. But, Holifield elsewhere reminds the reader that his themes and categories are still heuristic tools. As is the case in the chapter on Black Theology, these divisions may not precisely reflect the mindset of the historical subjects.

The book is divided into three main sections that proceed in a roughly chronological order. However, the organizing principle for each section is not primarily historical but rather intellectual. Part one, entitled “Calvinist Origins,” traces the rise of Calvinism in the New World and its apex in the person of Jonathon Edwards. Holifield is in good company when he places Edwards at the center of early American theological history. In fact, much of the book could be interpreted as a history of the adherents and detractors of Calvinism in general and of Edwards in particular. In this way Calvinism defines the theological landscape either positively or negatively. Holifield defines Calvinism by “a pronounced insistence on divine sovereignty,” and this is born out by the disputes between Calvinists and non-Calvinists. What Holifield does not point out explicitly, but what his narrative illustrates, is that Calvinism’s distinguishing characteristic differs when viewed from the perspective of the debates with outsiders rather than debates among insiders. Whereas disputes between Calvinists and their opponents centered primarily on the doctrine of predestination, disputes among Calvinists more often concerned covenant theology (for example, think of the New England Calvinist rows over church membership and the halfway covenant).

The second section tells the story of the rise of Baconianism and Scottish Common Sense Realism in theology. These philosophies ruled the minds of traditions as diverse as the Unitarians, restorationists like Barton Stone, Presbyterians, and Methodists. Holifield could have also entitled this section “Deism Resisted.” Just as Calvinism defined even its opponents, similarly, Deism and its quest for a reasonable theology set the rules of the game for orthodox Protestant polemics. The Baconian mindset was characterized by a supreme confidence in inductivist methods not only in natural sciences but in theology and philosophy as well—a confidence that probably went beyond Bacon’s own. The reaction to Deism combined with Scottish philosophy’s optimistic view of the human intellect led to a shift in the use of evidence and reason in theology. A subplot emerges between the first and second sections of the book. Earlier Calvinists practically and theoretically gave priority to divine revelation as their theological principia, but eventually reason supplanted revelation in nineteenth-century theology. The conquest of reason is exemplified in Edwards Amasa Park who assumed the chair of theology from Leonard Woods at Andover Seminary in 1847. Park eschewed Woods’s admonitions regarding the fallibility of reason and gave the intellect dominion over theology. This shift occurred even at more conservative Calvinist institutions like Princeton Seminary, albeit more subtly.

The final third of the volume is dedicated to “Alternatives to Baconian Reason.” Holifield’s organization groups this section by a criterion of dissimilarity. That is, the commonality between each of these theological movements—including confessional Lutherans, Catholics, and Mercersburg—is their rejection of Baconian inductivism. There is, however, a criterion of similarity that unites at least some of these anti-Baconians: they are churchly movements, intimated in the subtitle to Chapter 23, “The Mercersburg Theology: Communal Reason.” Holifield’s distinction between populist and academic theology, which is admittedly only a useful heuristic device, breaks down especially when applied to Roman Catholicism in America or to the German Reformed seminary at Mercersburg.

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According to Catholics and to the Mercersburg men, the source of theology is neither the academy nor popular sentiment but the church.

The final chapter, "The Dilemma of Slavery," raises an interesting thesis. Although most of the volume is intellectual history, this chapter argues for the dissolution of the Baconian worldview not on intellectual grounds but for socio-cultural reasons. Holifield explains that abolitionist and proslavery theologians both used Baconian-inductivist hermeneutics to argue their positions on slavery, yet the opposing arguments created an impasse. Further, Common Sense philosophy's appeal to a common consciousness failed because the abolitionist theologians assumed the enlightenment view of equality among men (equality among men and women was to come later) whereas the proslavery theologians assumed a fundamental inequality. Thus the commonness of Common Sense was severed. Consequently, both sides were forced to consider alternative hermeneutical arguments concerning historical development and conceptual tension in the biblical writings. Thus the door was opened to German higher criticism and continental modes of thought. While Holifield is surely correct about the significance of slavery as a crisis for American theology, he may overstate his case by arguing that this single issue precipitated a change in theological method. Holifield himself briefly mentions Henry Boynten Smith for whom "history rather than mental science became the ancillary discipline" (368), while William G.T. Shedd, for whom also history had become the comprehensive discipline already in the antebellum period, goes unnoticed. One suspects that notions of progressive revelation were at least incipient before and apart from the slavery debates.

Holifield's work is a model of scholarly thoroughness and balance. His grasp of the primary sources is daunting. While a specialist may find some details not to her or his liking, it cannot be said that Holifield displays any obvious bias or condescension towards any of his subjects. The most significant questions this volume generates will likely pertain to the legitimacy of the Puritan narrative as the organizing narrative for American religious history. Already, volumes like *Retelling U. S. Religious History* (ed. Thomas Tweed) are considering the validity of multiple perspectives in American religious history. So far, however, none of these perspectives has been able to provide a unifying story. Regardless, the sheer industry required to surpass Holifield's work means that no challenger will be soon forthcoming.

E. BROOKS HOLIFIELD, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003. Pp. ix + 617. \$35.00.

**Reviewed by Phillip Luke Sinitiere, University of Houston**

As E. Brooks Holifield ably demonstrates, the history of theological reflection in America is a story of interactions, exchanges, and negotiations between philosophical elites and "theological populists" (16), or put another way, a tenuous yet fluid relationship between the realm of ideas and lived religion. Holifield limits his analysis to the years 1636–1865 and divides his narrative into three major sec-

tions—"Calvinist Origins," "The Baconian Style," and "Alternatives to Baconian Reason." Holifield also helpfully identifies important currents throughout this period: a preoccupation with reason, an insistence on practical theology and ethics, an identifiable Calvinistic ethos, a transatlantic exchange of ideas, the professionalization of theology, the growth of denominational boundaries, and the emergence of non-degreed "populist" ministers and theologians.

The opening section of *Theology in America* identifies some of the early theologians of New England and addresses the delicate balance between revelation and reason. Holifield carefully notes that while early New England theologians tapped the deep wells of theology, they were equally concerned to fashion ideas into the "practical art" (28) of preaching. Such reflection rarely produced consensus, Holifield cogently argues, as the Reformed idea of "covenant" (and the distinction between grace and good works) sometimes split colonial theologians over issues like church membership and the sacraments. Above all, Holifield accurately concludes, "covenantalism, and the idea of accommodation implicit within it, balanced the principles of exclusion and inclusion within the church, nature and grace in the doctrine of salvation, and reason and revelation in the understanding of theological knowledge" (55). Such tensions within covenantalism, coupled with an increasingly potent theology of nature helped to create what Holifield calls "an American evidentialist tradition" (70). The evidentialism of which Holifield writes continually asked how and where ethics fit into the Christian life and where reason and revelation accented the scheme of salvation.

Within this mix the "revivalist piety" (101) of the Great Awakening presented another set of questions. According to Holifield, the tenuous positions inherent in New England theology were best mediated by Jonathan Edwards, "the theologian of unity and harmony" (126). Edwards stood unparalleled in his depth of theological reflection and persistent quest for a theology of rational cohesion. As Holifield learnedly demonstrates, such a quest not only severed Edwards from his Northampton congregation, but also played a role in the "fragmentation" of Reformed theology in America. As the eighteenth century gave way to the nineteenth, the Arminians, the Old Calvinists, and the adherents of New Divinity engaged in extended moments of theological hairsplitting, despite similarity of conviction about reason and revelation.

The middle portion of *Theology in America* focuses on the increasingly empirical turn theology took in the antebellum period and thereafter. In response to the growth of deistic theology both in England and in America, for example, the "Antideists" issued a renewed focus on the reasonableness of Christianity and the practical nature of Christian theology. In the end, the champions of Antideism invoked Baconian induction and couched thought in terms of Scottish Common Sense philosophy. This stream of consciousness, Holifield deftly shows through sermons, treatises, and denominational literature, levied against a "rationalistic naturalism" (188) by highlighting the fact that observable phenomena linked to common sense gave strength to proofs of Christianity. "The rising prestige of science," Holifield perceptively sums, "encouraged theologians to emulate the scientific demand for rational proof and evidence" (187).

Also part of the larger Baconian moment were shades of more populist forms

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of Christian devotion, though still part of the evidentiary tradition. The Universalists, for example, contended for an interpretive scheme wedding reason and revelation, and the rising strength of Methodism, for instance, revealed certain tensions between the revivalist impulse and evidentiary categories of thought. The Baptists and those of Restorationist conviction (Disciples) also negotiated the space between evidentiary belief and populist faith. Applying populist sentiment to a faith more rooted in “private sentiment” (319), Holifield shows how the Society of Friends, the Shakers, and the Mormons helped to redefine the boundaries of Christianity in America by promoting a faith predicated on intuition and new revelation. While primarily populist, the work of black pastors and theologians (e.g., Lemuel Haynes, George Liele, and Andrew Marshall) Holifield insightfully observes, was even shaped by the evidentiary stream in American religion.

The final third of *Theology in America* displays a number of “alternative” bodies of faith—among others, Lutherans, Catholics, and Transcendentalists—that leaned against the evidentiary thrust of American Christianity. Lutherans emphasized an alternative confessional dimension to evidentiary Christian belief, for instance, and American Roman Catholic theologians located the essence of reasonable belief not necessarily in evidentiary proofs but in tradition and in scriptural witness. Yet, Holifield attentively contends that Catholics stood in the evidentiary stream when critiquing and defending some Catholic dogmas. Overall, Catholics rejected the populist and individualist accents of Protestantism and advocated forms of devotion intensely practical yet conscious of tradition.

Other alternatives Holifield identifies include the Transcendentalists whose fluid convictions found their genesis and sustenance with intuition over and against an empirical Baconianism, and, in Holifield’s estimation, even sometimes overstepped the boundaries of Christianity. Horace Bushnell’s distaste for formulae along with his assertion that experience defined Christian faith provided yet another alternative category. Roman Catholics and Lutherans even had alternative spaces, Holifield thoughtfully delineates, as the “transcendental Catholics” Orestes Brownson and Isaac Hecker gave credence to evidentialism. And the Mercersburg theologians (i.e., Philip Schaff, John Williamson Nevin) embraced a certain ecumenism that upheld tradition and adopted various aspects of Continental philosophy as interpretive tools. Even debates over slavery, Holifield importantly shows, revealed important tensions associated with evidentiary faith as some theologians were forced to unpack their own assumptions even while others discarded rational categories of faith.

Holifield’s *Theology in America* is a synthetic and coherent narrative that perceptively highlights the ironies, paradoxes, and negotiations associated with the evidentialist tradition. It is commanding in scope and both powerful and convincing in argument. And while *Theology in America* might be criticized for solely focusing on ideas, Holifield clearly acknowledges, for example, the role of populist theology in the diverse fabric of American religious thought and importantly notes that lived religion took its shape from theological ideas. For balance, readers might consult David D. Hall’s excellent essay “Narrating Puritanism” (in *New Directions in American Religious History*, eds. D. G. Hart and Harry S. Stout [Oxford,

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1997]) and Mark A. Noll's *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford, 2002), a stupendous synthesis that adopts what Noll calls the "social history of theology." In the end, *Theology in America* contains lucid summaries of the life and thought of important theologians and the readable introductions and conclusions that accompany each chapter add explanatory elegance to a story that informs aspects of religious discourse, experience, and expression even in our own day.

DAVID CANNADINE, ED., *What is History Now?*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002. Pp. 172. \$39.95/\$19.95.

Reviewed by Ronald Vander Molen, California State University, Stanislaus

This book is occasioned by a symposium held at the Institute of Historical Research in London in 2001 to recognize and reflect upon the fiftieth anniversary of E. H. Carr's widely used work, *What is History?* This set of essays by current scholars is sandwiched between a Preface and Prologue by David Cannadine and Richard J. Evans, respectively, and an Epilogue by Felipe Fernandez-Armesto. These three sections pay full homage to Carr and his impact on historiographical thinking, while the remaining essays focus on current trends in some of history's widely studied topical areas: social, political, religious, cultural, gender, intellectual, and imperial history. Each essay is heavily footnoted, so the reader quickly can be brought up to date on what is being presented as "history" now, at least in British universities (though two of the authors teach in the United States).

While readers of *Fides* may well be drawn to their own area of special interest, there are features which dominate most of the articles in this work. Clearly there is a general rejection of the Rankean traditions espoused by G. R. Elton, along with narrative approaches fostered by British historians such as G. M. Trevelyan, A.J.P. Taylor, A. G. Dickens, and others. Instead, as well stated by Fernandez-Armesto,

Historians dig ever deeper, narrower furrows in ever more dessicated soil until the furrows collapse and they are buried under their own aridity. Yet on the other hand, whenever one climbs out of one's furrow, there is now so much more of the field to survey: so much enriching new work, which can change one's perspective or broaden one's framework of comparison. (149)

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Whether or not the new work is enriching is left to the reader, but the topics of current research certainly narrow when compared with the broad themes that characterized most traditional historical narratives.

In this work's essays traditional histories have been replaced by three basic approaches: *annaliste* "total history"; postmodern "linguistic turn"; and "culture". In her essay on religious history, Olwen Hufton is especially drawn to the kind of intense local studies made famous by *annalists* since the 1930s and turns away from the large themes and conflicts which comprise traditional historiography, such as major denominational teachings, significant religious conflicts, and broad social impact, especially in western Europe. She seeks "history from the inside"

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(58). This is history based on local records and reflections of a great variety of religious mentalities.

The postmodern “linguistic turn” also gets its due throughout the essays, though in various doses. For example, in her essay on intellectual history, Annabel Brett expresses an assumption that is apparent among all the authors: “language does not reflect an independent reality or world, but instead *constitutes* that reality or world” (120). Still, Michel Foucault’s linguistic deconstruction is not doggedly pursued and applied to its logical conclusion; instead, Fernandez-Armesto asserts that “Postmodernism . . . proved to be a paper tiger of fearful asymmetry. British university history departments now have token postmodernists, as once they had token women and token blacks”(149).

Of greatest importance for all the authors is the current quest for “cultures” of the past. Although Miri Rubin provides a discrete essay on “cultural history,” the desire to get at what is currently considered to be “culture” is the most consistent theme throughout the book. As a result, history now relies greatly on anthropology and gets at culture from the bottom up rather than the top down. Clifford Geertz has replaced Jacob Burckhardt; cockfight fans are studied rather than famous political theorists and artists.

Cannadine serves us well in providing essays in many of history’s traditional topical areas, and the specific authors serve us well with current bibliographies and viewpoints. These essays and the many new subjects suggested in them, however, are only part of what historical study should be. The historical quest for the truth certainly must include past historians who have greatly shaped the discipline and who have contributed valuable perspectives for history students. Carr’s perspectives in the early 1960s did not deserve to replace earlier views completely, and neither do current approaches deserve to replace Carr’s. Historians currently study many more topics than they traditionally examined, and this is due to the underlying themes in this book, namely, “total history” from the *annalists*, the “linguistic turn” from postmodern assumptions, and “culture” from current anthropology. The total effect has been both positive and negative: we examine many new and interesting topics from innovative perspectives; but at the same time we often “know more and more about less and less.” This book goes far to illustrate what history is now, but it does little to help us sort out which perspectives may have permanent value and which topics may well be left in obscurity.

J. DENNY WEAVER AND GERALD BIESECKER-MAST, EDs., *Teaching Peace: Nonviolence and the Liberal Arts*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003. Pp. 287. \$75.00.

Reviewed by Jared S. Burkholder, University of Iowa

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The collection of essays that comprise the volume *Teaching Peace: Nonviolence and the Liberal Arts* represents a continuing effort within the “Peace Church” tradition to more fully articulate and apply traditional notions of pacifism and nonviolence to global and contemporary contexts. Contributors to the volume are almost exclusively affiliated with Bluffton College, an institution within the Mennonite

Church USA, and chapters of the book have come directly from an October 2000 in-house Bluffton College workshop.

While the richly diverse chapters are introduced as “conversation starters” (xii) for those within the Peace Church community, those outside of this tradition will no doubt find themselves stimulated by these compelling essays. Moving beyond the scope of an intramural affair, *Teaching Peace* continues the Anabaptist heritage of challenging the mainstream. From the start, the editors critique and then reject the “Reformed perspective” of cultural redemption—the vision they perceive as dominant within many contemporary Protestant circles (7). Alternatively, the editors argue for a vision of nonviolence that “is rooted in Biblical nonconformity and practiced in the context of a socially active alternative community.” Such a vision requires a “commitment that is made against the common sense and mainstream wisdom of the social order”(6).

The volume is organized into eight sections: 1) What is Nonviolence? 2) Nonviolence in the Bible and Theology, 3) Nonviolence in History and Politics, 4) Nonviolence and the Humanities, 5) Nonviolence and the Arts, 6) Nonviolence and the Social Sciences, 7) Nonviolence and the Sciences, and 8) Nonviolence and the Professions.

The reader will find the definitions of violence and nonviolence in Part One of this volume especially helpful. While traditional Mennonite conceptions of pacifism have been primarily relevant during wartime, through the voices of Anabaptist scholars such as John Howard Yoder (*He Came Preaching Peace*, 1985, *The Politics of Jesus: Vicit Agnus Noster*, 1994, *When War is Unjust: Being Honest in Just-War Thinking*, 1996), nonviolence has increasingly come to be embodied in efforts to mitigate the effects of social injustice and oppression whenever and wherever they occur. The essay contributed by Glen H. Stassen and Michael L. Westmoreland-White (“Defining Violence and Nonviolence”) is illustrative of the way social definitions of violence (here defined as any form of destructive coercion) undergird the activist thrust found within contemporary Peace Church traditions (18).

Included in *Teaching Peace* are essays that treat the Bible and theology—topics that are to be expected in a work exploring ethical questions. J. Denny Weaver (“Violence in Christian Theology”) for example, begins Part Two by advocating a nonviolent alternative to the dominant Anselmian theory of the Atonement while David Janzen (“The God of the Bible and the Nonviolence of Jesus”) takes issue with approaches to Biblical hermeneutics that ascribe violence to the character of God. It is perhaps the essays that examine subjects not usually associated with the theology of nonviolence, however, that prove to be the most creative. For instance, Gregg Luginbuhl (“The Very Picture of Peace”) explores expressions of nonviolence within the visual arts, and Melissa Friesen (“Nonviolence in Actor Training”) argues that actors can uniquely challenge social injustice through the theater. In other unexpected but equally creative essays, Angela Horn Montel (“Violent Images in Cell Biology”) and W. Todd Rainey (“Nature’s Tooth and Claw Conflict Resolution”) discuss the ways in which cultural assumptions about the violent nature of human society often lay a foundation for violent interpretations of nature.

This collection of essays is also illustrative of the ways that traditional notions of pacifism— notions that have historically been intentionally apolitical—have

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been retooled for political application. Daniel Wessner (“The Bush Doctrine and Pacifist Pedagogy”) for example, offers a pointed critique of the Bush administration’s present foreign policy. While the pedagogical methods he describes in the essay are indeed inspiring, the chapter follows familiar, if not well-worn, left-of-center rhetorical paths and thus lacks originality. Other chapters follow suit, including Ronald Friesen’s essay (“War and Peace in Economic Terms”) on the economic destructiveness of war and Jeff Gingerich’s charge (“Violence and Non-violence in Criminal Justice”) that the American response to September 11 was motivated by retaliation rather than justice. How ever much these perspectives may or may not represent reality, their political rhetoric highlights the tensions inherent in a desire to engage the world and yet remain untouched by its politics.

Many readers of this journal will no doubt also take interest in the essay of Perry Bush (“Violence, Nonviolence, and the Search for Answers in History”) but may find it problematic. Bush argues against the assumption that war and violence are historical inevitabilities. While compelling, the essay is weakened by the free and unsparing use of historical speculation. Bush defends this approach by arguing that he is not the first to wonder how events “might have been otherwise,” but this does little to strengthen the methodological thin ice that such speculation creates (78).

Ultimately, readers will find that *Teaching Peace* is successful in achieving its goals of encouraging discussion on the implications of a nonviolent world view in the context of a liberal arts environment. Its many and varied essays, emerging prophetically from outside the religious and political center, competently challenge predominant views and serve to beckon the mainstream to ponder its message. May the conversation continue.

WALTER E. KAEGI, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp. xii + 359. \$75.00.

Reviewed by Greg Peters, Fair Havens Community Church

There is no dearth of scholarly literature on the seventh-century Byzantine emperor Heraclius, yet most of this literature is in the form of journal articles or book chapters. For example, the recently released collection of essays by G. J. Reinink and B. H. Stolte, eds., *The Reign of Heraclius (610-641): Crisis and Confrontation* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2002). It was this observation that convinced Walter Kaegi “of the need for a study that takes account of recent scholarship and editions of sources” (viii). Using literary sources as varied as hagiographical vitae, historical chronicles, military treaties, and papyri as well as elements of material culture such as lead seals and coins, Kaegi has woven a masterful synthesis of the life and, principally, the reign and military accomplishments of Heraclius. Though this book will be of greatest value to specialists, it is also easily accessible to graduate students and, with difficulty, upper level undergraduates.

There are several strengths to this study. First, throughout the entire book Kaegi remains balanced in his judgments concerning both the successes and failures of Heraclius. Instead of jumping directly to traditional interpretations of

Heraclius's reign, Kaegi analyzes his sources meticulously to see if the time-honored conclusions of past scholars stand up to the weight of the sources themselves. Kaegi devotes the eighteen pages of his introduction to reviewing past biographers of Heraclius and to explaining how he understands the different genres of the sources and questioning how accurate and reliable each genre may or may not be. By using Greek, Latin, Arabic, and other non-Arabic Eastern sources, Kaegi is able to check the details of one report against the collective memory of other accounts of the same event. This sensitivity to both the breadth and genre of the sources allows Kaegi to make statements that are neither unfounded nor simply based in opinion. This adds a measure of timelessness to the scholarship found on the pages of this study.

Second, the breadth of the primary sources employed by Kaegi gives this book an air of exhaustiveness lacking in many biographical studies. For example, Kaegi places great weight on coins and seals, believing that "numismatics is a significant tool for this reign, for improving understanding of a number of topics. The sigillographic record is also helpful and a control on chronology, numismatics, and literary vagueness" (10). Kaegi's subsequent use of these medium throughout the study bears out his convictions concerning these types of sources. Further, images of seals and coins are reproduced excellently by the publisher, allowing readers to see for themselves the point that Kaegi is emphasizing so competently.

Third, the inclusion of ten maps helps the reader to follow the geographical movement of Heraclius and his military opponents with ease. The maps are well drawn, sufficiently and clearly labeled, and printed in a large enough size to be of great use. The only exception to this quality is the satellite photograph of Map 6 reconstructing the "Battle of Nineveh." Another great help in this regard is Kaegi's inclusion of modern place-names along with the seventh-century names of regions and towns. This is particularly helpful when the Muslims captured an ancient city and then gave it an Arabic name.

Fourth, Kaegi's study is abreast of the latest scholarship on both Heraclius and the seventh century context. There are references to materials published as late as 2002, in addition to several references to forthcoming titles. Additionally, Kaegi references some half dozen doctoral dissertations as well as advice given by other scholars through, one presumes, personal discussions and correspondence.

Despite these strengths, there are two notable weaknesses of the monograph. First, Kaegi's writing style is often needlessly repetitive. For example, in Chapter 5, "The Invasion of Mesopotamia," Kaegi introduces the reader on page 156 to "the commander Roch Vehan." On page 158 Kaegi writes that "Khusrau II sent a second Sasanian army under the loyal Armenian Roch Vehan (Greek: Rhazates) to resist Heraclius." Then, on page 161, one finds the sentence, "It hampered Persian archers and apparently prevented Roch Vehan/Rhazates, the Persian commander, from understanding what Heraclius was trying to do." It would have been preferable for Kaegi to include all the pertinent data on Roch Vehan in the first reference and then simply to continue to refer to him by name only in the subsequent references.

In addition, when readers finish *Heraclius*, they feel that they still do not "know" the emperor personally, only that they are acquainted with scholarly opin-

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ions and data about the emperor. Kaegi fails to present a truly intimate portrait of the emperor and the study leaves one wishing that he identified more with the *person* of Heraclius as opposed to the actions of Heraclius. In the past, Cambridge University Press published other biographies of Byzantine emperors that were more intimate; therefore there was a precedent for Kaegi to follow (for example, Donald Nicol's *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295–1383*).

Despite these weaknesses, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium* fills a much needed gap in the synthesizing of the history of the early Byzantine empire and, more importantly, in understanding her emperors. There is no doubt that this book will remain the standard reference work on the reign of Heraclius for the foreseeable future. Though not as enjoyable to read as, for example, Ian Kerr's biography on John Henry Newman, *Heraclius* is a must-read for Byzantinists, military historians, and historians of the ancient Middle East.

FRANK WELSH, *The Four Nations: A History of the United Kingdom*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003. Pp. vii + 478. \$35.00.

Reviewed by Robert J. Rice, Trinity Christian College

To the continuing scholarship on national identity in the Western political order, Frank Welsh has contributed a valuable narrative that recounts the histories of four nations which would eventually comprise the United Kingdom. What defines national identity for this author is the developing political authority that distinguishes these four peoples and that also serves to interconnect their histories. While the national identities of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were fragmented during their earlier histories as examined in the first chapters of this book, and while the accompanying interconnections were imprecise, the four nations and their interrelationships emerge more fully during and after the Norman period through the political and military structures of kingship and through localized feudal authority. While the most prevalent direction in the encounters among peoples during this period was the extension of English jurisdiction, the author reminds us that national development was also asserted by Welsh military capacity during the thirteenth century and by the establishment of three Scottish universities during the fifteenth.

The 1500s and 1600s were also centuries filled with political acts and interconnections leading to mature national identity. Instead of portraying four distinct and parallel national histories, Welsh weaves together their political and institutional histories by focusing on military engagements, dynastic competitions, constitutional experiments, and adversarial ecclesiastical portraits. Occasionally he interprets the unfolding national development of one people. For example, Welsh contends that being English is most particularly derived from Wyclif's and Tyndale's translations of the Bible and Cranmer's two prayer books (116–17). More commonly, political events enforce national integration. For example, the English Revolution of 1688 significantly provokes the further subjugation of Ireland and the constitutional union of Scotland and England.

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Ireland assumes the largest place in the last five chapters of Welsh's work, with episodes that range chronologically from the Irish rising in 1798 to the "Good Friday Agreement" in 1998. In fact, Welsh contends that 1998 is the most important year constitutionally since 1707 for the United Kingdom (397). Perhaps, but the patterns of adversarial politics in Ireland and of excessive centralization in Great Britain have not yet been put to rest. The author's greatest deficiency is to present, particularly for the English, national identity as homogeneous rather than heeding the call of Antoinette Burton and others who find political community through cultural plurality. However, this work remains a valuable political history of the United Kingdom.

SUSAN WABUDA, *Preaching During the English Reformation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. xix + 203. \$55.00.

Reviewed by David C. Fink, Duke University

Over the last two decades a lively debate has developed among historians of early modern Britain regarding the shape and speed of the English Reformation, leading ultimately to questions of its final significance. By the early 1980s a fairly widespread consensus had arisen, in large part due to the work of A. G. Dickens and G. R. Elton, which viewed the progress of Protestantism in England as more or less rapid and triumphant: Henry VIII's reformation by royal fiat had been met with a grass-roots groundswell of evangelical enthusiasm, such that when Mary Tudor took the throne in 1553 she was confronted with a *fait accompli*—as decisive as it had been inevitable. This line of interpretation, which fit nicely within a broader view of Protestantism as a progressive element tending toward modernity, came under fire in the years that followed by a group of revisionist historians dissenting from the perceived anti-Catholic bias—even "Whiggishness"—of the majority view. John Bossy and J. J. Scarisbrick and, more recently, Christopher Haigh and Eamon Duffy, have all drawn attention to the tenuous contingency of the reforms under Henry and Edward VI, as well as to the stubborn conservatism of those not in power. The English Reformation—or rather, reformations—was neither inevitable nor popular: it was imposed from above on a deeply Catholic population with only limited effect on the manners, morals, and piety of common folk for several generations.

Susan Wabuda, professor of history at Fordham University, has written a carefully researched monograph on the institutions, practice, and effects of preaching in Reformation-era England. Working in sympathy with the basic contours of the Dickens-Elton consensus that "England had *largely* become a Protestant country in the course of the sixteenth century" (19), Wabuda nonetheless acknowledges that this transformation may have come about "more slowly and somewhat later" than was earlier believed. Her study is thus presented as an examination of one of the primary channels through which Protestant ideas were disseminated. Statesmen and churchmen such as Cromwell and Cranmer may have been quite far along in their Protestantism at an early date, yet the revisionists are seen to have made their point that a striking gap still existed between these "advanced" elements and

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the traditional piety of the great majority of the king's subjects. Any convincing model positing decisive and sweeping reform at the popular level must therefore demonstrate not only *that* change occurred, but also explain *how* it was put into practice.

Central to Wabuda's concern is the idea that the office and practice of preaching underwent drastic change during the middle decades of the sixteenth century and that this change had a profound impact on popular piety. This might strike some as strange, however, given the "persistent myth . . . that sermons were relatively rare before the Reformation" (26). Accordingly, Wabuda begins with an examination of preaching during the late Middle Ages leading up the Henrician reforms. Historians have usually stressed the importance of the Eucharist in late medieval worship, often ignoring the place of the spoken word, but Wabuda argues that preaching played an important supporting role in inculcating faith and shaping moral values. Although the quality and quantity of homilies varied with the training and abilities of local parish clergy (a problem that would persist well into the sixteenth and even seventeenth centuries), a series of reforms within the broader church (most notably with the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215) and particularly within the English church sought to clarify the duties of parish clergy and promote a renewed program of regular preaching. By 1408, the church in England had developed a "mature three-tier program of instruction" (26) which included the homily accompanying the celebration of the Eucharist, a quarterly parish sermon, and outdoor preaching events delivered by regular arrangement or on special occasion. Although implementation of this program was always a difficulty, institutions and sodalities developed in support of its goals, and Wabuda judges the very success of this reinvigorated preaching effort to be an important factor contributing to the reception of Reformation ideas: "It was a symbol of the strength of late-medieval Catholicism and its vulnerability too, in that it helped to create an appetite for holy scripture in the vernacular, which the Roman Catholic Church in England could not and did not wish to satisfy" (25). The Catholic Church in England, thus, was in large part a victim of its own success.

Having argued for the increasing vitality of preaching in the years leading up to the Reformation in England, Wabuda traces its transformation in the encounter with humanism and the new uses to which reforming preachers put their sermons. "Preaching Christ" became the watchword for the new evangelical preaching, a text-centered, highly politicized form of discourse aimed in part at stripping away the accumulated superfluities of the Middle Ages in an effort to recover the pure milk of the Gospel. This program was executed in large part by university-trained theologians and scholars, but Wabuda highlights the importance of the transformation of the religious houses around the new ideal of the preacher, a development she describes as "the replacement of one apostolic vision with another" (110). With only mixed success, concerted efforts were made during this period to channel the energy and resources of regular clergy toward a secularized, though reinvigorated, ministry of the Word. The "flocking companies of friars" who found their houses seized and orders disbanded were often retrained and reassigned into roles as preaching parish pastors. Although their impact was often inconsistent, these former friars played an important role as part of a "miscellaneous set of

solutions to fill England's pulpits" (139) in the years following the Henrician reforms.

Susan Wabuda has written a fine treatment of an important subject in the history of the English Reformation, and her thesis deserves wide consideration by specialists in the field. Her findings are based on meticulous archival research, and her command of the secondary literature in the several intersecting fields pertinent to such a study is superb. My sole criticism of this book is the abruptness with which it ends after four chapters with no conclusion. Although many of the author's most important thematic points are set out in the ample introductory chapter, her readers might have benefited from a summary and dénouement in the form of a separate conclusion. By arguing for the vitality of late medieval preaching and its transformation in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, however, Wabuda has shed light on an important point of contact between elite and popular religious culture and put forward an important proposal concerning the fundamental causes of the English Reformation.

VANESSA HARDING, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London, 1500–1670*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. 343. \$70.00.

Reviewed by John H. Armstrong, *Reformation & Revival Journal*

Perhaps the most informative lessons I learned first-hand about the culture of the world's largest democracy (India) surrounded an experience of death and burial. A host who came to pick me up at the airport was killed on an all-too-narrow and over-crowded highway. Not only did I join the group that went to pick up our friend's body, still by the roadside a full ten hours after death, but I was required to help in the preparations and then in the actual service of burial. Very little of my American experience helped me prepare for the huge culture shock I experienced. The practices which surround a Christian death, especially in a Hindu culture, joined with the public burial, were quite unlike anything I had ever encountered. These events immersed me into a world I did not know existed.

Vanessa Harding, senior lecturer in History at Birkbeck College, University of London, takes a similar approach to social history by exploring culture in early modern London and Paris. (Harding is the author of the forthcoming, *A Short History of Early Modern London 1500–1700*, Cambridge, 2005.) She employs the records of the time with a view to compare, and contrast, how Londoners and Parisians experienced and treated death and burial. Figuratively, she immerses the reader into the world of that time.

Harding begins her study just prior to the beginning of the Protestant Reformation, setting the social context by looking at extensive written accounts of life, death, and burial. One chapter, for example, documents the difficulties of church burial and the changes this brought to the people. The new spirit that was in the air in the early 1500s plainly altered the practice of Christians in London, and there was fairly little conflict that followed. In Paris it was a different story. There, a new consensus, strongly opposed to Protestant practice and change, became a point of real conflict. Eventually commercialization took a role in guiding a good deal of what transpired in the larger culture.

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As one would expect, the conflicts in Paris revolved around the disputes between Catholics and Huguenots. Reformed rites of burial were rejected, which comes as no real surprise. But when graves were actually opened and bodies removed because of the violation of canon law in burial practices, wholesale social upheaval was the result. Much like my experience in India, funeral processions had to take place at times when there would be less opportunity for conflict with the dominant culture. Huguenots eventually suffered both “humiliations and penalties” (277).

So, “Did the way London and Paris dealt with death actually help to constitute and strengthen the ‘networks of order’” (279) during these years? Harding gives a “qualified yes” (279). She concludes that “burial practices helped to realize a vision of local society as hierarchical, respectful of rank, exclusive of outsiders, protective of its own, tempered by charity” (280). The process, however, clearly worked better in Protestant London than in Catholic Paris (280).

Did burial practices have an impact on the actual workings of urban society? Harding believes that though they were deeply embedded in social relations it “would be a mistake” to argue that they had a decisive impact on the actual way urban society worked. It would be better to say these practices revealed existing “dysfunction” but did not create it (283).

What is the point in her argument? If the patterns of behavior that became ritualized in these two cultures expressed “underlying assumptions and anxieties,” whether in persons or in the collective whole, Harding believes there is much to be learned from “exploring, describing, and analyzing the burial customs and practices of these two metropolitan societies” (283). The complexity of practices to be seen in this period enabled people to live out their social differences and hierarchical values. In Paris the ritual of burial tended to “institutionalise polarization and stratification,” while in London the religious differences were handled with a more variation because London was “much less class- and caste-ridden” (280).

This wonderfully illustrated and extensively detailed work is a major study of a part of the history of the early modern European city. Harding’s study will broaden our understanding of social and cultural change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially as it is rooted in religious practice and the environment of the city. This is a work of considerable value for all who seek understanding of the religious and cultural background to this much studied era.

HENRY CHADWICK, *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church. From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence*. Oxford History of the Christian Church. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Pp. x + 306. \$99.00.

**Reviewed by Frans van Liere, Calvin College**

When in 1979 John Paul II and the Ecumenical patriarch participated in each other’s liturgies in Istanbul, it seemed as if a first step had been taken to close the rift between Eastern and Western Christianity. The official date for the definitive schism between the two Churches, Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic, is often given as 1054, but in this work, Henry Chadwick makes clear that theological

disputes, squabbles about teaching authority, clashes about primacy, and differences in political culture between East and West are an ongoing theme throughout the history of the Church, rather than a specific datable event. Differences became apparent even before the Council of Nicaea. In the first chapters, Chadwick indicates that, as Christianity spread in the Mediterranean world, it was more difficult to establish the bonds of unity than to find the roots of divergence. The wearing of beards could cause as much friction between East and West as conflicting interpretations of the two natures of Christ. The excommunication of 1054, prompted by a dispute about the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, but politically the result of the ambitions of the Gregorian Reform in Rome, was by no means the first of such brushes between Rome and Constantinople; similar clashes occurred in the eighth century over the *Filioque*-addition to the Creed and over competing missionary activity in the Balkans, and in the ninth century during the so-called Photian schism. The eighth and ninth centuries were probably more crucial in defining the division than the eleventh, and the ten chapters on the Photian schism (about one third of the book) are the best in the volume. In contrast to this ample treatment, the Crusades are summarily discussed in a mere five pages. The schism of 1054 did not indicate the end of reconciliation attempts either. Negotiations to end the schism were conducted, for instance, by Innocent III, shortly before the disastrous Crusade of 1204 and the installation of a Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, which damaged relations considerably, and they were renewed at the Council of Florence in 1439, when Western and Eastern Christians, united in a spirit of conciliarism, came close to mending their theological differences. But the union eventually faltered, and a few years later Constantinople was overrun by the Ottomans.

The story of Eastern and Western Christendom, then, is a compelling one, with wide implications for the ecumenical efforts of today. No one seems better poised to tell this story than Henry Chadwick, and there seems no better place for it than the Oxford History of the Christian Church, which includes magisterial volumes such as Collin Morris's *The Papal Monarchy* (1989). As a single-volume treatment of the relations between Eastern and Western Christianity, this book is path-breaking. But as a general introduction to the topic, the volume also has clear drawbacks. The book is divided into very brief chapters that seem to aim simply to recount the facts as they happened. The structure of the discourse is narrative, not analytical, and the author seems to deliberately withhold his conclusions from the reader. Chadwick's expertise is evident on every page, but the emphasis is mainly on the theological aspects of the controversies, with little attention to the sociological and cultural circumstances that might have exacerbated the rift. The book assumes a fair amount of familiarity with Church history and early Christian theology from the reader; this may not be a problem for the specialist in the field, but it makes it book less accessible as the general survey that the Oxford History of the Church purports to be.

For Church historians like Henry Chadwick, deeply committed to further ecumenical understanding, the story of the division of the Church is ultimately painful. "Division brings evils in its train—evils to which we become insensitive by habit" (275). But while he hopes that "patient listening can uncover deep and

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wide agreement concealed by the polemics of the past," Chadwick is also cautious about his own role as Church historian in this process, observing that the "interpretation of the past defines the limits of what is possible in the present" (275). With this sober assessment of the limitations of historical analysis for changing the present, we should hope that in the dialogue between East and West the spirit of charity, which Chadwick saw so often missing from past reconciliation attempts, may prevail.

ROLAND HILL, *Lord Acton*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000. Pp. xxiv + 548. \$42.00.

Reviewed by Paul E. Michelson, Huntington College

Lord Acton (1836–1902) is chiefly remembered today for his celebrated and usually misquoted dictum: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely." To the slightly more informed, Lord Acton is recognized as the founder of the *Cambridge Modern History* and the deliverer of a famous inaugural lecture on the study of history at Cambridge University in 1895. To his contemporaries, he was renowned as "the most learned Englishman now alive," the possessor of the largest (some 70,000 volumes) personal scholarly library in the world, and the author of one of the most famed unpublished books of his day, a long-meditated history of liberty. It is, however, only to the specialist of specialists that Lord Acton is also known as the synthesizer of the nineteenth-century revolution in historical thought, the Historical Movement; a leading light of anti-infallibilist Catholic forces during the 1869–1870 Vatican Council; and influential confidant of Britain's redoubtable Liberal Prime Minister, William Ewart Gladstone.

Interestingly, Acton studies have paralleled the times. In the waning days of pre-World War I liberal Europe, his scattered essays, lectures, and correspondence were assiduously collected and published. In the 1930s and 1940s Era of Tyrannies (though it graphically confirmed Acton's strictures on power), Acton fell out of vogue, but with the advent of the Cold War he was again the subject of numerous studies. Now again in the wake of the fall of the Soviet Union, interest in Acton is experiencing a revival. This interest is well served by this new biography by Roland Hill.

It is the most comprehensive treatment to date, generally scholarly in approach, though the author is not a professional historian. Hill's approach is roughly chronological, which proves a reasonable route through Acton's life and work. He has invested considerable energy and sympathy in pursuing Acton's life *in situ*; the results are evident here. In addition, an excellent index facilitates use of the volume.

Acton was born in Naples in 1834, scion of a cosmopolitan British family with German, Italian, and French ties. He was educated in Paris, England, Edinburgh, and finally between 1848 and 1854 at the University of Munich. (Because of his Catholic faith, he had been refused admission to Oxford and Cambridge Universities, an irony he noted 45 years later when he became Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge.)

Between 1858 and 1871, Acton was heavily involved in liberal British Catholic journalism, editing and writing for the leading reform journals. At the same time, he served as a member of Parliament, which was the foundation of his ties to Gladstone. In 1869, he was created Baron Acton and became a member of the House of Lords. This phase of Acton's activity concluded with the debacle of the First Vatican Council in which the liberal Catholic position was trounced and the doctrine of papal infallibility officially affirmed. Unlike his mentor, Ignaz von Döllinger, who was excommunicated, Acton remained a member of the Catholic Church, but thereafter withdrew from theological controversy.

Acton continued to gather materials, both published and unpublished, for myriad personal projects. None of these ever really came to fruition because "Acton could not resist the temptation to probe ever further, to go off his course into the byways to find answers to his problems, to exhaust all the material remotely connected with his subject" (276). In the mid-1880s, Acton played a leading role in the creation of the *English Historical Review*.

The final stage in Acton's life was the happiest. In 1895, he was appointed to the Regius Professorship at Cambridge; his inaugural was the crowning event in the nineteenth-century emergence of the "Historical Movement," a development which had far-reaching consequences for modern historiography and culture. It was Acton who demonstrated (in the words of Herbert Butterfield) that there were "now two ways in which every branch of science was to be studied: first by its own forms of technical procedure, and secondly, by an examination of its history." Finally, though Acton recognized that he parted company here with the majority of his brethren, his inaugural also stressed the necessity for moral judgments in history and for a real standard of right and wrong. After all, what was the point of original documentation, critical method, and objectivity if not to establish a sound basis for moral judgments? In 1896, Acton began to work on the editing of the monumental *Cambridge Modern History*, a work that came to fruition only after his death in 1902.

Subsequently, he became both one of the best known and one of the least known luminaries of the last two centuries. There were several reasons for this: His compulsive note-taking left a "huge pile of paper" that is often hard to decipher and process. The wide range of Acton's pan-European activities left his correspondence scattered across the Continent, while it "might be said that anyone who wanted to write Acton's life needed to be almost as European as he." Finally, Acton's Catholic dissidence meant that much of his private correspondence remained closed for many decades. Only in the 1960s and after did much of this material become accessible. (ix-xii)

Hill's conclusions are somewhat somber. Acton's early "life was sadly littered with all sorts of disappointments and ambitious projects unrealized. All the strands of his life seemed to dissolved in his hands by the time he was forty. . . . It was then that he began the process, forced upon him, to unlearn and relearn many of his early lessons" (409-10). By the end of his life, Acton's perspective had "made him a sad but never lachrymose analyst of human affairs. But it was the grandeur and loftiness of Acton's liberal and Catholic vision that elevated it beyond his own time" (416). Acton was decisively set against much of what our own age pro-

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fesses. It is one more edifying paradox that his life and work therefore merit our continued attention and study, and Hill's book provides a useful starting point.

RHONDA ANNE SEMPLE, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission*. Suffolk, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2003. Pp. 285. \$110.00.

Reviewed by Gary K. Pranger, Oral Roberts University

Rhonda Semple provides a compelling and deep study of gender in British missions centering on the period from 1880 to 1910. The London Missionary Society and specifically its work in north India, The Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland and its Eastern Himalayan Mission, and Hudson Taylor's China Inland Mission schools at Chefoo have received deserved scrutiny. The book mines the organizational records and correspondence and stands on the shoulders of the many secondary works placing these women within the larger context of the accepted and unsatisfying man oriented world of missions throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As the author admits, it is a complicated history and the sources for this study are plentiful but difficult to assess. However, the author astutely dissects the religious and secular sources in showing us that gender bias is not inherent in the gospel message or the heart of Christ and there is no discrimination in where the Holy Spirit goes. However, there were the control issues of professionalism and Victorian respectability that were inherently imbued in these missionary organizations due to the culture, mind-set, and conventions of the time. Gender bias remains culturally imbued.

Beyond this the book provides for a penetrating, comprehensive enmeshment of these women within the social and cultural context. The author takes us on a denominational, cultural, and mental tour. First we are in England and Scotland sifting the revealed research for these three organizations on how they recruit, filter, train, and send both women and men. In India and in China we dig into the correspondence and problems between the field and the home board. On paper at home and in the interview room the men looked formidable and prepared. On the field they and their home boards could be petty, pragmatic, career oriented, and coldly indifferent to their woman counterparts, and to the Indians and Chinese they were called to serve.

The impression given is that no matter what their theological or spiritual outlook, British Protestant missions were male, racial, and middle-class-convention oriented. As more women than men become a part of the mission scene from the various revivals in the nineteenth century these organizations welcomed them, at first as married partners, then as single women, but they were screened and judged on domestic and female matters apart from the men. Even as the more educated women came they were judged apart at home and on the field. The more women entering, the more roles were defined, controlled, and thus the more enterprising or independent oriented are constrained or let go. In time the women's "natural" roles of compassion as partners, mothers, care-takers, Sunday school teachers, semi- and formal medical helpers who become more involved with the foreign communities become themselves ways of witnessing to their Indian and Chinese

constituents and the men begin to learn from the women. The author carefully reveals the energy, spiritual vitality, and education that the male-dominated and glorified boards expected in selling the mission at home. In reality they had no desire or understanding of using or letting these women minister in a more equal way on the field or letting them be recognized for having done so. The women disappear from the more public missionary literature.

This is a deeply researched work in the primary sources and is in its own right a great research tool for students on this subject with its extensive bibliography and how to treat and decipher this research. Where are the women in the records? As Ms. Semple attests, unless one has access to personal letters, the missionary board letters and records are often deficient if not silent on them. This reviewer would corroborate with her here from his own research into like nineteenth-century missionary sources. However, much can be gleaned as Ms. Semple so astutely shows the reader.

Finally, this book is welcomed from a personal, experiential standpoint. In the last three decades this reviewer has seen an ever higher ratio of women over men effectively working, ministering, evangelizing, discipling, and teaching in the absence of like males from campus ministries, churches and colleges at home—to the overseas fields in Singapore and China. Women still do not get the credit, credentials, or nameplate they deserve even in a more liberated age either in the secular-voluntary dimension or in the traditional missions organizations. This book should be required reading for all male church and missions historians and their students.

MICKEY LELAND MATTOX, *“Defender of the Most Holy Matriarchs”*: Martin Luther’s Interpretation of the Women in Genesis in the Enarrationes in Genesis, 1535–1545. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2003. Pp. 315. \$109.00.

Reviewed by Martin I. Klauber, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

In this revision of his Duke University Dissertation, Mattox seeks to place Luther’s exegesis of various passages on women in the book of Genesis in historical context. Mattox follows the “history of exegesis” approach of David Steinmetz (Duke University) in this beautifully written and well-argued monograph. The author displays a command of the vast literature on Luther as well as medieval and patristic commentaries. The topic is particularly appealing because of the contemporary relevance of gender related issues. Furthermore, considering the changes in family structure during the Reformation, it is important to understand how Luther interacted with his medieval and patristic forbears.

Mattox focuses on Luther’s lectures on Genesis delivered from 1535–1545. These lectures were published by his students under the title *Enarrationes* (“lectures”). Ironically, Luther began his university career at Wittenberg lecturing on Genesis. Mattox is, therefore, able to show how Luther’s views on various pericopes changed during the course of his career.

The author compares and contrasts Luther’s views on Eve at the beginning of

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his career and in his 1535–45 lectures. In his discussion of the early Luther's view of Eve, Mattox compares the Wittenberg reformer to patristic exegetes including Augustine, Ambrose, John Chrysostom, and Origen, and to medieval scholars such as Hugh of St. Cher, the Venerable Bede, Nicholas of Lyra, and Dennis the Carthusian. All these exegetes had in common the celibate life of the clergy, and most of them the cloistered life. It would make sense that they would express a predisposition toward subordinationsim in the pre-lapsarian relationship between Adam and Eve. In his early lectures, Luther agreed that Eve was hierarchically subordinate to Adam who alone was given the responsibility to preach the *protoevangelium*. After the fall, Eve lost her independence and her share in Adam's rule. Without the fall, she would have shared in the management of their household and in creation.

By 1535 Luther's views had changed, possibly because he was married with children and had turned the Augustinian cloister in Wittenberg into their home. The Luthers housed relatives, friends, students, refugees, and others in their large home and it makes sense that his views toward women would change because of this experience. Mattox notes that contrary to his early position, the elder Luther argued that Adam and Eve's dominion over creation was a joint one in which Adam did not rule over his wife prior to the fall. This relationship was one of mutuality in which there was no concept of submission. Furthermore, Eve had the same intellectual gifts and understood the commands of God without having to go through her husband.

Abraham's wife Sarah is the second major figure covered in this monograph. Here Mattox notes the significant dependence of Luther in the *Enarrationes* on patristic exegesis. Like many of the early church fathers, Luther portrayed Sarah as heroically virtuous in spite of her faults. For example, Luther argued that Sarah's womb was "dead," meaning that she was beyond childbearing age. Furthermore, Luther speculated that Sarah and her husband were chaste in their relationship by this point. This explains, in part, why Sarah laughed when God promised her a son. Luther defended Sarah by pointing to Hebrews 11 which showed that Sarah was full of faith. God's rebuke of Sarah served to bring her faith to fruition in her belief in the promise of the future redeemer. What is interesting in this chapter is the length to which Luther and his forbears went to excuse Sarah for her sin because of her importance in the history of salvation.

The fourth section focuses on the daughters of Lot. These women are a fascinating study because they were both victims and sinners. They were victims when their father offered them sexually to the crowd gathering outside his house when the two angelic visitors came to visit. The daughters also were guilty of committing incest with their father after the destruction of Sodom. To make matters worse, they became pregnant and bore him the sons, Moab and Ben-Ammi, the founders of the Moabites and the Ammonites. Luther tended to excuse both Lot and his daughters of moral lapses. For example, Luther excused Lot for offering to prostitute his daughters to the men of Sodom arguing that Lot knew that these men had no real sexual interest in his daughters. Luther also pointed out that in the case of the incest between Lot and his daughters, Lot got drunk not because of any moral lapses but because the wine of that region was particularly delightful. Luther was

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so forgiving, probably, as in the case of Sarah, because of the role that Lot and his daughters played in the events of salvation history. Mattox explains that Luther excused Lot's behavior to a greater extent than did his contemporaries, Peter Martyr Vermigli, Wolfgang Musculus, and especially Calvin who was particularly condemning of Lot. Mattox concludes that Luther's treatment of Lot and his daughters was similar to patristic figures such as Augustine, Chrysostom, and Nicholas of Lyra.

Mattox also focuses on Luther's treatment of Hagar, Rachel, and Potiphar's wife. In all of these accounts, the author takes great care to place Luther within the context of the history of exegesis. He shows that Luther's conclusions were not always new, but typically followed a long line of exegetical work, going all the way back to the patristic era. In a subtle manner, Mattox shows that Luther was not an innovator in his use of Scripture. In this book, we learn more of Luther as a biblical scholar and more about how he viewed women in an age where major changes were taking place in the institution of marriage and of the family structure. I would be interested in a similar study on Luther's view of the Virgin Mary, but that topic would require a monograph in and of itself.

GLENN SUNSHINE, *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557–1572*. Vol. 66. Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies. Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2003. Pp. xiv + 193. \$49.95.

**Reviewed by Karin Maag, Calvin College**

While extensive research has been carried out on the theological, social, and political roots of French Protestantism in the sixteenth century, and many studies have been written on the experiences of the Huguenots from the sixteenth century onwards, little attention has been paid until now to the institutional structures that undergirded French Protestantism. Glenn Sunshine's work, *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557–1572*, seeks to address this issue. One of the difficulties of the project lies in the number of variant copies of key documents, such as the *Discipline* or church order. On the other end of the spectrum, the disappearance of most of the records of provincial synod meetings (the level below that of the National Synod) makes the task of evaluating the impact of church government even more difficult. Sunshine examines the institutional legacy and influence of the French Reformed church in its early years by analyzing its component parts, from the aforementioned national and provincial synods to the regional *colloques* and finally to the local churches and their consistories.

Sunshine argues that while many elements of the French Reformed church's institutional structures were due to the influence of other Reformed models in Strasbourg, the Pays de Vaud, Berne, and Geneva, the Huguenots also innovated, due to their particular circumstances. As a minority community, unlike the Reformed centers listed above, French Protestants could rarely turn to civil authorities for support. Indeed, as a result many of the Huguenots developed strongly congregational outlooks, relying on their own communities, instead of turning

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outwards for help. Thus institutional structures in the French Reformed church tended to become non-hierarchical and as locally-based as possible. Furthermore, their perilous political situation meant that French nobles who adopted Protestantism played a determining role politically, and constituted a powerful faction of house churches which accepted the 1559 Confession but did not adopt the *Discipline*, and saw little point in the provincial and national synod meetings. Sunshine shows effectively how these factors shaped the Huguenot ecclesiastical structures, preventing the pre-eminence of any one place, person, or office, and making sure that as many matters as possible were dealt with at a local level, rather than higher up the chain.

One particularly interesting case which highlights how the French Reformed church adapted practices to suit its situation is the office of deacon. While in Geneva, deacons and elders remained separate, with deacons taking the lead in charitable outreach and elders and pastors alone constituting the Consistory, in France the office of deacon and its remit changed. Due to a shortage of qualified men, both elders and deacons sat on the consistory, and gradually in fact the responsibilities of the deacons were taken over by the elders, until in practice the separate office of deacon disappeared. This adaptation among others is evidence, Sunshine argues, that one should not look solely to Reformed centers such as Geneva as models for French Protestantism's church order.

This work is well-suited to readers with a general interest in church history, upper-level undergraduate students, and Reformation scholars. Because of its focus on institutional history, the work is somewhat lacking in vignettes that would show the system in operation, yet the author has managed to integrate a substantial amount of information in under two hundred pages. Using this work as a starting point, scholars of the French Reformation should go on to compare French church structures and their effectiveness to the ones developed by fellow Calvinists in the Low Countries and Scotland.

WILLIAM W. HAGEN, *Ordinary Prussians: Brandenburg Junkers and Villagers, 1500–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. 679. \$100.00.

**Reviewed by Stephen P. Hoffmann, Taylor University**

This is an impressive study of more than three centuries in the life of the lordship of Stavenow, located in the Pregnitz district of Brandenburg, northwest of Berlin. The result of many years of archival work, *Ordinary Prussians* focuses on the patterns of authority governing the relationship between the local landed nobility and its subject villagers and also on the dynamics of Stavenow's development from feudalism to a commercialized agriculture with many freeholders. It also provides a richly detailed picture of various aspects of village life, including family patterns, standard of living, law and order, religion and morality. The author enhances the value of this work by drawing interesting conclusions about its implications for our understanding not only of modern German history, but also of modernization, the connection between German and Western European civilization, and the relationship between history and social science.

In teaching comparative politics I know of no better model for scholarship in that field than Robert Putnam's *Making Democracy Work*. The conclusions he derives from an intensive study of regional government in Italy have had a profound influence on efforts to understand the relative importance of economic development and cultural attitudes as factors explaining the existence of democratic political systems. His methodological approach deftly combines statistical analysis with historical analysis. Similarly, William Hagen's longitudinal study of Stavenow is a very significant contribution to scholarship and also a model for relating empirical research to theory. He demonstrates that Prussia was not, as commonly assumed, uniformly authoritarian and anti-modern. His discussion of the relationship between archival data and historical narrative illuminates the nature of the historical method. "[History] is not necessarily . . . less rigorous than natural science, whose findings are likewise theoretically framed, provisional, and subject to revision" (24). Hagen's concern to balance the "thick description" of the micro-history he practices in this work with macrolevel generalization is worthy of emulation by historians and social scientists alike.

Hagen's preference for the terms "farmer" or "villager" instead of "peasant" or "serf" challenges the conventional wisdom that throughout Prussia junkerdom meant absolute rule and servility. He acknowledges that there were indeed "forms of personal serfdom" (25) in parts of eastern Prussia. But immersion in the 728 document files on Stavenow in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin has enabled him to prove that in Brandenburg, at least, this was not the case. The balance of power between the manor house and the eight villages in its domain was constantly being tested and renegotiated. Although villagers accepted manorial authority as a fact of life, they were not particularly deferential toward the lordship. A system of courts, enhanced by the legal reforms of the rising Prussian state under Frederick II, enabled villagers to challenge the lordship's demands. Although the manor house had great influence over the lives of its villagers, the latter retained significant property and inheritance rights.

Villagers were also not particularly deferential toward the Lutheran church. This seems to have been due in part to the clergy's identification with seigneurial authority, something consistent with the strongly conservative orientation of German Lutheranism. It also seems to be in keeping with the wide gulf between the moral standards of the nobility and the behavior of the common people. The villagers valued their clergy for their spiritual ministry, but pastors had no significant influence on behavior related to secular pursuits.

Hagen argues that the repressive Germany associated with two world wars is not to be explained by any persistence into the twentieth century of Prussian authoritarianism and backwardness. Politically, discipline and constraint were tempered by liberal influences from Frederickian reforms and by the fact that junkers were motivated more by self-interest than by a conservative ideology. Economically, east Elbian estate agriculture as early as the eighteenth century was not "a simple affair of cereal monoculture based on coerced labor," but rather "a complex economic system with a large and expensive workforce . . . and big commodity sales" (333). In the introduction the author cites a significant body of recent literature in an effort to demonstrate that the Stavenow lordship was not unrepresenta-

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tive of the development of Prussia, or, indeed Germany or even Europe as a whole. He points out that although farmers in Brandenburg had less personal freedom than their counterparts in England and France, their land tenure was more secure and coercion was no worse than in Western Europe.

Hagen concludes his study with the confident assertion that the evidence for his thesis "is much deeper and more far-ranging than any ever assembled for the once regnant, relentlessly negative views [of Prussia], whose validity I was no more inclined to doubt, upon embarking on this research, than other liberal-minded historians" (654). He has good reason to be proud of this magisterial work.

ALAN GALLAY, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670–1717*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002. Pp. 464. \$35.00/\$18.00.

Reviewed by Richard W. Pointer, Westmont College

Allan Gallay's *The Indian Slave Trade*—the Bancroft prize winner for 2003—boldly re-conceptualizes the colonial South in bounds and character by placing the trade in Native American persons at the heart of what happened there from the first English settling of Carolina through the Yamasee War. Arguing that that trade was far more substantial in numbers and overall impact than heretofore thought, Gallay reconstructs in meticulous detail the complex webs of European–Indian, European–European, and Indian–Indian relations across this half century. What emerges is a picture of the South as extending geographically from the Carolinas in the northeast (note the exclusion of Virginia) to Arkansas and Louisiana in the west and to the Florida Keys in the south, and as experiencing a violent contest for empire that left the English as dominant but still dependent victors. Their success relied upon an evolving set of Native American alliances that was both aided and jeopardized by the aggressive pursuits of a group of local English traders bent on self-interested gain at almost any price.

One such price was the enslavement of somewhere between 30,000 and 50,000 southern Indians by the British alone (the French also enslaved natives in Louisiana) in the years before 1715. Captives were almost all shipped elsewhere in what became a lucrative export trade whose numbers of human commodities exceeded the flow of imported Africans into South Carolina till the Yamasee War (1715–1717). That conflict was the last in a "gruesome series of wars . . . set in motion" by a slave trade that "infected the South," leaving widespread depopulation and displacement in its wake (6). Though present within native societies earlier, the slave trade greatly expanded as the English, Spanish, and French vied for imperial supremacy in the region. South Carolina became the English stronghold and as a result, Gallay devotes much of his book to tracing its contorted political and economic history in this half century. The men who dominated its affairs were enmeshed in the slave trade and repeatedly sacrificed colonial stability for private gain. Their commercial activities often antagonized native peoples, precipitating armed conflicts that eventually culminated in wars that threatened the very survival of North Carolina (Tuscarora War) and South Carolina (Yamasee War).

Periodic efforts to regulate traders' practices by the colony's proprietors in England or by colonial governors and legislatures proved ineffective. The drive for profit simply overpowered attempts to bring about more politically and morally responsible behavior.

Amid the whites' frenzied enterprises, Westo, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and other native peoples made their own political, economic, and religious choices for their own sets of reasons arising from their own cultural values. Like most recent studies of Indians in early America, Gallay portrays natives as active agents in shaping their own destiny, even when much suffering became their lot. In this case, they also played crucial roles in shaping the outcome of the imperial contest for even if the English came out on top, their position depended on their relations with both nearby and more distant Indians. Such an argument underscores how central Indian affairs were to the history of the colonial South and allows Gallay to suggest that Amerindians were not "external to the plantation system" that would come to dominate the Old South over the course of the next century (7).

Gallay's portrait of the South from 1670 to 1717 as a region afflicted with factional politics, destructive wars, ruthless traders, and a large slave trade is mostly persuasive, though he has to work especially hard to make the case that the numbers of slaves were as substantial as he claims. Less debatable is the contention that the trade precipitated much conflict, including English attacks upon Spanish mission stations in Florida. *Fides* readers may be interested to note that occasional Christian voices of protest were raised against the traders' actions and Indian enslavement in general but these were especially weak among the English and had little avail. Gallay treats religion's role in the region as a key factor in shaping South Carolinian political alliances and in establishing Spanish and French imperial presence. Catholic missionary efforts were an essential component in the latter nations' colonial schemes, whereas English Protestant evangelism to southern Indians never got off the ground, in part because of the opposition of traders.

A major contribution of *The Indian Slave Trade* is its painstaking sorting out of two tangled webs: the internal relations among the myriad array of Native American people groups across the South, and the political maneuverings, competing ideologies, and personal rivalries that hampered effective governance in South Carolina. Indian ethnic identities formed and re-formed within the fluid environments created by the upheavals of slave raids, disease, war, and trade partnerships. By 1717, the relative power, geographic location, and demographic significance of most southern native groups had changed dramatically. Thereafter, the Indian slave trade largely died out due to the English loss of their close native allies. Colonists now worried more about controlling African than Indian labor. Meanwhile, southern Native American confederacies strengthened their positions by avoiding too close a connection with any one European power. All of that did not happen, however, until after the contentious political struggles of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries had led to the triumph of an imperial vision in Carolina that included no long-term place for Native Americans within English colonial society. That legacy of exclusion carried to future generations the destructive effects of a slave trade we now understand far better thanks to Allan Gallay.

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JANE T. MERRITT, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700–1763*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. Pp. 332. \$42.35/\$19.95.

Reviewed by Gerard Reed, Point Loma Nazarene University

Though the American frontier has often been portrayed as a discrete line, separating settlers from native peoples, in actuality it was a porous sieve, allowing for the coming and going of both whites and Indians. It was a continually shifting tidal pool rather than a steadily advancing cold front moving inexorably across the land. Jane Merritt thus documents, with details gleaned from careful research in primary sources, the “complex relationships” that help us envision the subtle dynamics at work along the American frontier. “Indeed,” she says, “the Indian experience of a colonial New World begins to look more like a crossroads, a place where many paths converged, providing divers possibilities and directions to those who passed through” (2).

Merritt’s thesis, however persuasive, must be understood within her evidentiary limits. The title notwithstanding, the chronological period covered runs basically from the infamous “Walking Purchase” of 1737 to the end of the French and Indian War in 1763. The Indians discussed are mainly the Mahicans and Delawares, with Iroquois to the north in New York and Shawnee to the west in Ohio entering at times into the mix. Her research delves strictly into Pennsylvania archives, making much of the Moravian Records. The “crossroads” considered deals only with colonial Pennsylvania, whose Quakers and Moravians hardly represent pioneers in New England or Georgia. So whether or not her assertion that the Pennsylvania pattern applies to the rest of the “colonial New World” requires equally meticulous studies of other times and places, tribes and treaties.

Merritt shows, however, that “Euramericans” and Indians traded, worked together, intermarried, and shared in the “First Great Awakening” that significantly impacted the English colonies. Her chapters on “The Indian Great Awakening” and “Mission Community Networks” will particularly interest members of the Conference on Faith and History. Many Mahicans and Delawares were profoundly impacted by the religious currents of the Great Awakening in the 1740s, bringing distinctively native dimensions to the dreams and miracles that punctuated their decisions.

Despite their religious interests, however, cultural differences (such as clan relationships among the Indians) militated against genuine integration between the races. Furthermore, both Indian and colonial leaders calculated and maneuvered, schemed and betrayed, fought and signed treaties, ever trying to gain their own ends. During the pivotal French and Indian War, the Indians (who killed over 300 settlers) and pioneers (e.g. the Paxton Boys, who massacred 20 peaceful Conestoga Indians) often knew their victims and had lived together as “neighbors”.

Beyond the author’s helpful emphasis upon the shifting and porous nature of the frontier, she advances more dubious arguments, trying to strike the right note to resonate with the “race, class, gender” mantra of the current academy. Merritt asserts that “race” mainly became an issue during the era she studies, that “Indianness” became an entrenched and divisive category only in the 1760s. “Early ad-

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miration for Indians' physical grandeur and their adaptability often gave way to suspicion of immutable differences that became a mirror for colonial fears" (11–12). Certainly there was a hardening of hostilities during the colonial wars. But her assertions seem dubious in light of the debate two centuries earlier between Bartholomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in Valladolid, Spain, which showed that "race" was an issue as soon as the Europeans set foot in the "New World." New England's Puritans certainly cultivated a certain "race" consciousness during the Pequot War. What was changing, of course, was the move from a theological to an Enlightenment-shaped scientific rationale for racial identity.

Jane Merritt regularly emphasizes the importance of women in Indian society. No one doubts that women played an essential role in families and clans, making and selling baskets and bowls, responding to religious appeals, exerting political influence where possible. But when she overemphasizes passing comments to prove a point the reader sniffs bias. Consider her assertion that: "In Indian communities, with matrilineal clan-based structures of authority and heredity, men had little power to control the actions of women and children" (221). To careful students of the matrilineal Cherokee and Iroquois such statements border on the ludicrous, though they apparently fit the author's quest for "gender equality." Merritt also makes much of Indian women's role in the Great Awakening, portraying it as a calculated grasp for "power," whereas the same is not claimed for the men (who were equally prominent in the religious revival).

Fortunately, Merritt's excursions into race and gender do not seriously mar the richly detailed portrait she draws. The extensive, detailed footnotes demonstrate the quality of her research, apparently done as a Ph.D. dissertation. (Even the original German in the Moravian documents is reproduced for the reader!) There is a useful index, but (strangely enough for such a scholarly publication) no bibliography.

SUSIE C. STANLEY, *Holy Boldness: Women Preachers' Autobiographies and the Sanctified Self*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002. Pp. 304. \$35.00.

**Reviewed by Carol Woodfin, Palm Beach Atlantic University**

In *Holy Boldness*, Susie C. Stanley examines the published autobiographies of thirty-four Wesleyan/Holiness women preachers in the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Using feminist, literary, and autobiographical theories, the author analyzes the thought and work of twenty-nine white and five African American women preachers. The title comes from a statement by Phoebe Palmer, who claimed that when called to preach she was seized by a "holy boldness" and assisted by the power of the Holy Spirit. Wesleyan/Holiness women preachers, following a doctrine of John Wesley's, underwent an experience of "sanctification" beyond initial conversion, which removed "inbred sin" and constituted a "distinct second work of grace" (2). The result was the "sanctified self," in Stanley's usage. Stanley argues that this sanctification, "enabled women to act as public religious leaders in ways impossible prior to their experience of sanctification" (1). The term Wesleyan/Holiness refers to numerous groups which

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broke away from the Methodist Episcopal Church, the most well-known of which are the Church of the Nazarene, the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), and the Salvation Army. Not all the women Stanley considers were part of these three groups, but all held to the Wesleyan/Holiness emphasis on sanctification.

*Holy Boldness* takes some time getting to its main subject, with early chapters tracing the “trajectory” of women’s spiritual autobiographies from Perpetua in the third century through medieval mystics, to the French Roman Catholic mystic Madame Guyon, and two of John Wesley’s female colleagues in England. Stanley also provides considerable background in feminist and autobiographical theory which undergirds her analysis, but which will frustrate readers more interested in the women and their ministries than in an analytical scheme.

Indeed the author’s emphasis on feminist and literary analysis is both a strength and a weakness of the book. One of Stanley’s target audiences is “those interested in women’s autobiographies and women’s studies” (1). Using terminology such as the “sanctified self” will no doubt assist theorists in gaining familiarity with the autobiographies studied here, but for more traditional historians the usage may seem contrived. Consider, for example, a dramatic incident in which Almira Losee’s preaching was interrupted by a collapsing tent which her audience had to flee. Stanley states: “Losee exemplified the fearlessness of the sanctified self by calmly seeking an exit” (148). It is doubtful if the term sanctified self is necessary here or improves on simply saying that Losee exhibited remarkable calm. In her final chapter, on “How and Why Wesleyan/Holiness Women Wrote,” Stanley does provide her own critique of some aspects of the theoretical categories she has chosen. She argues against the “death of the author” claims of Michel Foucault and others by asserting the significance of the fact that the authors of these autobiographies were women, and lived in a particular era.

*Holy Boldness* is at its best when Stanley allows the women preachers to speak for themselves. Stanley more than adequately proves her thesis that sanctification provided women with the impetus to preach and overcome any obstacles that might hinder them. Descriptions are often vivid. Susan Fitkin wrote of her “sky-blue conversion, which the devil was never able to make me doubt” (67). Phoebe Palmer described her sanctification as becoming immersed “into an immeasurable ocean of love, light and power” (77). Sarah Smith wrote that sanctification “took all the shrink and fear of men and devils out of me” (94).

Stanley also explores specific ministries of Wesleyan/Holiness women, which included preaching at camp meetings and revivals, railroad evangelism, prison ministries, street evangelism, church planting, pastoring, and leading evangelistic and educational organizations. Others worked in “social holiness ministries” such as rescue missions for prostitutes and the temperance movement. As above, the book is most effective when the women themselves speak about their work. Jennie Smith wrote of railway workers’ reluctance to shake her hand since they were dirty with coal dust: “No indeed; there is plenty of soap and water. I am only too glad to grasp these black hands” (151). Smith recorded 1,276 conversions in 1882 alone, along the Baltimore and Ohio line (152). Emma Irick preached one and a half miles underground in an Alabama coal mine and Julia Shellhamer preached on the Prodigal Son during a break at a boxing match.

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One thing Stanley does not consider is whether the “holy boldness” experienced by the women as they went out to preach was much different from that of men called to ministry. Certainly women faced more obstacles than did men to acceptance of their ministries (though the Wesleyan/Holiness churches did accept women’s ordination in the nineteenth century). But men called to preach might also struggle with fears of speaking out, of leaving a secure life and joining an evangelical religious movement. Stanley also does not explore the role of sanctification on Wesleyan/Holiness women who were not preachers, and indeed sources may not permit such a task, but one wonders what the effect of sanctification on “ordinary” women would be and whether their experience would lend or divert support for Stanley’s claim of the power of the “sanctified self.” Stanley, an ordained minister in the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), supports women clergy and the lives and ministries of the remarkable women considered in this book provide support for such a goal. Readers less positively inclined towards women in ministry will still do well to consider the challenge the women offered to more traditional readings of Scripture and to an unnecessary limitation on the power of the Holy Spirit evident in many denominations then and today.

ANDREW MARK EASON, *Women in God’s Army: Gender & Equality in the Early Salvation Army*. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2003. Pp. 242. \$34.95.

Reviewed by Norman H. Murdoch, University of Cincinnati

This book, written by Andrew Mark Eason, a Ph.D. candidate in Religious Studies at the University of Calgary, raises the issue of how successful the Salvation Army was in following its rule that required equality for women in ministerial and administrative realms from the time of its mid-Victorian origins to 1930. Eason argues that the Army did not succeed in its aim, although it frequently reminded itself that its commitment to gender equality had not changed. Eason fully comprehends the fact that the Army was out of sync with gender attitudes of its time, sectarian and secular, in its published allegiance to equality. But he stops short of explaining why the Army did not persist in its counter-cultural goal, why over time it became increasingly like other religious bodies and more like the global social environment it inhabited.

Eason is straight-forward in presenting evidence from an admittedly feminist perspective; a point of view that in no way affects his balanced treatment of theological or organizational issues. His didactic and statistical evidence supports his argument. He commences with the Army’s “Victorian and Evangelical Roots” in John Wesley’s Methodism of England’s midlands where the Army’s founders, William and Catherine Booth, were born in 1829. It was in the midlands that they adopted the enthusiasm and methods of American revivalists Phoebe Palmer, Charles Finney, and James Caughy, in the 1840s. Wesley and the revivalists maintained that the gospel could be preached more effectively if women participated in praying, teaching, and preaching ministries. And when Wesleyan Methodists set aside women’s ministerial work in favor of conformity to Victorian and Church

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of England beliefs that women's place was in the home, small Methodist sects of Primitive Methodists and Bible Christians persisted in employing women preachers until they also gave in to social pressures. Thus the heritage in which the Booths experienced religious conversion and a call to preach endowed them with "an ambiguous heritage."

While the Booths were staunch supporters of female ministry in their East London home mission (1865–1878) and Salvation Army (1878–), their minds and practices, to which Eason devotes two of his six chapters, were full of paradoxical opinions. Eason supports this claim with an ample primary and secondary documents. Catherine led the private and public charge for female ministry, with an 1850 letter to her Congregationalist pastor when he demeaned women as men's intellectual inferior, and in 1859 when she defended Phoebe Palmer's right to preach. She won a reluctant William to her views of women's intellectual equality, but she accepted his male "headship" from her reading of the Bible. Eason concludes that this was an ambiguous message from Catherine, who saw woman's primary role as wife and mother, and who did not usurp male authority in administration. And this view persisted in the Army, alongside its dictum for gender equality. Its effect, he asserts, has been to preclude women, particularly married women who must be ordained clergy under the Army's rules, from promotion to executive positions or even from claiming complete pulpit equality.

Eason concludes his work with evidence that convincingly supports his thesis. Although "female Salvationists challenged the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century belief that preaching was the province of male clergy," a belief that "put female Army officers ahead of their sisters in other religious bodies," they did not achieve equality in the pulpit, the home, or the office. (153) This was particularly true of married women who acceded to the scriptural "headship" of husbands at home, in the pulpit, and at the office. Only the married Booth daughters, Catherine, Emma, and Lucy, fully achieved administrative equality with their husbands. The daughters of Bramwell and Florence Booth, Catherine, Olive, and Mary, achieved equality by remaining single, as did other exceptional single women. No other married woman held a higher post than her husband, and many adopted lives of home-bound domesticity, which Army leaders, male and female, like their Victorian contemporaries, held to be the primary realm of a wife and mother. Army periodicals and regulations seldom addressd the role of husband and father in the home.

Is it surprising that a church that became as conservative in political, social, and cultural views as the Salvation Army did by the early twentieth century, would adopt mores of its time and place? Should anyone expect an organization that thrives on public approval to adopt a counter-cultural stance in its views of the role of women? What is most striking in Eason's account is the fact that the Army's regulations continued to support women's equality in the pulpit and that no administrative office was beyond their reach, and yet Salvationists did not seem to notice that the Army failed miserably in achieving this goal. In fact, statistics show that the failure increased over time. Only rarely did men or women address the matter in the Army's journals or histories. In the last two decades, in an environment of women's liberation campaigns, the Army has begun to reclaim its her-

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itage by addressing inequalities in pay and administrative opportunity. As a start, the female officer is no longer the “officer’s wife,” but is addressed by her own rank and name.

In this volume Eason joins a notable group of academic historians who are beginning to notice the Salvation Army as a fruitful field for work on ecclesiastical and philanthropic history. Scrutiny by unbiased investigators will be welcomed by the profession and will provide a glimpse into an organization that has heretofore been left free to define itself historically. The Army has grown too large and too powerful, particularly in the fields of philanthropy and social service, to be ignored.

RUTH MURRAY BROWN, *For A “Christian America”: A History of the Religious Right*. New York: Prometheus Books, 2002. Pp. 287. \$28.00.

**Reviewed by David John Marley, Vanguard University**

One of the most overlooked stories in the history of the Christian Right is the pivotal role that women have played in giving the movement its ongoing power. Many scholars have focused on the work of the movement’s leaders, usually men, but the late Ruth Murray Brown has made a helpful contribution by studying the role of the average women. While the book is a history of the entire Christian Right, its focus on women makes this a valuable work that sheds new light on an important topic.

Murray begins the book with the assertion that the Christian Right grew from the “pro-family” work of women opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). She claims that the Christian Right was at first a women’s movement with religion as its ideological base. The book is broken up into three sections. The first covers the role of women in getting the movement started at the grassroots level. In the second section Brown traces the now male dominated Christian Right from the presidency of Jimmy Carter to the Christian Coalition. The final section studies specific issues of concern to the Christian Right and how they have changed over time.

It is the first section of the book, six chapters in all, that is the most significant contribution to the study of the Religious Right. Using her own case studies and personal observations of the movement in Oklahoma, Brown explains the many reasons why women became involved in conservative political issues. After a well written chapter on Phyllis Schlafly, Brown spends the next few chapters examining the anti-ERA movement and how this led to greater political activism by conservative Christian women.

The second section covers the well-known landscape of the Christian Right of the 1980s. The four chapters of this section are nice summations of the topic, but add little that is new. The five chapters that make up the last section would be of interest to those looking for specific positions held by the Christian Right and how those ideas have evolved. Covering such topics as church and state, public schools, homosexuality, humanism, and the myth of America’s Christian past, Brown seeks to quantify religious belief for easy placement on a graph. This section, though

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helpful to those who seek to understand conservative Christian beliefs, is a bit dry to read.

Methodologically, the book is too heavily based on the author's research of participants in Oklahoma in the mid-1970s and mid-1990s. While interesting, it does not provide a full picture of a movement that was active across America. It would have been more useful to clearly put Oklahoma in context with the rest of America. That being said, Brown has done a commendable job of providing her data and observations without an overwhelming bias, which is unfortunately rare in studies of the Christian Right.

While the book is well researched, the author's choice of study subjects is sometimes puzzling. The most obvious instance is her inclusion of Mormons as members of the Christian Right. While true that most Mormons are as politically conservative as evangelical Christians, they are generally not welcome participants in the wide circle of Christian Right political activity outside of Utah. Many Religious Right leaders, such as Pat Robertson, still consider them a dangerous cult. Murray never explained why she chose the Mormons or how they fit into the Christian Right, they are simply lumped together with people of similar political beliefs without regard to their religious differences.

In the final analysis, this book is a solid step forward in the study of the Christian Right. Brown ably proves that the movement was not just Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, but began in the homes of thousands of women who still infuse the Christian Right with power. There are those who are surprised that the Christian Right has lasted as a political force for 30 years. Scholars who only look at the leaders will sometimes mistake the eclipse of a person with the death of the movement. Brown is able to show that leaders will come and go, but the grassroots element of the Religious Right remains strong.

EUGENE MCCARRAHER, *Christian Critics: Religion and the Impasse in Modern American Social Thought*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000. Pp. 241. \$26.95.

**Reviewed by Perry Bush, Bluffton College**

In this concise but remarkably erudite and insightful work, Eugene McCarraher offers "a history of the American Christian cultural tradition" (184). As the fruit of what must have been a brilliant if not precocious graduate school career, McCarraher has revised his dissertation into a book that manages, in less than 200 pages of text, to synthesize and evaluate a whole sweep of modern American religious and cultural criticism. In doing so he has presented a marvelously well-written and insightful analysis that, though not without shortcomings, may emerge as a landmark in the field.

McCarraher begins with the assumption that public theology is terribly important in American history; the entire text, in fact, reinforces his passionately held conception of theology as an enduring, creative, and influential arena of political and moral discussion. Admittedly, by theology he clearly means the religious thinking of progressive, left-leaning intellectual elites, only some of whom—social gospel leader Walter Rauschenbush, for example, or the radical Catholic Dorothy

Day—were able to bridge the gap that existed between their world of books and letters and the lot of ordinary working people. Nonetheless, these were people who believed that the “social and cultural revolution” they longed for would have to emanate from “the therapeutic political practice of Christianity” (2). In their pursuit of such a revolution and by such a means, as McCarragher outlines, these intellectuals failed in many ways, especially in their embrace of a depoliticized therapeutic ethos that baptized the cultural hegemony of a nascent corporate order.

In describing the triumphs and many failures of these Christian elites, McCarragher provides a marvelous tour de force of much of twentieth-century U.S. intellectual history. The breadth of his range is astonishing; he astutely summarizes and critiques dozens of thinkers ranging from secular intellectuals like John Dewey and Daniel Bell to Catholic thinkers like Jacques Maritain and John A. Ryan, to the leading public theologians of liberal Protestantism like the Niebuhr brothers and Paul Tillich, and then later to more recent public intellectuals like Harvey Cox, Mary Daly, and Cornell West. Yet the author’s critiques of such thinkers—and he offers many—underscore his fundamental contention that the American Christian tradition remains “an unfinished, creative and animated historical conversation” (3) that even today holds out hope for renewal to a dispirited, ineffective secular left.

Though it is hard to summarize McCarragher’s complex and nuanced argument in a short review, the analysis revolves around a basic conflict between Christian intellectuals and their secular counterparts, thinkers like Dewey and William James, whose “control over the means of cultural production” (3) warrants seeing them as a kind of secular clergy. McCarragher’s Christian intellectuals accepted much of Dewey’s pragmatist tradition but insisted that, for it to reach its fullest fruition, it had to be linked to Christian theology and popular religious faith.

One of the key themes of McCarragher’s analysis devolves from the question of which loose set of rival intellectual elites will succeed in more completely evangelizing the other. In many instances—Reinhold Niebuhr is a prominent example—the “Christian Critics” of McCarragher’s title become little more than a clerical arm of an emerging professional/managerial class of corporate capitalism. In particular, this seduction happened by the parallel growth of the therapeutic ideal and its subversion of much of Christian cultural criticism.

McCarragher argues that Catholic thinkers were slightly better able than their Protestant counterparts to resist this seduction; the post-WWI retreat of Catholic intellectuals into “medievalism” (26) enabled them to take a bit more of a critical look at American modernity. Because of this tradition, despite their retreat into a “facile antimodernism,” radical Catholics like Day came closest, in McCarragher’s mind, to retaining a kind of authenticity between word and deed in the age of Niebuhrian realism. Meanwhile, the uncritical acceptance of an amoral, secular therapeutic ethos went further among liberal Protestants, a process especially facilitated by Tillich. Even as Tillich’s theology excited post-WWII political radicals and undermined the institutional structures of mainline Protestantism, its real effect was to usher in “a triumph of the therapeutic in the nation’s thought and culture” (136). In so doing, the victory of the inward-focused, apolitical therapeutic emphasis paved the way for the dissolution of the contemporary left. As

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McCarragher summarizes, shaped by “religious existentialists like Tillich, the quest for authentic selfhood began as a search for ‘beloved community,’ splintered over issues of race and gender, and ended in the fragmentation . . . of identity politics” (148). The author’s critiques could be harsh. While ever careful and generous in some ways towards black theology, he still judges it a form of “therapeutic quicksand” (173). Neither does feminist theology fare much better in his hands. Both remain religious counterparts of a secular left that has adopted a “moral libertarianism that enshrines a therapeutic ideal of ‘choice’” (184). At the same time, McCarragher ends the text in a note of optimism. Though “terribly deformed by consumer culture,” he retains hope that the therapeutic ethos might receive “repair and redemption” (190) at the hands of a renewed church.

Given the fact that, throughout the text, McCarragher himself has proved as adept a Christian critic as any of the thinkers he has summarized, the critiques of his work have come hard and fast in turn. McCarragher may well have focused too much attention not just on elites but on regional elites, disproportionately from the Boston-New York Ivy League corridor, and he may have done so in a manner that likewise obscured particular denominational dynamics. Moreover, the author may have condensed the story too simplistically in other ways. Even as he sketched out in his conclusion examples of “orthodox radicals” offering a conception of the church of a “polis . . . a community with a distinctive way of life” (187), the work of someone like John Howard Yoder does not even appear in the index.

Yet it is testimony enough to the power and provocation of McCarragher’s analysis to recognize that a wide number of people from a wide variety of perspectives will surely be responding to the text for a number of years. In the very least, whatever the criticisms, McCarragher has produced a remarkable accomplishment. Future U.S. intellectual historians may certainly argue with it but also will find it indispensable.

DANA L. ROBERT, *Occupy Until I Come: A. T. Pierson and the Evangelization of the World*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003. Pp. ix + 322. \$32.00.

**Reviewed by Jon Mark Yeats, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary**

Ministering during an era of change, Arthur Tappan Pierson moved from teaching his congregation to preaching worldwide challenging Protestants to rise from their complacency and participate in the evangelization of the world. In her latest book, *Occupy Until I Come*, Dana L. Robert, Truman Collins Professor of World Mission at Boston University School of Theology, portrays A. T. Pierson as a man whose life and writings resonated with an intense passion for the Gospel that propelled him to the fore of the global missions movement at the close of the nineteenth century. Her erudition allows the reader a closer look at Pierson’s life as she renders each of his personal struggles and triumphs in an engaging manner.

Robert begins with Pierson’s New England heritage and quickly brings the reader to what Pierson would call a salvation experience at the age of forty. As the result of this experience, Pierson would lead his wealthy congregation to reach the poor of Detroit and fight the complacent trends in his church. Pierson would

move to banish pew rents and commit to accept his salary on a faith basis. Almost a decade later, Pierson would summarize his growing concern for the evangelization of the world in his seminal work, *The Crisis of Missions*, which placed Pierson on the global map as the “greatest promoter and the most prolific writer about foreign missions in the late nineteenth century” (144).

The bulk of the book is spent on Pierson’s indefatigable post-*Crisis of Missions* career which included working with D. L. Moody, the YMCA, the Student Volunteer Movement, filling the prestigious pulpit at the Metropolitan Tabernacle in London, and participating in the Keswick movement. Despite Pierson’s hectic schedule he continued to publish the influential *Missionary Review of the World* as well as numerous books to encourage the volunteer watchword—“the evangelization of the world in this generation” (150). By the end of his life, Pierson had possibly done more to promote missions than any of his generation and Robert clearly outlines the contribution he made in the growth and advance of non-Western Christianity.

One of the more fascinating elements of Robert’s account of Pierson’s life is her presentation of his eschatology. Pierson’s change of heart from postmillennial thought to Darbyite premillennialism after a powerful encounter with George Müller, modified and changed his thinking on numerous issues—including the importance of missions. Robert aids the reader in understanding just how significant this change in thought was, but is careful to indicate that Pierson modified Dispensationalism as it appeared in his day to stress the importance of Christian social action beyond the realm of missions. Thus, the title of the book derives from Pierson’s own understanding that the church ought to participate actively in social activism in order to reflect Christ’s command to occupy the earth until his return. Robert’s careful research is evident throughout the volume as she argues convincingly that Pierson’s ministry was integral to the formation of the conservative evangelical movement.

*Occupy Until I Come* is part of the Library of Religious Biography series edited by Mark Noll, Nathan Hatch, and Allen Guelzo—which aims to provide enjoyable narratives while remaining free of footnotes and endnotes—thus, readers do not gain access to the heart of Robert’s painstaking research. Since Robert’s volume is the first major biographical reconstruction of Pierson and his context since Delavan Pierson’s 1912 tome, the academic reader will be frustrated at the lack of sources. While Robert does add a brief annotated bibliography, it does little to direct future scholars into Pierson’s voluminous writings. After supplying her readers with an enticing entrée to the life of Pierson, it is hoped that Robert will continue to share her deep knowledge of Pierson’s life and writings in future projects that grant scholars better access to the source material.

*Occupy Until I Come* demonstrates A. T. Pierson’s foundational role in many of the global evangelical movements and mission endeavors undertaken near the beginning of the twentieth century. Robert brilliantly contextualizes Pierson’s life despite the dynamic nature of his work that seems to defy clear categorization. With her lucid prose and solid historical reconstruction, Robert has crafted an excellent book that belongs on the shelves of a broad readership.

## BOOK REVIEWS

JOHN LEWIS GADDIS, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. 192. \$23.00.

Reviewed by L. John Van Til, Grove City College

This is another in a long line of essays about historical method penned by senior members of the historical profession as they neared the end of their careers. Gaddis acknowledges his membership in the fraternity, or rather his hope that this book of reflections will place him in it. He says that he sees himself particularly in the mold of Marc Bloch and E. H. Carr, even “updating” (x) many of the issues they discussed. I remember reading Carr decades ago. After some reflection on his work and rummaging around among the books on the lower of my library shelves, numerous memories of what other revered writers on the craft of history said came to mind. Gaddis does not emphasize them. In my view, however, it would be very important to note the influence of Carl Becker on subsequent writers on historical method, including Bloch and Carr, and eventually, it seems to me, Gaddis himself. Becker, nineteen years Carr’s senior, though their publishing lives overlapped for several decades, is most famous for his 1931 presidential address to the American Historical Association, “Everyman His Own Historian.” It became the benchmark for unqualified subjectivism and relativism in historical method. Characterized by Becker’s prose brilliance, this essay made the case forcefully, being printed and reprinted dozens of times over many decades. The point is, though Gaddis does not mention it, his *The Landscape of History* is the latest in a long line of lineal descendants of “Everyman His Own Historian.” That is to say, though there are some very interesting new applications of Becker’s argument in it, *The Landscape of History* in the end is but the most recent brief for Becker-style subjectivity.

This tenet will be explored a bit more following a summary of Gaddis’s basic points. Before that, however, it is worth noting that Gaddis’s prose, too, is engaging and colorful, due in part to his self-confessed fascination with the metaphor as a way to convey elusive meaning. This piece certainly stands above the work-a-day texts produced by most journeymen historians, though it does not have the simple beauty, clarity, and power of Becker-penned prose.

The content of *The Landscape of History* is dominated by the use of metaphors. A landscape, described early and pictured on the dust jacket, is meant to convey the structure which historians seek to study. In Gaddis’s words, historians seek to “map” the landscape. This figure allows Gaddis to point out the difficulties historians face in “mapping” the past: that is, perspective, the problem of distance, and so forth. In addition to demonstrating the ways metaphor can be used, Gaddis provides a great service to his fellow historians by noting several significant intellectual and methodological developments since the appearance of E. H. Carr’s *What is History?* (1961).

The first of these is the steady decline in the use of the traditional Newtonian-based scientific method. If Gaddis is correct, there still are large numbers of scholars in all fields of study who are unaware of this development. He used the Heisenberg Principle to make his point. In brief, the argument is that the physical world

does not always behave the same way when scientists attempt to replicate their observations of it. Inanimate things, molecules for example, may change slowly or even abruptly. Indeed, the *process* of observing the physical world (nature) probably affects the way it behaves. Gaddis makes this point for two reasons. First, practitioners of science now have no choice but to change their theories to explain events more readily than in the past. Second, in acting this way, they are becoming more like historians who “narrate” what they see and can know. As Gaddis says, “hard scientists” and historians must make the best possible “fit” between facts and theory. Another very important point made by Gaddis is that so-called social scientists (his phrase) do not seem to understand what “hard scientists” and historians are *now* doing because they religiously stick to the old Newtonian paradigm. This stance, coupled with their insistence on thinking in terms of “independent variables” (64–65), prevents them from doing much more than stating the obvious in what may be called jargon. Gaddis also calls upon the social scientists to recognize that the subject they study—humankind—is fickle and thus eludes the precision they hope for. This condition prevents them from discovering “laws” of human behavior they covet so much, laws they believe should have the certainty their brethren in the hard sciences find. As might be expected in such a critique of social science theory, he calls upon its practitioners to follow the lead of historians and post-Newtonian “hard scientists” and develop new theories too. Other interesting and provocative topics appear in this brief but dense book. Indeed, I intend to return to it again and again to ponder some of the additional intellectual tools he uses, such as “particular generalization” (66), “chaos and complexity theory” (76–79), “fractals” (81–84), and more.

Before concluding, however, I wish to return to the point made at the outset—that Gaddis’s *The Landscape of History* is in the tradition of Becker’s “Everyman His Own Historian.” This Becker/Gaddis nexus makes it easier to call attention to many important issues Gaddis did not take up, that is to say, to point to some of the limitations of his study for scholars with a Christian perspective. In a phrase, he assumes what Becker argued for—subjectivity. Obviously, one committed to a subjective intellectual stance denies the possibility of objectivity, which Gaddis does. After stating that there is a historian’s equivalent of the Heisenberg Principle, he says that this “means that objectivity as a consequence is hardly possible, and that there is, therefore, no such thing as truth” (29). And again in comments on biography, “there can be no single standard for objectivity in biography, or for that matter in all of history” (125). To be sure Gaddis writes elsewhere about the possibility of knowing some things in general about the past, but these never rise to the level of certainty associated with the idea of objectivity.

Those with a Christian perspective will find *The Landscape of History* worth reading because it is no doubt a guide to the thinking of some leading practitioners of the art. Moreover, there are a number of very interesting observations about possible new techniques, flaws in the social sciences, useful insights borrowed from contemporary “hard” scientists, and more. In these matters Gaddis has reached his goal of “updating” (x) Bloch and Carr. Nevertheless, he remains squarely in the tradition of Carl Becker in which everyman is his own historian.