

Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004. Pp. x + 325. \$39.95/\$19.95.

**Reviewed by Donald A. Yerxa, Eastern Nazarene College/The Historical Society**

Historians as a group have been notoriously uninterested in critical theory. In recent decades, however, some have rushed to take up rhetorical arms against theoretical insurrectionists who have set up barricades to overthrow established notions historical epistemology and practice. But most have been content to sit out this particular battle, hoping that the belligerents will leave them alone to go about their labors without distraction. And, no doubt to their relief, it seems the battle no longer rages. The worst fears of both sides—that faddish, arcane theory would ruin serious historical inquiry and that historians would stubbornly embrace the “noble dream” of objectivity—never materialized. Putting aside the valid claim of historians like Mary Fulbrook that there are no real noncombatants because all historical inquiry is inevitably theoretical, it is fair to ask what the battle of the linguistic turn has accomplished for historians.

According to Elizabeth A. Clark, the John Carlisle Kilgo professor of religion at Duke University, the linguistic turn, embedded as it is with critical theory, is resurrecting intellectual history, and offers great promise for her field of patristic Christianity. *History, Theory, Text* makes this case, but it does much more. Clark traces the development of the many debates over the status of history between and among historians and theorists from Ranke to our present contested circumstance. This extended and richly documented essay-within-an-essay is a *tour de force*, and undoubtedly historians outside her field will view this as the major contribution of the book.

Clark introduces her ambitious project with a twentieth century genealogy of the current debates. In so doing, she rightly emphasizes the continuity of the epistemological problems historians inevitably face when they investigate “a vanished past” (2). Clark discusses the usual suspects—Ranke, Dilthey, Beard, Carr, Elton, Novick—plus a few less likely witnesses—e.g., Joan Scott, David Harlan, Beverley Southgate.

Her next six chapters (approximately two thirds of the book) flesh out the various attempts to accommodate history and theory in the twentieth century. She begins with the mid-century debate between analytical philosophers of history (Popper and Hempel) and their critics (Collingwood and Dray). Here a major concern was whether knowledge of the past could be ascertained with empirical rigor, or was “historical knowing” unique. Drawing on the work of Danto, Putnam, and Rorty, Clark skillfully connects these positivist-idealist debates to more recent attempts to address the problem of what and how historians can really know about the past. Her conclusion is that all these Anglo-American efforts have fallen short.

Clark next assesses the contributions of structuralism and French philosophical reflection on history. The reader is given an introduction to the structural linguistics of Saussure and the structural anthropology of Lévi-Strauss, along with the critique of Ricoeur and Derrida. Although structuralism evolved into post-structuralism, its emphasis on discontinuity and the self-referential nature of language are, for Clark, its legacies.

The Annales school, microhistorians, and British Marxist historians enormously influenced twentieth century historiography, and Clark acknowledges this. But she argues that these innovative historians retained “a lingering positivism” and essentially ignored critical theory. They “cordoned off the ‘territory of history’ from critiques offered by philosophers and theorists” (63). Far more significant in terms of their potential contribution to a theoretically sophisticated history is the work of three philosophically-minded French historians: Veyne, Chartier, and de Certeau.

In a famous essay appearing in *Past and Present* in 1979, Lawrence Stone urged historians to reject structuralism, cliometrics, and attempts to find scientific foundations for historical change—in essence to turn their backs on theory. Instead, he urged them to embrace narrative representations of the past. Many academic historians at the time viewed storytelling about the past as lacking in intellectual rigor and had surrendered the genre to popular-journalistic historians. But the subsequent twenty-five years has witnessed a remarkable resurgence of academic historians writing narrative histories for both popular and peer consumption. Clark is relatively silent on this development, but predictably, she has much to say about what Barthes and White had to say about narrative and history. They went well beyond the notion that historical writing was closely aligned with literature; they claimed that “[h]istorical narration...is not a neutral genre, but is deeply implicated in ideological construction” (95).

Post-structuralism is critical to Clark’s overall project, and she devotes two chapters to developing its impact. The ideas of Foucault and Derrida receive their due, but these chapters also do an excellent job of summarizing how theoretically-informed historians have appropriated elements of post-structuralism (e.g., de Certeau, Chartier, and LaCapra). Especially helpful is the debate over contextualism (Skinner and Pocock vs. LaCapra and Harlan), which Clark uses to set up her solid discussion of Geertz and textualism in interpretive anthropology.

Clark admits “[t]he implications of the ‘linguistic turn’ for the historical profession...have been unsettling” (5); nevertheless, she argues that “the study of early Christian texts stands to benefit handsomely from close attention to critical theory” (8). Over the last fifty years, patristic studies has evolved from a theologically and philologically oriented field to one heavily influenced by social-scientific approaches. It is now time, Clark contends, to read Christian writings from late antiquity “first and foremost as literary productions before they are read as sources of social data” (159). Her concluding chapter provides some brief examples of how the study of late ancient Christianity can benefit by aligning itself as a subdiscipline of “a new, theoretically informed intellectual history” (156). This seems like an entirely legitimate argument, but from the vantage point of a generalist historian it strikes me as somewhat

underwhelming. Since the sources of patristic Christianity are premodern texts, it seems almost obvious that they should be analyzed in large part as literary products—recognition, Clark notes, that scholars in her field are coming to relatively late and with some reluctance.

What is decidedly not underwhelming about *History, Theory, Text* is Clark's extremely helpful summary and analysis of twentieth century critical theory and its implications for history. One need not be a patristic scholar to appreciate the enormous amount of reading and synthesis Clark has undertaken. This book is bound to be assigned in many graduate and advanced undergraduate historiography seminars; indeed, it already has. It is the finest introduction to the topic in print and should be read alongside Iggers's *Historiography in the Twentieth Century*.

Lastly, Clark's case for the value of critical theory for late ancient Christianity is one thing. But can the same argument be made for other fields whose source data are not so easily identifiable as texts? On this point I am much more skeptical, but recent offerings by Southgate and Munslow have convinced me that the time for battle has past. Historians will surely remain divided on such matters, but for now at least let's stand down, remove the barricades, and return to our labors.

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A. Donald MacLeod, *W. Stanford Reid: An Evangelical Calvinist in the Academy*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001. Pp.xvi + 401. \$80.00 / \$29.95.

**Reviewed by Russell K. Bishop, Gordon College (emeritus)**

In mid-twentieth century North America, largely as a result of fundamentalism's anti-intellectual disdain for secular culture, there were precious few evangelical historians teaching and directing graduate students in the major universities. Fortunately, out of fundamentalism there emerged a reform movement (neo-evangelicalism) that, among other things, brought conservative, Biblical Christianity back into an engagement with the broader culture. Now, as we know, there are a number of outstanding, highly credentialed, evangelical historians in major universities (and private colleges as well) whose work is highly regarded within the academy. Before this happy occurrence, however, the Canadian historian and churchman, W. Stanford Reid, stood almost alone as a model of the evangelical scholar working within a secular university.

Stanford was born and raised in Protestant, Anglophone Quebec. His paternal family was Scottish and Presbyterian, and his father, William, became a prominent minister in Montreal. His maternal family (Stanford) was English and Plymouth Brethren, and his mother, Daisy became a missionary in India. While on furlough in Canada, she met

William Reid and they were married in 1911. They had two sons, William Stanford (1913), and Ernest Allan Stewart (1917), who became a prominent physician.

Throughout his life, which spanned most of the twentieth century, Stanford Reid lived and moved in two parallel worlds—the confessional Presbyterian Church and the secular university. Even as a boy he was deeply influenced by his father, picking up habits in preaching and following his battles over church union and liberalism. As expected, he attended McGill University, receiving a B.A. in 1934 (honours English and History) and an M.A. in 1935 (History). While a student there, he was very active in Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship on campus. After 1935, however, he became disillusioned with their pietism and legalism, just as he was to reject the dispensationalist-separatist fundamentalism of his Plymouth Brethren forbearers. His identity was henceforth to be with the historic Reformed tradition of Calvin, Knox, Kuyper and Machen. Rather than attending Presbyterian College, Montreal (his father's alma mater, but now theologically suspect), he chose the more orthodox Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia for his theological education, graduating with honors in 1938. He then followed up his other great passion—historical study, especially the Reformation—by entering upon graduate studies at the prestigious University of Pennsylvania. His Ph.D. thesis on fifteenth century Scotland argued for the inevitability of the Reformation by analyzing the late-medieval social context. Most of his subsequent scholarly work attempted to amplify that story. Marriage to Priscilla Lee, an old family friend and a historian in her own right, followed in 1940. The next year he was ordained in the Presbyterian Church of Canada, assigned to a Montreal parish, and with the help of recently installed Principal, F. Cyril James, appointed a lecturer in history at McGill University. James had been an economist at the University of Pennsylvania and his patronage of Stanford Reid was to be important for the careers of both men at McGill.

Although Reid resigned from his parish ministry in 1948 upon being promoted to assistant professor at the University, his involvement in the greater life of the church continued unabated. In Canada he attempted to steer a course between liberal ecumenists and narrow-minded separatists. Given his combative personality it is no wonder that he encountered opposition from both sides. Though often rebuffed—he was passed over for two chairs of Church History (Montreal and Toronto) as well as the pastorate of historic Knox Church, Toronto—he was never bitter and he pushed on with his agenda, trusting God's Providence. In the U.S.A. he faced similar encounters, as an editor in the early years of *Christianity Today* and especially as a long-time board member of Westminster Seminary. Through it all, Reid had been a faithful upholder of confessional Presbyterianism.

In academia his career was more successful, although not without its confrontations and disappointments. At McGill, Reid was promoted through the ranks and became a respected member of the History Department—well-liked by students and popular graduate mentor because of his personal devotion to those studying under him. Faculty, on the other hand, though cordial, usually treated him with reserve—the price he paid for his outspoken Christian commitment. In fact, circumstances peculiar to the minority Protestant culture in Montreal allowed him a freedom in this regard that is almost

unimaginable in U.S. universities at the time. In 1965, Reid decided it was time to get out of Quebec and a great opportunity opened up at the newly created University of Guelph in Ontario. During his five years as chairman of the History Department he hand-picked its members, established a Scottish Studies program and used the ample resources made available to him to assemble probably the best collection of Scottish sources outside the U.K. Tensions with younger faculty contributed to his decision to resign the chairmanship in 1975 and then, in 1979, from teaching altogether. Although he remained active to the end, his beloved Priscilla's declining health—blindness, Parkinson's, dementia—led to her permanent hospitalization and a life of loneliness in his own declining years. He was quite gratified by the response he got from churches when he spoke and wrote on this topic. He died, after a bout with cancer, in 1996.

What can be said about Stanford Reid and the "outrageous idea" of Christian historical scholarship? Fortunately, he practiced his craft in an environment that allowed for it. How, then, was it manifest in his life and work? On several occasions he reflected on the challenge. In 1965 he wrote, "—possibly the most important facet of a Christian professor's testimony is his own personal life" (quote, 337, fn.35). There is ample evidence that his impact on students was positive, although it was mostly in the encouragement of those already Christian. Non-Christians liked him and appreciated his kindness they never really understood what his religious convictions amounted to.

As for Christian scholarship, he also had strong opinions. In 1958, when the Commonwealth Universities met in Montreal, he took the occasion to consider the purpose of higher education. In the face of a perceived hunger for meaning and transcendence he challenged Christians to go into the secular institutions "where, through their scientific exactitude, their scholarly ability and perhaps even their administrative gifts, they may win a hearing for their Christian position, that men may once again realize that their covenant with God alone gives meaning to nature and society" (quoted, 123). It is interesting that, despite his staunch Calvinism, he expressed serious reservations about the usefulness of the work of the Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto, despite his continuous support of it. He was frustrated with the excessive theorizing, the "jargon accessible only to the initiate" (249). And, Herman Dooyeweerd's philosophy, "as far as the actual work of an historian was concerned, was completely irrelevant" (245).

Probably the most explicit incorporation of his faith was in the course he taught for years at McGill, and then Guelph, on the Intellectual History of Western Thought Since the Reformation. Here he took a worldview approach to intellectual problems, with a selection of readings used in class discussion that allowed him to include a number from a Christian (often Calvinist) worldview. The "last word" (122) went to Martin Lloyd Jones in a selection entitled, "Is the Gospel Still Relevant?" Again, it is impossible to determine whether minds were changed or not, but at least the option was clear and available.

As a former student of Stanford Reid's I am personally delighted that this admiring but critical biography has been written. He was a wonderful human being—kind, considerate, with an impish sense of humor and a twinkle in his eye. And he was a

pioneer in many ways for evangelical historians who followed. We can all learn from his achievements as well as his limitations.

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Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005. Pp. xvii+273. \$35.00.

**Reviewed by Eric Carlsson, University of Wisconsin, Madison**

In recent years, mainstream scholarship on the Enlightenment has begun to register what historians of theology have long been aware of: that Enlightenment was not unremittingly secular but rather something that occurred as much *within* as *against* Europe's religious traditions. With *The Enlightenment Bible*, a revised Berkeley dissertation, Jonathan Sheehan makes a signal contribution to the shift underway in Enlightenment studies.

Sheehan sets out to chart the Bible's fortunes as it encountered the Enlightenment. For him the Enlightenment denotes not so much a coherent program or philosophical movement as "a new constellation of practices and institutions" (xi), most importantly "scholarship"—philology, text criticism, critical historiography—and translation. Sheehan argues that these practices transformed the Bible's place in European culture in the eighteenth century. Before then the Bible derived its authority from theology, from its status as divine revelation. By century's end, Sheehan contends, the Bible found legitimacy on other grounds. Now "reconstituted as a piece of the heritage of the West," (xi) it had become a cornerstone of new conceptions of culture. How the Bible "was transformed from a work of theology to a work of culture" (220) is the story told in the book's nine lively and learned chapters.

After a chapter sketching the rise and fall of vernacular Bible translation during the eras of Reformation and confessionalization the narrative picks up with England at the turn of the eighteenth century. The focus then shifts to Protestant Germany between, roughly, 1710 and 1830, and remains there for most of the book before returning, in the final chapter, to England in the period 1780-1870. The geographical and temporal movement is important. It was in England, Sheehan argues, that the scholarly tools were created that would be taken up in Germany and used to forge "the Enlightenment Bible" proper. In the following century, this creature's progeny, the "cultural Bible," would be exported back to England, which increasingly took cues from Germany's academic powerhouse.

The circumstances that gave rise to "the Enlightenment Bible" in the early eighteenth century differed dramatically between the two nations. In England, biblical scholarship was, above all, an apologetic endeavor spurred by attacks on Scripture from deists and freethinkers. In response, text critics such as John Mill and Richard Bentley sought to recover and defend the reliability of the original biblical text through

meticulous philological scholarship. In Germany, by contrast, the main engine behind the “reinvention of the Bible” was Pietism, particularly in its more radical forms. Critics of the Lutheran establishment and its Luther Bible—little-known figures like J. O. Glüsing, J. H. Reitz, and J. F. Haug—used such devices as hyper-literal translation and encyclopedic commentary to produce what Sheehan dubs a “post-theological Bible,” a Bible that would bypass confessional orthodoxy and mediate the original text and its spiritual meaning directly to contemporary readers. In the hands of the radical Pietists, Sheehan argues, scholarship and translation thus became “a weapon against theology.” With them, the Bible became “a project rather than an object” (84-5), a book opened up to the new media of the age. At this moment “the Enlightenment Bible” was born.

But what, exactly, *was* “the Enlightenment Bible”? For Sheehan, no single such entity existed, for besides being post-theological, its distinguishing feature was its “ineluctably plural” character. No longer legitimized by theology, its authority came to be dispersed across four key nuclei: philology, pedagogy, poetry, and history. The core of *The Enlightenment Bible* consists of four chapters detailing how each discipline offered its own answer to the question of biblical authority. The “philological Bible” was the result of Pietist J. A. Bengel’s text-critical work, which, contends Sheehan, opened up a gap, famously formulated by J. S. Semler, between the historically conditioned Bible and the eternal Word of God. The “moral Bible” was the creation of rationalist “pedagogues” like J. L. Schmidt and K. F. Bahrdt, “translators” who wanted a Bible purged of dogma and aimed at the moral reform of humanity. The “literary Bible” emerged from the work of poets, including J. A. Cramer and, especially, J. G. Herder, who saw in poetry a means of turning the Old Testament into a part of German national literature—and in the process fatefully severed it from its Jewish roots. An antithetical spirit motivated the “historical Bible,” which Sheehan associates primarily with J. D. Michaelis. Michaelis’s aim was to render the Bible alien to moderns by embedding it firmly in its ancient Near Eastern context, a project that would make possible a presumably objective and nonpartisan translation that would serve readers of every religious persuasion.

The final two chapters sketch how the pluriform “Enlightenment Bible” collapsed, after the 1780s, into a singular “cultural Bible.” Sheehan uses the term “cultural Bible” as shorthand for the idea that the Bible’s abiding authority derives from its status as the matrix of Western culture and values. This notion undergirded the “religion of culture” that emerged under the auspices of liberal Protestantism in nineteenth century Germany and which found perhaps its most eloquent spokesman in England, in Matthew Arnold. Integral to the creation of the cultural Bible, Sheehan stresses, was a program of systematic de-Judaization whereby the Jewish particularity of the Scriptures was subordinated to ideas of abstract and interiorized theological truth that could easily be molded to fit ideas of national culture.

It is impossible to convey here the richness of this book. It contains a wealth of new information and penetrating insight, and I can only urge anyone with the least bit of interest in its subject matter to read it. Nevertheless, I think the book’s larger argument lays itself open to a basic criticism. Sheehan—rightly, in my view—disavows traditional accounts of secularization as religious decline in favor of a story, long familiar to

(particularly German) historians of theology, that emphasizes Christianity's "transformation and reconstruction" in the eighteenth century. Yet his narrative in fact turns out to be a secularization tale par excellence. The exclusive focus on the "post-theological Bible" risks vastly understating the degree to which the Bible's enduring role in the West remained—and remains—tied directly to its theological function within believing communities. Sheehan admits almost as much in passing (cf. xi). But in proceeding to cast the emergence of "the cultural Bible" as *the* story of the Bible in modern times he overloads his evidence with a claim it cannot support. If *The Enlightenment Bible* is read, however, as simply one of several stories that could be told about the Bible's confrontation with modernity, its argument gains proper perspective. In that perspective it is an important story, which is told here exceedingly well indeed.

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David S. Katz, *God's Last Words: Reading the English Bible from the Reformation to Fundamentalism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. Pp. xvi + 397. \$38.00.

David W. Kling, *The Bible in History: How the Texts Have Shaped the Times*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. ix + 389. \$35.00.

**Reviewed by Douglas A. Sweeney, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School**

For all their apparent similarities, these two books on the Bible in history could hardly be more different—in content, in tone, and in their usefulness to scholars. David Katz is a New Yorker who now teaches in Tel-Aviv. David Kling is a Midwesterner who teaches in Miami. Their books bear all the marks of their respective social locations, and will appeal to different audiences.

*God's Last Words* is billed as a history of the reception and appropriation of our multiple English Bibles, from the days when Renaissance scholars first translated them from the sources to the present, when "Fundamentalists" seem to be creeping out of the woodwork. Katz's story oozes irony. Though he clearly sides with those who take a profane approach to Scripture, he recognizes that in recent years his tribe has been overwhelmed by hordes of barbarians who claim to view the Bible supernaturally. Despite the gains of modern science, Katz concludes to his own chagrin, "the birth of the Fundamentalist movement brings us right back to the beginning, when scriptural authority was axiomatic and the Bible was self-evidently *God's Last Words* to mankind. Far from being a deviant group of religious extremists, Fundamentalists are actually those whose theological position is closest to the message of the Protestant revolution, while we are the ones who have gone into the sunset of the 'horizon of expectations'" (315).

As this comment indicates, Katz is careful to highlight the shifting horizon of expectations in relation to which modern English-speaking people have read the Bible. He tracks the spread of biblical criticism, but always with a concern for the response of what Stanley Fish has termed “the informed or at-home reader” (xi). Katz is not a social historian. Remarkably few “at-home readers” ever appear within his pages. But a commitment to reader response theory does pervade his book, as do suggestions as to how such readers might or should have responded to the Bible in the light of their eras’ cultural achievements.

Reading Katz’s book is like browsing a curiosity shop. Its pages are chock-full of hard-to-find, historical bric-a-brac. However, they often appear out of context, leaving patrons to wonder how Katz expects us to use them. Indeed, this desultory narrative will frustrate at-home readers. Katz is so keen to avoid the charge of liberal, Whiggish triumphalism—and yet so equally keen to emphasize the follies of fundamentalism—that his narrative frequently languishes for lack of teleology. It does address a chronological series of scholarly episodes—dating back to the prehistory of William Tyndale’s English Bible and culminating in the spread of evolutionary thought. But it fails to connect them well—to one another or their times. It does not survey the entire history of English Bible reading. It hardly touches on America. It ignores the non-western world. And it tells us next to nothing about how ordinary Christians read the Bible doctrinally.

Katz portrays many ordinary Christian subjects with scorn, politely muffled but phrased in matter-of-fact assuredness. He disparages traditional Protestant reverence for the Bible, describing it as “Bible worship,” (52) even “bibliolatry” (74), whether practiced by the Puritans or their “Fundamentalist” heirs. In fact, he refers to hard-core Puritans as “proto-Fundamentalists” (73), and he caricatures their regard for sola scriptura. He thinks this slogan usually suggested that the Bible was the only book that mattered on most subjects, and that its meaning was perfectly plain to most of its readers. Even Luther, Katz contends, expressed this sort of naïveté, for “when [he] developed the concept of sola scriptura . . . he was convinced that the text of the Bible was so clear that comprehension was simultaneous with reading” (80). In short, *God’s Last Words* offers a fascinating collection of long-lost gems of biblical scholarship. But its collector’s idiosyncrasies make it difficult to process.

David Kling’s *The Bible in History* is a different kind of book. Less concerned to offer a new interpretation of biblical scholarship than to offer a new resource for classroom teaching in Christian history, Kling addresses eight texts from both the Old and New Testaments and analyzes their roles in church history and theology. Dissatisfied with standard texts in the history of Christianity, most of which neglect the history of biblical exegesis, Kling offers an assessment of the ways that biblical narratives have shaped and been shaped by Christian social and cultural history. He addresses Matthew 19 and the rise of Christian monasticism, Romans 1 and Martin Luther’s quest for peace in the presence of God, even the book of Exodus and black American liberation. His work is “intentionally episodic” (5). He has had to be selective, choosing texts and historical episodes on the basis of their “significance” for subsequent Christian history and the degree to which they represent the “diversity” of Christian traditions, biblical

texts and interpretive strategies (6). Nonetheless, Kling has demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt that Christian history cannot be taught—at least not well—without the Bible.

Kling's conclusions are nothing new: "We have seen that Scripture has functioned in a reflexive, push-pull, dialectical interplay of influences; texts have shaped history, and history has shaped the interpretation of texts" (311). Moreover, the biblical texts have functioned "as transforming agents" in history, changing individual lives and even societies. They have been "re-created and resuscitated in the interpretive and historical process." They have been used as keys "around which other texts of Scripture are illuminated," at times unlocking the Bible's "essential meaning" for its readers. And they have confirmed "already existing notions, ideas, or convictions," legitimating a host of social and cultural practices (311-12). "Of course," one might respond. But Kling's primary contribution lies in his explication of these and other, related historical trends. He fleshes out—with excellence—what so many others have taken for granted.

Besides, excessive novelty in a book like this would only get in the way of its utility in the classroom. Katz's cleverness and methodological novelties are an attraction. His is an erudite and original view of modern biblical study, one that will resonate with many, falling flat with many others (especially traditional Protestants). Kling's book, on the other hand, should find a large, general readership for its unsurprising qualities—for its steady reliability and the way it supplies resources all will admit we sorely need. Together, Katz and Kling symbolize the unprecedented variety of new biblical histories that are flourishing in our day. But Kling shows us what can be done by generous, teacher-scholars working more diligently to be useful than to be clever.

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Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Africa and the Bible*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2004. Pp. 304. \$26.99.

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

In *Africa and the Bible*, eminent historian Edwin Yamauchi broadens and textures our knowledge of Africa's place in the biblical narrative by addressing two historical lacunae. He corrects the deficiencies of scholars of antiquity who virtually ignore biblical references to Africa and augments the work of "Afrocentric" scholars who rarely engage the archaeological data surrounding Africa's place in the Bible. Furthermore, Yamauchi canvasses the archaeological and historical work relating to Africa and the Bible, assesses and critiques numerous interpretations, and offers his own take on various interpretive and exegetical matters. Finally, *Africa and the Bible* features four reworked essays (Chapters 5-8) along with four entirely new chapters (Chapters 1-4).

Yamauchi opens with a historical look at Genesis 9:25, an important text in which Noah curses Ham's son Canaan, and then traces evolving ideas about the "curse of Ham" through Jewish literature, in European and in British publications, and even notes the Mormon use of this text to prohibit the ordination of black clergy.

Yamauchi's second chapter explores questions surrounding the identity of Moses' Egyptian wife (noted in Numbers 12:1 and Exodus 12:21), and he ultimately concludes that Moses' Egyptian wife was, indeed, a Cushite (or Nubian) woman from Upper Egypt. To make this argument Yamauchi carefully notes ancient Greek and Roman references to Cush (sometimes Kush), painstakingly describes the linguistic history of Cushite words and terms, and effectively presents the archaeological discoveries that illuminate the confluences between Egyptian and Jewish history.

Solomon and Africa frame Yamauchi's third chapter. Here Yamauchi usefully recounts Solomon's building initiatives and his visions of international engagement in order to discuss the archaeological and linguistic histories of Israel and Africa. Yamauchi also insightfully explores references to Solomon's relationship with the Queen of Sheba in Jewish, Islamic, and Ethiopian traditions and with the weight of critical history and archaeology on his side, concludes that the infamous queen hailed not from Africa, but from southwest Arabia.

Along with other famous Cushites, the ancient Cushite Tirhakah (referenced, for example, in 2 Kings 19:9 and Isaiah 37:9) is the subject of Yamauchi's fourth chapter. Again expertly plumbing the depths of ancient historical sources and cross-referencing with relevant biblical passages, Yamauchi finds that this ruler from the seventh century B. C. (and part of Egypt's famous XXV Dynasty) fought important battles with the ancient and relatively well-known Assyrian rulers Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal and stood as a prominent pharaoh in Egyptian society.

After fascinating and informative chapters on Rome and Meroe, on the history, archaeology, and location of the city of Cyrene, and on the famous Ethiopian eunuch from Acts (in which Yamauchi concludes that the Ethiopian eunuch was not, in fact, Ethiopian), Yamauchi judiciously describes and thoughtfully addresses issues of Africa, the Bible, and Afrocentric and Eurocentric biblical interpretation. While Yamauchi here acknowledges that a "Eurocentric racist bias" (211) influenced western scholarship, he also critiques the sometimes selective memory of the Afrocentric perspective, an intellectual posture that often neglects the world historical contributions of Nubians, Cushites, and Meroites in favor of ancient Egypt. Yamauchi quickly points out, however, that the thrust of Afrocentric scholarship led to the realization that the Egyptian language did not come from the family of Hamito-Semitic languages, but in actuality is an Afroasiatic tongue linked to the Hausa dialect.

Finally, in an Appendix Yamauchi lucidly summarizes the essence of Martin Bernal's *Black Athena*, an important work that chronicled the African contributions to so-called Western civilization. For balance, Yamauchi also includes the voices of some of Bernal's most vociferous critics. This strong chapter will orient unfamiliar readers to one of the most salient historiographical issues that span ancient studies, biblical history, African studies, archaeology, and linguistics, among other fields.

In sum, Yamauchi's *Africa and the Bible* is not for the weary of heart. Yamauchi's careful descriptions, copious references, and helpful charts, graphs, images, and pictures, reveal a book that traverses the scholarly realms of archaeology, biblical and theological studies, history, linguistics, geology, and geography, to name just a few, and thus possesses a rich interdisciplinary flavor. A 44-page bibliography also attests to the interdisciplinary thrust of *Africa and the Bible*.

Though *Africa and the Bible* is historically and biblically rich, there are several criticisms to register. At several points in the book, namely Chapters one and five, the prose is rather obtuse and Yamauchi lapses into bland description rather than engaging analysis. While Chapter five features an informative presentation of the history of Rome and Meroe, Yamauchi fails to make clear how this part of the discussion fits into a narrative about Africa and the Bible.

Despite such criticism, *Africa and the Bible*—borne from a career of scholarly reflection rich with biblical insight—contributes to conversations between historians, theologians, pastors, and above all those who wish to explore the prominent and often overlooked role Africa occupies in the biblical narrative.

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Madawi al-Rasheed, *A History of Saudi Arabia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. 255. \$65.00/\$23.99.

**Reviewed by Glenn E. Sanders, Oklahoma Baptist University**

Publication of *A History of Saudi Arabia* has quickly established Madawi al-Rasheed as a woman with important things to say about the kingdom. Two subsequent events mark the book's success: its quick release as a paperback textbook and al-Rasheed's prominent role as a commentator in a two-hour PBS *Frontline* episode, "The House of Saud," broadcast in spring 2005 (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/saud/>). Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at King's College, University of London, al-Rasheed credits her academic career to the reforms in women's education begun under King Faysal (1964-75). Her intimate experience of the country and her training in anthropology provide significant insights into the formation of one of the most important states in the Middle East. The book is one of the best short surveys available in English.

After a useful introduction that highlights al-Rasheed's thesis and an opening chapter on nineteenth century social and political backgrounds, the book's divisions follow chronologically, although by significant political trends rather than by reigns, with the 1932 suppression of the *ikhwan* (the tribal Muslim forces who supported Ibn Saud's rise), the 1973 oil embargo, the 1991 Gulf War, and the 1999 celebration of the kingdom's centenary as milestones. Because it addresses ruling-class assumptions and

perceptions about the kingdom, the seventh chapter on current Saudi political discourse is by far the most interesting.

Al-Rasheed names British influence as the primary external factor in the establishment of Saudi Arabia: “While Saudi Arabia escaped some of the ruptures of direct colonial rule, state formation and the unification of Arabia under Saudi leadership must be understood in the context of British intervention in the Middle East” (3). Internal factors were significantly more complex, however. She prefers “the interaction between historical events and society” (5) to the official “great man” explanation (i.e., Ibn Saud’s victories). She emphasizes the importance of “the social values and political tradition of Najd [north central Arabia]” (6), the unique role played by sedentary (as opposed to Bedouin) Wahhabi, the successful consolidation of political power by the Saud family, the effects of oil wealth, and the significance of “informal social and cultural mechanisms, specific to the Arabian Peninsula” (9). Of particular interest to *Fides* readers is her emphasis on King Faysal’s policy (1964-75) of promoting Islam as “a counter-ideology to defend the integrity and legitimacy of the Saudi state amidst attacks from opponents and rivals in the Arab world” (10), a policy the ramifications of which have only emerged in recent years, both for Saudi Arabia and the rest of the world.

The five chapters on the history of the kingdom develop this basic thesis. The narrative clearly demonstrates the complex interrelations between political, economic, social, cultural, and religious forces that make the modern history of Saudi Arabia a touchpoint for the serious study of modernity. With the decline of the Ottomans’ multicultural empire, a rigorist tribal religious sect (the Wahhabi) supports the establishment of Ibn Saud’s kingdom, only to be marginalized by the state’s rise. Saudi integration into the world economy reinforces the new kingdom, but at the cost of creating sometimes unbearable tensions between innovation and tradition at all levels of Saudi life—material, political, religious. King Faysal’s dependence on Islam as a means for coping with this tension (e.g., his willingness to let members of the radical Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood teach in Saudi Arabia) has led in the wake of recent political change to a strong Islamist presence in the kingdom.

Readers who seek an extended treatment of Islamism will be disappointed. The section on “The Islamist Opposition” is only eleven pages long (176-87). The book was well into production before September 11; there is only a short reference to the terrorist attacks (184), and it shows all the signs of a late insertion. Al-Rasheed’s analysis could not then reflect the intense scrutiny Saudi society has experienced since the attacks in New York, Madrid, and London. In any case, her goals are other than a practical response to terrorism. She aims to cast scholarly light on the complexities of state formation in the twentieth century. In doing so, she provides a fundamental framework for thinking through the contexts within which arises not only terrorism but also the modern oil-state, not only conservative monarchy but also Internet-fueled democratic reform movements.

It follows that the most important chapter in the book is the penultimate (before a short conclusion), “Narratives of the state, narratives of the people” (188-217). An anthropologist’s critique on the forms of political discourse dominant in the kingdom, the chapter analyzes recent official historiography and political speech, giving special

attention to the 1999 centennial celebration's emphasis on the capture of Riyadh. The chapter reveals the tensions underlying Saudi power structures. It suggests as well the rhetorical and symbolic world within which both nationalist and Islamist groups function, and the ways this world contrasts with the western world with which the Saudi state so often must deal. These last contributions make *A History of Saudi Arabia* an insightful, useful text for the next decade. Readers should hope for future editions that will take this important story on into the next century.

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Richard Weikart, *From Darwin to Hitler, Evolutionary Ethics, Eugenics, and Racism in Germany*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. Pp. 312. \$59.95.

**Reviewed by Nicholas A. Brooks, University of Connecticut**

It has long been customary to make a respectful distinction between Darwinian theory in its original form and its misappropriation by over-zealous thinkers like Herbert Spencer and other champions of "Social Darwinism." This distinction implies a distance not only between theory and its applications, but invites a strict separation of the designations "scientific" and "pseudo-scientific." Thus, Darwinism, as a scientific theory, was and is spared association with ruthless ideologues who held to Darwinian principles, and created eccentric programs to identify biological misfits, or cleanse society of them outright. Richard Weikart asks us to reconsider this distinction by tracing the development of a specifically Darwinian ethic from the 1850s until the Nazi period.

Weikart's narrative focuses on Darwinist intellectuals engaged in distilling a new morality from biological principles. Indeed, it is one of Weikart's successes to have discovered or rediscovered the ambitious forays of several prominent German Darwinists into ethics. On the level of this discourse, Weikart ably presents a non-linear but nevertheless mounting trend toward the devaluation of individual lives against the claims of the species (or race) at large.

*From Darwin to Hitler*, therefore, enters into an ongoing discussion on the meaning, authority, and eccentricities of the "scientific worldview" in the long nineteenth century. Weikart helps us to reconsider the role of Darwinism as the touchstone of many new applied sciences and their political outlooks including the development of the discourse around birth control and euthanasia as employed by eugenicists and racial theorists, and more innocuously by feminists. By tracing the founding assumptions of these disparate fields and interests, Weikart has, in the first place, demonstrated the Promethean creativity and explanatory power of the Darwinian paradigm. Secondly, he has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the development of biomedical ethics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Lastly, this book helps us to understand the connection between scientific ideas and language and the optimism of some Western

scientists (and intellectuals more generally) for the future of society. These Darwinist utopian visions are part and parcel of a faith in modernity or more rightly put, Progress, and in some cases, a strong rejection of the “traditions” of human civilization. Weikart’s discussions of thinkers influenced by Nietzsche’s iconoclasm on the one hand, and the Nazi rejection of complacent modernity and biological inefficiency on the other, provide powerful revisions of this cult of Progress which not only posited a distinct future, but further antagonized memories of a bygone moral tradition.

Weikart admits in his preface that this body of research was stimulated (among other things) by his reading of James Rachels’ *The Moral Implications of Darwinism* (Oxford, 1990) and Daniel Gasman’s comparison of Ernst Haeckel’s conception of racial hygiene with that of Adolf Hitler in *The Scientific Origins of National Socialism* (London, 1971). Thus, Weikart’s book was partly formed according to the dual impulses of providing a historicized response to Rachels’ enthusiastic attempt to re-render morality according to the statutes of evolution, while avoiding the determinism of Gasman’s teleology. The middle ground Weikart’s narrative attempts to tread is, needless to say, fraught with dangers. Always mindful of “historical connections” but wary of making claims about causality, Weikart does not shy away from exploring the radical conclusions arrived at by some influenced by Darwinian ethics, but maintains that there are many roads to Nazism. Nevertheless, Weikart’s argument is strengthened by the Nazi eugenics and racial hygiene programs staffed by leading, mainstream scientists and Hitler’s own annexation of Darwinian language and arguments. Professor Weikart’s eagerness to respond to Rachels and others runs the risk of eroding the details of his historical context, however, and the language and metaphors used in this book are sometimes too closely attuned to modern debates, rather than those of nineteenth century German society. Darwinian ethical ideas are mentioned from the outset as primarily a conscious assault on a Judeo-Christian-Kantian Europe. This sort of dualism (Christian vs. Darwinist) in one instance underestimates prior secularization among German (and European) intellectuals and scientists, and then overestimates the singular impact of Darwin on secularization henceforth. Above all, it threatens to simplify the myriad of ethical opinions in this historical context to their effective positions. Hence, the reader often finds Weikart referring to a specific position’s articulation as “i.e. Christian” or, on the other side, biologically determined (154). The reader must, therefore, remain mindful of Weikart’s use of these binary categories as they relate to contemporary debates on biomedical ethics, without confusing them for raw historical reality.

*From Darwin to Hitler* is, nonetheless, an enticing look at the growth and eccentricity of social Darwinist thought in Germany from *The Origin of the Species* to Hitler’s assumption of power. Weikart has thereby added an invaluable chapter not only to German intellectual history, but also our understanding of vital moral debates which remain with us.

Timothy P. Weber, *On the Road to Armageddon: How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004. Pp336. \$24.99.

**Reviewed by Samir B. Massouh, Trinity International University**

At a time when hardly a day goes by without events in the Middle East making headlines, when American evangelicals even made the cover of *Time Magazine* (February 7, 2005), it is good to have Weber's excellent book, *On the Road to Armageddon* to guide its readers in the complex universe of eschatology and Middle Eastern politics.

In an ideal world, the reader needs an exhaustive encyclopedia that covers the following topics comprehensively: Dispensational eschatology, the rise of Zionism, history of modern Palestine, American foreign policy in the Middle East and the rise of militant Islam. It is indeed to his credit that Weber has written a wonderful book which deals with these topics, to various degrees, in a clear, fair and enlightening way while keeping it to its present manageable size which should be appealing to its audience.

The author's excellent illustration in "Introduction" sets clearly what the book is about. At one time, Dispensationalists were like sports spectators sitting in the stands, watching the game unfold before them and explaining each move on the basis of their chart of the end times. As the game progressed, Dispensationalists eventually forsook their passive role of watching the game, stepped onto the field and became active players directing the development of the events with the help of their interpretation of prophecies about the future (p. 15). The turning point that transformed the audience from observers to participants was the founding of the state of Israel in 1948. The first part of the book deals with the observing phase; the second, with the participating one.

The early chapters deal with the rise of Dispensationalism with its emphasis on "rightly dividing the word of truth"(2 Tim 2:15) by keeping a sharp distinction between Israel and the Church, resulting in the two plans, two purposes and two kingdoms, one for the Old Testament and the other for New Testament saints. Weber also explains the eschatology of Dispensationalism with its emphasis on a pre-millennial, pre-tribulational secret rapture, when Jesus comes for his church.

Chapters four and five describe the relationship between Dispensationalists and Jewish national aspirations. A paradoxical picture emerges in which Jews should be punished by God for rejecting Jesus and yet blessed by God for their role in ushering in the last days and fulfilling Old Testament. Jews should have a political state of their own in their promised land, yet they need to be converted and Christianized. In effect Dispensationalists should be the political allies of the Jews but the religious enemies of a Judaism that rejects the Messiah.

As a Christian Arab who has Palestinian relatives and friends, I read chapter six, "The Founding and Expansion of Israel" with sadness. It deals with one of the darkest moments in the history of both Dispensationalists and Israel. The former did not consider the legal or moral rights of the Arab population in the land but regarded them as enemies of God and a hindrance to the fulfillment of His plans, thus neglecting their duties to their

Christian brothers who are members of one of the oldest Christian communities in the world. On its part, Israel continues to face an Arab community living within its borders.

Chapters seven and eight, deal with Dispensationalists' support for Israel after 1948. Some of the topics that are covered include the impact that books like Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Plant Earth* and Tim LaHaye's "Left Behind" series had in popularizing and advancing Dispensational eschatology and its explanation of international events that were happening right before one's own eyes. The chapters also deal with the New Christian Right and the role of some, like Falwell, in supporting Israel.

Chapter nine tries to deal with recent developments and trends. First is the issue of building a new Temple in Jerusalem and the conflict that such a move will cause between Jews and Muslims if Al-Aqsa Mosque is destroyed. The second issue is the peace effort in the Middle East, whether through President Bush's road map or "land for peace" approach. Given that Dispensationalists believe that Israel should include all the land, and that there will be no peace until the Second Coming, will they abandon or resist President Bush? Will the Christian right turn against him? This is yet to be seen.

Weber has written a wonderful book that gives a very helpful survey of the topic it covers, but the reader could find fault with it and complain about several points. The book is too brief and sketchy in places; it does not discuss the Balfour Declaration or the White Paper in detail. It does not examine the Biltmore Program in detail. It tends to ignore the religious beliefs of the American presidents. It does not cover President Carter's faith and eschatological beliefs sufficiently. It does not analyze Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982 enough. These points can be raised, but they are minor quibbles which should not diminish the value of this excellent survey; what it covers, it covers very well.

Weber's book fulfilled the expectations raised by his subtitle, *How Evangelicals Became Israel's Best Friend*. This reviewer wishes that the author had taken one more step and critiqued the heart of his book. Here are some issues that need to be considered: Why does he use the word *evangelicals* rather than *dispensationalists* in the title? Is the old distinction between evangelical and fundamentalist still helpful to maintain? How do non-dispensational evangelicals understand the role of Israel in the end times? Why is Covenant Theology not as popular as Dispensationalism? What are the implications of Gal 3:16 for the ownership of the Promised Land? One can only hope that Weber will address these issues in a sequel to this book. For now he should be thanked for adding so much sanity to present discussions of eschatology.

Kevin Xiyi Yao, *The Fundamentalist Movement among Protestant Missionaries in China, 1920 1937*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003. Pp. xiv +319. \$74.00/\$44.00.

**Reviewed by Jeff McClain, University of Illinois**

In *The Fundamentalist Movement*, Yao seeks to begin the process of correcting what he sees as a general imbalance among historians of the church in China towards favoring the study of liberal Protestant missionaries and their involvement in cultural exchange. On the one hand, theological conservatives are often ignored because they didn't typically hobnob with the urban Chinese elite, nor overtly associate themselves with China's modernization efforts, themes of much interest to historians. On the other hand, Yao continues, if a conservative missionary is ever encountered in historical writing on China, typically she or he will be lumped together with all the other missionaries, and for good or for ill, the theological distinctives, which were so dear to the missionaries themselves, will be forgotten. Yao sees great injustice in this elision and concludes his introduction with the unambiguous declaration: "My overall ambition is to tell the fundamentalists' side of the story of the Protestant missionary movement in twentieth-century China" (17).

To tell the story, Yao primarily plumbs American Presbyterian (both North and South) mission archives. Writings by China Inland Mission (CIM) missionaries, a handful of independent fundamentalist missionaries, mostly from the U.S. and Canada, and some Chinese church leaders are also examined.

As it turns out, the story, in line with Yao's interest in doctrine, is basically one of theological controversy. Yao begins by giving the nineteenth century background, and calls the century, following many missionaries themselves, one of theological consensus. Somehow (and here Yao is none too clear), the consensus, which admittedly covered a wide array of evangelistic tactics, broke down, and Harry Emerson Fosdick was being translated into Chinese, Sherwood Eddy was incessantly touring the country urging "Christian socialism" and the Christian colleges in China almost unanimously produced Social Gospelers.

In response to all this, Yao enters his first protagonist, the Bible Union of China. Formed in 1920, largely by Presbyterian and CIM missionaries, the Bible Union had a few years of mild success countervailing liberal theological trends in schools in China and in mission boards abroad. The group also published material for use in Chinese churches and held conferences where theologically conservative Chinese preachers and Western missionaries mingled. Yao does a good job showing the diversity of thought within the Bible Union, they were not closed-minded, as their critics would have it, but concerned that the consensus stays on a Biblical base. In fact, the group was too open for some and a more stringent group formed in 1927, weakening the Union.

One of the most interesting chapters deals with the formation of the North China Theological Seminary (NCTS). In 1919, the Chinese presbyteries of Shandong province withdrew their support for the Theological College of Shandong Christian University (SCU), and in alliance with a group of conservative missionaries formed the rival NCTS.

The reasons the presbyteries gave for withdrawing are a fascinating mix of Chinese nationalism and Christian fundamentalist theology. Before their separation from SCU, they presented the school the following list of demands: that there would be more Chinese language use at board meetings, that more Chinese would be appointed to positions of authority, that theological conservative Watson M. Hayes be reinstated as dean of the college, and that the school “recognize the Bible as perfect rule of faith” (144). As these were not quickly forthcoming, NCTS was founded and the Chinese presbyteries’ demands met in its nationalist/fundamentalist hybrid.

Other topics covered by Yao include theological debates in the most famous seminary in China, Nanjing Theological Seminary, debates over church union and its seeming demand for lowest common denominator theology, and the debates over criticism of missionary tactics such as were found in the 1932 *Laymen’s Report*, and in the writings and speeches of Pearl Buck.

The greatest weakness of *The Fundamentalist Movement* lies with the “in China” part of the equation. For long segments of the book, it seems only coincidental that we are reading of theological controversies in China, for they sound quite like the ones in North America at the same time. Yao provides some clues that this is not the case (the story of the NCTS being the most extended of them), but his eschewing of the social-cultural context in favor of theology leads to a certain sense of redundancy in this area. From a China historian point of view, if two American missionaries are debating the meaning of the millennium in Ji’nan, how is that debate any different from the same topic engaged, say, by laypeople in Dubuque? Perhaps it does matter to Chinese history, but Yao doesn’t clearly show us how.

Still, the book has its merits. Yao shows a refreshing interest in these “other” missionaries in China, and he does quite well combining the data into a readable whole that tells the (especially theological) story.

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Miguel A. De La Torre, *Santería: The Beliefs and Rituals of a Growing Religion in America*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004. Pp. 264. \$18.00.

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

Miguel A. De La Torre’s *Santería* offers a broad historical overview of this much-maligned and often misunderstood religion and a fresh (former) insider’s perspective. De La Torre’s social and spiritual locations thus allow him to capture a “faith experience” (xvi) while retaining the sociological and anthropological edge any study of Santeria necessitates. Furthermore—and quite commendably—De La Torre does not stand in condemnation over his former convictions, but provocatively suggests that Christians

have much to learn about their own faith from a detailed and rigorous encounter with Santería.

*Santería* begins with a chapter that defines the parameters of the religion, explains what the religion is, its initiation rites, its sacred text (the Corpus of Ifa), its ethical mandates, its proclamations about the afterlife, its theodicy, and its relationship to Catholicism. De La Torre also observes that Santería employs creation myths and offers a Geertzian explanation in that Santería's creation myths create and recreate identity and memory for subsequent generations. These creation accounts are highly complex and take time to digest; thankfully, De La Torre provides numerous tables to explain the relationship between the major spirits, or *orishas*, in these myths.

One of the most interesting parts of the book comes with De La Torre's explanation of Santería's four major initiation rituals. He begins by describing the *ilé*, or house of worship, and likens it to a "doctor's office" (103) where patients occupy a waiting room anticipating their meeting with the *santero/a* (a religious leader in Santería). Such a meeting invariably involves encounters with the spirits.

An *iyawó*, or "bride," is an initiate of Santería and must perform and complete the necessary rites to become an official member and practitioner. First, the *iyawó* must wear an *eleke*, a colorful necklace with distinct beads (or shells, plants, or seeds) that offers a kind of spiritual protection. The *iyawó* then constructs an *elegguá* (a shrine) from collected stones so that he or she may "receive the warrior" (112), or *guerreros*, in order to carry out spiritual warfare. The fourth and most important ritual involves "making saint" (112) where the *iyawó* becomes like an infant in order to experience a "new birth."

De La Torre points out other rituals that include *bembe* dances and the *ebbó*, or food offerings to the *orishas*, which are presented on special "saints" days. Here again De La Torre provides a wealth of charts to make the complex rituals understandable. Finally, De La Torre describes Santería as an "earth-based" religion given its proclivity to suffuse natural and organic (including ewes, or herbs) items in its complex systems of ritual and practice.

De La Torre also crafts a helpful chapter on the historical roots of Santería (first from Yoruba and later Cuba) and notes that for all of its ritualistic and cosmological complexity, it is a "religion of resistance" (189), a versatile faith that survives and adapts to changing circumstances. After all, De La Torre descriptively recounts, Santería survived the brutality of European slaving and ultimately thrived in Catholic Cuba, in large part as a result of social collectives known as *cabildos* and from the innovative nature of Santería practitioners. De La Torre carefully notes, for example, how these individuals preserved ancestor veneration under the guise of Roman Catholicism's saint's days and in the wider context of what he calls folk Catholicism.

The final chapter of *Santería* vividly explains Santería's place within America's pluralistic religious landscape and illuminatingly describes where Santería and Christianity can find common ground. Here De La Torre attentively notes where adherents of Santería infuse a kind of redemptive value to (human) blood, "wear" Jesus as a ritual mask to represent a spirit who practitioners believe is God's embodiment on earth, and highlight spirit possession and the possibility of faith healing. This section of

*Santería* might sound like a kind of syncretistic expose, but readers should take great care and time to consider De La Torre's attempt to draw parallels between Christianity and Santería. De La Torre's (former) insider's perspective gives his observations a potent plausibility and he is keen to point out that redemption rests ultimately in Christ alone.

The only quibble with *Santería* is the chapter orders. Readers will benefit from starting with Chapter 1 ("Santería: What Is It?"), and moving then to Chapters 4 and 6 ("The Rituals" and "Historical Roots," respectively). This will render the chapters on creation stories, orishas, and oracles more understandable without diminishing the importance and great value of *Santería*.

In the final analysis, De La Torre's *Santería* is a readable, balanced, and critical introduction to a religion that occupies more space in America's religious landscape than most observers realize. *Santería* also helpfully includes strategically placed charts, timelines, and photo—and most importantly a glossary—that enhance the book's readability.

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Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003. Pp. 379. \$29.95 / \$19.95.

**Reviewed by Tim McAlhane, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary**

Religious toleration in Western society is a fairly recent historical development. The source of this shift from persecution to toleration is at the core of Zagorin's work. He seeks to analyze in detail the development within the Christian community of a concept of mutual toleration and respect. One may be tempted to give the Enlightenment much credit for these developments, but Zagorin points back to the first voices of dissension within the Protestant Reformation. It is his contention that the modern push for religious toleration as a basic human right is mainly a development of the Christian Western society.

Zagorin outlines the issue at hand in chapter one noting how the fledgling Christian religion, once persecuted by the Roman Empire, conquered the empire and became the persecutor. Throughout the medieval period and into the Protestant Reformation the established church persecuted heretics. The toleration which has developed since is often seen as the result of religious indifference and unbelief, as well as political expediency. Zagorin dismisses the former asserting that the theories of toleration which developed were the work of "profoundly Christian if also unorthodox thinkers" (9). While political expediency caused the temporary establishment of toleration, such as in Germany and France, neither lasted and as such Zagorin reduces political expediency to a reinforcing factor.

Chapter two contains a brief historical overview of the concept of persecution within Christianity. Zagorin notes that the word “heretic” derives from a Greek word which signified a “choice,” but points to New Testament usage which shifted the meaning to specifically indicate false doctrine. The tone of persecution was set by Saint Augustine in his struggle with the Donatists in which he formulated the concept of coercion in dealing with heretics. Augustine believed that fear could be properly used to correct false beliefs.

While the Protestant Reformation was the first step toward religious toleration, it first simply brought about a change in authority. Reformation leaders such as Luther and Calvin preached a liberty or freedom of the spirit but kept the church united with the state. The end result was that one state religion or denomination was simply replaced with another and persecution continued. The scene was set for religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics, yet the concept of religious freedom existed. Chapter four is devoted to the life of Sebastian Castellio who picked up this concept in his writings. He reacted against the persecution of Michael Servetus by John Calvin and authored a work entitled *Concerning Heretics* in which he asserted that differences between Christians concerned controverted points of religion. He willingly accepted that there would be differences among Christians.

Zagorin devotes chapter five to a discussion of the toleration controversy in the Netherlands. He notes that the unity of Protestants and Catholics began out of necessity as they fought for their freedom from Spanish rule and was initially grounded upon Erastianism. Even though the Reformed Church became the state church and limited Catholic freedoms, the Reformed Church was denied full autonomy. Zagorin also points to the role Arminianism played in softening the strict Calvinism of the Reformed Church.

Chapter six is devoted to developments in England. Zagorin recounts events from the beginning of the Protestantism under Henry VIII through the English Civil War and Interregnum. He discusses individuals such as Roger Williams, John Goodwin, John Milton, and William Walwyn and the Levellers. While toleration grew and was abundant between 1640 and 1660, most individuals could not bring themselves to extend toleration to Catholics, heretics, and blasphemers. Zagorin asserts, however, that despite any shortcomings religious pluralism had become so entrenched by 1660 that it was impossible to remove.

In chapter seven Zagorin outlines John Locke’s view of religious toleration. Locke separated the realms of church and state and asserted that each individual must follow his own soul. Yet, he drew the line at tolerating anyone harmful to society, atheists, and Catholics. He also discussed the Frenchman Pierre Bayle who pushed for religious toleration on the grounds that God would not use persecution to accomplish his goals and that universal toleration and pluralism would not destroy society.

Zagorin concludes chapter eight by reasserting his thesis that the development of religious toleration in Western society is due to the work of Christians as they sought to make a place for themselves within the larger Christian society. Although not the focus of his work, Zagorin notes that the Enlightenment pushed the concept further to a universal toleration of all, no matter what religion. He also briefly highlights the continued development of toleration through the nineteenth, twentieth, and into the twenty-first

centuries. While there have been reverses such as Nazism and Communism, he asserts that the push for toleration has continued to the point that toleration is now seen as a basic human right.

Zagorin's work is nicely organized and argued. He has rightly placed the credit for religious toleration within the religious community. Too often religion is seen only as an impediment to toleration and while still today many Christian denominations believe they alone possess the *truth*, it is refreshing to be reminded that Christians can take upon themselves the mind of Christ and tolerate each other.

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Kirsten A. Seaver, *Maps, Myths, and Men The Story of the Vinland Map*.  
Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004. Pp. xxi + 480.  
\$65.00(cloth)/\$24.95(paper).

**Reviewed by Alan H. Winqvist, Taylor University**

"Oh, what a tangled web we weave, When first we practice to deceive!"

Sir Walter Scott's quotation appearing at the beginning of *Maps, Myths and Men: The Story of the Vinland Map* sets the tone for a very thorough investigation of the intriguing story of a map which has encountered continual controversy since it made its stunning public debut on October 11, 1965 in New Haven, Connecticut on the evening before Columbus Day. The tale of the Vinland Map has all the ingredients of a mystery story. It is clear from the outset Norwegian historian, novelist, and translator Kirsten Seaver wishes to prove beyond any doubt that the celebrated Vinland Map is a hoax. But she also wants to uncover the person who was responsible for this fraud.

The story of the Vikings has and continues to hold a special fascination, particularly regarding the question of their discovery of America. But their history, unfortunately, is fraught with many misunderstandings resulting from incomplete records and misinterpreted accounts such as the *Vinland Sagas*, based on oral tales that, contrary to popular belief, were never intended to be considered as accurate historic sources. These inaccuracies have encouraged dubious interpretations of such items as the Kensington Runestone found near Alexandria, Minnesota and the Newport (Rhode Island) Tower, which for years were thought to be of Viking origin.

The year 1964 was a significant date in the story of Viking research in North America because the world first learned about the archeological discoveries by Norwegians Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad of an eleventh century Viking settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows in northern Newfoundland, thereby confirming that the Norse were in the Western Hemisphere some five hundred years before Christopher Columbus. Interestingly, at the same time three scholars were secretly working on a purported Norse map dated 1441 that had been obtained by Yale University seven years earlier. Their

conclusion that it was a genuine early Norse map was published in a splashy book in 1965 entitled *The Vinland Map and the Tartar Relation*. Seaver's book is the first study to tackle the whole question of those findings and of the Vinland Map's authenticity.

The reader quickly becomes aware that Seaver is passionate in her quest to prove that the Vinland Map is a fraud, and that the 1965 Yale report was based on very faulty analysis. She spent ten years thoroughly studying every aspect of the Map when it was "discovered" in 1957 until 2002 when Raman Microprobe Spectroscopy revealed the presence of synthetic anatase in the ink, a substance which had not been developed until the 1920s. She notes that authenticating the Vinland Map is a complicated issue because it involves the reputation of historians, the involvement of Yale University, and the investment of large sums of money.

The first part of her book lays out the current knowledge of medieval Norse culture and exploration. Then the author describes the questionable series of events leading to the Map's acquisition by Yale's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Two book dealers arrived at the British Museum in 1957 offering to sell the "Tartar Relation", an account of a thirteenth century papal mission to the court of the Mongols, and a world map bound with the "Tartar Relation" which appeared to illustrate the text. On the Map was an island identified as Vinilanda Insula with a short legend reading "Island of Vinland discovered by Bjarni and Leif in company". A longer description about the Vikings also appears which Seaver believes is a riddle; she analyzes this in chapter eight. One of the two dealers was Enzo Ferrajoli, portrayed as a man who made shadowy deals and who had ties with Spanish fascists. Although the British Museum did not obtain the manuscripts, they were eventually purchased by an American dealer, Laurence Witten, who had been a student at Yale University. Witten offered them and another manuscript known as the *Speculum Historiale*, with supposed connections to the Map, for sale to Alexander Vietor, Yale's curator of maps, who in turn contacted Paul Mellon, a wealthy alumnus. Being intrigued, Mellon purchased the manuscripts; the exact price has never been revealed but it was substantial. His condition was that authenticating the Map was to be done in secrecy. Seaver expresses her displeasure with this method of research by noting that because the three scholars were obliged to work in secrecy they were not able to consult with others who were in many ways more knowledgeable in ancient Norse history. Seaver believes R.A. Skelton, one of the scholars, would have given a more "credible analysis of the Vinland Map... if he had not been obliged to write a study that never once questioned the authenticity of the map" (209).

No sooner had the Map been unveiled to the public in 1965 than it was met by skepticism and hostility. Seaver describes in detail how the Map was discredited by many scholars by such factors as wormholes, ink analysis, parchment, ambiguous provenance, and also by the fact that the Norse never made maps. She also expresses her indignation that many scholars were shut out from the process of determining authenticity, and by blatant public relations efforts centered around the Map's 1965 unveiling (chapter five is entitled "A Star Is Born") and the subsequent exhibits in Norway and Iceland which she calls "the big launch."

But who was responsible for the map and what were the motives? After careful research, Seaver concludes that it was Father Josef Fischer (1858-1944), an Austrian Jesuit priest who from 1895 to 1939 had taught at the prestigious Stella Matutina, a Jesuit boarding school in Feldkirch, Austria. He was a scholar of fifteenth and sixteenth century history who in 1902 published a manuscript in which he proposed that the Vikings had discovered America. Seaver finds similarities in Fischer's penmanship and the map text, and she believes he had the basic materials to create the map. She is convinced that in the mid 1930s he set out to create a map that he believed should have existed. But Seaver also stresses that this was essentially a private enterprise on his part; he had no intention of passing this on as an original map. Rather than condemning the Jesuit scholar, Seaver believes that as a result of the Nazi invasion of Austria and the rampages that were to follow, Fischer was restrained from doing thorough scholarship. "Active minds faced with disturbed sleep tend to search for distraction of some kind, and there is little reason to believe that Fischer would have responded differently." (359) Seaver is persuaded Fischer decided "to while away difficult hours by depicting the early world-wide flow of Christian influence." (360). "He was getting on in years, and he had good reason to suppose that if and when the map was discovered... after his death, it would eventually invite the scrutiny of Hitler's politically correct 'scholars.' These worthies would then have to decide whether to reject the map's depiction of the early and worldwide influence of the Roman Church, or to swallow that aspect of the work in order to crow over its equally clear depiction of American discovery by their 'ancestors' the Norse... Either way, Nazi investigators could be expected to fall victim to their own cultural and geopolitical propaganda." (365). The tragedy, according to Seaver, is that "the legacy of shame belongs not to Fischer, but to those who profited from marketing the map in 1957 when it surfaced with no indications of its previous whereabouts" (371). Seaver strongly suggests that the Map and the accompanying documents were looted during the Hitler years.

The enormous amount of detailed information in *Maps, Myths, and Men* makes this book of particular interest to the serious scholar of Norse history. However, the general reader will be intrigued by the question of properly authenticating historic documents and the story of Father Fischer. The Vinland Map has attracted much public attention. During the winter of 2005, for example, Public Broadcasting's "Nova" aired a one hour program entitled "The Viking Deception." The program concluded with the idea that perhaps the map had actually been drawn in the 1950s, thereby questioning Fischer's involvement. Perhaps the mystery of the Vinland Map will continue. Nevertheless, Seaver's work is convincing and thorough scholarship, and should be part of all libraries and collections seriously interested in Norse history.

Paul R. Waibel, *Martin Luther: A Brief Introduction to His Life and Works*. Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 2005. Pp. xi + 139. \$12.95.

**Reviewed by Kenneth B. Chatlos, William Jewell College**

Another biography on Martin Luther? Bainton, Brecht, Kittelson, Marius, Marty, and now Waibel? Is it time to raise the white flag? Is this too much of a good thing? Not in my judgment. Indeed, Paul R. Waibel's "biography" may be just what my undergraduate students need as they study Reformation history.

Waibel takes us through Luther's familiar story—the vow, the monastery, the "tower experience," the break with Rome, the conflict with Erasmus, Marburg, and more (chapter one). Then, unlike other biographers, Waibel shifts to theology and explains traditional understandings of salvation—Paul, Aquinas, Biel, Luther, and more (chapter two). Thereafter, Waibel analyzes key texts and events in Luther's life. We learn much about Luther's *Ninety-Five Theses* (chapter three), his three treatises of 1520 (chapter four), his debate with Erasmus on free will (chapter five), and his responses to the Peasants' War and the Jews (chapter six). Some might complain because Waibel has omitted a favorite text; if so, I could join the quibblers and weigh in for the Small Catechism. But such complaints and such quibbles have little merit: Waibel makes sensible selections. He also draws upon old and recent Luther scholarship. Such a small book (and such an organizational strategy) allows little room for theological development—except for Luther's writing about the Jews. Still, my students can read the primary sources and test Waibel's interpretations. In the end, they can also test his assessment of Luther.

Waibel includes helpful material for the beginning student. He explains indulgences, justification, anti-Semitism, the papacy, and more. He concludes each chapter with a narrative summary and a separate list of key events. He offers an annotated chronological list of Luther's major works in the appendix. And he identifies a good selection of films and books in his brief bibliographical note. Enough description. My students and I are near ready to think about complex and controversial questions.

How shall we understand salvation in the pre-Reformation church? Waibel's Luther "rediscovers" the Pauline principle, "first presented in the gospels"; "salvation from sin is freely offered to everyone who believes" (27-28). I agree, but still, why does Luther, in his *Preface to the New Testament* (1522), prefer John's Gospel, and Paul's letters, to Matthew, Mark, and Luke? Does Luther have a canon within the canon? Waibel rightly calls attention to Gabriel Biel as an influential late medieval theologian (30-33). Still, is it enough to say that Biel "represented the teaching of the Roman Catholic church at the beginning of the sixteenth century . . . that salvation is the product of a cooperative effort on the part of God and the individual" (31)? How might Staupitz's Augustinianism add nuance to that point?

How shall we approach key elements in Luther's theology? Waibel's Luther "found the answer to his spiritual problems" in the fall of 1515 when he understood the meaning of Romans 1:17 (5). Perhaps it happened this soon. But does this early Luther clearly

endorse an Augustinian understanding of grace and reject an Augustinian theology of humility and healing? Alister McGrath could help on this matter. Waibel's Luther protests vigorously and expansively against indulgences. Agreed. But is it possible to go beyond a detailed exposition of *The Ninety-Five Theses*? Are there, for example, places in the *Theses* where Luther accepts or rejects Biel and Augustine? Or does this protest have a more limited focus? Waibel's Luther understands that "God's grace is not given to sinners through the sacraments" (34). This Luther also retained only two of the seven sacraments "because they had biblical origins" (57). But why in *The Babylonian Captivity* does Luther maintain that only Christ could institute sacraments? And why in that same text does Luther insist that these two sacraments conjoin the promise of forgiveness with signs? Could Luther see these sacraments as means of grace in a sense different from Rome? In the end, why does Luther retain confirmation, confession, and other Roman Catholic sacraments as useful rites? And what does this suggest about the nature, the range, and the limits of Luther's reforms?

Should we regard Luther and the Christian humanists as enemies or allies? Waibel sees fundamental differences between the Protestant Reformation and Christian humanism. For his reformers, "original sin so corrupted the will" that "humans can contribute nothing to salvation." For his humanists, the human predicament is not so dire. Indeed, good works are possible, and "education can produce a moral person" (x). Both groups, Waibel maintains, looked to the ancient church as they criticized its medieval counterpart. But the reformers complained about corrupt doctrine and the humanists complained about corrupt behavior (68). I am not yet convinced. How well do these distinctions hold up when we examine the careers and the writings of specific Christian humanists? What positions, for example, does Melancthon take on original sin and the freedom of the will in his editions of the *Loci communes*? Why did Erasmus publish *Concerning the Immense Mercy of God* and *An Inquiry Concerning Faith* during the same year (1524) that he attacked Luther on the question of the will? Would it be fair to say that Zwingli, Calvin, and Jewel abandoned Christian humanism? Martin Brecht, Erika Rummel, and William Bouwsma could help on these matters.

With more time, my students and I might take on several smaller issues. How do law and gospel shape the ways Luther embraced biblical authority (62, 107)? How did Luther use Erasmus' Greek edition (not translation) of the New Testament (17)? If *The Babylonian Captivity of the Christian Church*, published in October 1520, "marks Luther's final break with Rome" (61), what are we to make of Luther's conciliatory letter to Leo X, attached to *The Freedom of the Christian* and published in November 1520?

There are too many questions for a good small book to address, but Waibel has taught us well. Later, his book will inform and shape the leisurely colloquies my students and I will enjoy together.

James A. Connor, *Kepler's Witch*. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 2005. Pp. xiv + 402. \$14.95.

**Reviewed by Stephen Varvis, Fresno Pacific University**

Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) was a difficult person, as was his mother, the accused “witch” of the title. He created problems for himself, as difficult people do. His early life was unstable. He had to trust his own insights; he had to criticize thoroughly the thoughts of others. Yet he protested he was a firm Lutheran, and a friend of those whom he questioned, despite his eventual excommunication. We know something about the problems Galileo created for himself. Connor tells the story of Kepler’s intellectual leaps, his life with his family and various communities through southern Germany and Austria, and his passionate intensity and integrity. He is primarily known for developing his three laws of planetary motion, but he is often not credited with the first indications of what has become known as the gravitational pull of material objects like the sun, earth and moon (186-87). Newton was criticized in his day for not noting Kepler’s contribution, something he learned not from Kepler himself, but probably from Keplerians and their texts in the later seventeenth century (5).

Furthermore, he is difficult to place intellectually and ecclesiologically, despite his protestations. He was a Lutheran with some sympathy for Reformed teaching, who lived in largely Catholic kingdoms under Catholic patrons. He was influenced by Platonic thinking, was a reader of Nicholas of Cusa, and also worked within nominalist modes of scientific thinking. God’s being, and his rationality, as it were, along with his creation of humanity, allow humans to grasp the movement of the heavens, and to do so with mathematics reflecting divine order. Yet observation of how things move and work, their physical causes, rather than their soulish motivations or divine proportions, affords the principal way to understand the mechanics of the heavens. An astronomer first, he made his living by casting horoscopes for emperors. He was poor, receiving his education through what we would call a scholarship from the regional nobility. He taught in provincial seminaries, was called to work with and continue the work of the noble Dane, Tycho Brahe, and then to the court of the emperor himself. Connor’s narration of all of the above immerses the reader deeply in the day-to-day reality of this early modern astronomer’s life, its intrigues and sometimes depressive loneliness.

The book weaves through the episodes of his life episodically and dramatically, almost novelistically. References are provided at the end—current, selective, but comprehensive enough to allow the curious or puzzled reader to dig into scholarly sources. Footnotes are few, perhaps too few; a greater direction might have been offered, it seems to me, and might to other historians who are tolerant of these kinds of distractions. But this book does not claim to be a purely scholarly exercise. Connor intends to dramatize Kepler, and he does so in an intriguing way. Through the weaving back and forth between the events of Kepler’s life—beginning with the trial of his mother for witchcraft, then turning back to his childhood, education, his move across southern Germany to Austria, his successive marriages and the growth and loss of his family, his

intellectual work, writing, and contact with other astronomers, the dangers of the political situation in which he worked, the confluence of disease, religious passion and warfare, and back to each topic (including the witchcraft trial) as the narrative of his life unfolds—Connor plays out both Kepler himself, and what people of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries experienced and how they understood their world. This involves some speculative reconstruction. It is evident that Connor, a professor of English at Kean University, has read historical sources thoroughly. Some of us might ask for a little more clarification. When he writes “it is not difficult to imagine the same street in Kepler’s day” (170), does it mean he is imagining it as an act of creation, or that he is drawing on historical sources to reconstruct an image close to the historical actuality? A phrase or two like, “a contemporary source described the city...” would have given the reader more confidence in certain sections.

Connor does his work so well that some of his explanations might be used, even cribbed for explanations used in university teaching and elsewhere. I intend this as high praise. His explanations of why astrology made sense to people (40-43), why the age gravitated into warfare, and how people lived in early modern villages warrant trust. Without more citations or explanatory notes, and quoting of sources we may not be quite as sure about the motivations and movements behind the trial of his mother, or the reasons for the belief in witchcraft that he offers (compare 233ff, and later 302). He may be correct, we just do not know without a more complete review. The full quoting at the end of each chapter of selected sections from Kepler’s letters or other writings is an interesting device that adds to the sense of the reliability of the work as well as a glimpse into Kepler’s own way of thinking and communicating, without breaking into the weaving narrative of the story. His descriptions of Kepler’s process of choosing a spouse and the negotiations that went into his marriages are both humorous and almost painful.

This is the kind of history that has become popular recently—well-researched, reliable, yet imaginative and popular enough to attract a wide readership—as we know from such titles as *Galileo’s Daughter* (1999), and *Niccolo’s Smile* (2000), and *The Queen’s Conjure* (2001) on Kepler’s near contemporary and fellow mathematician and scientist, John Dee, who also traveled to the court of Rudolph II in Prague. A glance at the now older popular biography of Kepler, Arthur Koestler’s *The Watershed* (1960), will reveal the uniqueness of Connor’s story and method. Koestler concentrates on Kepler’s scientific achievements and moves rapidly over the rest of his life. Connor gives us Kepler the man and thinker in his time, with all of its anxieties, conflicts, insights, and seeming yet fruitful contradictions. Connor’s Kepler is also something of an exemplar, he argues, for us today with our need for understanding between religions, to get along and not press our own thoughts and beliefs (249-50). Paradoxically, Kepler, who held to his own unique way, had friends and patrons (as well as enemies) among both Lutherans and Catholics. Perhaps those of us who work professionally as historians and teachers should pay more attention to this kind of work, enjoy the story, and reflect upon the contingencies within which a creative thinker like Kepler worked. *Kepler’s Witch* is a good place to spend some time.

Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005. Pp. 382. \$39.50.

**Reviewed by Robert T. Harrison, South Oregon University**

Among the several mysteries surrounding the growth of the British Empire, as least, none has evoked more discussion than the doubling of imperial expansion in the midst of anti-imperialist sentiment following the loss of the American Colonies in 1783. While Christopher Bayly successfully argued in *Imperial Meridian* (1989) that imperial pride supported through patronage had reinvigorated overseas colonial development, *A Turn to Empire* inadvertently provides another answer, the rise of liberal imperialism. This well-written, scholarly and jargon-free book tackles the evolution of liberal thought from late-eighteenth century anti-imperialist writers Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, Jeremy Bentham and Denis Diderot to their early-nineteenth century liberal descendents: James Mill, J.S. Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville, all of whom supported empire.

Reasons for the shift prove varied, but chief among them is the book's cogent argument that late-eighteenth century liberals shared little common ground with the Ancient Regime itself or its subjugation of indigenous cultures and white settlement colonies. Later liberals, however, had a greater stake in the emergent national and democratic agendas of both Britain and France, as well as the extension of those ideals to their colonial subjects. These liberals viewed imperial or overseas cultures in simplistic terms, as backwards or uncivilized barbarians, whereas their eighteenth century forbearers had understood colonial societies in a more nuanced and egalitarian fashion. Development of each writer's liberal thought receives careful evaluation in orderly chronological sequence, from the anti-imperialists impacting the 1780s and shifting to the pro-imperial stance so evident by 1830.

America, India, the Middle East and beyond bare the scrutiny of these divergent liberal takes on empire. Marked contrasts highlight Burke's view of British abuses in India and Ireland, and those of James and J.S. Mill, who supported Britain's civilizing mission and cultural elevation in both instances. Likewise, de Tocqueville's love-hate relation with the self-assured success of British imperialism's subjugation of Egypt's Mohammad Ali leads to his own passion for a greater French presence in Algeria to encourage democratic ideals in France.

*A Turn to Empire* is a must for serious scholars and students with an interest in the phenomenon of the British and French imperial reawakening in the period up to 1830. The sometimes obscure understanding of early-nineteenth century liberal imperialists as the underpinning for this movement is certainly clarified. Moreover, this work seems to partially destroy the fixed idea of Conservative imperialists and Liberal anti-imperialist, if Disraeli and Gladstone are any examples-both of whom pursued empire with equal zest in the second half of the nineteenth century.

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Rodney Stark, *For the Glory of God: How Monotheism Led to Reformations, Science, Witch-Hunts, and the End of Slavery*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003. Pp. 500. \$18.95 / \$45.

**Reviewed by Tim McAlhane, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary**

*For the Glory of God* is the second in a series by Rodney Stark on the impact of monotheism upon Western civilization. The title of his first book, *One True God: Historical Consequences of Monotheism*, implies an overarching view of the impact of monotheism while the subtitle of the current work denotes focused intent. Stark's goal is to debunk many misconceptions concerning the impact of religion on society. His main assertion is that history has been rewritten in a "politically correct" manner so as to minimize or totally remove reference to the impact of religion, especially Christianity, upon Western society. Stark also makes it very clear in his introduction that he is a social scientist not a historian and that this work should be viewed accordingly.

Although Stark is not a historian, chapter one reads like a history of the Christian church through the Protestant Reformation. Stark begins by noting that the term "reformation" has been misunderstood by some to refer only to the reformation attempted by Luther in the sixteenth century. He chooses to "define a reformation as efforts to restore or renew standards of religious beliefs and practices to a more demanding level, within a religious organization" (16). He asserts that religious diversity is the norm since people will always have differing desires concerning their religious intensity. With this said, he notes that attempts to reform the church have occurred throughout its history. Some attempts have succeeded only to become the institutional norm and require additional reform, others have been ignored or have failed, and others have been deemed heresies. A failed reformation might disappear into history, or as in the case of Luther, a sect could be formed. Stark succinctly asserts that "Sects and reformations are . . . inevitable phenomena because, even if there is only One True God, there can never be only One True Church" (119).

In chapter two, Stark makes the clear assertion that science owes its very existence to medieval Christianity. Historical revisionists have attempted to write into history an antagonism between religion and science which is simply not there. From understanding that prior to Columbus it was known that the earth was round to pointing out that the "Scopes Monkey Trial" was instigated by the American Civil Liberties Union with the express intent of pushing religion and science apart, Stark sets out to debunk revisionist history and place Christianity in its proper role. In conclusion, Stark points out that science came into existence only once, in medieval Europe, and this was due to the monotheistic understanding of the Christian God as "conscious, rational, [and] all-powerful" (197). Basically, medieval Christians believed that they could understand God's creation by rational means.

The picture Stark paints in chapter three is of the same Christian rationalism, which led to science, rationally deducing a satanic connection to non-church magic as a way of explaining why non-church magic sometimes worked. In a culture steeped in religious

tradition where the church controlled the very means of salvation, understanding why non-church magic worked necessitated a satanic connection. The power behind this magic had to come from somewhere. Stark notes the connection between the location of witch-hunts with the known location of heresies. He asserts that a lack of strong governmental control in those areas allowed for fanatical witch-hunts. Sadly, he concludes that witch-hunts were a natural result of medieval Christians who believed in a conscious, rational, and all-powerful God.

In his final chapter, Stark seeks to set the record straight concerning Christianity and slavery. He begins by reminding his readers that slavery is not simply a European invention and that societies throughout history have practiced slavery. To this end, he points to the examples of slavery among the Northwest Coastal Indians, Greek and Roman societies, as well as Muslim and African slavery. Following the fall of Rome slavery died out in Christian Europe and when African slaves were reintroduced into Europe the Christian church and society in general protested. Building on centuries of anti-slavery sentiment, Pope Pius III (1534-1549) “condemned slavery on pain of excommunication” (333). Finally, Stark explains how the Abolition Movement began in America with Quakers and spread to England, France, and beyond. While it is true that European Christians allowed slavery to be reborn, it was that same Christianity which understood slavery as inherently sinful that brought forth the Abolition Movement and Stark quickly notes that no other society or religion can make a similar claim. Slavery did not end due to the efforts of Enlightenment leaders nor did it collapse under its own weight; it came to an end through the efforts of sincere moral Christians.

In his postscript he denounces the trend in the social sciences to substitute ritual for gods as the fundamental aspect of religion. He asserts that ritual lacks any basis for morality. Only gods can induce morality in followers.

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Kristen Renwick Monroe, *The Hand of Compassion, Portraits of Moral Choice During the Holocaust*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Pp. 392. \$32.95.

**Reviewed by Robin Barry Krause, Clark University**

*The Hand of Compassion, Portraits of Moral Choice During the Holocaust* is an interesting and relevant discussion of ethics and the relationship of behavior to identity. Kristen Renwick Monroe is in great measure successful in illustrating how five persons who rescued Jews during the Holocaust seem to typify the fact that for those who acted as rescuers, there was little choice involved; their identities, and the implied relationship they had with fellow human beings, simply dictated that their response to Nazism included helping the persecuted.

Transcripts of the interviews, published with very little editing, illustrate both the author's thoughtful probing on a variety of topics, morally relevant and otherwise, as well as the diversity of experience and motivation amongst the rescuers. The format in which the interviews are presented is accessible, and allows the reader space to develop his or her own relationship to each of these individuals, much as the author developed a deepening connection as the interview process progressed. The dialogue is both engrossing and informative.

The scope and variety of issues the author addresses defy the placing of this work neatly into any one category. Although this book is intended as academic, the author is self-conscious in her attempts to make it accessible to a wider public. Despite the fact that Renwick Monroe describes herself as a political scientist, she situates her work in the larger context of moral theory and moral philosophy, and tackles topics which draw on psychology, sociology and history alike. In this way, she is able to build upon her prior work on altruism, and also avoid many of the challenges which face historians specifically.

Although this work is largely based on interviews conducted by the author, she has the luxury of being less critical of her subject's memories than authors in neighboring fields. Whereas many historians struggle with the fact that oral testimony is sometimes contradictory, confused, and occasionally less than accurate, she is able to embrace these characteristics; in the type of study she presents, these attributes actually enhance the narratives as they are then more nuanced, immediate, and ultimately more reflective of the complexities of human nature. In her discussion of how to understand and analyze the interviews, she references the seminal work of Lawrence Langer; she supports his contention that in some ways such oral histories are more important and more relevant than narrative, but challenges his fundamental idea that behavior during the Holocaust must be viewed as separate from, and cannot be held up for examination against, contemporary moral theories.

Before moving into the five narratives, the author engages in further reflection on her own methodological choices, as well as the biases and perspectives she herself brings to the work. Although she only includes five testimonies in her work, in the course of her research she conducted interviews with numerous rescuers, all of whom are honored as righteous by *Yad Vashem*. She makes it clear that this larger group of interviews offers further support for her theory. Some might wish to take her to task for including so limited a number of testimonies in her study; while this is a valid methodological concern, the book does not come across as unbalanced. Instead, Renwick Monroe consistently supports her thesis with a far more thorough examination—of world view, educational background, religious and philosophical influences, and the cognitive process of each interviewee—than a more inclusive work would allow. Before turning to the sources themselves, she also acknowledges that as a human being, she wants to find hope amongst the actions of these moral exemplars, but appropriately acknowledges the limitations that her personal perspective can have on her empirical research.

Despite both her ability to maintain professional distance from the topic, and her success in making a strong argument that links the behavior of rescuing to an identity

which has strong moral underpinnings and emphasizes the connection to fellow human beings, there are clear limitations to a work of this nature.

The use of moral theory and moral philosophy as the defining parameters of the study tends to exclude the possibility for function and action outside the realm of cognition or moral choice. This is something which several of the rescuers mention, but in the larger argument these important points about instinctual response garner less attention than they perhaps should. An additional limitation in the style of the work, which borders on criticism, is that it tends to assume that in being ‘moral exemplars,’ these individuals did what society would most likely term, ‘the right thing.’ It is clear that their actions were respectable, humane, and ought to be emulated; however, setting them up as exemplars leads to the dangerous corollary that those who did not rescue, or who did not resist in a similar capacity were somehow lacking or worse—morally depraved. The author does not suggest this is the case, but given the danger of inadvertently encouraging judgment, she would do well to warn her readers that studying the factors which contributed to this desirable behavior does not imply that judgment of other behaviors (or lack thereof) is useful.

Overall, this is a well argued and documented study which illustrates an important link between identity and ethical behavior; although it does not answer every question which relates to its topic, those which it does address are given thoughtful and thorough attention. *The Hand of Compassion* illustrates how a confluence of social factors which included education, multicultural experiences and strong moral/religious/philosophical backgrounds tended to produce, particularly under duress, similar behavior in dramatically different geographic locations for individuals under various life circumstances. It calls our attention to trends which seem to lead to morally desirable behaviors; this recommends it to academic and professional courses in a variety of fields which deal with identity, ethics, and morality.

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Donald M. Lewis, ed., *Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860*. Two Volumes. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004. Pp. xxii + 1265. \$99.95.

**Reviewed by Douglas A. Sweeney, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School**

This work is a reprint of Lewis’s *Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860*, 2 vols. (Blackwell, 1995). None of the entries have been changed, nor have their brief bibliographies. The publisher has rearranged the volumes’ front matter and has relegated the “List of Abbreviations” to an appendix. However, those who own the Blackwell volumes have no need for these. They offer nothing that is new beyond the packaging.

Those who cannot access the Blackwell volumes ought to acquire these. They are expensive—and a bit dated. But they offer the broadest set of entries on leading evangelical Christians in the English-speaking world from the time of the Great Awakening to that of the Prayer Meeting Revival. The brainchild of Andrew Walls, this project was born in the 1960s and has involved 360 different historians (many of whom belong to the Conference on Faith and History). It boasts over 3,500 entries, most on lesser-known evangelicals, some of which were written by their subjects' chief biographers.

Brought to completion competently by Donald Lewis of Regent College (Vancouver), this project has come to reflect its editor's global vision. Lewis began his scholarly life by writing on evangelical ministry in nineteenth century England, most importantly in *Lighten Their Darkness: The Evangelical Mission to Working-Class London* (1986). But he soon expanded his purview and studied Christian globalization, producing a volume for Eerdmans' series on the history of Christian missions, *Christianity Reborn: The Global Expansion of Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* (2004).

When Lewis assumed control of the present work (in 1985), he determined that it would reflect his concern for global evangelicalism. Rather than limit the scope of the *Dictionary* to Britain and America, as was the original intent, Lewis expanded it to cover most of the English-speaking world. "Within the period concerned," he writes, "the 'English-speaking world' includes Great Britain and all of Ireland, and Britain's colonial holdings: the American colonies (and subsequently the United States), Canada, Australia, New Zealand, parts of the South Seas, the African and West Indian territories and British India" (1: xviii-xix). Further, "[s]ome who did not speak English are included if they had strong connections with, or exercised notable influence on evangelicalism . . . A number of key continental evangelicals have been included because of the important links that they had to the English-speaking world" (1: xix). Some such leaders are obvious, like Nicholas Count von Zinzendorf, while others are hardly remembered today, such as Frédéric Jean Joel Monod.

Lewis has also paid attention to others previously marginalized: women like Ellen Ranyard, Anne Lutton and Hester (Ann) Rogers; people of color like George Liele; and evangelicals down under like William Cowper and Thomas Burns. Volume two of the present edition contains an index to the entries sorted geographically (2: 1232-1259). By my count, there are 36 different nations and/or regions represented.

Compared to similar reference works, such as InterVarsity's *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (2003) and landmark *Dictionary of Christianity in America* (1990), Lewis's work stacks up well. It offers hundreds more entries on a wider range of people. The *Biographical Dictionary* is much better on detail and it is also more up-to-date. The *Dictionary of Christianity in America* offers more on non-evangelical Christianity. Even more helpful in this regard is *The Encyclopedia of American Religious History*. But for breadth of information on English-speaking evangelicals—in Britain, North America and the English-speaking dispersion—Lewis's work cannot be beat. One

only hopes that he has energy for another reference work: a fully global dictionary of evangelicalism!

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Thomas S. Kidd, *The Protestant Interest: New England After Puritanism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005. Pp. 224. \$40.00.

**Reviewed by Darin D. Lenz, Kansas State University**

Early American Puritanism has been the subject of scores of studies, yet historians continue to wrestle with interpreting the changes that occurred in New England religious thought between the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century. The question that continues to perplex scholars is how the Puritanism of the seventeenth century corresponded with the rise of evangelicalism in the eighteenth century. Thomas S. Kidd, history professor at Baylor University, embarks on an important and significant new study that attempts to answer this question. Focusing on the fifty-year period between the Glorious Revolution and the Great Awakening, after the zenith of first generation Puritans, Kidd detects an evolution in the cultural and political identity of New England religious elites that marked a radical departure from the years prior to 1689. The author attributes much of this change to the ascension of William and Mary to the English throne in 1688 and the subsequent revision of the Massachusetts' charter in 1692. Kidd's reading of events asserts that new political circumstances necessitated a reformulation of Puritan identity, resulting in the creation of the "Protestant interest" (2).

Combining a broad and deep reading of primary sources with a critical eye towards the historiography, Kidd presents a story that details the shift from the reform-minded Puritanism of the mid-seventeenth century to a "revivalist, more broadly internationalist, and British" vision of Protestantism (12). The three essential elements that define the Protestant interest, as described by Kidd, involved promoting world Protestantism, embracing British nationalism, and rejecting Roman Catholicism. Kidd aptly ties together a diverse cast of persons, sources, and events. Starting with the leadership of Boston's Brattle Street Church pastor, Benjamin Colman, Kidd traces the contours of the Protestant interest by examining how a new religious identity was constructed. The individuals who aligned themselves with the Protestant interest imagined a world in which they were part of a besieged community engaged in a battle for the future of world Christianity in its reformed Protestant manifestation. The Protestant interest thrived by cultivating the idea of a pernicious "other"—Roman Catholics—whose existence gave form to their own Christian identity. Similar to contemporary evangelicals, individuals aligned with the Protestant interest were most successful in manufacturing an efficacious sense of unity when they named and defined a diabolical foe. The tensions between Catholic and Protestant nations in Europe, anxiety about a Catholic regaining the throne

of England, and alarm about the influence of Jesuit priests among New England Indians became justification for sifting out who was and was not part of the Protestant interest. As a result, the Protestant interest developed into a network of relationships maintained by correspondence and concern with the direction of international politics, trade, and the spread of global Catholicism.

The response of New Englanders to the perceived threats around them created the structure, function, and aspirations of the Protestant interest. The implications were dramatic. For instance, Kidd recounts how New Englanders, in contrast to their forefathers, supported the British monarch and embraced British nationalism because they believed the crown served as the divinely appointed protectorate of international Protestantism. Kidd also reveals that the political shift of New Englanders in this period, combined with interdenominational inclusiveness, indicates a significant break from the Puritanism of the previous generation. In fact, the Protestant interest signaled the development of a new form of New England religion that embraced a pan-Protestantism and set aside theological reform for international solidarity. The marriage of a divinely inspired sense of nationalism and a cosmopolitan Protestant unity created an odd paradox that continues to distinguish American evangelicals.

Another engaging aspect of the book deals with the eschatology that emerged from religious leaders promoting their agenda of the Protestant interest. Kidd highlights how the struggle for the future of world Christianity coalesced into an eschatological view of events. Christ's return would be preceded by the destruction of the Roman Catholic Church, the conversion of the Jews, and exuberant revivals. This "conversionist eschatology" created by the Protestant interest was transferred from pulpit to pew by the 1720s and, as Kidd contends, prepared New England for the Great Awakening (162). Here Kidd directly challenges historians who argue that the Great Awakening was invented by providing compelling evidence that the fires for revival were smoldering for some time prior to the arrival of George Whitefield.

Altogether, Kidd provides a clearly written, well-researched, and insightful narrative that is lively and intriguing. However, his concern with the construction of identity should have compelled him to delve more deeply into everyday life of ordinary New Englanders who may have been influenced by the rhetoric and ideas of the Protestant interest. Yet, by documenting the expanding global and ecumenical consciousness, the function of British nationalism, and the power of anti-Catholicism on leading New England ministers and laymen, Kidd provides a solid foundation from which to understand the subsequent development of American evangelicalism in the eighteenth century. The book invites readers to continue to ask new questions about how the religious life of New England, particularly in the period between 1688 and 1740, foreshadowed the prevalence of nationalism, ecumenism, and eschatological motivated revivalism in the worldwide expansion of evangelicalism to the present day.

Peter J. Kastor, *The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. Pp. xiii + 304. \$35.00.

**Reviewed by Sean Scott, Purdue University**

The recent bicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase has been marked by several scholarly works commemorating the acquisition of Jefferson's "empire of liberty." Peter Kastor adds to our understanding of the Purchase by analyzing its effect on the inhabitants of Louisiana. Much more than an expansion of geographic territory, the Louisiana Purchase, according to Kastor, is integral to our understanding of the process of nationbuilding because the incorporation of Louisianians helped define what it meant to be a citizen in the Early Republic. From the Purchase in 1803 to the ratification of the Transcontinental Treaty in 1821, the residents of Louisiana demonstrated their growing emotional, political, commercial, and legal attachment to the United States, and thereby a potentially divisive, heterogeneous, frontier population became successfully incorporated into the Union.

Although most textbooks emphasize Jefferson's quandary over the constitutionality of acquiring new territory outside the original thirteen colonies, Kastor shows how governance of the new territory was the primary obstacle faced by Congress in its effort to incorporate Louisiana. Through passage of the Governance Act of 1804, Congress decided that the residents of Louisiana might gradually gain equality as American citizens by demonstrating their attachment to the United States government. White Louisianians addressed the challenges to incorporation by passing the Black Code of 1806 in order to minimize the threat of slave revolts, guarantee property rights, and define blacks as outside the bounds of citizenship. By relegating the Caddo Indians to the Neutral Ground, a contested area on the border of Louisiana and Spanish Texas, elite whites defused potential conflicts with Spain and Native Americans and preserved regional stability.

Louisianians and policymakers in Washington both recognized that the success of domestic policies rested on an effective foreign policy. Isolating Haiti, annexing West Florida, and regulating immigration at the Port of New Orleans all proved crucial to maintaining an environment conducive to political and social incorporation. Because of this interconnection between domestic and foreign policy, Louisianians were able to influence policymaking in Washington while enjoying a degree of personal autonomy through local diplomacy. For instance, territorial governor William C. C. Claiborne elected to allow foreign refugees to bring slaves into the territory before Congress officially approved this measure in 1809. This ability of local officials to make policies in keeping with federal goals helped them demonstrate their success at republican institution-building on the local level. The combination of social stability through racial supremacy, effective diplomatic relations, and a vibrant local governmental apparatus convinced Congress that Louisianians had become Americans who were attached to the United States government and fully deserving of incorporation via statehood. After

gaining admittance to the Union in 1812, Louisianians proved their patriotism and loyalty throughout the War of 1812 by combating British invasion, solidifying their control over blacks, and even challenging Andrew Jackson's declaration of martial law and suspension of habeas corpus as violations of their rights as citizens. With the ratification of the Transcontinental Treaty with Spain in 1821 and its clear delineation of the borders of Louisiana, the successful incorporation of Louisianians had helped define citizenship and validated the process of American nation-building.

Kastor makes a compelling argument that the most immediate consequence of the Louisiana Purchase for contemporaries was its effect on demographic rather than geographic expansion. By mining the *American State Papers*, *Annals of Congress*, and correspondence of prominent Jeffersonians, Kastor effectively places Louisiana in its national context and illuminates the challenges policymakers faced in establishing authority over an ethnically diverse group of people far from the center of government. Furthermore, he effectively gives voice to the Louisianians who labored to prove their loyalty to the government in order to gain equality as American citizens. Most importantly, in my opinion, *The Nation's Crucible* demonstrates that racial control and white supremacy were essential to Louisiana substantiating its attachment to the United States.

One of the most interesting pieces of evidence that Kastor marshals to validate his assertion that white Louisianians embraced rather than resisted incorporation, was the purposeful measures Catholic Louisianians took to make their faith acceptable to Protestant Americans. By linking Catholic rituals with veneration of George Washington and Fourth of July celebrations, Catholics hoped to convince Protestants that Catholicism did not prohibit them from being patriotic citizens. Although their task was a difficult one, Catholics made tangible contributions in the public sphere, most noticeably through the educational and philanthropic efforts of the Ursuline nuns of New Orleans. Although varying degrees of hostility most assuredly remained, it seems evident that the republican spirit of the age and an overwhelming desire for nationhood trumped any theological differences that might have kept Catholic Louisianians from joining their Protestant counterparts as full-fledged American citizens.

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Edith L. Blumhofer, *Her Heart Can See: The Life and Hymns of Fanny J. Crosby*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005. Pp. xxi + 365. \$20.00.

**Reviewed by Trisha Posey, University of Maryland**

One of the fundamental tenets of historical study is that to understand history one must grasp both the text and context of an historical event. Knowing what happened in the past requires more than analyzing documents; it also demands understanding the political,

social, and cultural climate that shaped the available sources. Edith Blumhofer's biography of Fanny Crosby, *Her Heart Can See*, reminds us of this by showing that while Crosby's life and hymns helped define American evangelical Christianity for nearly a century, both were also products of the historical moment in which Crosby lived.

*Her Heart Can See* is part of the Library of Religious Biography series, which provides scholarly, yet accessible, narratives of the lives of influential religious women and men in American history to both academic and non-academic readers. Crosby, the blind hymnist and poetess who wrote thousands of hymns during her life (which spanned from 1820 to 1915) is an obvious addition to the group. Her hymns, including "Blessed Assurance," "Rescue the Perishing," "Safe in the Arms of Jesus," and other Protestant Christian classics, have played, and continue to play, an important role in church worship.

Blumhofer, however, does not simply restate the obvious importance of Crosby's hymns to American Protestantism or recount the standard biography of Crosby. Instead, she provides a context for understanding the creation and influence of Crosby's hymns by weaving together several historiographical threads. *Her Heart Can See* reveals that Crosby's texts both influenced and were influenced by a multiplicity of intricately related historical events and trends.

Blumhofer's close attention to the context of Crosby's life—partly necessitated by the dearth of extant material left by Crosby herself—allows her to make new connections that historians have overlooked in the past. She touches on topics such as antebellum revivalism, early movements for public education and education for the disabled, poor relief and mission work, nineteenth and twentieth century hymnody, and even Mormonism, but she does so in a way that causes the reader to come away understanding more deeply the relationships among these phenomena. Crosby – a New Englander who adopted New York City as her home when she began attending the New York Institution for the Blind in 1835 – at times seems to be the center of the vast web of relationships among leaders of some of the most important movements in New York City religion and reform, serving as a nexus by which connections are made. Famous historical actors, including Charles Grandison Finney, P.T. Barnum, and Grover Cleveland enter and exit the scenes of Fanny Crosby's life. Blumhofer masterfully directs their actions in a way that illuminates antebellum American history in a new way.

Two major themes emerge from Blumhofer's biography of Crosby. First, as Blumhofer argues, Crosby and her compatriots serve as good reminders that for many Americans, Christianity has not only been a spiritual calling, but a way to understand civic life as well. Crosby, descended from several generations of New England Protestants who "cherished community, civil, religious, and social" (11) and trained in a school that emphasized "that public virtue had deep roots in evangelical religion," (46) believed that the success of American civil society rested on a commitment to Christian principles. Most of her colleagues believed the same thing, assuming that patriotism, a romantic commitment to evangelical reform, and the utilization of such sentiments for profit were part of the American fabric and, rather than being contradictory, were inextricable parts of a whole.

Second, Crosby's life and hymns also reflect the changing evangelical Protestant theological context in which she wrote, which Blumhofer describes as "fluid, imprecise, and evocative" (viii). Crosby grew up in Presbyterian churches in New England, but she later joined a Methodist church in New York City. Her chapel experience at the New York Institute for the Blind—where a variety of denominational leaders (including Dutch Reformed, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Congregationalist ministers) directed services—reveals little interest on the part of the school's directors to maintaining a commitment to a single denominational doctrine. The themes of Crosby's music, which Blumhofer breaks into four categories—salvation, consecration, service, and heaven—, reveal a similar inchoateness. Some historians and critics of hymnody have found this to be a point of criticism for Crosby's music. Blumhofer, however, sees it as a reflection of the context in which Crosby was writing. She argues that the simplicity of Crosby's music appealed to American evangelicals who increasingly dropped denominational commitments in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries for a more affective Christian experience.

Readers of *Her Heart Can See* looking for the definitive biography of Fanny Crosby will come away disappointed, as the sparse sources directly relating to Crosby's life do not lend themselves to strict biographical narrative. Because Blumhofer was forced to write more about context than text when telling Crosby's story, at times Crosby's life blends into the background of the picture Blumhofer is trying to paint of nineteenth century New York evangelicalism and its hymn culture. For the most part, however, Blumhofer strikes a good balance, illuminating in fresh ways not only Crosby's life and hymns, but also the life and music of nineteenth century New York evangelicals.

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John J. Fry. *The Farm Press, Reform, and Rural Change, 1895-1920*. New York & London: Routledge, 2005. Pp. xxviii + 230. \$80.00.

**Reviewed by Brian W. Beltman, University of South Carolina**

In this reworking of his doctoral dissertation John Fry analyzes selected Midwestern farm periodicals published between 1895 and 1920 and assesses responses from their rural readers in order to gauge the impact of Country Life reformers to effect positive rural change during the Progressive Era that might stem farm population loss. Fry identifies two primary motives underlying Country Life reformers concern about the quality of life in the countryside. They "were aware of the rising price of food" (xxii) and that it must be abated by more efficient agricultural production methods and a more business-like approach to farming. In addition, they worried about population migration from farm to city that resulted in "the brightest and best...leaving rural areas" (xxii). To counter this, reformers wanted to preserve farming as a way of life that they believed was superior to

city dwelling by revitalizing social institutions in the countryside. The latter efforts, Fry notes, ironically pushed rural society into closer emulation of an urban lifestyle.

To make his analysis manageable the author takes a sub-regional approach by focusing on four farm newspapers – the *Iowa Homestead*, *Wallace's Farmer*, the *Prairie Farmer* and the *Missouri Ruralist* – in the states of Iowa, Illinois, and Missouri, what Fry calls the Lower Midwest. He sketches the history, ownership, editorship, size, circulation, and content of these periodicals and provides brief biographies of the publishers and editors to identify their rural or urban affinities and to compare their relative wealth and economic status. He concludes that farm newspaper professionals, “living in cities and enjoying a more prosperous life than country people, had more in common with urban social reformers than their audience of country people” (88). Turning to that reading audience, Fry examines the subscription and reading record of ninety-seven individuals to determine why country people read (for community awareness, entertainment, and useful information) and what their general reading habits were (not distinctively different from that of urban readers). The author continues this line of inquiry by abstracting statistical surveys done by the United States Department of Agriculture and the Iowa State Experimental Station in the 1910s and 1920s that canvassed farmers in the Lower Midwest about their reading interests and how these aligned with farmer types (owners, tenants, or laborers). The data suggested “that all types of farmers received farm newspapers” (72). Further case studies by Fry of the subscription list of one agent in Story County, Iowa, for *Wallace's Farmer* in 1920 as well as of nine specific subscribers of the four farm periodicals noted above underscored the diversity of rural readership in terms of land ownership, tenancy, wealth, ethnicity, and education and testify to rural people subscribing “to a large variety of newspapers, books, and magazines” (88). Subscription to periodicals, of course, must not be inherently equated with readership.

In three subsequent chapters Fry relates the four farm periodicals to some of the reform efforts of the Country Life Movement by examining editorials, feature stories, and readership correspondence. He describes the varying perceptions that the rural church was in crisis and symptomatic of a feeble rural social life. It allegedly suffered from over-churching, weak and insufficiently supported churches, sectarian rivalries, and poor pastor leadership. Rejuvenated rural churches must serve as non-sectarian community social centers, congregations must engage in interdenominational cooperation and church federation, and rural pastors must become vibrant community leaders in their local neighborhoods, knowledgeable about agriculture as well as religious matters. Readership response, what limited number Fry found, was decidedly mixed: support for the church as a rural social center, little favor for interchurch cooperation or federation, and virtual silence on a new role for pastors.

The author also summarizes rural press attention, pro and con, to reformers' interest in improving rural schools primarily by adding agricultural education to academic curriculum and by forging rural school consolidation. Ideally, the former would train better future farmers and inculcate a love of farm life, and the latter would provide more subjects and specialized teachers in efficient, combined school operations that were less expensive than numerous one-room, one-teacher local schoolhouses where learning the

three “Rs” still persisted. Most importantly, better rural education would deter the country to city population drift of rural youth. Fry again discovered mixed readership response: many were about evenly divided on the issue of agriculture education, but the prospect of higher taxes and transportation needs associated with school consolidation generally generated more opposition than support. The author concludes that a strong sense of localism underlay this opposition.

Finally, Fry evaluates farm newspaper’s portrayals of the rural family, focusing on women’s work on the farm and on the role of children. Reformers desired a favorable quality of life for women and children that would keep them from leaving the countryside. For women, the farm press urged labor-saving conveniences, promoted the science of domestic economy, advised on profitable poultry production, counseled wives and husbands to be full partners in farming operations, and lauded the success of women who owned and managed farms independent of men. According to Fry, readership response generally supported improved techniques and practices that made work efforts easier or more efficient and profitable and praised the concept of partnership farming or independent women farmers, but correspondents hinted that the reality of farm operations did not always fulfill expectations. The farm press also offered advice to rural youth. For boys, this included taking agricultural training in rural schools, becoming responsible for livestock or a piece of cropland at an early age and enjoying the proceeds from that farm production, and participating in rural youth clubs. For girls, this called for studying domestic science, pursuing money-making endeavors associated with poultry or garden produce, and attending rural social events and joining domestic science clubs. Fry determines that the rural readers were generally in accord to do everything necessary to keep rural youth in the county, but he notes that structural changes in the agricultural sector of the economy continued to force “excess” (155) rural youth to find employment in urban rather than rural settings and that some parents saw their children’s future better served by leaving the farm and seeking opportunities in the city.

Throughout his study and when appropriate Fry addresses observations about Country Life reform by other writers such as David Danbom, William Bowers, Mary Neth, David Reynolds, James Madison, Paul Theobald, Merwin Swanson, and more. He also borrows on insights from journalism researchers including James Evans, Rodolfo Salcedo, Stuart Shulman, James Carey, and others. His bibliography contains a respectable list of manuscript collections, family papers, newspaper runs, federal and state manuscript census material, contemporary primary studies, and selected secondary sources. Conspicuously absent are two dissertations on the Country Life Movement – one at Ohio State University in 1962 and another at the University of Wisconsin in 1974 – as well as a 1976 article on rural church reform during the Progressive Era in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*; these sources may have broadened the author’s understanding of the rural life reform effort. Fry’s discussion of family issues and rural depopulation neglects a related concern of Country Life reformers – the implications of retirement of rural seniors from the farm to the village. Country Lifers were among the first to focus on this phenomena in the early twentieth century, see it as “problem,” and suggest remedies. The author’s contention that interaction among frequent and recurring letter-writers to

Home Departments of the rural press comprised “actual communities” (147) leaves this reader unconvinced; like chat rooms they may have served as virtual communities, but little more. Occasional editing lapses appear: the work is still described as a dissertation (xxvii) even when it has evolved into a book and an annoying shift from past to present tense occurs (144). Nonetheless, in sum, by providing readers with the perspective of certain farm periodicals and their readers on the reform agenda of the Country Life Movement this study seeks to attain a grass-roots assessment of its efficacy.

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Roger Daniels, *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants since 1882*. New York: Hill & Wang, 2004. Pp. xii + 328. \$15.00.

**Reviewed by Hans P. Vought, Nyack College**

Roger Daniels is one of the most prominent historians of American immigration and ethnicity. He is the foremost chronicler of the Japanese-American experience during World War II. His book, *Coming to America*, is a standard textbook in undergraduate history courses on immigration. Thus a reader expects great things of a new book addressing the history of immigration policy since the late nineteenth century. While general readers will be satisfied with the results, specialists in the field will ultimately find Daniels’ new book disappointing because it offers more synthesis than analysis. *Guarding the Golden Door* will be useful to undergraduate students nevertheless.

Daniels’ thesis is that from 1882-1943 immigration was gradually restricted more and more, beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, continuing on through the establishment of a federal bureaucracy to screen immigrants and the explicitly racist National Origins quota system of the 1920s. From 1943-on, the restrictions on immigration were gradually loosened, once more beginning with the Chinese. Despite much public debate over immigration in the past twenty-five years and the harsh treatment of some Middle Eastern Muslims in the wake of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Daniels notes that immigration continues virtually unabated.

Daniels divides his book into two parts, which curiously do not match the chronology of his thesis. The first part covers the years 1882-1965, while the second analyzes post-1965 policies and trends. In Part I, Daniels discusses the beginnings of immigration restriction with the 1875 Page Act and the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, noting that the discrimination and legal tactics first used against Asian immigrants would later be applied to European immigrants. He then narrates the gradual tightening of restriction, culminating in the National Origins quota system created in the 1920s. Chapter three’s title insists that there was “No New Deal for Immigration,” and Daniels particularly faults President Franklin D. Roosevelt for refusing to admit significant numbers of Jewish refugees from the Nazi regime. Daniels locates the beginnings of a

more liberal immigration policy in the World War II years, however, once again beginning with the Chinese, who were made eligible for naturalization and given a token immigration quota in 1943. Surprisingly, Daniels devotes only one paragraph to the internment of Japanese Americans during the war, perhaps believing that he has already written enough on that subject.

Daniels points out that after World War II, immigration policy became subordinate to foreign policy, and Cold War concerns prompted a liberalization of immigration policy, beginning with the admission of Displaced Persons after World War II. While some anti-Semitic U.S. officials treated Jewish D.P.s callously, President Harry S. Truman got Congress to pass a bill in 1948 that authorized the admission of 400,000 refugees over and above the quotas over a four year span. Daniels argues that the most important change introduced by this act was the provision allowing voluntary agencies (VOLAGs), many of them religiously affiliated, to sponsor immigrants, oversee their settlement in the U.S., and guarantee that they would not become public charges. He notes that since 1948 VOLAGs have influenced American immigration policy heavily, but he fails to analyze their motives or methods. Contrary to many historians, Daniels highlights the liberal elements in the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952, particularly the permission granted to Asian immigrants to enter the U.S. and naturalize.

Both the McCarran-Walter Act and the Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965, which ended the quota system altogether, were designed primarily to redress the wrongs done to Southern and Eastern European immigrants in the early twentieth century. Unintentionally, however, they paved the way for a major new wave of immigration over the past forty years, the sources of which lie not in Europe but in Asia and Latin America. In Part Two, Daniels discusses post-1965 immigration policies and trends in episodic fashion, with chapters on Asian and Latino immigrants, refugee policies, and attempts at immigration reform in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. He correctly notes the contradictions in U.S. policies and inconsistencies in their enforcement, but he offers no alternatives. He intimates, instead, that any attempt to regulate and restrict immigrants' entry into the United States is futile.

Overall, Daniels synthesizes much of the latest scholarship on immigration and ethnicity while adding his own comments—some witty, others acerbic. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (which was broken up into three separate bureaus and moved into the new Department of Homeland Security in March 2003) comes in for repeated criticism. Some of this criticism is well-deserved, particularly concerning its notoriously unreliable collection of statistics. It seems unfair, however, to attack the federal agency for both inadequate enforcement of the law and excessive zeal in arresting and deporting illegal aliens. Daniels also strains at times to make his points in the current political debate over immigration. He declares, for example, "The commonly held perception that America is receiving an unprecedented *proportion* of immigrants is false" (4; emphasis mine). This is true; however, he fails to note that the actual number of immigrants is at an all-time high. Nevertheless, *Guarding the Golden Door* is a well-written synthesis of recent scholarship. It will prove a useful book for undergraduate courses on immigration and ethnicity.

Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration*. Cambridge and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003. Pp. 610. \$35.00 / \$18.00.

**Reviewed by Keith Harper, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary**

How might one describe a single book that wins the Merle Curti Prize in Social History, the Bancroft Prize and the Pulitzer Prize in History? Such accolades suggest that the book is an instant classic and Steven Hahn's *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* is just such a volume. The selection committees did their jobs well.

Until now, historians have argued that African-American political empowerment has been a tale of misfortune and woe. Blacks had no political power before the Civil War; they had a taste of power after the Civil War, and ultimately lost their meager gains as they fell victim to white racism and intimidation. True enough, there was plenty of white supremacy and racism to go around. However, Hahn maintains that African-Americans exercised considerable power in the slave quarters before the Civil War. They often bartered with overseers and masters over issues like division of labor, means of production, and the quantity of goods produced. This measure of economic power in turn gave blacks a measure of political power and taught them valuable organizational skills that they honed in their kin networks, churches, and the like. Thus, when Reconstruction offered opportunities for African-American participation in the political process, they may have been "new comers" to local, state, and national politics, but they were not exactly political novices. They took their voting rights seriously—and woe to the black man who did not vote!

After Reconstruction, whites regrouped and systematically disfranchised black voters, or so the story goes. Again, Hahn claims that such analysis skews the bigger picture. In fact, rather than crippling black politics, southern redemption actually accelerated it. This may be Hahn's most controversial conclusion and political historians will likely howl, but he is certainly on to something. The fact that black southerners could, and frequently did, organize themselves into social, political, and economic units had broad implications beyond the ballot box. Thus, when faced with oppression and violence thousands of black southerners moved either out of the region or in some cases to Africa. His chapter, "The Education of Henry Adams" offers readers a nuanced, engaging refutation of the notion that southern blacks were merely victims who submitted passively to their plight. Post-reconstruction America experienced the rise of what Hahn deems a "different political world" that for African-Americans included "a world of Booker T. Washington, a world of Marcus Garvey and the Great Migration" (363). It was from this world that black Americans began to chip away at disfranchisement and Jim Crow. Had they not been active participants in their own story, how could African-Americans have won one civil rights case after another in the twentieth century?

If any of this sounds familiar, it should. Social historians in the 1970s-80s argued that African-Americans used considerable ingenuity and self-determination in fashioning

their own unique worlds before and after the Civil War. Hahn has gone several steps further. He argues that black self-determination translated into a measure of real power in politics and economics. At 610 pages this book is a bit daunting, but it is difficult to imagine a source that Hahn has not scrutinized. Readers who expect to see tables and statistics, the stock and trade of some social historians, will be pleasantly surprised to see that Hahn writes about his subject with passion and vitality.

*A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery of the Great Migration* is a compelling analysis of African-American participation in American democracy. Unfortunately, this story is sometimes the story of exploitation, but it is also the story of how African-Americans stood their ground in the face of great adversity. This work will likely spark considerable debate among Southern social, cultural, and political historians and it may well spawn numerous new studies that will either challenge or affirm Hahn's conclusions. But then, what more could one ask from an "instant classic"?

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Paul Harvey, *Freedom's Coming: Religious Culture and the Shaping of the South from the Civil War through the Civil Rights Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Pp. xiii+338. \$34.95.

**Reviewed by Stephen Messer, Taylor University**

One way a newcomer gets "placed" in a small southern town is religious affiliation. Career is important, family is crucial, but church is foundational to one's identity. The modern Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s is in the process of being "placed" in southern history and culture. One sees these efforts at locating the Movement in its public interpretation (museums, monuments, historic sites) and in its historiography. Scholars and curators have moved far beyond the Martin from Montgomery to Memphis narrative in the last fifteen years, and current research typically focuses on lesser known personalities and campaigns, grassroots activism, and the long and deep roots of the Freedom Struggle. Paul Harvey addresses all three of these issues in this insightful book that places the Civil Rights Movement in the broader context of southern religious history.

Harvey focuses on three central themes as he answers the question of how freedom came to the South in the wake of the Movement. These themes are theological racism, racial interchange and Christian interracialism. His thesis is that there was a slow, sometimes hidden, sometimes apparent, move away from the theological racism that dominated in southern white Protestant churches after the Civil War. Although theological racism finally crumbled in the aftermath of the Civil Rights era, Harvey convincingly shows how its foundation had already weakened due to the racial

interchange and Christian interracialism that operated on the fringes of southern religion from the late nineteenth century through the 1950s and 1960s.

As he develops this thesis, Harvey raises a number of key interpretative points. He points out the cracks in theological racism that began as a result of both southern Populism and Progressivism. Although neither movement reached its potential in terms of a frontal attack on Jim Crow, their more radical adherents did weaken it with their political efforts. On the religious front, Harvey emphasizes individuals who were members of major denominations but who often applied their faith in ways that challenged the racism of the theological status quo. This focus on scores of individuals who acted out their faith by crossing racial lines is one of the highlights of the book. In addition to well known men such as Clarence Jordan, Will Alexander and Will Campbell, one also meets lesser known, but fascinating, women such as Louise Young and Thelma Stevens, who led the Methodist Women's Missionary Council and the Women's Division of the Methodist Church as these organizations challenged the apartheid present in their denomination.

Harvey's chapter on the racial interchange present in the expressive culture of southern religion is a gem. In addition to highlighting black and white appreciation of the supernatural in the spirit-filled worship that characterized the southern Holiness and Pentecostal traditions, Harvey does a masterful job of putting music at the center of this interchange. His examination of the borrowing across the color line that sustained southern gospel music and thereby influenced the blues as well as rock and roll is another reminder that one needs to look beyond the institutional church to understand the relationship between Christianity and liberation.

This reminder anchors chapter four, which deals directly with the Civil Rights Movement. The heroes of this final confrontation with theological racism are those blacks and whites who broke through the outright opposition or timidity that characterized their churches and denominations. Harvey again emphasizes both well-known leaders (Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, Fannie Lou Hamer and Fred Shuttlesworth) as well as lesser known freedom fighters such as Rev. J.J. Russell, who faced intimidation and threats of violence because he opened his Holmes County, Mississippi church to Movement meetings and joined the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Rev. Russell noted that as he faced these threats, his Bible was "the best weapon of all times. When I get out, I pull it up. The policeman starts tremblin' he have his pistol—'n he goes to shaking. When I go in the courthouse, we would go in and carry the Bible. And they'd be shaking, They never did stop me on the road; they'd stop everyone but me" (195).

*Freedom's Coming* is an indispensable addition to the growing number of works dealing with southern religious history, the Civil Rights Movement and the relationship between the two. Graduate students with these fields should add this book to their reading lists. Those who teach undergraduates will want to consider revising their presentations of these topics. Researchers will want to test a number of Harvey's insights in both broader and more focused contexts. (For example, was western populism as "evangelical" in appearance as its southern counterpart?) Believers who are actively

seeking racial and ethnic reconciliation within the Body of Christ will find historical context for their efforts, suggestive ideas about obstacles and strategies, and encouragement in terms of what has changed. In addition, chapter five, which focuses on the Southern Baptists' contemporary substitution of gender for race as its hot button purity issue, is required reading for those of us who teach at Christian colleges that have been impacted by the religious right.

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Terry H. Anderson, *The Pursuit of Fairness: A History of Affirmative Action*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. xiv + 320. \$17.95.

**Reviewed by Craig Kaplowitz, Judson College**

It has been more than thirty years since Richard Nixon approved the Philadelphia Plan, which required holders of federal construction contracts in that city to employ minorities in roughly the same percentage as their representation in the local workforce. It has been nearly thirty years since the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the use of affirmative action while rejecting specific quotas in college admissions, in *Bakke v. Board of Regents of California*. As the recent U.S. Supreme Court cases over affirmative action at the University of Michigan make clear, we continue to struggle with how, and whether, to remedy the legacy of American racism, even as we have cast Jim Crow segregation laws upon the trash heap of history. Given this political currency, the popular literature on affirmative action tends toward the blustering, and until Terry Anderson's *The Pursuit of Fairness* we lacked a comprehensive, dispassionate history of the subject. *The Pursuit of Fairness* tells its story through five chronological chapters, whose names reveal the author's trajectory for the narrative—genesis, rise, zenith, backlash, and demise.

Despite its post-civil rights era appearance in national civil rights policy, the term "affirmative action" dates from the New Deal, when it required employers to remedy discrimination against labor. Changes in American society since the 1970s have raised new questions about affirmative action: is it still necessary; for how long should groups receive such assistance; should immigrants be eligible? Anderson organizes his coverage of this "long" era of affirmative action around American ideas of fairness. What did civil rights leaders, policymakers, and Americans in general think was fair? How did American ideas of fairness relate to developments in affirmative action? How and when did these ideas change? This focus on fairness is the key original contribution of the book and, perhaps of most interest to the readers of this journal, moves the book beyond a simple story of policy development. By incorporating public opinion data Anderson shows that American ideas about affirmative action depend heavily on how questions are phrased, and that American ideas about fairness fluctuate over time and are often contradictory. The evidence for these popular views of fairness at times can seem like an

add-on—the policy story concludes and the reader is given the public’s reaction as captured in polls. While not developed as fully as it might be, this information does provide a useful snapshot of American attitudes, one missing from other studies of affirmative action. Even though Anderson does not address the worldview commitments that inform the ideas of fairness that he chronicles (admittedly not his task), his attention to those ideas over time raises deeper questions that may be particularly useful in the classroom.

By taking the history of affirmative action back to the 1930s, *The Pursuit of Fairness* is able to emphasize the continuities in history. Anderson traces the idea of compensatory justice, from A. Philip Randolph in the 1940s through calls for a “Marshall Plan” for blacks in the 1960s, and even in the thought of Martin Luther King, Jr. His story reveals that there was no single step easily identified as *the* radical departure in American civil rights policy. The logical progression of ideas about civil rights, national outrage at racism in the south, crisis management in the urban north, increasing authority for administrative agencies and the courts, and growing support in corporate America all combined to produce a shift in policy from prohibiting discrimination to requiring affirmative action. This shift was slow, unpredictable, and largely unforeseen even by advocates, and Anderson tells the story well. In both style and substance the book is concise and accessible, yet faithful to the nuance of the best specialized studies. While delving deeply into the policy world of affirmative action, Anderson rarely risks losing his audience. Readers will be as comfortable with Title VII, Revised Order No. 4, and “disparate impact” as they are with the NAACP, *Brown v. Board*, and Black Power. Another strength of Anderson’s approach is his ability to clearly enunciate the good points of both supporters and critics of affirmative action. This is particularly true as the story enters the later 1970s and 1980s, when general ideas about fairness run into the problems, both ideological and practical, of any controversial public policy.

There is a potential danger that comes with emphasizing the continuities in history with regard to affirmative action. In following the history from the New Deal forward, one may be tempted to underestimate the watershed nature of the 1960s. For good or ill, the decade witnessed a radical shift in American social policy. This shift is revealed implicitly in Anderson’s narrative. The early chapters of *The Pursuit of Fairness* read more like a social or intellectual history of civil rights than later chapters, and include much of the broader context. For this first part of his story, from the 1930s through the mid-1960s, Anderson must stretch the definition of affirmative action to include any and all notions of compensatory remedy, whether or not they had any currency in national policy. As we enter the 1960s and 1970s, the policy history becomes thicker, the detail and nuance more important. Context is still included, but the rich archival sources on policy development after 1965 or so require more attention to the policy, and leave the contextual elements to serve as bookends, particularly in the chapters on the rise and zenith of affirmative action. These are the most policy-centered chapters of the book, and reflect the deep changes in American national policy during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

For the most recent era in the history of affirmative action, *The Pursuit of Fairness* presents the reader with a contradiction. The first four chapters reflect their titles (genesis, rise, zenith, backlash) rather well, but the use of “demise” for the final chapter seems too strong. The book ends, as well as begins, with the University of Michigan cases of 2003, which upheld the use of affirmative action as one of many criteria that can improve a candidate’s admissions chances (while rejecting the use of automatic, specific benefits for minority candidates). The cases certainly proved a setback for advocates of more aggressive affirmative action policies, and when combined with movements such as those in California against state affirmative action policies, make concern among proponents understandable. But for a book that traces developing ideas of fairness and that highlights the way affirmative action has changed in meaning, it makes little sense to consider the 1990s and early 2000s an era of demise unless one holds to a particular definition of affirmative action. This is one of the few places in the book where Anderson may offer a visible nod toward his own preference. The evidence in the chapter suggests an era of constraint or restriction, perhaps, but not demise.

Ultimately, *The Pursuit of Fairness* works best as a synthetic history, with an original contribution that, while somewhat undeveloped, is nevertheless helpful and suggestive. Anderson achieves well his goal of providing a “lucid text explaining affirmative action” and the many changes it has undergone (xi).

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William E. Odom and Robert Dujarric, *America’s Inadvertent Empire*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004. Pp. xii + 285. \$30.00.

**Reviewed by Lee Canipe, Independent scholar**

As the Cold War lurched to an end in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a handful of scholars (for example, Yale’s Paul Kennedy) predicted an inevitable erosion of American power in the world. In contrast with this so-called “declinist” stance, the premise of Odom and Dujarric’s compact volume is bullishly straightforward: the United States not only dominates the world in a historically unprecedented fashion today, but it will likely continue to do so into the foreseeable future as well. The explanation given for America’s unchallenged supremacy, however, may come as a surprise to readers expecting an essay on the United States’ military or economic prowess. Neither guns nor dollars nor even the ubiquity of American popular culture, suggest the authors, can fully account for how and why the United States has reached this point of global strength. *America’s Inadvertent Empire*, instead, is a happy byproduct of liberal ideas and the institutions these ideas have shaped.

Indeed, the nations of North America, Europe, and northeast Asia that comprise this empire all share a commitment to liberalism—that is, the idea that governments should be

limited and individual rights protected—in both theory and practice, and it is the presence (or absence) of liberal institutions, claim the authors, that largely determines the success (or failure) of a state. Statistics certainly seem to bear out this assertion. By most useful measurements (e.g., gross domestic product or per capita income), the most powerful, prosperous, and progressive countries in the world are all liberal states. Countries that achieve the constitutional breakthroughs of establishing and maintaining liberal institutions consistently reap the benefits, both strategic and material, of liberalism's blend of freedom and stability.

Herein lies the key to America's seemingly unassailable (at least for now) position of strength. Standing alone, the United States would be far and away the most powerful nation on earth. America, however, does not stand alone. Thanks both to its formal alliances (as in the NATO countries) and its informal cordial relationships (see Taiwan and Israel, for example), the United States enjoys the close company of the world's other liberal states. Thus the United States, with its own considerable strengths multiplied exponentially by those of its liberal friends, finds itself at the center of a rich, interdependent network that indeed functions as a voluntary, liberal "empire." Nations are free to leave this American empire, but few (if any) ever choose to do so; the obvious advantages of staying in—and the equally clear disadvantages of being out—of the U.S. orbit exert a substantial gravitational pull upon its member states.

The authors maintain that neither this loose, quasi-imperial arrangement nor America's position of unquestioned superiority in the world will soon change, and they offer plenty of evidence to support their argument. The liberal states' huge advantages in military power, demography, economic performance, scholarship, science, and media/mass culture suggest that it would take decades of unlikely progress and extraordinary circumstances for a non-liberal nation (or group of nations) to close the gulf that separates the United States and its friends from the rest of the world. Odom and Dujarric devote a chapter to each of these advantages, describing in detail America's strengths relative to other countries, both in and out of the liberal empire. Though these chapters make for sometimes tedious reading, they are nevertheless quite persuasive.

Several intriguing avenues for further conversation appear throughout the book. Among them: why neither China or India, two nations often touted as possible rivals to American power, has the capability to compete seriously against U.S. interests in the coming years; why the threat of Islamic terrorism poses little real danger to American security; and how democracy, prematurely applied, can actually encourage tyranny. Some of these subjects are treated briefly, while others are only mentioned in passing. More detailed discussions along these lines, however, would not only have benefited the reader but might also have added some texture to what often comes across as a fairly flat (yet commendably thorough) overview of American power.

The most compelling—and unfortunately, given the course of U.S. foreign policy thus far in the twenty-first century, the most ominous—of the book's arguments concerns not the extent of the American empire but, rather, its limits. "The United States faces no serious challengers for its leadership position in the world," the authors write, "but that does not prevent U.S. leaders from destroying the empire" (206). In a world where no

effective external checks on American power exist, it is all the more imperative that those entrusted with that power act judiciously when applying it, “for probably no other variable will prove as significant for the durability of the American empire as leaders’ decision making. . . While overcommitment of military forces is not nearly the danger that many observers believe, gross misuse of military power in parts of the world that promise little return for the effort could erode U.S. hegemony in the world” (207).

What Odom, a retired general in the U.S. Army who also served as director of the National Security Agency during the second Reagan administration, and Dujarric, who has extensive experience in public policy and international affairs, provide here is not only a snapshot of American power at the beginning of the twenty-first century but also a thoughtful rationale for believing that this picture will not change significantly in the near future. *America’s Inadvertent Empire* may not necessarily be inspiring reading but, as an essay in *realpolitik*, it serves as a helpful, balanced assessment of the United States’ ever-evolving role as the world’s only superpower.

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James W. Skillen, *With or Against the World? America’s Role Among the Nations*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. Pp. xiii + 187. \$24.95.

**Reviewed by Robert J. Rice, Trinity Christian College**

At a time when the academic community and the larger American public continue to debate the viability of national sovereignty, the meaning of intervention across the globe, the nature of war, and the direction of foreign policy, James Skillen has written a work which offers rich insight on the place of America in the international community. He understands the complexities of our nation’s history and our present political task: “We are a federated, constitutional republic, but also a nation with a global mission more expansive than that of the Roman Empire. We are among the most secular of modern states, but a nation with a civil-religious identity stronger than that of any state with an established church. Our military is positioned throughout the world, yet when we engage in battle, we believe we do so only in defense. The United States now exercises the dominion of an empire, but we are uncomfortable thinking of ourselves as anything more than a superpower that promotes freedom” (ix). Because America’s place in the world has become so prominent, and because interconnections among states continue to multiply, Skillen calls for a re-centering and redirecting of American foreign policy.

In the first two chapters, he makes some important assertions which reinterpret America’s foreign policy against the dominant impression that the events of September 11 dramatically changed the international setting in which the United States develops its foreign policy. What drives American foreign policy is not merely singular events, as

important as they may be, but rather the enduring patterns of response and relationship that have shaped the Western political community.

Skillen describes the development of this Western political order through its competing political traditions. One tradition to which Christians are called to subscribe is that the political community must seek after justice. Skillen states, "Justice is not an abstract principle or a standard arrived at by human reasoning. It is not an ideal. Its way will be discerned by tracing out the paths of wisdom and doing God's will for life in this world" (28). Against this biblical vision, Skillen describes the realist and idealist political visions with their foundations in the classical world of Greece and Rome. One of the strengths of his book is that he continues to return to these alternative political traditions, assessing their impact upon different eras of Western political authority. After portraying the divergent interpretations of the human political task found in the Middle Ages, Skillen traces the rise of the state in the early modern centuries of European history, considering the rivalries among institutions and the reconfiguration of these institutions that brought forward a rich, differentiated society.

In chapters six through eight, Skillen asserts that the shaping power of the Western political tradition and the modern claims of American national sovereignty have given coherent yet very troubling direction to American foreign policy. He contends that the American republic was founded not only on the principles of limited government but also on expansive exceptionalism. And unfortunately, the claims and confidence of the new nation were further legitimated through the sanctifying of politics in its civil religion. Skillen states, "The newly founded republic could see itself, on the one hand, as merely one state among others, needing to calculate carefully and realistically how to negotiate its way in the world in order to preserve itself. On the other hand, it could act in the world with confidence that God had chosen it for a special mission that would bring blessing to the whole world" (78). In the early-twentieth century, Woodrow Wilson affirmed this religious vision of American exceptionalism. And after another century of global tragedies and of American responses to the broken world, America defined its foreign policy more narrowly and more universally as a quest for freedom. Skillen writes, "This was the mind-set of the founders; this was Wilson's vision for the League of Nations; this was the substance and hope that American leaders invested in the United Nations; this is the spirit of George W. Bush's 2002 National Security Strategy (NSS)" (97). Skillen raises questions about this exaggerated global mission, about vague notions of freedom, and about the excessive use of the military as a means to promote national and international security. Although Skillen remains confident in the capability of the modern state to exercise political authority, he also calls for significant renovation in the relationship among states to confront complex political and cultural circumstances. As Skillen remains critical of American exceptionalism and the civil religious faith that guides American foreign policy, he also calls for the reorientation of international relationships. Two recommendations stand out: "First, public officials must concentrate with a high degree of discipline on what governments and international organizations can and should do in governing. And second, public officials and the American people

together must work to disestablish the civil religion that functions as the primary moral dynamo of U.S. foreign and defense policies” (131).

*With or Against the World?* has many strengths. The book raises essential questions, provides historiographic frameworks, and describes deep continuities in America’s public policy. Most importantly, Skillen offers us biblically informed perspective and insight as we seek public justice in the international community.

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Seth Jacobs, *America’s Miracle Man in Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem, Religion, Race, and U.S. Intervention in Southeast Asia*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004. Pp. x + 381. \$22.95.

**Reviewed by Erik Benson, Cornerstone University**

In this work, Seth Jacobs offers a new perspective on the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, specifically the American choice of Ngo Dinh Diem to lead an independent nation in the south. While most historical studies of this subject have emphasized international and domestic political considerations, Jacobs examines the cultural and religious factors which influenced the decision. Referring to his work as an “ideological” history (5), he argues that American policymakers held certain ideas which led them to choose Diem. More specifically, their choice reflected American cultural perceptions of the Vietnamese, as well as America’s own religious climate of the period. Americans viewed Asian peoples as passive, which favored Diem in two ways. One, American policymakers saw him as an exception to this rule, which made him an attractive option to lead South Vietnam. Two, they were willing to accept Diem’s authoritarian ways because they believed that these were necessary to safeguard the passive Vietnamese from the communist threat. Furthermore, Diem’s adherence to the Catholic faith appealed to Americans in an era when the United States was steeped in Judeo-Christian influence and battling an atheistic foe. These mutually reinforcing factors led American policymakers to support Diem’s assumption of power in South Vietnam, despite well-founded doubts about him, and the existence of more suitable candidates in that nation.

Jacobs begins his account by providing a portrait of Diem, including his devout Catholicism, ardent nationalism, and significant personal shortcomings. He also details how Diem cultivated support amongst key American political, religious, and media figures, making himself the candidate of choice to lead South Vietnam. Jacobs then presents the cultural setting in America at mid-century. The nation was in the midst of a “Third Great Awakening,” (60) a time of great religious fervor which permeated American political life and became synonymous with Cold War anti-communism. Another influence on American thinking and policy were American racial perceptions, which ascribed to the Vietnamese certain supposed “Asian” characteristics, including

backwardness, passivity and weakness. Americans were particularly critical of Buddhism (to which the vast majority of Vietnamese adhered) because they saw it as passive and thus susceptible to communism. From their perspective, Diem's Catholicism distinguished him from the stereotypical Vietnamese and made him the best option to oppose communism in Vietnam. Jacobs then presents the circumstances and people which led the United States to support Diem. Amongst the notables were Tom Dooley, a doctor who galvanized popular support for American involvement in Vietnam with his accounts of communist atrocities against Catholic Vietnamese, and Senator Mike Mansfield, whose ardent advocacy of Diem effectively shaped U.S. policy. These and other political, intellectual, religious, and media figures clamored for American support of Diem. Ultimately, the Eisenhower administration committed the United States wholeheartedly to Diem, despite well-founded doubts about the wisdom of this policy. Yet for American policymakers, Diem fit their idea of who would best lead Vietnam. Jacobs concludes that they "did what they did...because of who they were." (274)

In general, Jacobs has written a fine work. He presents a new perspective on the subject of U.S. intervention in Vietnam, and calls attention to oft-ignored aspects of history. He composes an engaging account, with clear writing and organization. He weaves together various figures, stories, and events. He makes a compelling argument for the importance of culture and religion in the policymaking process. While the international and domestic political considerations cannot be ignored, neither can the factors which he brings to light herein. In all, he does a credible job of presenting and supporting his thesis.

While Jacobs offers a well-argued and worthwhile study, it does have its shortcomings. For example, in recounting the flight of Vietnamese refugees (many of whom were Catholic) to the south in the wake of Ho Chi Minh's assumption of power in the north, Jacobs creates the impression that American propaganda and financial incentives were the key motives for the refugees, minimizing any genuine religious concern. In this and other instances, Jacobs' perspective seems somewhat cynical and one-sided. Furthermore, in certain respects, the work is incomplete and lacking in nuance. Most notably, Jacobs fails to provide a complete portrait of American religious life, or its place in the political setting in the mid-twentieth century. For example, he asserts that the 1950s were so favorable to American Catholicism that the nation was, in effect, a "Catholic country." (85) While he acknowledges the unease with which many Americans viewed the perceived Catholic influence over the nation, and even the challenges this posed for John Kennedy's political aspirations, he dismisses these factors as not being applicable to Diem, with little explanation. In light of his thesis, his failure to give greater attention to this facet of his study is a significant flaw in his work.

Still, Jacobs' work addresses a notable need in the profession. It offers a new perspective on U.S. involvement in Vietnam, addressing matters which the profession has overlooked far too long. On the one hand, as Jacobs notes, cultural and religious considerations have been of peripheral interest to historians of American diplomacy; only now are they beginning to receive attention. On the other, historians of American religious history have not given much consideration to areas of study such as diplomatic

history. In sum, Jacobs' work not only offers a worthwhile study of his subject which should appeal to historians of different interests, but it also should encourage scholars, as he hopes, to consider "charting fresh directions and becoming more cross-disciplinary in their research." (20)

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Douglas A. Sweeney, *The American Evangelical Story: A History of the Movement*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005. pp. 208. \$17.99.

**Reviewed by Miles S. Mullin, II, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary**

Douglas A. Sweeney contributes a well-written, accessible volume on the history of a movement that has powerfully shaped Americans and the American religious landscape. An unabashed, optimistic, insider history, it is written by an evangelical for evangelicals, yet it would be difficult to find a better introductory narrative to this critical subfield of American religious history.

Sweeney contends that, in spite of the sins and shortcomings of evangelicals, God has used them to build his kingdom (185). He intends *The American Evangelical Story* to "testify to God's faithfulness among" evangelicals, encouraging them to embrace "a heritage that is rich and spiritually powerful—a legacy worth passing on to future generations" (11). In a familiar refrain, he hopes that evangelicals will continue to unite around the gospel, agreeing to disagree about secondary and tertiary matters (185). For that reason, evangelical cooperation runs as an important subtext throughout the book.

The right questions—"So what does it mean, exactly, to be an evangelical Christian? What is unique about the evangelical movement?" (18)—follow a short preface and the requisite acknowledgments. Sweeney briefly discusses the competing answers offered by evangelicalism's most important historical interpreters before offering his own: "Evangelicals comprise a movement that is rooted in classical Christian orthodoxy, shaped by a largely Protestant understanding of the gospel, and distinguished from other such movements by an eighteenth century twist" (23-4). Two things bequeath evangelicalism with its uniqueness: beliefs codified during the Protestant Reformation and "practices shaped by the revivals of the so-called Great Awakening" (24).

Chapter two further delineates evangelicalism's Puritan roots, the influence of pietism, and the Great Awakening, which ultimately birthed the movement. In chapter three, Sweeney recounts the ecclesial results of the Great Awakening, particularly the rise of four distinct parties in the wake of the revivals (56-60). In recounting the Second Great Awakening, he avoids oversimplification, identifying the particularities of the awakenings as they occurred in diverse geographic locations—New England, Upstate New York, and the Cumberland River Valley (66-73). He correctly concludes that during this period, revivalism emerged as evangelicalism's "premier institution, and successful

revivalists” became “the movement’s preeminent leaders” (70), a trend that continues to this day. Through their cooperative, national efforts in the first half of the eighteenth century, evangelicals also provided a nascent national culture to a country that lacked one, eventually establishing a Righteous Empire (74).

The next three chapters of *The American Evangelical Story* focus on crucial themes in American evangelical history. An internal chronology orders topical chapters on missions, slavery and its aftermath, and the holiness-Pentecostal movement. Sweeney emphasizes the centrality of conversion in evangelicalism, even placing missions at the center of the book, in chapter four. Books on evangelicalism that do not discuss the modern mission movement “fail to capture the driving spirit of its evangelical leaders” (80). Spurred by the great revivals, evangelicalism birthed missions focused on conversion rather than “confessionalization” (85). Chapter five recounts evangelical efforts to evangelize American slaves, evangelical complicity in the sins of slavery and racism, the birth of the great black denominations and the recent emergence of “a small but significant group of black leaders” who have “embraced the term *evangelical*, forging ties with the broader evangelical movement” (128, emphasis original). A chapter on the Holiness, Pentecostal and Charismatic movements follows, granting an important place to the some of the most neglected aspects of evangelical history. From within the Reformed roots of evangelicalism, these movements emerge as powerful forces of renewal (134-36, 152). Interpretively, Sweeney rightly follows Grant Wacker’s earlier work. Chapter seven returns to a stricter chronology, focusing on Fundamentalism and Neoevangelicalism, emphasizing the former’s resistance to Darwinism and higher criticism of the Bible and the latter’s rejection of Fundamentalism’s cultural disengagement.

Though positive, *The American Evangelical Story* is not hagiography. To the contrary, Sweeney is honest about his subjects’ shortcomings. For example, he uses an extended quote from Solomon Stoddard to lament the colonists’ lack of concern for Native Americans (83). In addition, he confronts the American imperialism and “cultural chauvinism” that often accompanied missions in the nineteenth century (98) as well as the unfortunate embrace of slavery and racism by some evangelicals.

The classic historical style, easy narrative, and colloquial phraseology might disguise the accomplishments of *The American Evangelical Story*. Readers who prefer heavy-handed interpretation will not like *The American Evangelical Story*; neither will those who prefer a formal, academic writing style. Sweeney is not afraid to “take a shot at” his own definition of evangelical (23) or to refer to Finney’s perfectionism as “can-do sanctification” (139). In a refreshing departure from much academic history, he lets his subjects speak, quoting liberally from the likes of Sarah Edwards, Richard Allen, Charles Briggs, and D. L. Moody, skillfully weaving their voices into a crisp, readable narrative.

A few problems pepper this otherwise fine product. First, some historical inaccuracies appear. For instance, although Pat Robertson’s second-place finish in the 1988 Iowa caucuses surprised “all but his supporters,” he did not win as Sweeney reports (150). In addition, the World Relief Commission of the NAE began in 1944 (not 1945) as the War Relief Commission (172). Second, an *ad hominem* attack on Pearl Buck comes as an unpleasant surprise, especially from one as generous as the author (100). Finally,

Sweeney may simply be too optimistic regarding evangelicalism. In my opinion, he underestimates the increasing cultural fragmentation of the United States and the larger world into smaller and smaller subunits, undeniably leaving an indelible mark on an increasingly fragmented evangelicalism.

*The American Evangelical Story* deftly combines scholarly research and near impeccable analysis with a writing style that is lucid, persuasive, and accessible to the non-specialist, even non-historians. Sweeney neglects few crucial works in the end-of-chapter bibliographies and fewer, if any, important figures in the chapters themselves. He addresses the pivotal historical events and figures and the salient historiographical questions of American evangelicalism. All this makes *The American Evangelical Story* a resource for novices to American evangelical history, whether insiders or outsiders. Hopefully, the latter will read it, for it is probably the best book of its kind. It is especially suited for use as a text in elective classes on American Christianity and evangelicalism at both the college and seminary level and for personal edification.

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Patrick Allitt, *Religion in America since 1945: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003. Pp. 313. \$30.00.

**Reviewed by David E. Settje, Concordia University – River Forest**

A history survey rarely satisfies a reader completely; whether covering a particular time period, theme, or topic, the writer seldom addresses every issue that each reader deems significant and often succumbs to space constraints in dealing with important matters. Reviews of such surveys must therefore take into account this circumstance because even solid overviews fall prey to this reality. That being said, an exceptional survey overcomes this challenge and provides what one can describe only as an excellent work. Patrick Allitt's *Religion in America since 1945* represents one such gemstone.

Allitt organizes his work around the theme of paradox because it applies to so many aspects of contemporary religious history. For example, he explains that the United States at once adheres to the separation of church and state with a heavy emphasis on secularization while simultaneously being a nation of devout religious believers who vote and participate in politics based on faith convictions. Another paradox of modern religion includes the nation's and individuals' wealth while most praise Jesus for his poverty. Allitt especially intrigues the reader with his juxtaposition of America's faith in "traditional" religion in the midst of the vast technological and scientific advancements of the last sixty years. He demonstrates this contradiction superbly in a section that addresses space travel (116-121). From groups who believed that aliens gave hope to a traditional human longing through a "message of cosmic peace" that "urged the humans to turn away from their warlike ways," (116-17) to more conventional laments from

*Christianity Today* which was “impressed by the achievement [of landing on the moon] but disappointed that the astronauts had not given explicit thanks to God for their safe arrival” (120), Allitt proves that American religion both embraced technological advancements and struggled to incorporate them into their traditional beliefs and faith systems.

Allitt is at his best, however, in navigating the myriad of religious beliefs that scatter the landscape of contemporary America. His coverage includes mainline Protestantism, Catholicism, evangelical Christianity, Judaism, Mormonism, Islam, and the counterculture to list just a sampling. In addition, he explores race, politics, international relations, feminism/gender, and education. But Allitt’s sensitivity sets his handling of these often controversial subjects apart from other studies; he takes seriously every point of view, never belittles the subject at hand, and does so while offering a variety of perspectives. For example, Allitt describes Fawn Brodie’s *Nobody Knows My Name* and the uproar it caused within and without the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-days Saints by assessing fairly both her opinion and that of the official church body (63-64). He also delineates the fight to allow women to become pastors and champions the success of this movement while still honoring the dissenters’ points of view and detailing what they believed (122-27). The same holds true when Allitt describes contentious theological debates, such as the ongoing argument over biblical inerrancy, abortion, and homosexuality. Such careful elucidation allows the reader to come to their own conclusions based on the solid information Allitt provides.

No history book is perfect, and readers will no doubt discover flaws in Allitt’s treatment of American religion since 1945. But given the daunting task of summarizing the vast field of religious bodies, beliefs, and topics, Allitt did an admirable job. His survey gives readers what they need: a sampling of the many things going on in the United States since 1945 that make this a delightfully pluralistic religious society unfortunately mired too often in controversy and fighting.

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R. Marie Griffith, *Born Again Bodies: Flesh and Spirit in American Christianity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. Pp. xiv + 337. \$55.00/\$21.95.

**Reviewed by Kristin Kobes Du Mez, Calvin College**

In a 1998 study on religion and body weight, sociologist Kenneth Ferraro found a positive correlation between obesity and religious practice, with American Christians—and Southern Baptists in particular—tipping the scales as the bulkiest believers. Ferraro’s data led him to conclude that many “firm believers” did not, in fact, have “firm bodies.” Although church potlucks and Sunday School picnics undoubtedly contributed to this

rather dubious distinction, conservative Protestants were not without religious resources with which to combat such fleshly temptations, as R. Marie Griffith points out in *Born Again Bodies*. Beginning in the 1950s, Christian diet books with titles like *I Prayed Myself Slim*; *Help Lord—The Devil Wants Me Fat!*; *More of Jesus, Less of Me*; and *Slim for Him*, appeared on bookshelves across America to help Christians—particularly white, middle-class, female Christians—shed excess fat and reshape their bodies into fit vessels for the Holy Spirit.

In order to illuminate this intriguing and often troubling relationship between body and soul, Griffith, an Associate Professor of religion at Princeton University, offers an ambitious and expansive account of “Christianity’s powerful role in the shaping of American bodies and varied forms of embodiment” (xi). She pursues an acknowledged “winding passage” through distinct historical “paradigms of religious embodiment” (6), offering various glimpses of Christians’ often ambivalent relationship with the flesh. In her opening chapters, Griffith charts seventeenth century Puritan and eighteenth century Methodist habits of devotional fasting, but she focuses her attention on late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century New Thought practitioners. This frequently overlooked group of religionists not only advanced influential notions of body and soul in their own time, Griffith suggests, but they would also have lasting historical significance by helping to “assemble the framework within which the bodily preoccupations of later Americans”—especially American evangelicals—“would take shape” (108).

While New Thought teachings encompassed a variety of beliefs and practices, they generally exhibited a deep ambivalence toward materiality, together with a seemingly paradoxical emphasis on the fitness of the flesh as a window onto the state of the soul. In tracing the implications of these beliefs in New Thought as well as in broader American culture, Griffith does not shy away from the more peculiar practitioners of embodied religion, providing fascinating accounts of figures like the “scatologically obsessed” Robert Baille Pearson, a construction engineer who published an “exceedingly graphic account” of his meticulous examinations of his own excrement (126), or Bernarr Macfadden, author of numerous books and editor of a magazine promoting his own ideas of fasting and masculinity, who eagerly posed for photographs exhibiting his own expertly chiseled, naked body. Griffith’s account also includes enlightening discussions of better known figures, such as William Sheldon and Father Divine.

Rather than carefully elucidating historical connections between New Thought and later evangelical Protestant paradigms of embodiment, Griffith suggests that, despite significant differences between the two, both forms of embodied religion evidence the belief that external, physical appearance signifies the spiritual health of the soul. Through her exploration of evangelical diet literature Griffith demonstrates the ways in which Protestant women both “consumed and contested” the body ideology that labeled fat sinful and thinness “the visible marker of godliness” (180). In this section of the book Griffith employs the ethnographic skills with which readers of her first book, *God’s Daughters*, will be familiar.

Throughout *Born Again Bodies*, Griffith is attentive to the intersections of race, class, and gender in Americans’ corporeal practices and ideals. At times, however, the

breadth of the book necessitates the sacrifice of depth. A more detailed analysis of the historical context of devotional diet literature, with greater attention to the reemergence of Protestant evangelicalism, along with feminism and the civil rights movement, for example, might further illuminate the ways in which race, class, gender, and religion interact in shaping bodies and forms of embodiment, and the ways in which power structures these relationships. Additionally, a closer examination of broader historical developments would allow for a more systematic exploration of the relationship between Christianity and twentieth century American notions of body and embodiment.

Nevertheless, Griffith's work provides a refreshing model for historians of American religion who occasionally lament the marginalization of their field within the study of broader American history. Eschewing secularization narratives, she argues that religion has played—and continues to play—an indispensable role in Americans' understandings of their bodies and the food they consume. She also exhibits an admirable empathy for her subjects, acknowledging the humor with which many of her subjects, documented in text or image, are likely to be greeted, but urging readers to investigate their own reactions as stemming from their own particular paradigms of embodiment.

Griffith's empathy is not without limit, however, particularly with regard to the purveyors and consumers of evangelical diet literature. As a person who takes faith seriously (in her earlier book Griffith identified herself as an active member of an Episcopal prayer group), Griffith finds it difficult to stomach the relationship with food many of her Christian subjects exhibit, one shaped by an individualistic obsession with their own bodies (and souls), and seemingly unaffected by any larger notions of world hunger and global poverty. Although she does not mention the popular *More-with-Less Cookbook* published by the Mennonite Central Committee in her account, it is clear that Griffith would likely consider this work—hailed by its readers as a “food bible” containing “nutrition for the soul”—a more wholesome guide for embodied Christianity than the evangelical diet books she surveys. *Born Again Bodies* is an insightful, engaging work that raises important questions and invites readers to consider the lived religion of Americans in intriguing new ways.

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Philip Goff and Paul Harvey, eds., *Themes in Religion and American Culture*.  
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Pp. 389. \$24.95.

**Reviewed by Kurt W. Peterson, North Park University**

*Themes in Religion and American Culture* is a unique work of synthesis, and a helpful contribution to the field of American religious history. It offers a new approach to the field, inviting scholars to rethink the way they conceptualize and teach religion and American culture. The chapters are well-written thematic essays that integrate the

findings of scores of path-breaking monographs that have changed the way scholars think about religion in America. As editors Goff and Harvey note in the introduction, “these chapters...attempt to bring together into a coherent whole the concepts put forth by those books that...rewrote history.” Taken together, the essays in *Themes in Religion and American Culture* will quickly bring readers up to speed on the current state of the field of American religion—a field which has changed significantly in recent years.

Each essay in the book addresses a single theme in the study of religion and American culture. Each contains the same chronological sectional divisions, beginning with the “Precolonial Era” and ending with “Modern America.” That structure allows readers to follow a single theme over the course of American history, or to “read across the book,” discovering how multiple themes interact in one particular era. Among the themes are the more traditional: theology, proselytizing, cosmology, the state and science. In addition, the book explores themes more recently explored such as race, ethnicity, gender, and regional diversity. Although the essays are often interpretive, they are not excessively theoretical as they are grounded in the nuts and bolts of history: persons, places, events and arguments. Across these chapters, the authors discuss not only Christianity, but the American originals, Native American religion, world religions and many smaller movements.

The theoretical and historiographical sensitivity brought to many of the essays is particularly helpful. In his essay on “Ethnicity,” for example, Roberto Treviño makes an effort not only to describe which ethnic groups were present in each era, but also how ethnicity functioned as a concept throughout the periods covered. While certainly not accounting for all ethnic groups and all religions, Treviño’s essay serves as a good introduction to the primary ideas surrounding the study of ethnicity and religion, and thus serves as a good starting point for investigation. In that way, his essay is like the others in the book—helpful, but limited. Because of their brevity, each is forced to leave out whole chunks of history. However, the book is not intended to be a comprehensive introduction to American religion. Tracy Fessenden notes that her essay on “Race” is not a “single, continuous narrative,” but a “kind of moving prism, refracting key moments in American religious history through the lens of race...” (132).

While I found this book helpful and heartily recommend it, I am not persuaded, as Ann Taves who remarks on the jacket that this “textbook” should “definitely find a place in undergraduate courses on American religious history,” that it is the right place to start when teaching undergraduates, at least as a primary text. Here I am speaking specifically about courses in American religious history. At the end of the day, the reader is left with impressions with little narrative coherence or understanding of how and why things change. This comes as no surprise to the editors who zealously embrace “decentralization” and the destruction of “the long-standing narrative of the cultural hegemony of (particularly) Protestant ideas” (1). To the editors, a coherent narrative is impossible; history, they argue, “can only be understood in pieces.” They remark, “if the metanarrative is broken, like Humpty-Dumpty’s shell, it can never be patched together or replaced by another coherent structure” (1). The primary nod to coherence is shared chronological structure across the essays, but that fails to provide a compelling story.

Granted, any coherent story is potentially hegemonic, leaving out some groups and focusing too heavily on others; but I am unconvinced that history can be taught without some sort of story. That story can be deconstructed, challenged and broadened—but without any story at all, it is difficult to acquaint students with the discipline of history at an introductory level. The field of American religious history awaits a new synthesis with a more broadly acceptable narrative. Whereas *Themes in Religion and American Culture* takes seriously both the diversity in the field and the need for historical coherence, it falls short of providing an adequate narrative which will allow students to make sense of a complex story. Because of that, the book would not function well as a primary text in a survey of American religious history. As a resource and supporting text, however, it is an excellent book that creatively engages key issues and communicates them clearly. Its synthetic breadth is immensely helpful, and the insights provided in its pages are bound to play an instructive role in many classrooms.

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James A. Herrick, *The Making of the New Spirituality: The Eclipse of the Western Religious Tradition*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2003. Pp. 331. \$22.00.

**Reviewed by Jonathan R. Baer, Wabash College**

What do Ralph Waldo Emerson, Aleister Crowley, Joseph Campbell, and hawkers of UFO religions have in common? According to James Herrick, they have all contributed to what he calls the “New Religious Synthesis,” a fluid spirituality centuries in the making that has come to eclipse western Christianity, which he broadly designates the “Revealed Word” tradition.

In substantiating his claim, Herrick investigates representative figures from a wide range of alternative religious movements over the past three centuries, from the occult magic of Hermeticism to the mental healing of the New Thought movement to the airy visions and spirit journeys of New Age religiosity. Noted critics of Christianity also make appearances, including Voltaire, Robert Green Ingersoll, and Carl Sagan. These figures worked to undermine the central foundations of the Revealed Word tradition and substitute a new religious platform purportedly based on reason, science, and ancient religious insights.

The intertwined core commitments of the new synthesis, Herrick argues, demonstrate its radical divergence from Christianity. These include: 1) an ahistorical spirituality that denies the necessity and value of grounding religion in actual time and space; 2) the spiritual centrality and indeed divinity or potential divinity of human reason (or mind, consciousness, imagination, or intellect); 3) a pantheistic infusing of nature with divinity or a life force that animates all matter with “divine energy or soul,” thus

warranting its “study by science as a source of spiritual knowledge” (34); 4) the consequent “spiritualization of science” in a monistic universe (34); 5) a Gnostic focus on secret or occult knowledge as the key to spiritual enlightenment and human progress; 6) spiritual evolution leading to individual human divinity; and 7) mystical experience as the universal bedrock of human religiosity, thus uniting all religious expressions in shared mystical wisdom, validating religious pluralism, and undermining Christian exclusivity (33-35).

Herrick provides an engaging overview of the religious thought of contributors to this new spiritual outlook. Particularly suggestive are the connections he draws between advanced scientific research and the religious implications scientists and others have claimed to discover in it. A cottage industry has developed in the past generation, for instance, among physicists who find universal spiritual wisdom in their particle accelerators. For Gary Zukav, Amit Goswami, Fred Alan Wolf, Fritjof Capra, and other physicists-cum-New Age gurus, cutting-edge quantum mechanics demonstrates that all matter is infused with consciousness and spiritual energy, reality is the realm of possibility that we shape into being, and all humanity is united with nature and the cosmos into a spiritual whole. In other words, infinitesimally small particles moving and crashing into each other at super-high speeds confirm the ancient intuitions of various Eastern religions and of Eastern mysticism generally. Meanwhile, Darwin’s evolutionary theory has yielded the conviction that spiritual progress will come through an evolutionary process spearheaded by a knowing elite, who through their own brilliance or shamanic relationships with spirit or even alien entities have discovered secret spiritual truths. (Not incidentally, Herrick highlights the nasty provenance of this elitist evolutionary spirituality in turn of the century thinkers committed to racialist and eugenic theories and programs.) For centuries, advanced thinkers have worried about the putative war between science and religion, and the tendency of the latter to assert its prerogatives over the former. Modernity, and perhaps especially postmodernity, have turned the tables, however, and it is now imperial science that colonizes religion.

For each figure he examines, Herrick usually relies upon one primary text, which he takes to be representative. While this enables him to cover a truly impressive list of thinkers from science, popular culture, biblical criticism, esoteric religion, and so forth, it too often limits the lines of inquiry. As a result, we are given snapshots of important actors rather than a clear sense of change over time, whether in individuals or collectively. Herrick finds in each figure an argument that has contributed to the New Religious Synthesis, but it is not evident how these claims actually came together to shape a fresh, multivalent spirituality. He offers the ingredients of the new spirituality, but not how they were mixed into the intoxicating brew in which our culture is awash. Or to change the metaphor, Herrick provides a thoughtful guided tour of various spiritual sites—historic and contemporary—that religious seekers journey to in search of enlightenment. That there are many more such seekers today than previously, and that their collective influence is powerful, few would dispute. But why and how have these varying, sometimes disparate elements come together in recent decades into a new

phenomenon, one that Herrick sees eclipsing the Revealed Word tradition of Christianity?

In his conclusion, Herrick makes the excellent point that, in addition to being a quest for individual godhood, the New Religious Synthesis “promises to secure the soul’s triumph over external restraints including time, space, evil, other people, conventional morality and especially religious tradition” (279). In this, it represents an ultimate flight from authority and constraints on human will and activity—social, political, economic, religious, and foremost those entailed by mortality itself. Indeed, although Herrick does not argue this, it is possible to see in this collective project an extension of the social revolution of the 1960s from the sexual and political—the breaking down of social and religious mores that restrained human sexuality and the political uprising that overturned vested institutional authority in the attempt to fashion anew a purified social order—to the metaphysical. Interestingly, one of the tenets of the new spirituality is a kind of anti-body ethos encapsulated in warmed-over Gnosticism: the body is a prison restraining the soul, and only secret spiritual knowledge frees the soul to continue its evolution toward perfection. Perhaps this is not surprising. Many graying Baby Boomers—who are overly represented among the purveyors and acolytes of this new spirituality—seem to be tiring of worshipping their bodies. Sexual liberation and passing orgasmic ecstasy, on the one hand, and rigorous dieting and fanatical exercise to sculpt the body and buff the ego, on the other, have both proven ultimately unfulfilling. (Paradoxically, both these paths reflect an underlying disdain for the body, even as they worship it; and both replicate the physical orientation of the early Gnostics, whose hatred of the body led in one of two directions, toward libertinism or asceticism, license or punishment.) Viagra and plastic surgery may delay the ravages of time, at least superficially, but in the end gravity wins out. The tired, aching, sagging body is not quite so worthy of worship, or even hearty disdain. But surely the self is, or better yet, remains so. The task becomes to relocate the worth of the self from the adolescent and early adult fixation on the body to something more enduring, the soul or spirit.

The sixties flight from authority and overweening narcissism—which itself had deep roots, as Herrick makes clear—continues unabated in this New Religious Synthesis, only for some the tools that launch one on the path to ecstasy have shifted from the pill and the gym to New Age shamans and a putative scientific spirituality. In one form or another, all offer the serpentine temptation of self-apotheosis, masquerading as a promise backed by secret knowledge. You will be as God, say the age-old demons. Lest we think it is only souls at stake (as if that were not enough), this flight from authority is also a flight from reality; death, evil, physical suffering, morality, history, time, space—all these pale into near-insignificance in the New Religious Synthesis, as Herrick stresses, with potentially disastrous long-term social and political consequences.

Finally, it would be interesting to know the extent to which this spirituality has infected Christian churches and thought. John Shelby Spong and, more briefly, the Unitarian Church make appearances in Herrick’s work, but most thinking Christians have trouble taking either seriously, beyond a passing glance, to see which way the faddish winds are blowing. On the popular level, Marcus Borg of Jesus Seminar notoriety,

spiritual adventures like James Redfield's *Celestine Prophecy*, and films such as *The Matrix* trilogy, all continue to follow the path charted by Joseph Campbell, Julian Huxley, Carl Jung, and others. One may debate their worth, but their collective influence is undeniable. To what degree are members of mainline Protestant churches, evangelical churches, and the Catholic Church drawn to this thinking? One suspects the miasma has fouled each, in a host of ways, more than we realize or might care to acknowledge. James Herrick is to be applauded for calling our attention to the new spirituality and the ways it threatens to undercut Christian theology and practice. He has provided an excellent survey of the contributors to the New Religious Synthesis, one that should provoke much thought among Christians and may prove especially useful in Christian college and university classrooms.

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Robert S. Drinan, S.J., *Can God and Caesar Coexist?: Balancing Religious Freedom and International Law*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004. Pp. 266. \$30.00.

**Reviewed by Darin D. Lenz, Kansas State University**

Since September 11, 2001, the global war on terror has dominated the foreign policy of the United States and challenged nations around the world to find a voice that can compete with machine guns, bombs, and the resolute will of a wounded nation. Conspicuously absent from the rhetoric describing terrorism is an ongoing dialogue about the nature of religious freedom and the effects the war on terror has had on the practice of faith. Robert S. Drinan, a Jesuit, a former U.S. Congressman, and currently a professor of law at Georgetown University claims that the political climate throughout the world has become predisposed against ensuring religious freedom. Unfortunately, the characteristics associated with Osama bin Laden and "religious extremism" have been "generalized to all religious groups," and has promoted the notion that excessive religious devotion encourages violence (21). Given the tumultuous state of world politics shaped by trenchant religious-political divisions, Drinan believes that now is the time to act with a new sense of vigilance to protect religious rights of people around the globe.

The genocidal slaughter of European Jewry by Nazi Germany during the Second World War marked the twentieth century as one of the most violent periods of religious persecution in world history. Beyond the shame and guilt of the Holocaust, Drinan judiciously shows how religious freedom continues to be violated with impunity. China, France, Belgium, Greece, and other countries in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East have either sanctioned suppression of religious groups at the state level or have done little to protect religious freedom. According to Drinan, the "authors of the UN Charter made it clear that the protection of religious freedom was the central purpose of

the United Nations,” but this aim has been left, to a large degree, unfulfilled by the lack of a regulatory law and an enforcement apparatus (30). When the United Nations articulated a space for religion in relationship to the state they chose language that emphasized the protection of religious practice according to the demands of an individual’s conscience. Over the course of time religious freedom has achieved customary status in international law. Drinan’s thesis asserts that religious freedom should, therefore, receive the same attention in terms of regulation and monitoring as other political and human rights. The author argues that there needs to be a binding international treaty that protects religious freedom and installs a judicial body for registering and responding to complaints of abuse.

Beginning with the monitoring role of a variety of nongovernmental agencies and the articulation of religious freedom in various international declarations, Drinan critiques the mechanisms already in use and finds them limited in authority and scope. He posits that without the backing of the United States, any international treaty aimed at regulating and punishing violators of religious freedom will suffer from lack of legitimacy and, ultimately, will be ineffective. Particularly problematic are the countries that unite a specific religious faith with the sovereign power of the state. Drinan persuasively argues for the right of missionaries to act according to the demands of their faith and for the right of individuals to convert to another religion. To constrain those nations that restrict religious freedom, the author believes that the ratification of an international treaty would serve as a deterrent and “vehicle for the punishment” (155). Drinan also posits that a strengthening of international law could be instrumental in changing the global attitude toward religious freedom.

The study has a few weaknesses that could have been easily remedied to strengthen the overall presentation of the book. First, each chapter tends to operate as an independent essay repeating some arguments rather than building a systematic case. Second, some form of citation apparatus would have been useful for more fully investigating the abuses of religious freedom that Drinan describes. Third, the book includes a short selected bibliography of recently published studies that lacks the depth necessary to place Drinan’s argument within a broader historical and legal framework. Despite these discrepancies the book is still successful in thoughtfully articulating a powerful message.

Drinan’s study is written as a call to action, rather than a meticulous study analyzing the intricate interplay between international law and religion. The basis for much of what Drinan argues is formulated out of his own experience as a public servant, his reading of current literature in the field, his analysis of various international political statements on religious freedom, and his interpretation of theological proclamations formulated by the Roman Catholic Church and other world religious bodies. As a result, Drinan’s perspective wavers, at times, between the superiority of Western, Judeo-Christian, morals and values to circumspect regard for non-Western perspectives and practices. The author’s conundrum exposes the problematic issue inherent in trying to establish a global regulatory law and judicial body to protect religious freedom. Political, economic, and religious biases will always need to be monitored. Yet, the problem of bias should not

deter a response, but promote thoughtful reflection and determined action. Therefore, this book needs to be widely read since, as Drinan reminds us, individual nations have not and, if the past is any indicator, will not perform well at protecting religious freedom. It remains to be seen whether or not the “feeble instrument” of international law can actually protect the persecuted, as Drinan hopes (245). What we do know is that the international community cannot afford to remain silent because silence permits oppression and abuse to continue.