

Gillian Clark, *Christianity and Roman Society*. Key Themes in Ancient History Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. 137. \$25.00

**Reviewed by Paul Hartog, Faith Baptist Theological Seminary**

“This is a historian’s, not a theologian’s book,” Gillian Clark acknowledges (8). The volume adopts an “interdisciplinary and thematic approach,” and its introductory chapter surveys the changing historical discourse upon the topic of “Christianity and Roman society.” The burgeoning field of Late Antiquity studies reminds us that Roman history and Christian history cannot be neatly separated (12). The house is not as tidy as it once was, since scholars now “prefer to talk in terms of diversity and pluralism, shifting frontiers and blurred boundaries” (14). The introduction appraises the extant historical materials and emphasizes a critical appraisal of the sources. Clark seems to desire a middle path between a Eusebian “triumphalist” reading of early church history, and an “oppressionist” reading fueled by modern suspicion. “Religious motives” are not always a subterfuge for “personal or political concerns,” he argues (12).

Chapter two situates Christians within the pagan and Jewish environments. The chapter includes relevant materials from Suetonius, Tacitus, and Pliny, as well as anti-Christian opponents such as Celsus and Porphyry. The descriptions of Christianity by Galen and Marcus Aurelius appear later in the work, but Lucian’s caricature is noticeably missing. Clark could have supplemented her brief discussion of the Jewish perspective by adding a critical assessment of the extant Jewish-Christian dialogues. Clark argues that Christianity’s distinctive features included an emphasis upon mutual support (21-4), the shared sacred texts and the Mediterranean-wide network of churches (22-4), and the volleys against “rival theologies” (30-4). A closing section highlights the growing scholarly interest in pagan “henotheism” (35). Clark also notes that Christian indictments of “pagan” culture often borrowed from the philosophical critiques and social commentary of pagans themselves (36).

Chapter three examines Christian martyrdom. Clark concludes that the Roman suppression of Christianity was largely sporadic and regional. Nevertheless, he insists “Roman repression of Christianity must be taken seriously, both out of respect for human suffering, and because martyrdom was so important for the self-understanding of Christians both before and after the danger ended” (39). Clark chooses to concentrate upon why the martyrologies employed such graphic details of suffering in their accounts of stylized torture. The chapter closes with a fascinating compendium of the “translation of relics” that arose in the fourth century (56-8). The Roman persecution of Christians shaped the identity of the church and its members long after the actual trials had ceased.

“Body and Soul” (chapter four), an investigation of early Christian asceticism, was a slight disappointment to this reviewer. The chapter’s key structural question—“Where did all this madness come from?” (66-70)—is borrowed from E. R. Dodds. Clark surveys the alternatives posed by social historians, historians of sexuality, Freudian analysts, and

Foucaultian revisionists (66-70). Clark posits the possibility that we are simply working with “rhetoric all the way down” (69, 77). The chapter capitalizes upon examples of monastic near-starvation, voluntary squalor, and repressed sexuality, but only casts a brief sympathetic glance upon the life of prayer and scriptural meditation. Clark helpfully contrasts Christian asceticism with the contemporaneous non-Christian versions. Christian asceticism was “accessible to the poor and uneducated” (75), and Christian ascetics “were expected to care for those in need” (75-6).

Chapter five discusses Christian education, literacy, and preaching. Although early Christians were “people of the book,” they were by no means all literate. Opponents of Christianity often castigated its “simplicity,” but actual Christian attitudes toward Greco-Roman philosophy, education, and rhetoric varied. The generation of late-fourth century bishops, in particular, was “outstanding for brilliance and productivity” (87). For example, “Ambrose was quite capable of attacking ‘dialectic,’ that is, philosophical argument, in a sermon that made use of dialectic” (82-3). Of course, homiletical standards varied among congregations, and some preaching “must have been mediocre or even misguided” (88). On the other hand, Clark argues (against Ramsay MacMullen) that the sermons of John Chrysostom were not intended only for an elite urban audience consisting of the wealthy and well-educated (87-8). Church leaders “recognized their obligation to make the good news reach the poor and the country people and foreigners” (88).

The final chapter canvasses the events leading up to and following the reign of Constantine. Clark notes that “every stage” of the traditional narrative has been questioned (94-5). Constantine clearly supported Christianity “in the same way that previous emperors had shown support for their favourite cults, by making lavish gifts” (101). Clark queries whether the Constantinian turn drained qualified talent from public service, and basically answers no. “Only a few people are known to have moved from public service to church service; and church service increasingly became public service, especially in dealing with legal disputes and in providing for the poor” (105). What difference did “Christianization” make? Not as much as one might expect: “Law has to be enforceable, and Christian emperors had to legislate for an empire that was not consistently Christian” (107).

“One difference that Christianity did make,” contends Clark, “was in provision for the poor” (107). Although those historians who “think that religion is the pursuit of politics by other means” may view the development of Christian charity as an attempt to develop “rival patronage” (or a “power base”), Clark wisely avoids such simplistic reductionism (107-1). She also argues against equating the later Christian oppression of pagans with the former pagan oppression of Christians (113). Clark concludes that Christianity changed Roman society, and Roman society changed Christianity. The bishops of Late Antiquity wrestled with popular, syncretistic views of patron saints, Christian pilgrimages, and martyr festivals (114-5). Yet the church survived the decline of Rome and preserved and transmitted much of classical culture into the medieval world. Even today, the Roman-Christian heritage raises sensitive questions about cultural identity and the Western tradition (116-7).

Some minor quibbles: A thin volume obviously must be highly selective, but a sketch of the Christian influence upon Roman economics and Roman family life would have been valuable. Clark masterfully communicates the literary evidence, but a few epigraphical, papyrological, or numismatic sources would have elucidated the discussions. Clark's reference to an "episcopalian" polity in the Pauline epistles is misleading (28). Clark maintains that "language barriers" between "Latin- and Greek-speaking churches" exacerbated the "long-lasting divisions" after Chalcedon, and she also refers to the modern reevaluation of "monophysitism" (34). But recent scholarship has reevaluated so-called "Nestorianism" as well; and inter-Greek confusion (concerning terms such as *prosopon* and *physis*) and Syriac and Coptic barriers complicated the post-Chalcedonian divisions. Clark also mentions, without further comment, H. A. Drake's simplistic assessment that "the martyr and the apologist" are "representative of an internal tension in Christianity, 'the martyr standing for rigor and exclusion, the apologist for cooperation and inclusion'" (48). Clark maintains that "[there] is very little evidence for what happened" in the Decian persecution "with one exception," that of Cyprian's Carthage (49). However, other evidences come to mind, such as the treatment of Dionysius of Alexandria and Origen. She states that Augustine preferred the representation of the church as a net, since the Donatists employed the image of the ark (97). But compare *City of God* XV.26-27. Both the ark and the church house represent the "clean and the unclean," until the "appointed end."

Clark has attempted to make contemporary academic scholarship available to a broad audience and especially students. Her opening pages appropriately quote Phocas: "Long books scare students. This is one for them, and anyone who likes some serious thoughts concisely said" (vii). Clark fittingly explains important Greek and Latin terms within the text and without breaking the flow of thought. On the other hand, the book is inconsistent in its references to primary sources, confusingly so for non-classicist undergraduates. The Bibliographical Essay at the end of the book overlooks pertinent volumes in the Loeb Classical Library and the Penguin Classics Series. The essay further discusses a certain "Hall (1991)," but this citation cannot be tied to any work in the reference list. Nevertheless, the Bibliographical Essay and the reference list will be useful resources for undergraduate and graduate research. All in all, Clark's small volume has assembled an amazing quantity of scholarship into a small package and is highly recommended as a supplemental textbook.

Richard Barber, *The Holy Grail: Imagination and Belief*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005. Pp. 464. \$16.95.

**Reviewed by David W. Leinweber, Oxford College of Emory University**

The legends of Arthur and the Grail rank among the most significant and vital bodies of myth in Western culture—not only in the English-speaking world, but also in much of continental Europe. Richard Barber's new book, *The Holy Grail: Imagination and Belief*, provides one of the most solid and insightful recent treatments of the rich and labyrinthine corpus these stories have created for themselves over the centuries. Above all, Barber highlights the paradox of the Grail legends—that the mystery and murky roots surrounding the Grail are not only responsible for the many problematic interpretations of Arthurian myths over the years, but also the primary source of their great historical significance and vitality.

Barber is one of England's leading medievalists, a fact that shows in his selection of material. Much of *The Holy Grail* deals with the medieval traditions of the Arthurian legends down through Malory; a strong secondary component of the book explores the legacy of the Grail in more modern guises—especially the revival of interest in Arthur that emerged in the Victorian period, and also the rich legacy found in twentieth century arts and literature. Even popular Arthurian fixtures such as John Boorman's 1981 film *Excalibur*, and, yes, Monty Python, make brief appearances. In this sense, *The Holy Grail* not only proves to be not only a fascinating and informative read, but a useful and authoritative resource, as well. Nonetheless, *The Holy Grail* resists the temptation to provide a putative compendium of Arthurian legends. Nor does it become a mere work of literary or cultural criticism in drag. Instead, throughout its 464 pages, *The Holy Grail* maintains a disciplined historical voice—one that provides an organized, informative, and straightforward treatment of the Holy Grail's complex mythical legacies.

*The Holy Grail* gives relatively scant treatment to the "Historical Arthur" and the often highly technical detective work that others have endured in trying to pinpoint the source of legends about the Grail, Arthur, Camelot, and Merlin. The relevant contexts of late Roman Britain, and early Medieval England, for example, are largely ignored.

Writers such as Nennius, Venerable Bede, or, especially, Geoffrey of Monmouth, who provide the most well-known and influential written treatments of the ancient British monarchs, make virtually no substantial appearance in Barber's book. The tribal chaos of late Ancient Britain, the struggle against Anglo-Saxon conquests, and the murky religious tensions on the island during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, are not really discussed. On the other hand, significant attention is given to such important and easily overlooked sources as stained-glass windows, medieval tapestries, and wall paintings.

Actually, the proverbial "Historical Arthur" might have been something of a dirt-road for Barber. Instead, his book begins with a long and thorough discussion of Chrétien de Troyes, the French writer who wrote about Arthur and the Grail in the late-twelfth century. Chrétien wrote in French, as opposed to the Scholastic Latin of the period. Moreover, he embraced the lighter and more romantic styles of writing that were starting

to shape literature during the High Middle Ages. By emphasizing the lifestyles and world of the noble court, as opposed to the warlike endeavors of the *chansons de geste* (songs about deeds) that had characterized earlier epics such as Roland, or, indeed, earlier accounts of Arthur, Chrétien's treatment of the Arthurian legends would create a whole new dimension of the Arthurian saga—one reflecting the chivalric and more genteel world of the aristocracy during the High Middle Ages.

Barber's decision to focus his work on the eight centuries subsequent to Chrétien de Troyes does have some limitations. More primitive aspects of the Arthurian legends such as Merlin, or the tales of Vortigern, Tintagel, or dragons, are given relatively short shrift, or not discussed at all. On the other hand, the book's chronological selection does afford Barber the enhanced ability to focus on the time when he says the Grail was "created and re-created (3)." This "creation" of an imagined icon embodies the realm of "imagination and belief" implied in the book's title, and it provides the *raison d'être* for Barber's text. While this focus excludes some of the more anthropological discussions of the Grail myth's murky pre-historic origins—linking it to ancient Celtic sexual symbolism, for example—it does provide for a clean point of departure into the medieval and modern traditions which are the real focus of Barber's book.

In addition to exploring the influence of the high medieval romances on Arthurian legend, *The Holy Grail* moves into discussion of related but varying works—a lengthy task which sees Barber roam from the Parsifal of medieval legends told by Wolfram von Eschenbach to the Germanized versions of Celtic tales immortalized by Richard Wagner in his operas. More generally, *The Holy Grail* capably surveys the host of Arthurian works from the nineteenth century, notably the pre-Raphaelite painters, and, especially, Tennyson.

Finally, *The Holy Grail* emphasizes the significance of Christian theology in understanding the Grail legends. Barber wonders why the Grail stories became such a major source of Christian inspiration, despite the fact that they had no official connection to the Church. He posits that like Christianity itself, the Grail offered that most elusive and sacred of personal goals, "the possibility of perfection" (5). Barber's *The Holy Grail* thus affirms the Grail's legacy in terms of human spiritual aspirations, even as he demystifies it in terms of history. He also manages to analyze and critically discuss this spiritual dimension of the Holy Grail legends without the excessive materialism that sometimes mars scholarly books on mythology, lore, and human religious feelings. For this reason, and many others, it is a worthwhile and useful scholarly book.

John Witte, Jr. and Robert M. Kingdon, *Sex, Marriage, and Family in John Calvin's Geneva*, Vol. 1, *Courtship, Engagement, and Marriage*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005. Pp. 544. \$32.00.

**Reviewed by David C. Fink, Duke University**

In this first of a projected three-volume series on *Sex, Marriage, and Family in John Calvin's Geneva*, John Witte Jr. and Robert M. Kingdon combine the genres of scholarly monograph and source-text anthology to document and analyze the process whereby Calvin and his colleagues "constructed a comprehensive new theology and jurisprudence that made marital formation and dissolution, children's nurture and welfare, family cohesion and support, and sexual sin and crime essential concerns for both church and state" (1). This first volume introduces the reader to the questions in view, argues for the decisive importance of the Genevan reforms for Western domestic and sexual mores, and introduces the wide array of documentary evidence under consideration before moving on to a detailed engagement with the materials making up the first third of the project. Tracing the formation of intimate bonds from the singles' scene (Ch. 3, "Looking for Love in All the Right Places") to the honeymoon suite (Ch. 13, "Now I Take Thee"), this volume includes chapters on courtship and matchmaking, individual and parental consent, impediments to marriage, theology and law of interreligious marriage, economics, the premarital delay (with all its attendant perils), and the wedding day itself. Subsequent volumes in the series promise to take up the issues of family life and family disruption.

Of particular interest in this initial volume are the first two chapters, where Witte and Kingdon combine their respective expertise to present a brief sketch of the marriage bond as it had developed in Western theology and canon law, and then to take stock of the changes made during Calvin's tenure in Geneva. Taking the papal revolution of the High Middle Ages as their starting point, the authors highlight the threefold nature of marriage in medieval Christian practice as "(1) a created, natural association, subject to the laws of nature; (2) as a consensual contract, subject to the general laws of contract; and (3) as a sacrament of faith, subject to the spiritual laws of the faith" (29). Though ordained by God, marriage pertained primarily to the maintenance of social order, rather than to the advancement of specifically spiritual goods. Yet, like the other sacraments, marriage could serve as a channel of grace when no impediments were put in the way. In its most essential features, medieval marriage was a "simple exchange of present promises between Christian parties" (31), requiring neither physical consummation nor the blessing of the church to render the union sacramental and open a channel of grace which could only be closed by the death of one of the parties. This is not to suggest that the church did not have an active interest in regulating marriage, however; where theology left off, canon law took over, identifying the specific conditions under which an authentic sacramental union might be established.

Calvin's initial critique of this institution was based on the typically Protestant notion of the "two kingdoms." There is a "twofold government in man" (38), he argues,

and unlike the medieval Catholic view, marriage belongs solely to the earthly realm. It is “a good and holy ordinance of God just like farming, building, cobbling, and barbering” (39). From this starting point, Calvin and his fellow reformers set about bringing the practice of marriage in Geneva more closely into line with a more secular conception. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Calvin was intensely critical of “the Church’s ‘usurpation’ of marital jurisdiction from the secular judges, its condoning of secret marriages of minors without parental consent, its restrictions on the seasons for engagement, its long roll of marital impediments beyond ‘the law of nations and of Moses,’ its easy dispensations from marital rules for the propertied and the powerful, its prohibitions against divorce and remarriage” (40)—even though the latter existed *de facto*, if not *de jure* for those who could pay.

Unlike many of his reforming counterparts in other cities, however, Calvin’s view of marriage did not remain at this rather mundane, deconstructed level. One of the strongest features of the present work, in fact, is that it allows us to see the development of Calvin’s views over the course of his tenure in Geneva, as he preached through the Old and New Testaments, worked with the city government to put his ideas into practice, and then refined his thinking through his pastoral work on the Consistory. It was this latter setting, in fact, which proved to be the real laboratory for the development of Calvin’s theology of marriage. The picture which emerges from these documents is that of a reformer committed to certain key insights, yet willing to rethink his teaching in conversation with scripture, his colleagues in Geneva and abroad, and with the practical exigencies of the situation “on the ground.” For example, the third chapter documents Calvin’s early efforts at matchmaking, a role he soon wisely abandoned.

The most important in change in Calvin’s thinking on marriage, the authors argue, is the development of his application of a theological concept, covenant, to the bond of marriage. Over the course of his tenure in Geneva, and especially in the last decade of his life, Calvin came to have a much more exalted view of marriage as “a symbol of our divine covenant with the Father” (489). This did not mean, of course, that marriage was itself sacramental; it might *signify* divine grace, but it could not *confirm* it. “Anyone who would classify such similitudes with the sacraments,” Calvin reaffirmed in 1559, “ought to be sent to a mental hospital.” Nevertheless, Witte and Kingdon convincingly document Calvin’s movement toward a view of marriage as “the holiest bond that God has set among us,” a sacred contract to which God himself acted as third party. A long way from cobbling, this. And the link between God’s creation ordinance and its redemptive purpose in marriage was the concept of covenant. Despite Calvin’s harsh rejection of the language of sacrament in marriage, the authors demonstrate that Calvin’s theology of marriage developed into a mediating position between “both the sacramental and the contractual models of marriage that pressed for recognition in his day” (488).

Witte and Kingdon have inaugurated their new project with a superb first volume. The blend of source text and scholarly commentary allows the reader to test the authors’ conclusions against the relevant textual evidence as the argument of the work unfolds, making this an ideal textbook for an upper-division undergraduate seminar on social history in early modern Europe or for a seminary course on the history of marriage and

family in the Christian tradition. Yet unlike either a textbook or a source anthology, this work advances fresh theses of its own, widening its interest beyond the classroom. Of course, there are points of interpretation with which one might quibble. For example, their discussion of covenant theology in the concluding chapter seems to confuse terminology developed by the Reformed theologians of Palatinate later in the sixteenth century with the way in which early Christian writers such as Irenaeus used the language of covenant (or *testamentum*) to distinguish between law and gospel. Such minor criticisms, however, do not materially detract from the major contribution this volume represents in its own right, and we await with anticipation the release of the subsequent two volumes.

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Lyle D. Bierma, with Charles D. Gunnoe, Karin Y. Maag, and Paul W. Fields,  
*An Introduction to the Heidelberg Catechism: Sources, History, and Theology*.  
Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005. Pp. 223. \$29.99.

**Reviewed by Marc A. Clauson, Cedarville University**

The Heidelberg Catechism is known for its combination of “warm piety” and Reformational theology, and it is used either as an official confessional statement or warmly received by many Reformed churches even today. But its history often is nearly completely unknown, partly due to language barriers related both to the original sources and to the research about the catechism, mostly in German. For those who are interested in their confessional heritage and for those historians and historical theologians who desire an in-depth treatment of a particular aspect of the Reformation and post-Reformation periods, this book on the history of the Heidelberg Catechism fits the bill. Though the topic is narrowly focused, on the catechism and on the Reformed tradition in the Palatinate in the sixteenth century, the writing of the history of the origins and development of this confessional statement also sheds much light on the Reformation itself as it was expressed in certain areas of Germany. In addition, the book illuminates the thought of some of the most important Reformed theologians of the later-sixteenth century, especially Caspar Olevianus and Zacharias Ursinus, the main authors of the catechism. Finally it shows how and why the Heidelberg Catechism looked theologically as it did.

This set of essays begins with an excellent and detailed overview, written by Charles Gunnoe, of the political and ecclesiastical history of the Palatinate area, from its pre-Reformation days to the writing of the Heidelberg Catechism itself. The article was so detailed that I learned much about events and trends of the region in that time period that I had not known. It provided an indispensable background for the rest of the book. It was especially fascinating to see the nuances of the Reformation in the Palatinate, represented

by the various electors. The fact that the region did not become staunchly Lutheran, Reformed, or Catholic is crucial for fully understanding the more ecumenical theology of the catechism. In its early modern history the Palatinate was never dogmatically Roman Catholic, but on the other hand, neither was it consistently Lutheran as understood by Martin Luther, but rather manifested traits of the Melancthonian strain of Lutheranism. Finally, the region also was influenced by the newly rising Reformed theology. All of these trends are captured well in this chapter and especially in Gunnoe's discussions of the various theological controversies, for example, the Heidelberg Lord's Supper Disputation of 1560 and the Naumburg Prince's Conference of 1561 (40-4). Part of the issue running through much of the period was that of how to understand the Augsburg Confession, and this too is important for grasping the emergence of the Heidelberg Catechism.

Lyle Bierma writes chapter two, which deals with the purpose and authorship of the Heidelberg Catechism. Here of course the focus of the book is narrowed. Bierma spends a good deal of time addressing the frequently debated issue of who wrote the catechism, and his answers are the product of an obviously careful study of both the historiography of the problem and the sources themselves. His conclusion is that "it seems clear that the HC was in some sense, a team project involving the leading theologians and church officials of the Palatinate and, in no small way, Elector Frederick III himself" (74). But the primary author is believed by Bierma to be Ursinus.

Bierma also writes chapter three, entitled "The Sources and Theological Orientation of the Heidelberg Catechism." This chapter was fascinating from the historian's viewpoint, in that it dealt with the prickly problem of sources drawn upon and influencing the content of a given document. Here again, Bierma is a careful researcher who understands the historiographical issues. In the end, the Heidelberg Catechism is a product of several theological traditions, designed to promote consensus in the Palatinate, among Melancthonians, Calvinists, Zwinglians and "Old Lutherans" (102).

The last two chapters are a useful introduction to and list of the early editions of the catechism (chapter four) and a bibliography of research on the Catechism since 1900 (chapter five). The latter includes works in German and English. Part two contains translations by Lyle Bierma of the Smaller and Larger Catechisms. The Smaller Catechism is the primary textual foundation for the Heidelberg Catechism itself (139). Neither one of these foundational documents has previously been translated into English.

This book is very valuable for at least one huge reason: that is, it helps put to rest the notion that confessional statements like the Heidelberg Catechism were written as dogmatic expositions of one narrowly defined theological orientation. The Heidelberg Catechism, though certainly in the Protestant tradition, more Reformed, and opposed to Roman Catholicism, is nevertheless something of an ecumenical statement when understood in its historical context and not in its more narrowly defined and interpreted modern context alone. For the professional historian this book provides a gold mine of useful and well-documented information on the Reformation and on the Palatinate region of Europe during the Reformation (or barely post-Reformation) period. The authors are to be highly commended for their careful work. English speakers will find it of primary

importance for many years to come in studying this aspect of the Reformation. The one weakness of this book is its lack of an index, although the structure of the work and the relative brevity of Part 1 lessens its necessity. It might also have been useful to have included a translation of the Heidelberg Catechism along with a German language parallel. But again, this is not a major omission. Finally, this book is first and foremost for scholars of the period or theologians, but it is accessible to the serious general reader.

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*Cambridge Platonist Spirituality*. Ed. Charles Taliaferro and Alison J. Teply. The Classics of Western Spirituality. New York: Paulist Press, 2004. Pp. xii + 233. \$24.95.

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

This volume in the Classics of Western Spirituality Series is the first anthology of Cambridge Platonist writing to appear in more than thirty-five years. One of its particular strengths is to include writings by figures seldom or never before included in previous collections, such as these of Peter Sterry and Anne Conway. In doing so the editors rely upon sound recent scholarship, including the publishing of newly edited texts. Another of the particular strengths is to focus on the “spirituality” of these religious philosophers. The influence of the Cambridge Platonist ideas, particularly those of Ralph Cudworth and Henry More on the ethical thinking of the eighteenth century, on Newton and Leibniz, and even on Jonathon Edwards is well recognized by scholars of several disciplines. But the scientific or ethical ideas and even the philosophical systems of these thinkers were the secondary fruit of a more intuitive and deeper spiritual impulse. Their primary intuitions and impulses are the central concerns of this collection, which is a fitting volume for the series, and an insightful initiation into Cambridge Platonist sensibility and thinking.

The father of this school of spirituality is Benjamin Whichcote, fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a center of rigorous, seventeenth century Calvinism and Puritan theology which produced in Whichcote a reaction. He was the tutor of many of those associated with the school (Cudworth, Nathaniel Culverwell, John Smith, and Peter Sterry, for example), and is well-represented in the volume through his sermons. The selections cover a significant proportion of the collection, though they are not the first selection. Whichcote appealed to the Neoplatonic interpretation of Plato reintroduced into European thinking about 150 years earlier by Marsilio Ficino in Florence, and first brought into English thought and literature by writers and thinkers like John Colet and Thomas More. Platonic theology and philosophy, for Ficino, redirected the soul from the material and mundane concerns of this world and from a coarsening of spirituality and theology which, he argued, resulted from a spiritual insensitivity to transcendence.

Whichcote reacted to the implications of Calvinist emphases on depravity, rigid predestination, and divine willfulness as unworthy of divine goodness, of human reason, and of human desire for God, goodness, and beauty. The volume contains four selections from Whichcote's sermons on reason, on moral goodness, on how true spirituality leads to understanding (and how recognition of our fallible reason restrains us from "enthusiasm" and error), and on the goal of our "participation" in divine nature, an emphasis he drew from Greek patristic thinkers. One of the selections is curious, the selection of Whichcote's aphorisms, originally published after being culled from his writings after 1700. In the first collection there were about 5000, which were then pruned to about 1000 when originally published, and according to some represented faithfully the various emphases of Whichcote's thinking. In the current collection we are offered only eleven, which cover less than two pages, compared to more than 100 in previous collections. These could easily and fruitfully have been expanded four- or five-fold in order to give the reader a more complete and useful insight into Whichcote's spirituality. If the volume is used for teaching, these pages might have to be supplemented from other anthologies now out of print.

Other thinkers in the school are also well represented by shorter selections. Ralph Cudworth, one of the most prolific thinkers and writers, is represented by his justly famous sermon to the House of Commons in 1647, which has been included in previous anthologies as well. The sermon exhorts parliamentary leaders rapidly moving towards regicide that we only truly know Christ when keeping his commands. This was not only a lightly veiled warning, but another example of the limitation of reason by a group accused in its own time and later of relying too completely on reason. Others of Cudworth's writings might have been considered, especially those recently re-edited, since he is one of the most systematic of the Platonist thinkers. But this sermon is a profound reflection of the Platonist's deepest spiritual concerns. Nathaniel Culverwell's defense and careful limitation of the powers of reason ("the candle of the Lord") in relation to faith is remarkable for its balance and thoughtfulness. The editors have done well, it seems to me, to include Culverwell, who was sometimes neglected in previous collections, notably that of C.A. Patrides (1969), who argued that the qualifications Culverwell developed were not within the spirit of the movement. His inclusion here shows both his affinity and the ability of those within the Platonic tradition to engage in self-criticism. John Smith's Plotinian sympathies, gentleness, learning, and flowing style are presented in three brief discourses. These well chosen selections are worthy of a slow and meditative reading.

Henry More, one of the recognized leaders and perhaps the most broadly influential, is represented by two poetic passages, and two brief excerpted essays. The two essays develop particular philosophical topics, freedom of religious belief and practice, and reason and the witness of the Holy Spirit. More was hardly a memorable poet, which he himself recognized. One wonders if the few lines which stand out in these pages will do much for readers. More and Cudworth as well seem to be very hard to anthologize. Their work is scholastic; it does not lend itself well to excerpts illustrating spiritual sensitivity. However, there certainly are options. More's promotion of temperance, humility, and a

proper understanding of reason as a cure to the intellectual and spiritual disease of “enthusiasm,” from his *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus*, might have been a welcome alternative in place of the poetic pages. Peter Sterry’s selection usefully illustrates how scripture might be read from within Platonist sympathies. Anne Conway, a student of More and convert of Quakerism, and with More a student of esoterica, reflects a rather unorthodox, or at least, imprecise technical Christology, with reflections on the purpose of the incarnation in joining all creatures to Christ “so that all things are perpetually new, springing up fresh and green” (191). More, Sterry, and Conway’s prose all offer unique insights into the deeper concerns and creative edges of Cambridge Platonist spirituality.

All of these selections are preceded by a very helpful introduction outlining the general themes of Cambridge Platonist spirituality, the characteristics of each thinker, and “the political and religious context” of their work. As good and as full as it is, however, the introduction does not provide reflection on how those in this school of spirituality survived and even thrived during the civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century, and yet were respected after the restoration of the monarchy. Nor does it reflect on how and why some could be associated with the latitudinarian movement, why one, at least, would indulge in millennialist sermons before Parliament, and why Conway would move toward Quaker practice. We have some hints in this direction in the accounts of the individual thinkers and explanatory notes on them, but the introduction does not bring together two of the major sections of the introduction (the general themes and political context) to reflect on how Cambridge Platonist spirituality might have allowed such diverse reactions and positions. It would seem that a paragraph or two on political implications might have been useful for indicating the practical directions of Cambridge Platonist spirituality. This might be especially useful when all too often today in academic debate or theological commentary a philosophical or theological position or school is assumed to be linked to a political ideology.

This volume rewards reading thoughtfully from beginning to end. The suggestions and caveats above merely reflect choices that might have been made differently. In all, the editors have presented us with an introduction to a form of Christian spirituality and thought that is unique in its simultaneous intellectualism, and careful qualification of reason’s power, its desire for moral goodness or virtue, and participation in the divine life, as well as its emphasis on human freedom. Jaroslav Pelikan’s reflection in the preface on Cambridge Platonist spirituality’s relationship to the larger Christian tradition adds to the fullness of the volume. It will serve us well in the coming decades as an introduction to a tradition of spirituality and thought that might have much to teach us.

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William Gibson, *Enlightenment Prelate: Benjamin Hoadly, 1676-1761*. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2004. Pp. 384. \$95.35.

**Reviewed by Yudha Thianto, Trinity Christian College**

Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, Hereford, Salisbury, and Winchester, is mostly remembered for his role in the Bangorian Controversy. While it is true that Hoadly was the central figure in the controversy, there was more to him than just the sermon that triggered it. William Gibson's most recent book sheds new light on this controversial eighteenth century figure.

Gibson does not intend this book to be a biography of Hoadly. Neither does he develop an elaborate analysis of Hoadly's theological thought. What he offers is a new look and a fresh appreciation of Hoadly's life and work in the context of eighteenth century Anglicanism. Throughout the book Gibson maintains two central themes. First, he shows that Hoadly was an Anglican reformer who tried to recast the Church of England so that it would be willing to include all Protestants. Second, he maintains that Hoadly was an Enlightenment clergyman who promoted equality among all people and emphasized each person's right to judge the Scripture. Gibson argues that one should look at Hoadly through the central objective of the majority of his writings, namely his effort to reunite Protestantism in England.

The *Enlightenment Prelate* opens with a closer look at Hoadly from the point of view of both his supporters and opponents. As a Whig Latitudinarian, Hoadly sought to reunite the Dissenters and the Anglicans. The Tory High Churchmen looked at him curiously, even to the point of calling him heterodox, a Deist, and even an Arian. As a progenitor of the English Enlightenment, Hoadly brought Newtonian empiricism into the Church of England, rejected Roman Catholic "superstition" and Calvinist notions of predestination, and favored rational Protestantism and Arminianism.

As early as his appointment at St. Peter-le-Poer, London Hoadly already demonstrated Lockean influence in his approach to theological and ecclesiastical look at Christianity. The publication of his book, *The Reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England Represented to the Dissenting Ministers* (1703), was a clear acknowledgment of Locke's ideas in the *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695). In his defense of the Revolution of 1689 Hoadly took issue against Henry Sacheverell, who attacked the accession of William III into the British throne. Sacheverell charged Churchmen like Hoadly for putting people's rights above the sovereign. Gibson believes that in his debates with opponents such as Sacheverell, Fleetwood, and Atterbury, the Latitudinarian Hoadly "defended legitimacy of resistance to authority, the validity of the ejection of Non-jurors, the acceptability of occasional conformity and the importance of conscience and individual judgment in matters of faith and doctrine" (129).

The Bangorian Controversy takes center stage in this book. The controversy was triggered by Hoadly's sermon, entitled "The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ" that he preached on 31 March 1717. Prior to the controversy, George Hickes published *The Constitution of the Catholick Church and the Nature and Consequences of Schism*

that argued for an extreme Non-juror view of the church. Hoadly strongly disagreed. To him the Non-juror, Catholic, and even the Anglican claims of authority over creeds, liturgy, ecclesiastical order and discipline were deceptive. In this sermon he argued that belief in Christ as the only ruler of his kingdom meant that Christ did not leave any earthly ruler to fill his empty place. The implication, therefore, was that only the invisible church exists, and there was no such a thing as a temporal or visible church. Gibson notes that Hoadly's position here was a reflection of Locke's *Letter on Toleration* (1689), in which Locke wrote that the church was an association of free people, controlling over external matters, because spiritual, internal matters belonged to the conscience. Like Locke, Hoadly insisted on an individual's relationship with God based on sincerity and reading of the Scripture. According to Gibson, the significance of the Bangorian Controversy was threefold. First, it attacked the exaggerated High Church claims of the Non-jurors. Secondly, it strengthened the Latitudinarian interest and restored the confidence of Low Churchmen. And third, it sent a message to the Dissenters that their faith was as legitimate as that of the Anglicans (198).

The last two chapters of the book outline Hoadly's role as Bishop of Hereford, Salisbury and then Winchester. Hoadly's Hereford period was characterized by his active participation in writing for the *London Journal*, the Whig house magazine, under the pseudonym "Britannicus." As Bishop of Winchester, Hoadly was engaged in another theological controversy. This time it was over the Eucharist and the divinity of Christ. The issue of Christ's divinity was important politically, as well as spiritually. It was important politically, since the Toleration Act only gave license to Trinitarian Dissenters, and it was important spiritually, because it raised the question of the role of sacraments in obtaining salvation. Hoadly firmly believed that the Eucharist was only a remembrance. The only significance that the Eucharist had for people was as an encouragement to abandon sin. Gibson believes that Hoadly's view on the Eucharist was a response to a popular apathy toward the sacrament and not the cause of it. Hoadly wanted to reverse the elevation of the sacrament beyond the reach of laity, as well as bring together the Anglican and Dissenting theology of the Eucharist. The book ends with an appendix on poems that have Hoadly as their subjects.

Gibson is to be commended for this detailed and comprehensive study of Hoadly. He incorporated countless sources, not just by and about Hoadly, but also sources that provide readers with a better look at Hoadly's social, political and ecclesiastical contexts. As a result, we are transported back to the period of the later Stuarts and early Hanoverians, the backdrop to Hoadly's career. Through this study Gibson is able to present the many facets of Hoadly's life as a Whig Latitudinarian who supported the cause of the Enlightenment in eighteenth century England.

David W. Bebbington, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism: The Age of Spurgeon and Moody*. Vol. 3 of *A History of Evangelicalism*, ed. David W. Bebbington and Mark Noll. Downer's Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2005. Pp. 288. \$23.00.

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

Although it is chronologically third, this work is the second published volume in InterVarsity's multi-volume *History of Evangelicalism*, covering roughly the years 1850 to 1900. Drawing upon a wealth of knowledge regarding evangelical history and an impressive familiarity with the primary and secondary literature, David Bebbington, professor of history at the University of Sterling, supplies a precisely written work.

*The Dominance of Evangelicalism's* modest thesis is suggested in the title. Despite the burgeoning Broad Church movement in England and the ascending Andover liberals in America, the evangelical movement was "the cutting edge of Christian numerical progress during the late nineteenth century" (255). Instead of a strongly thesis-driven work, Bebbington aims to provide an "exploration of the life and the thought of evangelicals during the later nineteenth century" (252). He hits the mark, displaying his skill at weaving diverse elements of the evangelical movement into a cohesive narrative, allowing the reader to gain a genuine feel for evangelicalism as a worldwide movement in the age of Spurgeon and Moody. Emphasizing the similarities and interconnectedness of this Western religious movement, Bebbington comfortably draws on sources from England, Scotland, the United States, South Africa and Australia. This story of worldwide evangelicalism fills an important gap in a field that often focuses on evangelicalism in particular nation states (e.g. English evangelicalism, etc.).

This book is exceedingly well-organized. Topical chapters describe varying aspects of evangelical life in the latter half of the nineteenth century. After a brief introduction to politics, society and economy in the period (11-20), Bebbington describes evangelicalism's doctrinal unity in chapter one, further elucidating the evangelical quadrilateral he proposed in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989, 1992), going into further detail regarding the four defining foci of evangelical Christianity—the Bible, the cross, conversion, activism—and indicating how these fit together. These "hallmarks of evangelicals included a stress on the Scriptures as the source of faith, conversion as its beginning, redemption as its object and activity as its consequence" (22). Some readers will feel that the quadrilateral does not draw evangelical boundaries sharply enough. Others, such as the present reviewer, will prefer to modify how the various elements fit together. Finally, some will deem the quadrilateral too constricting, excluding persons or groups that rightly ought to be included. Strangely enough, Bebbington himself sometimes seems to fall in this last category, sympathetically treating those who appear to fall outside of the quadrilateral. (See, for example, his treatment of those questioning the centrality of the atonement on pages 30-1.) Regardless of one's opinion of the quadrilateral, it will remain at the heart of discussion of evangelical identity for years.

Chapter two, in which Bebbington concentrates on the denominational diversity of nineteenth century evangelicalism, is followed by an analysis of the manner in which

evangelicals cultivated a vital Christianity—the main goal according to Bebbington (252)—expressing their faith through worship, outreach, and mission follows in chapter three. The next two chapters emphasize the effects of two intellectual movements upon evangelicalism: the Enlightenment and Romanticism, while chapter six discusses conservative evangelical reactions to such developments as higher criticism and Darwinism, and chapter seven outlines evangelical engagement with the pressing social problems of the day. The final chapter, taking its name from the book’s title, functions as a closing argument to Bebbington’s case: it is both summation and *coup de grace*. Ever the historian, Bebbington oft times traces the changes in evangelical attitudes or practices during the period. For example, he deftly traces evangelical changes in preaching and worship styles (90-6) as well as the gradual relaxation of evangelical attitudes towards recreation (233-9).

For Bebbington, the latter half of the nineteenth century represents both the best and worse aspects of the evangelical movement. As a movement, evangelicalism continued to expand globally, all the while shaping social life and politics throughout the West (254-7). An era in which “public as well as private life was conditioned by evangelical concerns” (257), this dominance led to positive social accomplishments: combining social concern with evangelism (99-101), increasing opportunities for women in the church (216-26), and crusading against sexual exploitation (242-3). Sometimes, however, Bebbington overstates the case. For example, he gives Northern evangelicals too much credit for opposing slavery in the United States. Aside from a few holiness groups, Northern evangelicals were often complicit. Much Northern anti-slavery zeal came from non-evangelicals such as William Ellery Channing and ex-evangelicals like L. Maria Child. The Society of Friends also provided much abolitionist fervor in the North. Despite Bebbington’s embrace of the Friends as evangelical (he cites them as examples many times), they skirt the boundaries of Bebbington’s own evangelical quadrilateral.

Like George Marsden and Mark Noll, Bebbington also perceives that evangelical thought began to suffer in this period, chaining itself to Enlightenment thinking (particularly commonsense philosophy), leading to a decline in Calvinism in favor of Arminianism (120-39). Bebbington looks askance at these developments, even though they are largely responsible, through the holiness impetus, for the social efforts he lauds in the period. Evangelical intellectual change in the nineteenth century is also affected by “the permeation of Romanticism,” and this shift towards Romantic categories of thought among some evangelicals was the beginning of liberalism as many evangelicals modified traditional doctrinal views of God, the atonement and hell, softening them while re-emphasizing the incarnation (166-72). In addition, Bebbington ties together “novel” or “radical” (184, 213) conservative theological developments such as the faith mission approach, heightened expectation regarding the second advent of Christ (i.e. dispensational premillennialism) and a renewed emphasis on personal holiness to “the Romantic mood that was steadily permeating English-speaking societies all over the world (212).” Interestingly enough, this issue of evangelical acquiescence to the intellectual moods of the Enlightenment and Romanticism might offer some helpful historical pointers in the issues surrounding the recent “emergent church” conversation.

Although I am not fully persuaded that evangelicalism sold out to the Enlightenment or the Romantic mood *in toto*, I am convinced that this volume deserves a place in reference collections, evangelical pastor's studies, and seminary or undergraduate classes dealing with nineteenth century religion or the history of evangelicalism. As I read with pencil in hand, Bebbington's outline emerged in each chapter. Such superb organization increases the reference value of this work, making future consultations both more likely and easier. The extensive bibliography (twelve pages of secondary literature) also adds to its reference value. In addition, it is written plainly enough to be read by interested laypeople. Overall, *The Dominance of Evangelicalism* is a valuable contribution to the field of evangelical history.

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Robert Service, *Stalin. A Biography*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005. Pp. xviii + 715. \$29.95.

**Reviewed by A. Paul Kubricht, LeTourneau University**

Stalin is known as the greatest genocidal killer in history; yet at the same time, he irreversibly changed the Soviet Union as he strove to build a modern industrial and military power. He could check off names on lists of those accused of political crimes, sending them to the gulag or even death, while presenting himself as a leader beloved by children. Churchill has referred to the Soviet Union as a "riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma," but the same inexplicable quality surrounds the life of Josef Stalin. Even for the West, he presents a challenge that his one-time collaborator Adolf Hitler does not. Stalin became the great World War II ally of the western democracies in the struggle against Hitler, and his Red Army served Hitler some of his worst military defeats. Western biographers, beginning with Isaac Deutscher's study (1966), have attempted to capture Stalin's personality and explain his motivations. Although *samizdat* material was circulating, Russian biographers had to wait a bit longer to publicly enter the debate, with the appearance of Roy Medvedev's *Let History Judge* (1989). In addition many specialized monographs have attempted to explain various aspects of the Stalinist era.

Some may question whether another biography of Stalin is needed. However, Service's study serves two important purposes. First, he has assembled an impressive bibliography of both archival and secondary works and he has reviewed a wide range of memoirs and first-hand sources. He has been able to present his portrayal of Stalin without focusing on sources that rely on political agendas or rumors and gossip. Second, Service offers a broad life and times narrative, noting: "while it is vital to examine Stalin's peculiar personality, it is equally necessary to analyse the environment in which he grew up and the political and other pressures under which he operated" (x). As a

result, one may gain far more knowledge about the institutions and forces at work in Stalin's Soviet Russia by reading more specialized works on the Red Army or the Great Terror but not get the connections between the life and times of Stalin in as systematic an inquiry as Service provides. Service's biography will become the basic reference work for those wanting to understand Stalin.

Throughout the book Service attempts to separate fact from rumor and gossip, but it is not always clear how he assessed specific information, and decided what to describe and what to discount. Obviously this is a complicated, difficult task because some personal information comes from those who knew Stalin or observed the results of his actions, either as friends or enemies, in very emotional and confrontational situations. Often the tidbits have been passed on to friends or relatives who somehow survived the terror and purges and later wrote about the incident(s). For example, Service does not deal with the accusation that Stalin raped his second wife, Nadezhda Allilueva, on a train trip during the civil war into southern Russia, and appealed to her angry father not to shoot him. From his coverage of the period and Stalin's relationship with the Allilueva family, it would appear that this incident never occurred. Also, Service rejects reports that Stalin later shot Nadezhda in a fit of anger, choosing instead to present the scene as the suicide of an emotionally needy person.

The first part of the book discusses Stalin's life until 1917 and evaluates the impact of his early experiences in how he was shaped as a young person growing up in Georgia in a dysfunctional family. Service follows him into exile in Tsarist Russia, describing a "me-centered" person whose behavior led one of his Bolshevik comrades to change living arrangements (106). In addition, his interest in adolescent girls finally led to the daughter of one of his host families becoming pregnant (107). At the same time he was increasingly becoming a key figure in the Bolshevik party, although he was willing to disagree with Lenin on a number of ideological issues.

In evaluating Stalin's role in the 1917 revolution and the civil war that followed, Service argues that Stalin's relationship with Lenin became more complicated. Clearly Stalin was not a "yes man," and was willing to disagree with Lenin on issues such as the immanency of a worldwide communist revolution. But at the same time Stalin was influenced by Lenin's decision to introduce state terror as a means to preserve Bolshevik power. According to Service "terror attracted him like a bee to a perfumed flower" (158), and during the civil war he "applied violence, including terror, on a greater scale than most other central communist leaders approved of" (171). Service also rejects the commonly held idea that Stalin was, during this period of time, just a party bureaucrat who chose to remain in the background. He held important party positions, but he was also a "dynamic leader who had a hand in nearly all of the principle discussions on politics, military strategy, economics, security and international relations" (174). He was in an excellent position to succeed Lenin in spite of Lenin's critical comments about him in his Last Testament.

Stalin's rule after Lenin's death was marked by increasing fear of potential rivals and also a desire to foster his view of Marxist-Leninism in industry and agriculture. He was not held accountable for his policy mistakes and it is questionable whether he even

saw his failures as his personal responsibility. Probably his misjudgments were most marked by the near collapse of the Soviet Union following Hitler's June 1941 blitzkrieg into Soviet territory. But by this time none of his associates were mentally prepared to hold Stalin accountable and he was able to come out of World War II stronger, domestically and internationally. However, Service believes that Stalin was also captive to the system he created. Especially as he aged, following World War II, he was incapable of keeping track of the political and economic situation and fostered a system of personal rivalries among his potential successors to try to keep plots from developing. "His USSR was a mixture of exceptional orderliness and exceptional disorderliness" (603).

As with all men, death finally came and Service discusses the various accounts of his demise. While not ignoring the assassination accounts, Service focuses on Stalin's deteriorating health as the main reason for his end. Service's last chapter deals with life after Stalin and discusses how his successors had to deal with the life and image of the great *vozhd*. Service argues that his success "flowed from his skill in forming a central team of willing, if frightened, subordinates" (601). According to Service he was not a psychotic, but had a "paranoiac streak" (603). Others may disagree with aspects of Service's analysis and assumptions, but his massive biography allows readers to wrestle with the complexity of Stalin from birth to death in a way that no other biography does.

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George Weigel, *The Cube and the Cathedral: Europe, America, and Politics Without God*. New York: Basic Books, 2005. Pp. 202. \$23.00.

**Reviewed by John B. Roney, Sacred Heart University**

George Weigel is well-known for his *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II*, and several other books that encourage a practical as well as public Catholicism. In this new book he explores the question of how the great decline in religious devotion in Europe has negative consequences, and questions whether America may be on a similar road. The title *The Cube and the Cathedral* contrasts the newest *grand projets* in Paris, the modernist cube, *La Grande Arche de La Défense*, with the older Parisian symbol, the cathedral of Notre Dame. In the grand scale of French architecture the cube-shaped edifice stands some 40 stories tall, 348 feet wide, and is surrounded by 2.47 acres of white marble; indeed the cathedral could be swallowed by the arch! Built under the socialist leadership of François Mitterand, the cube is a celebration of the human rights movement begun in the French Revolution and the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen*. This book is written to a general public, largely without notes, but it relies on his own erudite scholarship. It is not a scholarly book, from the standpoint of academic evidence in extensive footnotes, but Weigel does refer to other important studies by

Robert Kagan, Joseph Weiler, John Paul II, and Christopher Dawson. This book is a synthetic and reflective work that questions the triumph of secularism and the new fictions and religious phobias, which make it anything but neutral.

The current French president Jacques Chirac stated recently that there is a *grande malaise* in France. This was no doubt in response to the riots in Paris and some 274 towns, and in the end 8,970 vehicles were burned and 2,888 arrests were made. Some say the recent tensions stem from the French laws against what Chirac calls "conspicuous signs," such as the Islamic head scarfs, the Jewish skullcaps, or large crosses. No doubt there are complex reasons for the riots, but they do suggest the failure of the secular and socialist experiments to organize human society. Even though Weigel finished his book prior to these incidents, he refers to events throughout the twentieth century that show these same failings. Given these realities, he essentially asks two questions: Has the denial of Christianity and its replacement with secularism led to an unraveling of society? And, what is democracy, and is there a direct connection with its modern European development and Christianity? His central thesis is that "La Grande Arche embodies, in a visually striking way, metaphysical boredom; it speaks to us of politics without God, indeed it celebrates politics without God as a liberation for humanity" (175). But can the cube remain a lasting new symbol of secular Europe, or is there a hidden religious legacy still present? The rising political star in France—eyeing the 2007 presidency—is confronting this issue. Years ago, Nicolas Sarkozy was seen as Chirac's protégé; however, he eventually broke with Chirac's policies and has published *The Republic, Religions, and Hope*, echoing Weigel's theme in his own biography of John Paul II, *Witness to Hope*. Other hopeful signs are the Catholic Youth Days in Spain 1989, Poland 1991, Rome 2000, and even Paris in 1997, with some 500,000 young adults in attendance. This may also signal the fact that while the French have experimented with this secular position, deep within their culture they cannot hide from their Catholic past. The recent book by Joseph F. Byrnes, *French and Catholic Forever: Religious and National Identity in Modern France*, has explored this theme.

Weigel has examined the European Union's attempt to write secularism into a new constitution. The 2004 draft of an EU constitution refused to acknowledge the legacy of Christianity, and many countries declared their approval of this, and some politicians were so bold as to say that it was absurd to even mention Christianity. Although it may be a complex issue, Weigel believes that behind this lies some damaging fictions that have taken firm root in European political thought. There is a great faith in the international community, without any universally recognized standards, and such a great fear of war that they categorically refused to accept any military engagement. He asks, "why did one of every five Germans believe that the United States was responsible for 9/11" (17)? And, "why did 25 percent of the French tell pollsters that they wanted Saddam Hussein, an acknowledged mass murderer, to win the Iraq War" (18)? Weigel frames the real issue in the words of Joseph Weiler, "why are so many European public intellectuals 'Christophobic'" (19)? The answer lies in a fictitious view of Christianity, European history, and the essence of democracy, Weigel contends.

In contrast to the Western European political theory, Weigel underlines the alternative Slavic view of history: "the deepest currents of history are spiritual and cultural, rather than political and economic...history is driven, over the long haul, by culture—by what men and women honor, cherish, and worship; by what societies deem to be true and good and noble" (30) Whereas, Western Europe has been driven by the conclusions of Nietzsche, with a false idea of power and honor. At the root of this issue is the very essence of democracy and the rule of law. A constitution must acknowledge the tradition and role of Christianity. While constitutions essentially identify the legislative, executive, and judicial bodies, and define the citizen to the state, Weigel argues that they must also be the "repository, the safe-deposit box, of values, symbols, and ideas that make a society what it is...what Weiler calls 'the ethnos and the telos'" (65). Therefore Christianity must be acknowledged. Whereas, the EU thinks that by enforcing what the French have termed *laïcité*—technically laity, or lay leadership, but currently it means secularism, and essentially agnosticism—the goal of toleration can be met. In their minds, by eliminating religion from the public sphere entirely, a completely neutral stance can be achieved. In addition, they believe that democracy has nothing to do with moral truth. By contrast, Weigel claims that this neutrality is only a cover for indifference, and a denial of the essence of culture. If Europeans have gotten away with this growing secularism throughout the twentieth century the wave of Muslim immigrants to Europe—"since 1970, some 20 million...the equivalent of the three E.U. countries of Ireland, Belgium, and Denmark" (133)—make it impossible to ignore the place of religion. Even as the laser ink dries on this review the recent Danish comics about the prophet Muhammad have outraged not only European Muslims, but those around the world; hardly a good example of toleration or a secular solution. One might also consult Roy Clouser's book, *The Myth of Religious Neutrality* (1991), for some further discussion.

Weigel makes the case for an alternative to European secularism, in a return to Christian humanism. Humanism asked the important questions about human nature and one's place in the world. Any viable answer must also ask the question about the role of God. In the thought of Pope John Paul II, a "thoroughly secularized world is a world without windows, doors, or skylights: a claustrophobic, ultimately suffocating world" (172). It was Christian humanism that encouraged human dignity, virtue, and freedom in a world ordered by God.

Ian Dowbiggin. *A Concise History of Euthanasia: Life, Death, God, and Medicine*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005. Pp vii + 161. \$22.95.

**Reviewed by Michael A. Flannery, University of Alabama at Birmingham /  
Ghana Christian University**

As author Ian Dowbiggin, chair of the history department at the University of Prince Edward Island, points out, current discussion on euthanasia and other end-of-life issues too often is handicapped by “historical amnesia” (152). A necessary corrective is offered in *A Concise History of Euthanasia*. In a brief introduction and seven compact but lucid chapters Dowbiggin demonstrates how the permissive views of suicide and euthanasia in classical Greece and Rome gave way to the Christian ethic that moved death from human choice towards God’s will. “By the onset of the sixteenth century,” writes Dowbiggin, “church, state, society, and medicine had forged an alliance that decisively rejected the taking of life either by suicide or with medical assistance. This durable alliance would weather the Renaissance, the Reformation, and even the Enlightenment, lasting for the most part down to the early-twentieth century. Only then would the venerable Christian consensus regarding a good death begin to unravel” (19-20).

And unravel it did. Under the pressures of rising secularism, prompted by Charles Darwin’s alleged explanation for biological life through natural selection and Francis Galton’s social application with eugenics (a logical corollary to his cousin’s evolutionary theory), a “right to die” increasingly was cast within a context of individual freedom and liberty. Yet, as Dowbiggin persuasively argues, this “freedom” soon was mired in the dangerous swamp of situational ethics and utilitarianism that saw humans as means to socially construed ends, ends always defined by society’s power elite. This notwithstanding, historic gains were made through the persistence of euthanasia and right-to-die activists that rode the increasing wave of secular humanism facilitated by an often-complicit liberal Protestantism in the face of a retreating and beleaguered Catholic Church. Those gains were most notably realized in the state of Oregon, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. Interestingly, what the right-to-die movement got for its efforts was not more liberty but less: less palliative care in jurisdictions permitting physician-assisted suicide, less clear examples of truly free choice when examined at the case-by-case level, and generally less rather than more careful monitoring and reporting of euthanasia. There is one thing right-to-die advocates did clearly get for their efforts: more infanticide. Dowbiggin gives the chilling statistic that “8 percent of all Dutch infant deaths resulted from lethal injections, even though babies obviously cannot ask to be killed” (128).

Dowbiggin’s book shows how dangerous it is leave questions of life and death to human decision-makers unmediated by a higher moral and ethical law. In the end, who is the arbiter of matters of life and death, man or God? For Christians, the Apostle Paul answered this most definitively in Romans 14:7-8. The American Medical Association understood this when it elected to adopt Thomas Percival’s *Medical Ethics* (1803) for its own code in 1847. It would be another century before the AMA would substantively

depart from the format and principles of Percival. That ethical code was premised upon deeply Christian values. For Percival the physician's main responsibility was to administer curative or at least palliative care: in his words, to "be the minister of hope and comfort to the sick; that by such cordials to the drooping spirit, he may smooth the bed of death; revive expiring life; and counteract the depressing influence of those maladies, which rob the philosopher of fortitude, and the Christian of consolation" (*Medical Ethics*, 31-2). Calling suicide a "crime, which in atrocity exceeds every other" (75), Percival and the AMA had no place in their code for physician-assisted suicide. Percival and the overwhelmingly Christian AMA of 1847 also understood what a later Christian apologist, C. S. Lewis, had to remind his twentieth century readers of, namely, that although we may face it with fear and loathing, pain and suffering can have immediate and transcendent purposes (see *The Problem of Pain*, 1940). Dowbiggin's highly cautionary tale of euthanasia would have been further delineated and supported by inclusion of Percival's *Medical Ethics* and its importance in American medical history; but as it is, his book remains a powerful study of a nearly timeless and—as we have seen in the recent Terri Schiavo case—timely contemporary topic.

It should be said that Dowbiggin has a competitor: Shai J. Lavi's *Modern Art of Dying: A History of Euthanasia in the United States* (2005). Lavi's book offers some of its own warnings concerning euthanasia. Unlike Dowbiggin, however, Lavi is at times equivocal and murky in his assessments; and his use of Methodist deathbed "biographies" as testimonies of a "good death" is too narrow and limited in scope to adequately contextualize the topic.

For a well-written and unambiguous historical account of euthanasia Dowbiggin's deceptively brief but immensely informative monograph is the clear winner. It is not only highly recommended for every academician interested in this question, it would also make an excellent supplemental reading for courses on contemporary issues, philosophy, medical ethics, social and religious history, and the history of ideas. This book should be on every scholar's reading list, on many instructors' syllabi, and on all academic library shelves.

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Gilles Kepel, *The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West*, Pascale Ghazaleh, trans. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2004. Pp. 327. \$23.95.

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

One recent, clear indicator of Gilles Kepel's prominence as a scholar and public intellectual is his participation in the conference "Islam in a Pluralistic World," sponsored by the Oesterreichische Orient-Gesellschaft Hammer-Purgstall and held in Vienna in mid-November 2005. He was one of two western scholars (the other being Jack Goody of

Cambridge University) who shared top billing on the podium with Kofi Annan's personal representative Lakhdar Brahimi, former Iranian president Mohammad Khatami, and Nobel Peace Laureate Shirin Ebadi. Kepel regularly consults with Jacques Chirac's government on issues pertaining to Islam, a significant role, given the November 2005 riots throughout France. He has commented on European Islamism in a *Frontline* documentary for PBS, and his ideas get quoted regularly in such publications as the *Wall Street Journal* and *U.S. News and World Report*.

Most impressive, however, is the fact that Kepel exercises such influence from within that rare club of scholars who, by bent of learning and argument, manage to remain significant despite the apparent failure of a major thesis. He argued in *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam* (2002) that the Islamist turn to violence represented the failure of political Islam to meet its goal of gaining power in Middle Eastern states. In the wake of the September 11 attacks, Kepel's position appeared wrong-headed, at least on the surface. To the extent that *The War for Muslim Minds* continues that thesis, it has received similar challenges.

The resilience of Kepel's argument rests in his command of data and his ability to relate a coherent if complex picture of Islamism in clear, compelling language (even in translation). *The War for Muslim Minds* is best read as aiming to accomplish two goals: a contextualization of Islamism and a policy recommendation for European states. Most of the book deals with contextualization, beginning with an analysis of the failed Oslo Peace Process and following with chapters on American neoconservative policy, Islamist ideology, the social and political forces that keep al-Qaeda alive, the current significance of Saudi Arabia, and the "calamity of nation-building in Iraq." The interesting underlying story in these chapters is the symbiosis between neoconservative and Islamist perceptions of political life and power. But the details of Kepel's analysis make for a fascinating read: for example, the tracing of significant Islamist concepts such as *al-wala wal-bara* (essentially, "trust for Muslims, jihad for unbelievers"; 134-9), and the delineation of the disparate movements often treated under the general umbrella of Islamism (e.g., Wahhabism, salafism, "sheikhism," et al).

This impressive command of the ins-and-outs of Islamism, borne in part from interviews with key figures and from close study of Arabic-language websites, is finally why Kepel is so respected. Even when elements of his position seem questionable, his command of nuance and substance convinces. This ability, and his doctorates in sociology and political science, make the last chapter, "The Battle for Europe," a compelling and realistic recommendation for policymakers and a European alternative to the American neoconservative agenda. The chapter argues that the most important battle in the war for Muslim minds during the next decade will be fought not in Palestine or Iraq but in those communities of believers on the outskirts of London, Paris, and other European cities, where Islam is already a growing part of the West. If European societies are able to integrate these Muslim populations, handicapped as they are by dispossession, and steer them toward prosperity, this new generation of Muslims may become the Islamic vanguard of the next decade, offering their co-religionists a new vision of the

faith and a way out of the dead-end politics that has paralyzed their countries of origin (8-9).

As this viewpoint suggests, Kepel is in the vanguard of those promoting a vision of European Muslims socially integrated into their host societies and firm in their democratic convictions. He sees a European-oriented Turkey as one of the best examples where “processes of democratization within an Islamic context are taking place.” Kepel has taken to describing the need from a “new Andalusia of thoughts,” referring to the supposedly peaceful and productive multicultural region of medieval Spain (at the 2005 conference on pluralism).

Despite the vagueness of the recommendation, it resonates with European experience—fresh from the riots in France—better than American neoconservative preconceptions about democracy and the use of power do. At this point CFH readers might bring convictions of Christian belief to bear. Even if one ignores the big, perennial issue of Christianity’s relationship to modern democratic movements, questions remain. Does Christian belief support one vision of Islamic democratization over the other? Kepel’s recommendation leaves unclear where power will rest in this “new Andalusia.” Will it be possible to extend the “secular space” beyond its current place within historically Christian societies to include Islam, with its different experience of that space? And this question leads to a preeminent one for Christians and Muslims: what role can and should religion play? What place does Christian faith have in this multicultural arrangement, whatever the final form of that arrangement?

Gilles Kepel’s *The War for Muslim Minds* is an important contribution to ideas about Middle Eastern democratization. Still unresolved, however, is the viability of Kepel’s political vision, given the current distribution of power. One can hope—and perhaps advocate—that U.S. policymakers will listen closely to the advice of Kepel and his followers, who have the language skills and conceptual grasp to understand the complex character of Islamism and its influence among modern Muslims.

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Walter A. McDougall, *Freedom Just Around the Corner: A New American History 1585-1828*. New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 2005. Pp. xiv + 638. \$17.95.

**Reviewed by Clyde Greer, The Master’s College (Santa Clarita, CA)**

Do we really need a new American history? Only if we want to understand ourselves as Americans better. Walter McDougall has started a trilogy that promises to help us more fully comprehend our character as a people. This first volume brilliantly lays the foundation for a truly insightful explanation of what has driven the American people to be who we are, for better or for worse.

Why is Professor McDougall qualified to author this new American history? Countering the growing trend of sloppy or insufficient acknowledgment of sources, the old-fashioned “Notes” section (fifteen percent of the book and full of substantive comments) exhibits an almost astounding familiarity with important classic and recent secondary sources. A Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, McDougall could get away with a skimpy set of citations, but he provides a clear demonstration that he possesses the knowledge base necessary to write a masterly synthesis such as this.

Dr. McDougall’s anthropology and worldview should appeal to most readers of *Fides et Historia*. The book’s thesis, simply stated, is that the key to understanding the American in history requires realizing that “he or she is a hustler” (4). All kinds of Americans have hustled, exploiting bountiful resources and, sometimes, their fellow Americans in a selfish pursuit of happiness. “Americans have enjoyed more opportunity to pursue their ambitions, by foul means or fair, than any other people in history” (5). “[T]he ordered liberty they uniquely enjoyed naturally bred prosperity and reform, which in turn bred more liberty, which someday they would export to the world” (7). McDougall’s unique brand of American exceptionalism contends that the self-serving nature of humanity, manifested in various forms of political, economic, and social hustling, has led to national greatness. He makes a convincing case that America’s hustlers have been “self-promoters, scofflaws, occasional frauds, and peripatetic self-reinventers... [and] also hustlers in the *positive* sense: builders, doers, go-getters, dreamers, hard workers, inventors, organizers, engineers, and a people supremely generous” (7). In short, self-serving individuals or groups have shaped our national character as much as anything else.

In the process of persuading the reader to see Americans as hustlers, McDougall writes with a felicitous combination of scholarly vocabulary and erudition, along with much down-to-earth, colorful language. Without over-using the hustling theme, he re-tells familiar stories in fresh ways. With flair and finesse, he adroitly weaves numerous lively anecdotes throughout the narrative. His treatment of well-known categories (New England Puritans, Pennsylvania Quakers, Anglican planters, and Scotch-Irish frontiersmen, for example) comprises a penetrating, non-judgmental analysis of their hustling ways.

McDougall illustrates the theme’s traits in the lives of famous individuals such as Benjamin Franklin and George Whitefield. “In their own ways, Whitefield and Franklin were never off stage. Both hustlers for good causes, they also felt good about doing well...Whitefield’s career honed and hawked the techniques of revivalism. He made fifteen tours of Scotland, three of Ireland, and seven of the colonies, where he was named the American St. Paul” (132-3).

When dealing extensively with religion, McDougall demonstrates a discernment and depth of understanding that betrays a personal faith, though it never becomes explicit, much less preachy. Church historians may quibble with his occasionally novel or provocative characterizations of this or that aspect of American Christianity. Nevertheless, McDougall’s sophisticated interpretation of the vital roles of religion in our history greatly contributes to making the book a delight to read.

One feature that can both delight and annoy involves the intrusion of three-to-four page vignettes describing the process of new states entering the Union after the original thirteen. Though well-written, informative, and often amusing, these splendid state portraits abruptly cut into the narrative. On the other hand, the paperback edition lacks pictures or other graphics (whether the reader desires them or not), which would chop up the narrative's flow even further. (Obviously, people looking for a flashy coffee table history need not buy the book.) Readers who would enjoy the stories of state leaders hustling into the Union, however, will not really find the interruptions bothersome.

One real practical problem revolves around the time period covered by the book—1585 to 1828. It may frustrate a professor looking for a new book for courses divided in conventional temporal units—usually Colonial America and the Early National Period are two distinct courses, for instance, while freshman surveys normally go through the Civil War or Reconstruction. One must conclude that Professor McDougall did not write the book for courses for college students. Yet this excellent book deserves as wide an audience as possible. It can enlighten and entertain a student, a casual reader, a history buff, or a professional historian. Perhaps this positive review will help facilitate the book's serious perusal among some people who will appreciate it and then apply its many insights to their own teaching and scholarship.

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Patrick Carey, *American Catholics: A History*. Westport: Praeger, 2004. Pp. x + 290. \$49.95.

Peter R. D'Agostino, *Rome in America: Transnational Catholic Ideology from Risorgimento to Fascism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Pp. xi + 393. \$22.50.

**Reviewed by Zachary R. Calo, University of Pennsylvania; University of Virginia**

The canonical texts of postwar American Catholic history, particularly those of John Tracey Ellis, Jay Dolan and James Hennessey, have been informed by an overriding concern with the Church's attempt to accommodate its practices and beliefs to the dictates of the American democratic creed. From within the cauldron of political liberalism, Catholicism confronted Americanism and emerged as a new and distinct public faith. While this narrative has not been the only concern of historians—and its grip on the imagination of American Catholic historians has certainly lessened—it continues to inform the discipline in great measure.

Patrick Carey's book captures the best insights and accomplishments of the traditional Americanist methodology. His book is focused on such staple themes as the

“American Catholic encounter with modernity in the form of religious liberty” (18), the question of “how republican or democratic...the ancient Catholic hierarchical institutions [could] become” (27), and Catholicism’s emergence “into American public life” (71). Carey’s book is not a significant work of new scholarship, nor does it purport to be. It is a narrative account of the Catholic experience in America based on secondary literature. The book covers such familiar topics as colonial Catholicism, immigration and nativism, the Americanist controversy, Progressive Era social thought, New Deal and Cold War Catholicism, and the response to Vatican II. The final chapter of the book, also its longest, is titled “Troubled Times: 1990-2003.”

One should turn to John McGreevy’s excellent *Catholicism and American Freedom* (2003) for a meatier interpretive treatment of these themes. For a more substantial nuts and bolts history of American Catholicism, James J. Hennessey’s *American Catholics* (1983) remains a standard bearer. But Carey’s book certainly succeeds as a succinct and pleasant treatment of American Catholic history. The book also contains a chronology of important events and an extensive biographical section (over fifty pages), which provides several paragraphs on leading lay and clerical figures. This book would prove an excellent resource for undergraduate courses in American religion or as a reference manual.

Peter D’Agostino’s book is a serious study with ambitious aims. Its subject is the relationship of the papacy to the Italian state from 1849 through the Second World War. D’Agostino tells the story deftly and thoroughly, drawing on substantial new archival research. His account of Italian politics could have made a useful stand-alone study. But the book is more daring, as D’Agostino not only considers these political events in themselves, but in their effect on American Catholics. D’Agostino’s claim is that developments in Italian-Vatican relations were international events in which American Catholics, especially Italian American Catholics, actively participated. These events, in turn, informed both the American Catholic encounter with liberalism and liberal thinking about American Catholicism. In particular, American Catholics found themselves, at times, supporting the Vatican in its opposition to Italian liberalism and, other times, in its support of Italian fascism. Such transatlantic loyalties, D’Agostino argues, necessarily complicated the American Catholic push to embrace democracy at home and achieve a lived rapprochement with the American liberal tradition. “The problematic historical relationship of Catholicism and modern liberalism in the United States and Europe,” the author writes, “cannot be understood when...abstracted out of the Italian and Roman contexts” (3).

The most lasting impact of this thesis should be methodological. D’Agostino is subdued but unashamed in critiquing American Catholic scholarship as “frustratingly internalist” (5). American historians in other subfields fields have realized that the complexities of the American experience are often more fully understood when viewed in an international context. D’Agostino urges historians of American Catholicism to claim this insight. The move seemingly would be unproblematic. Catholicism, by very fact of its catholicity, is open to—and indeed demands—this more capacious methodology. But

doing so will require upsetting the well-worn narrative of “American Catholic exceptionalism,” which has framed the Church’s history for a half-century.

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Steven W. Hackel, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005. Pp. xx + 476. \$59.95/\$24.95.

**Reviewed by Richard W. Pointer, Westmont College**

The story of California’s missions and their impact on native peoples has been told many times but rarely with the skill and rigor Steven Hackel has brought to the task. Along with James Sandos’s recent *Converting California (2004)*, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of Saint Francis* raises the quality of scholarship on early California to a new level. Essential to that achievement is, on the one hand, a creative and exhaustive use of archival materials, both textual and quantitative, and on the other hand, a compelling central thesis. Investigating both the particular experience of Monterey region Indians (the Children of Coyote) at Mission San Carlos Borromeo, and the broader record of the twenty-one Catholic missions as a whole, Hackel argues that dual revolutions of ecological change and demographic collapse profoundly shaped not only the course of Indian-Spanish relations but the viability of native communities and the Euro-American missionary enterprise. As the Spanish established missions and military outposts (presidios) along the California coast after 1769, they brought with them alien microbes, plants, and animals. As European diseases began to spread, so, too, did inadvertently transported Old World weeds and plants, gradually displacing native ones. Meanwhile, newly arrived Spanish livestock feasted on Alta California’s fertile grasslands, producing an “animal population explosion” (69) that soon overran Indian lands and villages. Together these environmental changes, however unintentionally, created a subsistence crisis among California Indians. Many of the most vulnerable natives—the young, the old, and unmarried women—began to seek refuge at the recently established missions, because the missions were starting to become agriculturally productive operations where adequate food could be had. The more natives who congregated at the missions in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, the more difficult it became for non-mission Indians to maintain themselves and their communities apart from the missions’ orbit. So the missions succeeded in attracting most coastal natives to their confines, though Indians were more pushed than drawn there by their economic and demographic circumstances. Natives came to places such as San Carlos Borromeo with hopes of physical survival and community and cultural maintenance. In the long run, however, those goals proved mostly illusory, given the demographic disaster that befell them at the missions. After a few decades of population increase due to the influx of surrounding

Indians, mission numbers steadily dropped due to high mortality and low fertility brought on by epidemic and endemic diseases. Life at the missions literally killed those they were intended to save (physically, culturally, and spiritually) and in the process destroyed much of what the Franciscan friars had hoped to achieve. Not surprisingly, then, "California missions by the end of the Spanish period [1821] had become places of grief for Indians and missionaries" (122).

With this overall interpretive framework, Hackel proceeds to detailed examinations of five dimensions of Indian-Spanish interaction: the religious encounter, family structures and sexual practices, mechanisms of social and political control, the uses of Indian labor, and corporal punishment and the justice system. Touching upon a host of fiercely contested questions regarding the nature and extent of Spanish coercion in all of those areas (although he puts to the side the issue of how much Catholic belief and doctrinal understanding natives embraced or attained), he offers generally balanced assessments, though his inclination is always to presume that things were probably worse for Indians than the surviving record indicates and to believe that the essential native response to Spanish impositions of many kinds was resistance. Hackel has seemingly mined all the extant documentation but on many points that evidentiary base remains frustratingly thin, forcing or enticing him into repeated moments of educated guesswork, speculation, or generalizations based on a handful of examples. That being said, most of his arguments are well-grounded and persuasive, perhaps especially so his analysis of the leadership roles Indians were given within the indirect rule of the Spanish colonial system. Some natives who had held authority within their indigenous communities before were given opportunities to assume positions within the mission power structure. Their presence there sometimes brought them short or long-term gains, and may have reduced the size and frequency of large-scale rebellions against Spanish rule, since discontented natives often turned to them rather than to violence in hopes of gaining redress for their grievances.

Large-scale rebellion, of course, did come to Spanish California, at least indirectly, in the form of Mexican independence in 1821. Hackel carries his discussion into and beyond the Mexican era, exploring the consequences for California's Indians of the secularization of the missions and the eventual American conquest. He paints a comparatively positive portrait of Indian life amid Mexican rule, insisting that most natives welcomed their freedom from the constraints of the missions and describing the cases of several former San Carlos Indians who became successful landowners. One wonders here whether Hackel's own valuing of personal independence and private property ownership colors his assessment too much. Had most natives really gained more than they lost in the 1830s and 1840s, as he suggests, in the light of their economic marginalization, community dissolution, relative social isolation, and for some, sense of spiritual abandonment?

However that question is answered, there is no disputing the fact that things only got worse with the influx of American settlers, gold-seekers, and politicians. Hackel notes their ill effects but goes on to trace briefly the survival story of Monterey region Indians down to today. For him, their perseverance and resilience mirrors that of earlier

generations of native Californians who may not have been able to withstand the devastating impact of the dual revolutions but whose struggles against the oppressions of Spanish rule remain noteworthy and perhaps praiseworthy. Hackel himself deserves praise for providing us with what is now the most thoroughly-researched and analytically-suggestive account of Indian-Spanish relations in early California.

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Edmund S. Morgan, *The Genuine Article: A Historian Looks at Early America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2004. Pp. xi + 315. \$26.95/\$15.95.

**Reviewed by Timothy D. Hall, Central Michigan University**

Seldom does the chance come to sit down with a book like this and savor observations and insights flowing from a lifetime of distinguished work in a field of history. This collection of essays, first published separately in the *New York Review of Books*, offers just such an opportunity. Edmund S. Morgan's essays range across the entire field of colonial and Revolutionary American history, deeply informed throughout by his own work as one of the past generation's preeminent scholars of the period. As good reviews will do, these afford tantalizing historiographical glimpses of his engagement with other leading historians, such as Bernard Bailyn, Gary B. Nash, and Gordon Wood. They also whet the reader's appetite to sample, at least, the monumental modern editions of collected primary material such as the papers of George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, and the Continental Congress, projects which, taken as a whole, Morgan terms "the major scholarly achievement of American historical scholarship in the twentieth century" (250). Taken together, they provide a retrospective on a period whose rich history has emerged as one of the most exciting fields of contemporary scholarship, thanks in great measure to the work of Morgan and the historians he trained during his long and prolific career at Yale.

Morgan has organized the component essays into four parts, each of which reflects a distinct method of selection and organization. The first part, "New Englanders," includes a review of Dunn, Savage, and Yeandle's recent edition of John Winthrop's *Journal*, five essays reviewing several of the past quarter century's most influential revisions of New England history, and Nicholas Hytner's 1996 release of *The Crucible* along with Arthur Miller's screenplay. Two of the three essays in the second part, "Southerners," center on the theme of slavery and slave culture that has been the subject of some of the most innovative scholarship of the past fifteen years. The third section, "Revolutionaries," is the longest and most thematically unified, with ten essays carrying the reader from the Seven Years' War through the first decades of the early Constitutional republic. "Questions of Culture" closes the book with two essays, one exploring the ongoing significance of religion in American life through a review of Michael Warner's *Library*

of America collection of sermons, and the final a romp through the full span of American history (with Marie Morgan) in a review of the twenty-four volume *American National Biography*.

The cumulative effect of this arrangement is to reward the reader with a reflective historiographical tour of some of the most influential scholarship of the past thirty years. Even historians whose works are not reviewed directly have been incorporated into the summaries and wealth of detail which set the works reviewed into the context of early American history and recent writing about it. Though necessarily selective, the book includes representative samples of some of the wide range of approaches and lines of inquiry that have emerged since the new social history of the late-1960s. Witchcraft and folk belief, religion and popular culture, the experience of women in colonial society, the history of sexuality in early America, the development of slavery and the creation of African American culture within that wrenching experience, the initiative of ordinary and marginal people in the making of the Revolution—studies representing these and other exciting developments in the scholarship of early American history are reviewed within these pages. The works receive the sort of critical appraisal which could come only from a master not only of the sources of colonial history, but of historical interpretation, an art which has made Morgan such a major contributor to this field in his own right. He is generous in praise where that is due, though he reserves his highest applause for the massive modern editions of papers and works of those who made the history of early America. He does not withhold criticism where that is due. In his review of *The American Jeremiad*, for instance, Morgan observes how Sacvan Bercovitch “sweeps us along with him so persuasively that we are scarcely aware that we are not dealing with facts at all” (38). Morgan minces no words in his declaration that Michael Warner’s selection of sermons for the Library of America’s *American Sermons* does not “meet the description of ‘America’s best and most significant writing’” (273). He exposes the contradiction at the heart of Orlando Patterson’s social critique of slavery’s persisting consequences in commenting that Patterson’s “long-term goal of overcoming the cool-pose culture of the ghetto can scarcely be brought closer by giving it a respectable ancestry it does not have...In his dismissal of [nuclear] families among slaves...he deprives Afro-Americans of a highly usable past” (120).

Morgan possesses a sure-footed sense of what constitutes a useable past—an interpretation faithful to the witness of the evidence and aptly employed in analysis of contemporary issues. *The Genuine Article* is sprinkled with nuggets of insight drawn from his deep knowledge of the American past. He recommends the Puritans for their superior understanding of “their own and all men’s vulnerability in ‘the core sense of self’” (60), Franklin for the enduring “example of what Emerson called ‘a man thinking’” (175), and the seventeenth and eighteenth century debates over the sovereignty of the people for their salutary reminder that when we “suspend disbelief in such useful fictions “altogether, we are ripe for tyranny” (224). Morgan misses a step on occasion, as when he ventures to comment on recent American evangelicalism’s “theocratic morality” and offers a premature lament for the sermon’s decline. A historian of American religion might hope for a more nuanced treatment of evangelicals from so sensitive an interpreter

of the Puritans. Yet such lapses are very rare. This eminently readable book, like its author, lives up to the title.

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William J. Watkins, Jr., *Reclaiming the American Revolution: The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions and Their Legacy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004. Pp. xx + 236. \$39.95.

**Reviewed by Carol Sue Humphrey, Oklahoma Baptist University**

In *Reclaiming the American Revolution*, William Watkins states that Americans have lost the true meaning of the American Revolution through a growing consolidation of government power at the national level. Watkins hopes to remedy that situation by introducing his readers to a piece of American history that he believes has been neglected. He seeks to place the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in their proper historical context in order to finally put them in a place of importance in the canon of documents which have been important in the history of the United States. He begins by relating the history of how the two documents came into existence. Watkins asserts that Thomas Jefferson and James Madison feared that the Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, sought to undermine what the American Revolution had been fought to achieve. They wrote the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions to express that concern and to rally Americans to prevent that from happening. The development of the idea of a loose construction of the Constitution helped lay the foundation for the increasing power of the national government throughout the 1790s. The culmination of this effort came in response to the French Revolution with the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798.

According to Watkins, the Sedition Act proved particularly offensive because it placed power over political debate at the national level. For the Republicans, the issue involved the very federal nature of the American system. They believed that control over political debate should be at the local and state levels in order to provide room for local and regional differences in ideas and procedures. A number of Republicans criticized the legislation, but no critique proved more influential than the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, secretly written by Jefferson and Madison, respectively. As Watkins points out, “the involvement of a sitting vice president and the Father of the Constitution indicates the severity of the situation” (55). Together, the two documents presented a mechanism for the states to use to preserve the powers reserved to them by the Constitution—what would later be called nullification and interposition by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

Watkins continues his discussion by relating how the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions influenced later events. He points out how efforts by the national government

to gain further control in the first half of the nineteenth century produced similar protests. The War of 1812 resulted in the Hartford Convention, when the states in New England opposed the war, while the “Tariff of Abominations” in 1828 produced Calhoun’s writings on nullification and the efforts by South Carolina to declare federal law to be null and void. Watkins states that the ideas originally presented in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in 1798 had been widely accepted by the 1830s as the debate over the relationship between the states and the national government continued.

Watkins further states that the fears of Jefferson and Madison and others in the 1790s have been realized. Power has been consolidated at the national level and the federal system imagined by the Founding Fathers no longer exists. Watkins blames much of the consolidation on the rise of political parties and the decision to remove the role of the state legislatures from the election of Senators. Furthermore, the growing belief that every problem is a national problem downplays and undermines the role of the states in dealing with more local concerns. Watkins argues that both Congress and the Supreme Court have assumed more power than was originally intended and thus have greatly weakened the state governments.

Watkins concludes by asking “whether the beauty and purity of the federal system given to us so long ago can and should be recovered” (136). He urges Americans to regain an appreciation for the ideas expressed in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in order to restore the American system as it was originally designed. He states that “federalism remains relevant today for four practical reasons: (1) divergent local circumstances, (2) the need for experimentation and competition in policy-making, (3) the need to monitor those entrusted with power, and (4) the need to ensure that power is properly diffused” (139). For Watkins, rediscovering these ideas about the proper relationship between the state and national governments would restore an accurate revolutionary tradition and give the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions their proper place in the documentary pantheon of American history. He also concludes that such a restoration would make the American system work better because, “if Americans embrace the Resolves’ lessons about ultimate sovereignty and divided legislative sovereignty, then a renewal of federalism and a restoration of our Constitution is possible” (163).

Although one might argue with Watkins’ current application of the ideas of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, a reader should not miss the good discussion of the origins of these documents and the influence of their ideas over the years. Watkins presents a carefully crafted summary of the events that led to the writing of these resolutions and then precedes to show how the ideas of Jefferson and Madison influenced others over time. Based on good research, Watkins shows how ideas can be influential in a number of different ways and then asks thoughtful questions about what it all means. This book should prove interesting to anyone interested in the history of the early United States and the ideas behind the creation and early development of our government system.

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Erskine Clarke, *Dwelling Place: A Plantation Epic*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005. Pp. 624. \$35.00.

**Reviewed by Bradley Gundlach, Trinity College**

Not for nothing have scholars and general readers found the Old South a fascinating place—romantic and disturbing, archetypically American, yet a region unto itself if ever there was one. Erskine Clarke has captured the allure, the tragedy, and the deep moral ambiguity of the antebellum South in this monumental book. At once an individual and group biography, recounting (in the words of the publisher's advertisement) "four generations of family life in Liberty County, Georgia, from the 'big house' and from the slave cabins," Clarke's book joins works as diverse as Henry Wiencek's *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America* (2003) and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (1988) in treating the two worlds of the Old South—black and white—in tandem, exploring how those worlds influenced each other. Unlike Wiencek, though, who deals with Washington's slaves mainly in order to get at Washington's views on slavery, and unlike Fox-Genovese, who studies the plantation household in the aggregate, Clarke uses the richly documented life of an individual slaveholding family as a starting point to open up the interwoven lives of masters and slaves, giving equal attention to both.

The family is that of Charles Colcock Jones, Presbyterian minister, member of the Georgia low-country planter elite, and prominent missionary to slaves. The intersection of these roles, and his interaction with particular slaves, slave families, and communities, is the theme of the book—with an eye especially to Jones's descent from the heartfelt antislavery of his young manhood to the outright proslavery apology of his later years. Clarke enables the reader both to identify with Jones and to be appalled by his ultimate choices, appreciating the difficulty of making such choices within the web of economic, moral, religious, political, and familial concerns in which this very human figure lived and moved. It is not an easy thing to portray and assess fairly the Christian planter elite, especially from our standpoint today (as the reception of Eugene Genovese's recent work demonstrates). Clarke manages to steer between excoriation and rationalization, avoiding the too-easy charge of hypocrisy without letting Jones off the moral hook.

We enter the fullness of the life of this tragic figure thanks to the astonishingly copious literary remains of the Jones family, published some three decades ago in Robert Manson Myers's *Children of Pride: The True Story of Georgia and the Civil War* (1972). The reader is struck immediately with the sheer mass of detail at Clarke's disposal, from the carefully recorded inner feelings of Jones and his wife, preserved in letters replete with Calvinist introspection and the desire of cultivated soul-mates to share themselves completely, to the intricate network of kinship obligations in that tight little circle of Liberty County planters, to the rhythms of gentle life made possible by the forced labor of others. Clarke has a mania for detail, sometimes so overwhelming as to detract from the story (as when he ventures into genealogies and estate transactions, especially in the early chapters). But more often he transports the reader into a feeling of intimate

acquaintance with that lost world, always staggering the reader with his intricate mastery of every facet of life there. We smell the salt air of summer homes on the Sea Islands, feel the caress of breezes in the warm evenings, hear the tramping of feet and hooves on dusty roads, taste and smell the distinctive cuisine of the low-country (menus and recipes, even!), and throughout are reminded of Ashley Wilkes's "moonlight and magnolias" letter in *Gone With the Wind*—though with the force of minute historical fact far exceeding Margaret Mitchell's novel. Jones's drive to create a lovely dwelling place, a perfection of architecture, landscape, lifestyle and person, tantalizes the reader with its deceptive allure.

For it was, after all, deeply deceptive—and Jones himself knew it. His lovely life rested on the sweaty shoulders of slaves. Changes for the convenience of his family routinely ripped the fabric of slave community. Early on we see how events in a slaveholding family had two meanings—black and white—as when a patriarch died or a young couple married, prompting the division of human property. Who has not heard of slave auctions and imagined their horrors—yet here we know individual names, personalities, family ties, the prearranged bargains, background of previous sales and removals, and later outcomes. By a deft reading of plantation records, letters, court and church books in the context of recent studies of slave life in the aggregate, Clarke has managed to recreate the black world in nearly as rich detail as the white. Applying analyses of generic slave experience to these specific people in a specific set of circumstances, Clarke gives us faces and personalities to make it all real, tangible, and forceful. Recent topical studies on resistance, conjuring, slave psychology, folktales, and more find situated, narrative instantiation here.

Slave resistance in its many facets, including the interpretation of evangelical Christianity in distinctively African American ways, forms one of Clarke's most recurrent refrains. Clarke joins the trend to celebrate slave agency in religion, even to the point of celebrating syncretism. But again, the stories of particular people bring abstract ideas down to concrete historical experience—for example, Cato the trusty slavedriver, who ran one of Jones's plantations faithfully, yet guarded the secret world of slave thievery. He was "a deeply complex man...neither all internalized subservience nor all clever deception," and calls into question the stereotypes of "Sambo" and "Nat" that characterized studies of slave psychology a generation ago. And on the issue of skewing Christianity, Clarke shows himself an admirer of both slave creativity in refashioning the masters' religion, and the orthodox religious experience of the masters themselves.

Christian historians will doubtless find Jones's missionary activity among slaves a compelling, ambiguous story. The interplay of his New England training in "disinterested benevolence" with his Georgia slaveholding experience is perhaps the central preoccupation of the book, as far as it concerns Jones himself. Clarke shows us a deeply pious, humanitarian man genuinely concerned for the welfare—eternal and temporal—of his slaves, who in seeking to make conditions better under slavery ended up legitimating the system. His sermons and catechetical methods reveal a determination to provide even illiterate slaves with meaty, sound doctrine. His work with slaveholders emphasized the need for decent housing, clothing, and above all the hallowing of slave marriages and

family life. Yet when need arose Jones was willing to break up slave families, prompting the severe embarrassment of having some of his own slaves run away. His attempts to provide a model of Christian slaveholding—and their necessary failures—are some of the most poignant stories in the book. The selective ways in which slaves appropriated the gospel and took part in church life (both under and apart from white leadership) make for fascinating reading as well.

As we become familiar with the intricate web of families black and white in Jones's orbit, we begin to feel the ominous rumblings of sectional strife that will topple this carefully constructed, carefully guarded world. The book picks up momentum and becomes as gripping as a novel as war looms nearer and finally breaks into the Georgia low-country. The destruction of Jones's "dwelling place," the fate of relations between former masters and slaves, the bitterness of Mary Jones towards blacks when all is done—these leave us to ponder the problematical combination of evangelical piety and investment in human bondage.

Exacting documentation, family trees, and a name index (segregated—blacks coming before whites) add to the usefulness of this wonderful volume. If Clarke occasionally oversteps the line between recorded fact and informed conjecture (e.g., 114), the reader gains a respect not only for the breadth of learning that informs his recreation of otherwise inaccessible lives, but for his artistry and intense commitment to the project of recreation. The book is a treasure trove of specific illustrations for teaching, too. It is well worth having in hardcover, and well worth the read for anyone interested in knowing the two sides of slavery at its alleged best.

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Melvin Patrick Ely, *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War*. New York: Vintage Books, 2005. Pp. x + 640. \$18.00.

**Reviewed by Stephen C. Messer, Taylor University**

The American Revolution and its aftermath challenged many individuals, black and white, northerner and southerner, patriot and loyalist, to question the contradiction between the rhetoric of liberty and the reality of slavery. Richard Randolph, a prominent Virginia planter, not only questioned this contradiction, he acted. In 1796, he wrote a will that denounced slavery, freed his slaves, begged their forgiveness and provided land for their settlement as freed men and women. This remarkable will and testament eventually led to the founding of the free black community of Israel Hill in Prince Edward County, Virginia in 1810.

Melvin Patrick Ely probes the genesis and development of Israel Hill in this work that deserves every one of its many awards (the 2005 Bancroft Prize, the Beveridge

Award and the Wesley Logan Prize from the American Historical Association, and designation as an Editor's Choice by the *The New York Times Book Review* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, to name a few). This study may well become a classic because of Ely's monumental research and his challenging conclusions regarding the lives these free blacks lived with their white neighbors.

Ely's thesis is that the Israelites generally had productive relationships with local whites in spite of, and partly because of, the commitment to slavery and white supremacy that characterized the commonwealth of Virginia. These former slaves and their descendants farmed, worked, sued and married in much the same manner as many of their white counterparts. In short, at the level of everyday life, these free blacks typically did not experience the denigration that is so often assumed to have been their lot in the antebellum South.

In developing this thesis, Ely carefully sets the context of Israel Hill's creation before examining the lives that these newly freed blacks and their descendants actually lived. His discussion of Richard Randolph's decision and its implementation after his death probes the complexities of manumission in post-revolutionary Virginia. Ely's impressive command of local and regional sources, particularly legal records, undergirds his vivid and meticulous descriptions of local geography, family lives, economic activities and cultural patterns. The most interesting points that emerge include the presence of a small number of accepted interracial marriages and unions, the consistent efforts the Israelites made to maintain their economic independence (the sections on free black wagon drivers and boatmen are especially illuminating), and these free blacks' successful use of the legal system to protect their liberty and economic standing.

While Ely argues that this group of free blacks enjoyed substantial freedom to live out their lives, he does not ignore the fact that they were never fully equal to local whites. For example, the inhabitants of Israel Hill did use the legal system to protect their rights, but their usual strategy was to utilize civil rather than criminal proceedings since they were prohibited from testifying against whites in court. Ely also examines the effort to confiscate the weapons of free blacks in the aftermath of Nat Turner's uprising, but he notes that local white authorities conducted this campaign in such a way that the owners of these weapons were not unduly stigmatized; in fact the owners were reimbursed the amount the authorities raised by selling the confiscated weapons! A key point about these examples of relatively fair and just treatment of the Israelites is that local whites did not view them as threats because the institution of slavery provided a seemingly unassailable bulwark of white supremacy, and the Israelites themselves avoided overly aggressive actions that might threaten their status.

*Israel on the Appomattox* is suitable for general readers with a sense of perseverance (it is a long read!) and an interest in the complexities of race relations. Generalists who teach United States history survey courses should read this book to add nuance to their lectures on race in the antebellum South. Those who teach a course on historical methods should consider assigning parts of this book to illustrate both local history at its best and creative but judicious interpretation; Ely's inclusion of key documents and an essay in which he discusses his interpretative differences with scholars such as Ira Berlin add to

the usefulness of this book for a methods course. Specialists in African American history will want to address the issue of how representative Ely's conclusions are for other localities in Virginia and throughout the antebellum South. I suspect there will be a number of journal articles and substantial works that take on this issue and that we will therefore be discussing this book for some years to come.

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Eric Burin, *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2005. Pp. 240. \$59.95.

**Reviewed by Ryan McIlhenny, University of California, Irvine**

Eric Burin's *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society* rounds out P.J. Staudenraus's tenure (and Early Lee Fox's before him) as the leading authority on the American Colonization Society (ACS). Utilizing an array of primary sources, including postmortem manumission contracts, and incorporating leading secondary works, the author, an assistant professor of history at the University of North Dakota, first provides a brief summary of the movement: the leaders, origins, and financial hurdles related to African colonization during the "Era of Good Feelings"; the role of one of the most influential regional agencies, the Philadelphia Colonization Society; the way in which slave uprisings, most notably Nat Turner's in 1831, encouraged local governments to limit black manumissions; and the overwhelming opposition from free blacks that gave birth to a radical and interracial antislavery cohort. Contemporary historians have been too quick to castigate the ACS as a racist institutional failure. For Burin, by contrast, the malleability (i.e., the disparate and competing interpretations) and therefore longevity of this *herrenvolk* scheme did in fact "undercut the 'peculiar institution'" (3).

The author first considers the generational and regional factors that altered the meaning of colonization. Beginning in 1817, many early slave-owning supporters eagerly worked toward expatriation. The number of postmortem manumissions increased during the initial days. Such plans not only assuaged the consciences of those who struggled with the dilemma of owning human chattel in a country that prized liberty, but also functioned to maximize the profits of involuntary servitude while at the same time promising eventual freedom. Concern over the growth of the free black population in the "City of Brotherly Love" and the growing hostility among the city's black population, especially in the wake of David Walker's denunciation of the ACS as "a vicious, nefarious and peace-disturbing combination" (84), led the Philadelphia Colonization Society (PCS), one of the largest local organizations in the North, to focus its energy on removing "black Pennsylvanians" (88). Many northern organizations followed the

leadership of the PCS. In the South, the location, magnitude, and proximity of black manumissions, not to mention fears concerning the reality of bloody slave revolts, heightened southern paranoia that the ACS was, in fact, trying to undermine the power of the slave-owning class. Legislators, therefore, tightened restrictions on manumissions. Nonetheless, the two regions had something in common: a hardening of white racism. Both the North and the South viewed blacks as a problem, one to either remove or to violently subdue.

This analysis of the generational and regional impact on colonization is complemented by Burin's most important contribution: emphasizing the agency of African Americans in steering the course of liberation. Both slaves and free blacks actively collected information about the Liberian colony, sought out "conjunctive emancipations," whereby "different slaveholders liberated various members of one black family," and were cautiously optimistic about escaping an economic and social situation built on the foundation of white racism (75). ACS organizers were well aware of how African Americans viewed, redefined, and therefore slowed colonization. In a kind of Genovesean vein, Burin suggests that whites of the benevolent empire could not carry out their plans without taking into consideration the actions and decisions of black communities; this was evident in the various creative campaigns by ACS leaders to sell colonization. The discursive effect of white America's efforts to remove non-whites opened up a space for free blacks and slaves to consider the possibilities of emancipation and communal sovereignty, perhaps even nationhood. By 1861, interest in emigration among African Americans reached "an all time-high" (162) and laid the foundation for pursuits of independence that later took shape in the pan-African and Black Power movements of the twentieth century.

Burin's study, a history "from below," ends with the perceptions and experiences of African Americans in Liberia. The society made its first land acquisition in 1821, and many who settled within the next few decades brought their American culture with them. Self-sufficient farming was the intent of ACS organizers, but a majority of Liberian settlers preferred cash crops like tobacco and sugar. Unfortunately, such commercial agriculture failed to take root. Furthermore, the earlier settlers faced an array of difficulties: "diseases, the hazards of settler life, and conflicts with native peoples" (158). But such tribulations did not snuff out the greatest blessing of the colony: an escape from white racism. "Liberia," Burin concludes, "was a bulwark against the forces of racial prejudice" (159).

There is not much one can say by way of critique that would undermine *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution*. Few historians have examined how colonization brought to the table thorny issues related to black activism, racial justice, and a truly African American identity, and fewer still have given such a well-rounded presentation of all those involved in shaping colonization and emancipation. This is a work of synthesis, an excellent—perhaps the best—study of the African colonization movement.

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Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Woman's Rights Convention*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004. Pp. xx + 297. \$55.00/\$25.00.

**Reviewed by Danielle Du Bois Gottwig, University of Notre Dame**

In this meticulously researched biography and local history, Judith Wellman explores how the antislavery movement, crusade for legal reform in New York state, and liberal Quakerism “converged” in Seneca Falls in 1848 to make the Seneca Falls Convention possible. She also examines how one woman, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, helped to bring those three forces together in that particular time and place. The result is a highly readable and absorbing reconsideration of the events that led to the “Declaration of Sentiments” and to Stanton’s emergence as a leader in the woman’s rights movement.

The first subject in Wellman’s analysis, the connection between antislavery activism and woman’s rights, is already the object of extensive research. Here her chief contribution is the level of detail she provides. She draws heavily from letters and diaries to demonstrate that the friendships and shared commitments to woman’s rights that inspired the Seneca Falls Convention had their genesis in the prior antislavery activities of women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. Wellman is also sensitive to the ways in which antislavery advocacy evoked issues of gender. She chronicles the journey of reform-minded women into the ranks of the American Anti-slavery Society, which included women in its meetings and found valuable lecturers in the Grimké sisters and Abby Kelley. She then demonstrates how their participation in the Society’s public activities drew ire from within the Society, from other antislavery groups, and from the public, forcing abolitionist leaders to defend the women’s actions and in some cases to proclaim equal legal and political rights for the sexes. Always attentive to local history, Wellman uses the two-month church trial of Presbyterian Rhoda Bement to illustrate the effect of Abby Kelley on Seneca Falls, during her visit to the town in 1843. Inspired by Kelley’s lectures, Bement confronted her minister, Horace Bogue, about his purported failure to read abolitionist notices she had given him. The “shouting match” that ensued led to Bement’s trial and conviction for “disorderly and unchristian conduct,” but not before the trial had stimulated public discussion of abolitionism, the alcoholic content of Presbyterian communion wine, and the propriety of Kelley’s lectures (131, 133).

Wellman’s argument that legal reform movements in New York prepared the way for woman’s rights is equally rich. A full chapter provides a detailed and helpful account of the debate surrounding women and property law in the two decades prior to the Seneca Falls Convention. It explains how New York’s revision of its legal statutes in 1828 made dubious the legitimacy of equity courts, an institution that had previously allowed wealthy parents to guarantee that family land and funds remain in the control of married daughters. The chapter then recounts the prolonged but fruitless efforts of legal reformers to address the problem during the 1830s and early 1840s, and the problem’s eventual resolution after the New York Constitutional Convention of 1846 led to the passage of the Married Woman’s Property Act in April 1848. Wellman also documents Stanton’s

interest in the Act and surmises that she was not the only person to arrive at the Seneca Falls Convention with its recent passage on her mind.

The book's third theme, the role of religion in the Seneca Falls Convention, is well served by Wellman's attention to biographical detail. Dipping into the histories of several Quaker families whose members proved crucial to the success of the Convention (the Hunt-M'Clintock-Pryors, Post-Hallowells, and Wright-Motts), she finds a partial explanation for their commitment to woman's rights in the Quaker belief that the Inner Light resides in all human beings. The doctrine not only contained an inherent challenge to human hierarchy, it also inspired their participation in the antislavery movement and the efforts of the Seneca Nation to retain control of their lands. These experiences underscored the families' commitment to egalitarian principles and provided a training ground for the actions they would later take on behalf of woman's rights. Quakerism also steeped women in a subculture whose gender ideals were at variance with the surrounding culture, Wellman finds. Quaker meetings accorded women as active a role as men, allowing them both to speak and to conduct their own monthly meetings with virtual autonomy. Moreover, while the emerging ideal of republican motherhood situated the identity and obligations of women within the nuclear family, the obligations, identities, and naming patterns of married Quaker women were determined as much by their membership in their extended families. The marriages of Quakers who supported woman's rights also were likely to emphasize "relative gender equality" between husbands and wives (99).

Wellman provides less explanation of other possible religious influences. Nonetheless, on this point she still provides many helpful details. She reveals that besides Quakers, at least eleven Methodists and Wesleyans and four Episcopalians signed the "Declaration of Sentiments." She also notes who was absent: no known Presbyterians, Baptists, or Roman Catholics offered their signatures. The reader also learns that though Stanton was raised a Presbyterian, she rejected Calvinism because it made people "slaves to fear," which resulted in "man everywhere crushed by institutions" (Stanton quoted by Wellman, 163-4). Wellman likewise finds that Stanton's strongest Quaker allies were led to "test the boundaries" of their own tradition (99), while the political allegiance of signers was overwhelmingly to the newly-formed, antislavery Free Soil Party. Even in a region riven by religious and social ferment, she concludes, it was primarily those on the radical edges of antebellum New York's ideological milieu who articulated a commitment to woman's rights.

In all, Wellman provides a history that both explores what factors made organization on behalf of woman's rights possible and acknowledges the marginality of the reformers who were able to envision it. These emphases allow her to provide analytically sharp narrative that also tells a stirring story.

D. G. Hart, *John Williamson Nevin: High-Church Calvinist*. American Reformed Biography. Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 2005. Pp. 271. \$22.99.

**Reviewed by Mary P. Baker, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School**

John Williamson Nevin (1803-1886) himself certainly would have approved of D. G. Hart describing him as a high church Calvinist in the title of his new biography. After all, the Presbyterian and later German Reformed seminary professor and president spent a lifetime trying to convince his contemporaries that his innovative Mercersburg Theology was more faithful to Calvin than theirs. And although “high church Calvinist” might sound like an oxymoron, Hart is using his title to draw attention to his conviction that Nevin’s attempt to “recover the older Calvinist regard for the church as a mediator of divine grace” (34) was both “high church” and “Calvinist.” Indeed, Nevin is best known for his warnings against the pervasive encroachment of the “system of revivalism” on Reformed churches and their neglect of the Church’s sacraments, liturgy, and creeds.

Aside from the opening chapter, this is not a traditional historical biography but an intellectual biography of Nevin’s development as a theologian. Hart’s treatment is appropriate to the purposes of the new “American Reformed Biographies” series, “a series devoted to introductory biographies” of those whose writings continue to be “pertinent to the self-understanding of Presbyterian and Reformed theologians” (10).

And what better person to awaken interest in Nevin’s writings than Hart, whose own critique of modern evangelicalism in other works, such as *Deconstructing Evangelicalism: Conservative Protestantism in the Age of Billy Graham* (Baker, 2004), strongly parallels Nevin’s insightful critique of nineteenth century Protestantism. In writings such as the popular *Anxious Bench* (1843), Nevin, like Hart, criticized church movements which share no common confessions, and stress emotional conversions apart from communal participation in the sacramental life of the Church. Hart therefore has more than an academic interest in Nevin; Nevin is a nineteenth century prophet, who foresaw problems that Hart believes plague evangelicalism today.

Hart begins his biography with a full account of Nevin’s years before he arrived at Mercersburg seminary to teach in 1840, unearthing new evidence of how his personal experiences brought him to his later anti-revivalist positions. For instance, using denominational records, he corrects previous Nevin scholarship that had wrongly labeled Nevin’s childhood Presbyterian congregation as part of the New Side Presbyterian movement, when it was more likely Old Side (38-9). Hart believes this to be an important factor in Nevin’s life, along with Nevin’s other negative experiences, such as his revivalist conversion at Union College at the age of seventeen, and his later disappointments with Princeton’s religious culture and Presbyterian division.

Hart’s insights into Nevin’s life before Mercersburg display original scholarship. His interpretation of Nevin’s theological development, however, echoes that of previous Nevin scholars, who believed that Nevin’s was a brilliant critique which failed only because the well-engrained American individualistic religious ethos could not be

overcome. And here is the weakness in Hart's otherwise excellent introductory biography. His sympathies seem to prevent him from expanding beyond a portrait of Nevin as a misunderstood nineteenth century prophet. While Hart asserts that "Nevin's was America's most original and deeply Christian insight into the plight and promise of Protestantism" (236), he is hard-pressed to concede any of Nevin's personal or theological faults. For instance, Nevin's later use of German idealism in his constructive theology troubled his readers. Hart's explanation that Nevin did so for the sake of the ethnic German community in which he ministered might not hold up when you consider that Nevin's appreciation for German philosophy predated his Mercersburg years.

Hart does offer a more complex version than others have of the very public sparring between Nevin and Charles Hodge, over Nevin's treatise on the Lord's Supper, *The Mystical Presence* (1846), and Hodge's critical review of it in *The Princeton Review*. He includes Hodge's concerns over Nevin's self-stated purpose to "improve on Calvin" with a more "scientific" (read German) treatment of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper (129). Hart will admit that "Hodge had a point when observing that Nevin leaned so heavily on German philosophy," but still maintains that Hodge's failure to appreciate Nevin's *Mystical Presence* was primarily related to Hodge's misreading of Calvin and "Princeton's close reliance upon a subjective and individualistic form of devotion" (137). Missing from Hart's account is *The Princeton Review's* praise in 1844 for Nevin's anti-individualistic *The Anxious Bench*, while Nevin was still drawing on Princeton federal theology and before he began to amplify his theology with heavy doses of German idealism.

Hart concludes his biography with an intriguing account of Nevin's post-Mercersburg controversial work on a new German Reformed prayer book. Yet, he praises Nevin's theology of worship as "the culmination of his career" (216), while hardly raising an eyebrow over Nevin's liturgy, which called for an altar rather than a table for communion, and included Latin prayers and absolutions of sin by the minister. These were worship practices Calvin spoke against, rather than advocated.

Despite these concerns, Hart's biography warrants praise for its new research and its encompassing presentation of Nevin's life and work, as well as for the deserved attention it brings to the relevance of Nevin's critique for evangelicalism today. But just as relevant would be a more complex exploration of why the prescient Nevin failed to be influential or effect any lasting changes. Compelling as Hart's account is, without intending to do so, he may also draw some readers into wondering if Nevin might be better described as a "high churchman," without the word "Calvinist" attached to it.

Maureen Fitzgerald, *Habits of Compassion: Irish Catholic Nuns and the Origins of New York's Welfare System, 1830-1920*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006. Pp. 298. \$25.00.

**Reviewed by Kathleen Sprows Cummings, University of Notre Dame**

This book's opening paragraph describes the funeral procession of Sister Mary Irene Fitzgibbon in New York City in August 1896. An estimated crowd of twenty thousand turned out to mourn Sister Mary Irene, an Irish-American Sister of Charity who had established the New York Founding Asylum and supervised it for twenty-seven years. Under a headline that proclaimed "Sister Mary Irene is Dead," the *New York Times* praised her as "the most remarkable woman of her age in her sphere of philanthropy."

The attention lavished upon Fitzgibbon on the occasion of her death stands in marked contrast to her invisibility in historical studies of American women and social reform. This is true also of Catholic women religious more generally. Though there has been a flowering of meticulous and engaging scholarship on nuns in the last two decades, this work has rarely been considered by historians of American women. Fitzgerald ascribes Sister Irene's "erasure" from women's history to the overarching Protestant frameworks that structure the field. Like other women religious, Sister Mary Irene does not fit those frameworks, and therefore disappears from the narrative.

There is good reason to believe that *Habits of Compassion* will break down this divide. Fitzgerald situates Irish Catholic sisters squarely within a subject that has become central to the field of women's history—maternalist politics and the creation of the welfare state—and shows how paying attention to nuns calls conventional interpretations of that subject into question. Specifically, Fitzgerald challenges "a framework for American women's history that renders women of non-dominant cultures and poor women as objects of reform but rarely agents able to influence women and men of the dominant culture or the ideological or institutional premises of the dominant culture itself" (7). While most historians of American women assume that the existence of the modern welfare system is owed to the beneficence of elite Protestants, Fitzgerald argues that it developed both as a result of and in response to the efforts of working-class Irish Catholic sisters to offer succor to the urban poor.

In mid-nineteenth century New York, an increase in Irish migration and declining conditions for the poor collided with middle-class understandings of children as innocent and therefore redeemable. The "placing-out system" of child care, by which poor Catholic children were removed permanently from their parents, and adopted by Protestant families, was presented as a means to "rescue" children from lifelong poverty and depravity. Catholic sisters, many of whom came from Irish backgrounds, consciously created an institutional system of child care as an alternative to the placing-out system. With the assistance of Tammany Hall politicians, with whom they shared close ethnic and religious ties, New York's women religious were able to channel public funds toward relief for the Irish poor that, unlike the charity proffered by Protestant elites, allowed them to keep family and religious bonds intact. Sister Mary Irene's Founding Asylum

was the largest of these institutions, and on average it offered housing to 600 women and 1,800 infants at a time. In addition, it sponsored day care for working mothers, a maternity hospital, a children's hospital, and a home for unwed mothers.

Fitzgerald's historical corrective raises a number of daring propositions. Noting that the sisters' "revolving door" policy, which allowed parents to place children in institutional care on a temporary basis, was used to shore up the patriarchal family, and by extension, the Catholic Church, Fitzgerald acknowledges that "to argue that patriarchy was good for poor mothers is to invite controversy." Yet, she goes on to say, "the more common assumption that maternalist movements were good for all women because they were run by some women needs to be questioned" (108). Fitzgerald also criticizes the implicit hierarchy of oppression that considers the most religiously orthodox women to be the least "liberated." Though nineteenth century Catholic women are assumed to have been more oppressed by the men in their group than their Protestant or secular contemporaries, Fitzgerald shows how sisters were able to resist male attempts to assert control over their finances and behavior, even when those attempts were spearheaded by New York's indomitable and ironhanded archbishop, John Hughes.

Nuns' considerable public authority over charitable enterprises would not survive the nineteenth century. By the 1890s, Protestant reformers began to contest nuns' power over child care, as well as what they perceived as a Catholic-controlled state, by demonizing institutional care as "unnatural." During the Progressive Era, the language of efficiency and professionalization would nudge nuns further to the margins. At the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children in 1909, "experts" concluded that institutionalization was bad for children, and from that point on nuns were increasingly perceived as "the epitome of incompetence and conservatism" (192). As a new professional class of social workers assumed control over charity and social work, nuns' authority and status would continue to decline.

Fitzgerald's book is one of several recent studies that foreground place as a decisive historical factor (a companion book, Suellen Hoy's *Catholic Sisters in Chicago's Past*, was also released by Illinois Press this year). Though Fitzgerald certainly is convincing in terms of New York, I am curious to see how her argument would apply elsewhere. She maintains that nuns' power derived largely from their ability to secure public funds for their charitable work; as far as I know, New York is the exception rather than the rule in this respect. Yet even without access to state funding, nuns in other cities and states were able to both wield public authority and circumvent attempts at hierarchical control. Closer investigation is needed to identify the sources of nuns' power in other urban centers as well as in less-populated areas throughout the United States. Meanwhile, I am eager to see how historians of American women who have evinced no interest in Catholic sisters will respond to Fitzgerald's argument. At the very least, they will not be able to ignore it.

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George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, Second ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. xvi + 351. \$16.95.

**Reviewed by Daniel K. Williams, University of West Georgia**

George Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, a study of conservative American Protestant theology from 1875 to 1925, transformed the field of American religious history when it first appeared in 1980. After this book's publication, no scholar could write about the history of American fundamentalism without referring to Marsden. *Christianity Today* named it to their one hundred "Books of the Century." Now, twenty-five years after its publication, Marsden has updated his original text by adding a thirty-page epilogue that suggests new approaches to understanding the resurgence of "fundamentalistic evangelicalism" in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries.

The original edition of *Fundamentalism and American Culture* was revolutionary, because it presented an intellectual history of fundamentalism, which most scholars had previously assumed was a contradiction in terms. From H.L. Mencken's snide denigrations of fundamentalists in the 1920s to Ernest Sandeen's historical research in the early 1970s, most pundits and scholars who examined fundamentalism, including the eminent historian Richard Hofstadter in *Anti-Intellectualism in American Life* (1963), treated it as an anti-intellectual, reactionary movement that would likely fade away once Americans had fully adjusted to the stresses of modernity, or else, like Sandeen, they viewed it solely as a product of premillennial eschatology.

But Marsden went beyond these earlier interpretations by showing that fundamentalism was broader than millenarianism and that, contrary to Hofstadter's assertion, it had roots in a philosophical tradition. Fundamentalists were not merely reactionaries, Marsden argued; instead, they were adherents of the philosophy of Scottish Common Sense Realism, a worldview that held that God's truth was equally accessible to every rational person through the revelation of nature and Scripture. Most American Protestants had been Common Sense Realists before the Civil War, but in the 1870s many of the nation's leading Protestant ministers began championing a new liberal theology that viewed much of the Bible as metaphorical, rather than literal, and that identified the coming of the kingdom of God with scientific progress and the advancement of "civilization." Common Sense Realists, who maintained control at Princeton University for a short time, and at Wheaton College for a much longer period, objected to this new theology and were determined to resist it. At the same time, the rapid spread of dispensational premillennialism and a Wesleyan holiness movement added a theological framework and pietistic dimension to the emerging fundamentalist movement. The horrors of World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution, followed by the ascendancy of liberal Protestantism and the increasing emphasis on Darwinism in school textbooks convinced fundamentalists that they needed to defend their denominations and communities from destructive influences by championing the "fundamentals" of the faith. But their failure to maintain control of northern Protestant denominations in the 1920s signaled their inability to reclaim the culture that they had once dominated.

Marsden ended his original version of this work by noting fundamentalists' inability to regain cultural dominance; but in his new epilogue, he examines fundamentalism's recent success in transforming itself into the political and cultural force that it was unable to become in the 1920s. He notes that in contrast to the fundamentalists of the early-twentieth century, modern "fundamentalistic evangelicals" such as Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson have fought their cultural battles in the political, rather than in the ecclesiastical, sphere. Marsden argues that fundamentalists shifted their focus of attention to politics partly because the federal government rapidly expanded in the post-war era, making debates over federal legislation far more significant than they had been in the 1920s. When the Supreme Court issued a series of decisions in the mid-twentieth century that mandated an increased separation of religion from public life and appeared to legitimate a permissive trend in American sexual morality, fundamentalists created a political movement to reverse these developments. Yet Marsden recognizes that modern fundamentalism is more than a political movement, so in addition to discussing fundamentalist politics, he examines the complexities of modern fundamentalism and evangelicalism, and analyzes the reasons for the continuing appeal of these religious groups.

The thirty pages of new material in Marsden's updated edition of *Fundamentalism and American Culture* provide a good overview of the current scholarship on contemporary evangelicalism and its political dimension. Marsden's careful, nuanced analysis of modern religious trends reflects the seasoned observations of a senior scholar in the field. While a thirty-page epilogue is not enough space for Marsden to present original research or posit new methods of interpretation, historians of modern American religion will view Marsden's thoughtful analysis of contemporary evangelicalism as a welcome addition to his classic study of fundamentalist origins.

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Todd M. Kerstetter, *God's Country, Uncle Sam's Land: Faith and Conflict in the American West*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006. Pp. viii + 213. \$36.00.

**Reviewed by Douglas Firth Anderson, Northwestern College (IA)**

The recent addition of Warren Jeffs to the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted Fugitives" list makes Todd Kerstetter's new book especially timely. Jeffs is the leader of some 10,000 adherents of the Fundamentalist Latter Day Saints (FLDS) in southern Utah and northern Arizona. He promotes the doctrine of "plural marriage," banned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (CJCLDS) since 1890. According to the *Christian Science Monitor* (9 May 2006), Jeffs is charged with "sexual assault of underage girls and with arranging 'spiritual' marriages for girls and older men." One academic consulted by the

*Monitor* journalist observed, “In many ways, Warren Jeffs reminds me of David Koresh.” Koresh died with many of his Branch Davidian followers in their Texas compound in 1993 during an assault by federal law enforcement officers.

Branch Davidians, Mormons (including a nod to Jeffs), and Ghost Dancers are the main cases in Kerstetter’s study. The histories of these three groups receive extended attention—a chapter each—because Kerstetter believes they can help us see that “God’s country” is also “Uncle Sam’s land.” That is, on the one hand, the United States of America is known—and rightly so—for religious freedom (God’s country). And within the U.S., the West is especially associated with freedom, religious and otherwise (God’s country, only more so). On the other hand, even in the West religious freedom has been constrained by prevailing Protestant-tinged values enforced at times through federal power (Uncle Sam’s land).

In the Mormon case, Kerstetter has little new to add to what is an extensive historiography. Tensions and conflict between the restorationist and millenarian Mormon community and “Gentile” neighbors helped propel the CJCLDS to the West’s Great Basin in 1846-47. Once the Mormon Zion was relocated to Utah, public opinion fueled extensive federal intervention. In 1857-58, President James Buchanan sent elements of the U.S. Army to Utah to install and support territorial officials. Further, it was only after plural marriage was banned by the CJCLDS in 1890—a ban in direct response to escalating federal enforcement in the 1880s of anti-bigamy and polygamy laws—that Utah was admitted as a state (1896). By the end of the nineteenth century, observes Kerstetter, “the [federal] government had reformed the face of Mormonism and made the religion’s adherents American enough to join the Union” (79).

Also by 1890, the Native American Ghost Dance worried the American public and many federal officials. The Paiute Wovoka’s 1889 prophecy of a coming regenerated earth without whites attracted the attention and the devotion of many American Indians. In late 1890, the Lakota holy man Sitting Bull was killed by reservation police, and soon thereafter Big Foot and from 150 to 300 of his Lakota band of Ghost Dancers were killed by the U.S. Seventh Cavalry at Wounded Knee. The federal response to the Ghost Dance, in Kerstetter’s view, was part of “a program of cultural obliteration” that included Native religions (122). While not new, this conclusion is enhanced by the author’s use of anti-Ghost Dance materials by Christian Dakotas in his analysis.

With his third case—the Branch Davidians—Kerstetter makes an even greater addition to historiography. The group originated in the 1930s as a Seventh-day Adventist break-off commune (Mount Carmel) near Waco, Texas. By the 1970s, the group was known as the Branch Davidians. Vernon Howell eventually gained leadership, and in 1990 he changed his name to David Koresh. He understood his divinely appointed role to be that of “the Lamb” who would open the seven seals of Revelation. His reorganization of the Mount Carmel community to build a heavenly community on earth—including designating various women in the group as his wives—brought regional notoriety and the attention of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (BATF). Concluding that the Branch Davidians were illegally manufacturing firearms, in late February 1993 the BATF initiated what, with the help of the FBI, became a siege of Mount Carmel. During

the confrontation, over seventy Branch Davidians died. “[T]he Branch Davidians learned,” concludes Kerstetter, “what the Mormons and the Ghost Dancers had learned...the West had limits when it came to religious freedom” (125).

Yes, but, was it only in the West that there were limits, and did religious freedom in America ever mean no limits? Kerstetter underscores the contradictions between the values of religious freedom and the subversion of those same values in his three historical cases. Beyond this, however, the author’s analysis too often is unsatisfying in its consistency, precision, and thoroughness.

The book’s introduction and first chapter are meant to set a context for the three cases; they can easily leave one confused, though. Kerstetter reviews important literature on the West, but the connection of the literature to his argument too often is ambiguous. He follows the now old New Western History, considering the West as a place rather than a moving frontier, yet frontier looms in the background. Moreover, Kerstetter does not address the potential import of the roughly hundred-year gap between, on the one hand, the Mormon and the Ghost Dance “frontier” cases, and the Branch Davidian case, on the other. During this gap, have there not been non-western cases of religious groups with uneasy relationships, at best, with local and/or national government, e.g., the African Orthodox Church associated with Marcus Garvey and other black separatist or nationalist groups? Does this bear on Kerstetter’s argument for the West’s exceptionalism?

Another problematic line of analysis is that of religion and state. In the book’s final chapter, the author clearly acknowledges that there were some commonalities of the three groups that made federal intervention at least understandable even if, at best, only partially justifiable. For one thing, the groups shared a millennialism that fed their perceptions of the U.S. government as enemy. Sustained discussion, though, of the dynamics of American nationalism and of governmental prerogatives in the three cases is less than compelling. Further, there is a larger legal history of religious freedom in the U.S. that Kerstetter sidesteps. Native American religious freedom, for example, has taken some decidedly different turns in the West since the first Wounded Knee, as seen with the return of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo and the rise of the Native American Church and peyote use.

Kerstetter’s final sentences illustrate both the weaknesses and strengths of his book: “Did religion make a difference in the West? Indeed it did—and does” (177). Yes, but, isn’t this book about religious liberty in the West? Who said religion did not make a difference in the West? *God’s Country, Uncle Sam’s Land* could have been more compellingly written and more sharply focused. Yet, the author foregrounds religious freedom in three western cases where it has, or can, too easily be obscured. Also, Kerstetter provides some historical perspective on issues that are as alive and shifting as today’s headline news.