Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America*, 3 vols. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006. Pp. xlvii + 1394. $250.00.

Reviewed by Douglas A. Sweeney, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Twenty-five years ago, Ruether and Keller published a similar, three-volume set of groundbreaking essays devoted to women's roles in American religious history: *Women and Religion in America*, 3 vols. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981-1986). So before working with this new set, some observers might presume that it is merely a reprise of themes developed in the eighties. But they would be mistaken. The earlier set grew out of the work of a small circle of female scholars based at Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary. This latter set exceeds the former set in size and scope and in the quality and diversity of its essays.

Some of the writers in this new set also contributed to the old one. Keller and Ruether, of course, edited both of these massive reference works. Other scholars who have contributed to both encyclopedias include Ann Braude, Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford, Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, Susan Setta, and Barbara Brown Zikmund.

An impressive array of new scholars has joined this latter project, though, a who's who of historians working on women and religion: Phyllis Airhart, Margaret Bendroth, Edith Blumhofer, Catherine Brekus, R. Marie Griffith, Ada María Isasi-Díaz, Susan Hill Lindley, Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, Dana Robert, Mary Todd, Mary Jo Weaver, Judith Weisenfeld, Diane Winston, and others. While the first set of essays featured only female scholars, this latter set includes chapters by nine different men. While the first set contained a total of twenty-three chapters (not including introductions) written by twenty-one authors (some of whom were co-authors), this latter set contains 148 chapters (not counting the introduction) written by no fewer than 150 authors (some of them co-authors).

"Our vision," write the editors, "was that a volume that developed the history of women and religion in depth had to be an *interpretive* encyclopedia. It needed to analyze, rather than simply describe subjects, as entries in traditional encyclopedias are meant to do" (xxv). Hence the essays in this set often assess their subject matter in light of the long, progressive history of women's liberation, establishing benchmarks with which to chart the distances that women have traveled along the road to equality. As Keller and Ruether explain, "a feminist perspective, the view that society should be transformed to include full participation of women, is the interpretive frame through which this encyclopedia is written" (xxv). And while they have sought to emphasize the great diversity of women's religious experience in America, their feminist perspective grants a unity to the essays. Indeed, the editors "were struck" as they stitched these essays together "with the major similarities in women's religious lives in North America." As they reviewed the whole set, they discerned common patterns that recur across their

subjects' obvious economic, racial, and denominational boundaries, patterns they used to organize the volumes' contents. Their work "seeks," they say, "to integrate the wide worlds of women's religious experience in North America." They want their readers "to explore the likenesses and differences in the lives of women of diverse faiths and races, not just read about individual sub-topics in a fragmented way" (xxv-xxvi).

The essays are arranged under thirteen section headings, guaranteeing that they will represent a wide array of women and women's scholarly concerns: (1) Approaches to the History of Women and Religion; (2) Women in Indigenous and African Traditions; (3) Catholicism; (4) Protestantism; (5) Women in Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Traditions; (6) Judaism; (7) Islam; (8) Asian Religions; (9) Newer Religious Movements; (10) Multidenominational Movements; (11) Women, Religion, and Social Reform; (12) Women-Centered Theology; and (13) Contemporary Women's Issues in Religion. Protestant women do receive far more attention than the others. Still, there are plenty of well-known Protestant women neglected in these volumes—Susanna Anthony, Delia Bacon, Martha Brown, Agnes Ozman, Jennie Moor Seymour, and Joni Eareckson Tada, for example. It is impossible for any such work—no matter how extensive—to cover its subject matter exhaustively.

Historians may regret the fact that the primary frames of reference employed in this work's interpretations come from the field of religious studies, not the field of American history. Historiographical summaries appear from time to time and the essays contain a wealth of historical information. They are shaped first and foremost, though, by the liberationist passions of modern Christians—primarily liberal Protestants.

Still, the readers of this journal who consult these weighty tomes will find a treasure trove of data on the history of women and religion in North America. I recommend them highly. They comprise a marvelous reference work in American religion, one that is sure to attract readers, both scholarly and lay, for at least another twenty-five years.

Steven J. Keillor, *God's Judgments: Interpreting History and the Christian Faith.* Downers Grove, Ill.: Intervarsity Press Academic, 2007. Pp. 223. $18.00.

Reviewed by Glenn E. Sanders, Oklahoma Baptist University

Some readers of *Fides* might feel tempted to ignore Steven Keillor's *God's Judgments* for one reason or another. But they should not ignore it, because the book provides a significant starting place for a rich discussion of the ways that "Christian historians" approach their work.

Keillor's primary goal is to reestablish the biblical notion of divine judgment as a category by which historians can evaluate the past. He emphasizes the Hebraic notion of *mishpat* or "sifting out":

> Thus, judgment is not only a final, curtain-dropping event but also a lengthy process with God as an active investigator testing people's hearts, giving the wicked a chance to repent and the righteous to fall away. This meaning helps to bridge the gap between judgment as a scriptural doctrine that most believers do not question and specific events they might be reluctant to identify as judgments. We cannot hear God's verdict, 'Guilty,' but in some cases we can discern a process whereby public ambiguity gives way to a clearer separation of those who seek to do good from those who seek to do evil. We do not achieve perfect discernment, but we have enough insight to avoid the agnostic view that events are so confusing we must take judgment off the table as an unknowable concept (17).

This process continues in the birth, death, resurrection, and return of Jesus Christ: "God's judgment on sin is our main risk in history, so the Son of Man's trajectory is the meaning of history, the one we need, the final one. By faith to be caught up in his saving death on the cross, and to follow his path, is the only way to escape judgment" (100).

For Keillor, judgment can again have such a prominent place in the interpretation of historical events because Christianity is itself an interpretation of history amply clear from the Bible. He contrasts this "God's judgment" reading of historical events—with all their variety and ambiguity—with the popular evangelical notion of *worldview*, which he describes as a moderately helpful hermeneutic tool but mainly as an overly-philosophical post-Enlightenment rationalism:

> Worldview thinking stresses the knowing self that believes because it perceives the intellectual coherence of the Christian faith. A more biblical view is that the guilty self, helpless in a stream of events threatening imminent divine judgment, is thrown a life-saving testimony to believe despite misleading appearances and other hindrances to belief. Belief is warranted due to the trustworthy character of the Testifier not because the testimony is so clearly true, even self-evident, as to form the conclusion to a syllogism (54).

Thus rejecting the methodological and interpretative agnosticism that he sees pervasive among both secular and Christian historians, Keillor argues that the Bible's description of this "sifting" process at least *can* make sense of the burning of Washington in 1814, the American Civil War, human genetic engineering, and the September 11 attacks.

Some *Fides* readers might respond, "Weird history here!" But Keillor speaks directly to such skeptics:

> Historians share [the] general bias [against the idea of God's judgment], often believe nonscriptural ideas, write histories that celebrate them and are very unlikely to examine the past to strip them away. Historians' accounts of past events' causes and consequences tend to set the parameters for what we see as possible causes and consequences of current and future ones: no judgment in the past, then none in the present or foreseeable future. Yet, history writing can give no such guarantee (156).

In arguing his case, however, Keillor privileges particular assumptions about the Bible, emphasizes particular theological frameworks, over assumes the flexibility of historical interpretation (to absorb the notion of judgment convincingly), and produces more a theology of history than an analysis of events. This last point is telling: the book does not contain very much actual historical analysis (103-53). This fact noted, however, the application of the "sifting" idea provides, for example, a useful casting of the Civil War as the product, first, of a reduction of political ambiguity between northern and southern ideas on slavery, and then, an increase in complex, interrelated causal factors.

These and related criticisms of Keillor's iconoclastic approach—to popular Christian ideas, to the limitations of history as currently practiced, and to the political implications today of emphasizing judgment (chapter twelve)—have already created an intellectual stir *(Books and Culture*, July/August, 2007). And even if his unique framing of the argument for taking judgment seriously seems questionable, he has certainly identified an important—perhaps the preeminent—aspect of the broad issue of providence with which believing historians must still reckon. And they must do so in a disciplinary intellectual environment that not only refuses to allow the notion of judgment any credence whatsoever, but also discounts any general meaning from a historiography influenced by religious or moral conviction (*The Journal of the Historical Society*, March 2007). Mark Noll's introduction to *God's Judgments* provides an initial response from a historian fond of worldview approaches, but a thorough-going reflection from someone of that persuasion seems necessary. So too does a response from someone well-able to apply a different biblical hermeneutic. Finally, the questions raised by Keillor's book provide an especially fruitful opportunity for believing historians to work through just exactly what meaningful things they can say when many in the historical profession assume that Christian faith has nothing substantive to contribute to a "real" understanding of the past.

Niels Christian Hvidt, *Christian Prophecy: The Post-Biblical Tradition.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. Pp. xviii + 418. $74.00.

Reviewed by James J. Stamoolis, Trinity International University

The question of the function of prophets and prophecy in the church in the post-apostolic period is one which does not generate much theological reflection in mainstream Roman Catholic or Protestant thought. For some Protestants, the age of the prophetic has ceased, either with the death of the last apostle or with the closing of the New Testament Canon. Hvidt points out that in Roman Catholic theology the prophetic manifestation crosses several theological disciplines and consequently finds no home in any. In this extensive study of the various aspects of prophecy, Hvidt demonstrates a thorough grasp of Roman

Catholic theology, as one would expect from a doctoral graduate of the Pontifical Gregorian University. Moreover he shows a clear, insightful knowledge of Protestant thought, not only of Luther and Calvin, but also of evangelicals such as David Hill and Wayne Grudem who have written on this subject. His book is a work of both theology and history.

Hvidt believes that prophecy has been present and must be present in the Church for it to truly express the fullness of God's Presence with his people. In defending this thesis, Hvidt systematically examines the role of prophecy in the Old Testament, in Judaism and in Christianity. His analysis of the use and abuse of prophecy in the post-apostolic period is particularly helpful in sorting out early Christian teaching. The treatment of Montanism and the subsequent recoiling of the mainstream church against the prophetic are very well done. Hvidt demonstrates in this and other sections his cognizance of the need to test the prophets.

Those not interested in Roman Catholic saints and apparitions of the Virgin Mary may find parts of the book heavy going, but Hvidt consistently carries his argument through using these sections as illustrations. As might be expected, Hvidt comes out as an advocate of these revelations. An example is the revelation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus to Margaret Mary Alacoque, which Hvidt sees as necessary in a time when "faith in Christ's mercy had so diminished that the faithful hardly dared to approach the altar, hence renewed trust in his charity was greatly needed" (247).

The use of what some have termed private revelations, something that is for an individual's private devotion, is not a concept that Hvidt endorses. He cites I Corinthians 12:7 to demonstrate that "manifestation of the Spirit is for the common good" (304). Indeed, his thesis is that "the primary scope of prophetic revelations is not to forward dogmatic teaching but to edify the church" (26). Hvidt's argument that the prophetic functions to build the church is actually the key to his book.

The table of contents and index are well laid out and useful for returning to reread sections in this densely packed and informative volume. To give some perspective, there are 62 pages of end notes accompanying the 311 pages of text, supplemented by 25 pages of reference bibliography. This reviewer found it easy and at times necessary to return to a section of the book as the argument unfolded.

With a forward from Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, now Pope Benedict XVI, this work should influence Catholic thought. It is a work that Protestants should not ignore, whether they are Cessationists or are sympathetic to Hvidt's conclusions.

Celia A. Schultz, *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006. Pp. 248 + xiii. $39.95.

Reviewed by Mark W. Chavalas, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

The traditional viewpoint concerning the relative restriction of women in ancient Roman religious life is addressed in this new work by Celia Schultz. She convincingly argues that women had a far greater role in religious life than had been previously ascertained. This conclusion should have an oblique yet significant impact on how Christians interpret the nature and status of women in the New Testament world.

Based upon her Ph.D. dissertation, "Women Worshippers in Roman Republican Religion," Schultz investigates the opportunities that women had in participating in Roman religious activities in the period before the Empire. Unlike previous studies, which have concentrated on the supposed restrictions placed upon female worship, Schultz does not merely evaluate women's roles in exclusively female cults, but also surveys literary, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence, arguing that women had a much greater role in Roman religious activities. She concludes that Roman religion was far more gender inclusive and less rigid than previously thought. However, the reader should note that this is not a general history of women's religious activities in the Roman Republic period. Schultz argues that the literary sources written by male elites (e.g. Livy) provided a distorted view of female involvement in Roman religious activity. She does an excellent job in working through each narrative to provide a historical context and to discern their inherent biases.

Schultz works with literary sources in the first chapter, tackling three case studies; the worship of Juno Sospita, the expiation of prodigies, and the foundation of the temple of Fortuna Muliebris. These examples are primarily taken from Livy, whose sensational moralistic tales tended to ignore female involvement in religious activity. She makes conclusions that are not explicit in the texts. For example, she concludes that women took part in rituals that were not in the regular religious calendar and played an important role in religious celebrations with a major socio-political impact. Furthermore, women in these narratives participated alongside men in some expiatory rituals. They also performed significant religious duties as priestesses and laywomen; and, upper class women clearly were influential in these religious activities. Schultz is quick to add, however, that there were some limitations on female involvement in rituals. In fact, she makes a distinction between rites (single acts of worship) and cults (the sum total of rites). Women were not necessarily restricted from cults as a whole, but from certain specific rites.

Epigraphic evidence is the topic of the second chapter, and Schultz finds similar results. Inscriptions show that women worshipped a greater variety of deities than previously thought, including gods that were thought to have catered to a male audience. In addition, evidence from votive deposits similarly shows that women worshipped the same gods in the same sanctuaries as men. In addition, the dedicatory and votive inscriptions make it clear that women held a wide range of religious offices, not simply

those concerning fertility rituals. Usefully, Schultz has included four page concordance of inscriptions.

Schultz also addresses the issue of women and religious obligations within the domestic sphere. Women apparently offered sacrifices in their own right, not simply as substitutes for men. Moreover, they not only offered horticultural products, but wine and blood sacrifices also. Once again, Schultz makes it clear that women were subordinate to men in these matters.

Finally, Schultz analyzes the social and marital status of women involved in worship, arguing that both played a part in determining what roles were open to them for religious participation. She concludes that women were active and essential participants in a wide range of religious activities, not just as Vestal Virgins, as there were other women in high profile religious positions (priestesses of Ceres, Liber, and Venus, and aristocratic matrons who hosted rites or dedicated statues).

Using a wide variety of sources, the book successfully argues for a complete overhaul of previous ideas concerning women's roles in Roman religion. Thus, this is a significant contribution to both women's and Classical studies. A similar study concerning non-Italic Italy (e.g., Etruscan) would prove to be useful and provide a larger geographic context for her conclusions. Furthermore, perhaps a sequel study on "Women's Religious Activity in the Early Empire Period" would be in order.

G. R. Evans, *John Wyclif: Myth and Reality*. Downers Grove, IL: Intervarsity Press Academic, 2005. Pp. 320. $25.00.

Reviewed by Stephen Varvis, Fresno Pacific University

The myth of John Wyclif is seemingly widely and well known, going back most prominently to Foxe's sixteenth century *Book of Martyrs*. According to the myth, Wyclif defied a corrupt church hierarchy which dominated people for its own benefit, spoke against human traditions on behalf of a pure Christian gospel and the authority of the scriptures for the Christian life and theology, and then translated or inspired the translation of the scriptures into English so that all believers might have access to them. Borrowing from earlier writing of John Bale, Foxe left Protestants with a hero, the "Morning Star of the Reformation," a martyr and theologian who prepared the way for the teaching of the reformers—justification by faith, the priesthood of all believers, and the sole authority of scripture.

The reality is less well known and is a matter of debate and conjecture. We do not have adequate information regarding Wyclif's life and thought—where he was born, when, what he did during many of his years—or a satisfying assessment of his work as a philosopher and theologian. It is now widely agreed that the English "Wycliffite"

writings that circulated under his name were not his writings, and that his name and influence were appropriated by those who followed him after his death in 1384 in his mid-fifties. G. R. Evans, one of our most prolific interpreters of medieval theology, whose writings span the centuries from Augustine to the end of the Middle Ages, sets out to deepen our understanding by correcting Foxe's mythical portrayal, as well as assessments in the recovery of the reality of Wyclif's life, work and influence that have been developing over more than fifty years.

Evans works toward her goal by placing Wyclif in the context of the known facts and circumstances of his life and work. He was a student and later a professor at Oxford, and a well-known and respected logician and philosopher, who later turned theologian. After reciting all of the available evidence surrounding Wyclif's origins and family associations in Yorkshire, none of which is certain, Evans develops fully the nature and process of study at Oxford, the manner of teaching and governance at the university, and the possible associations Wyclif had in the university from the time of his arrival, sometime before 1350, until he retreated to his living at Lutterworth in 1381. Her development of these two topics fills about ninety pages, and there is little in the pages on Wyclif himself. The evidence is sparse and her approach is to fill out in detail the environment in which Wyclif lived and worked as the context for understanding him and his work. In other biographies this might take only a few pages. In these other studies we are not given the wealth of detail that Evans offers, but it is not clear that we need all of the detail she includes, or that it could not have been summarized much more briefly and with greater reliance on the excellent secondary studies that are available and that do not differ significantly from her account.

Two other contexts are often discussed extensively in the study of Wyclif: first, the context of the crown's renewed battles with France in the 100 Years Wars, and hence its need for funds, and its arguments for appropriating the wealth of the Church, a claim Wyclif defended with his doctrines of dominion and grace; second, the later development of "Wycliffite" or Lollard teaching and preaching, the translation of scripture, and the attendant conflicts of the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries. Both of these have small roles in Evan's story, but their importance is downplayed in favor of a more intimate and institutional portrait of Wyclif in his own environs. While this focus seems appropriate to a biography of Wyclif himself, he has become a focus of myth precisely for his role as a theologian and willing participant in the politics and religious life of the day and through his later intended or unintended influence. Evans's focus gives us clear insights into Wyclif himself, but we need more of these other contexts developed to understand his greater importance.

Eventually, Wyclif himself comes through with some clarity. Evans pieces together what is known of his appointments and benefices, his disappointments in his hopes for greater preferment, his writings, and his combativeness. She describes his loss of balance and anger at the English hierarchy, which pushed for his expulsion from Oxford and the condemnation of selected theses from his writings, and at the crown and John of Gaunt, who encouraged his retreat and distanced themselves from him when he was no longer useful. We might grow nervous at the numerous phrases that reflect our lack of

knowledge: “perhaps,” “may have,” “seems to,” “almost certainly” (see 145-6 for example). But the tentativeness is appropriate given the evidence. A plausible portrait emerges of a professor who had absorbed the habits of university life and politics, with a certain naiveté about the dangers of royal and ecclesiastical politics which he encountered, had hopes in, and suffered. We see a philosopher and theologian who pushed his ideas to extremes and fought for his conclusions, beyond debates in the university and into the dangerous world of court and council. This portrait, developing out of her focus on Wyclif in Oxford, is the compelling core of Evan’s work.

Along the way Evans picks up some of the problems of Wyclif’s philosophical and theological writings. Contrary to the myth, Wyclif was first a logician and philosopher who developed his conclusion over nearly two decades and built upon them in his later theological and pastoral teaching. Evans attempts to demonstrate that, contrary to what appears to be scholarly consensus, Wycliffe wrote neither a philosophical nor theological summa. He delivered sequences of lectures at Oxford and was careful to prepare much of what he had done for publication and to combine them together into larger works. She may be correct here; her conclusions fit well with recent scholarship on the development of scholastic practice and teaching through the century. While she covers many of Wyclif’s distinctive doctrines (dominion and grace, on the Eucharist, or predestination for example), Evans does not discuss topics that one might expect and hope for, and that are discussed in the specialist work on Wyclif: the character of his realism, his stature as a philosopher and theologian in late-fourteenth century Oxford and in the history of medieval thought, and a full treatment of the meaning of the “logic of scripture.” By placing Wyclif’s work so completely in his institutional context we see him as fully a part of his age, a gain for our understanding of his place in the history of late medieval society. But by neglecting further topics we lose the ability to understand and judge his contribution to the theological tradition and ongoing reform movements.

Two of the dangers of biographies of intellectuals are that we might lose the narrative thread in the discussion of their ideas or that the narratives of their lives are simply uninteresting. But neither of these needs to be the case with Wyclif. His philosophical and theological conclusions were integral to his life and his involvement in politics. He battled with Oxford colleagues and members of religious orders, the church hierarchy and officials, traveled on one diplomatic mission, appeared before a parliament whose proceedings of which were disturbed by riot, was used by the royal government when convenient, was the subject of letters of censure by the papacy, was finally expelled from Oxford, was defended by friends, and followed in retreat by new-found disciples. When Evans picks up the narrative it can be compelling and fascinating. Her knowledge of the workings of the medieval intellectual world and university life bring depth to the portrait. Her testing of the contemporary chroniclers and other documents and collections such as the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum* adds to our understanding. But too often we lose the narrative, names pop up without explanation or discussion (his secretary in his last years, and the possible translator of scripture, John Purvey, for example), or topics are discussed but not related back to the narrative movement.

There is need for biography which takes full account of the scholarship of both Wyclif and of the late medieval church and theology that has developed over the last two generations at least. *John Wyclif: Myth and Realty* is a difficult work that unfortunately does not completely meet that need. It may appeal to certain tastes in reading, but does not seem to be a work for the undergraduate classroom. Instructors and those working on research, whether undergraduate or graduate, will want to consult it. Unfortunately, the bibliography is missing essays and volumes by significant scholars such as Beryl Smalley, Gordon Leff, Malcolm Lambert, and William J. Courtenay (who is cited in the notes), and the index is not fully accurate (for example, it confuses the scholar Courtenay with the Chancellor of Oxford and later Archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtenay). Evans's book is, however, the most detailed, comprehensive, and up-to-date work available and will contribute to future attempts to narrate and explain Wyclif's life and achievement. When the reader has closed the cover, he or she will have no doubt that the myth we know is not the reality of John Wyclif.

Harold J. Berman, *Law and Revolution, II: The Impact of the Protestant Reformations on the Western Legal Tradition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003 (Paperback, 2006). Pp. xii + 522. $55.00/$22.95.

Reviewed by Charles J. Emmerich, Trinity Christian College

Written by one of the deans of legal history in the twentieth century, this much anticipated volume completes the magnum opus inaugurated with the author's award-winning book, *Law and Revolution: The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (hereinafter *Law and Revolution, I*), published by Harvard in 1983. Commentators correctly welcomed *Law and Revolution, I* as a tour de force, and this companion volume more than lives up to the expectations of genius, insight, and scholarship established by the first book. Indeed, taken together, the two volumes constitute one of the most important historical works on law and religion to be published in the last century and are therefore essential reading for those scholars, practitioners, advanced collegiate and graduate students, and educated citizens interested in exploring the thesis "that in the Western tradition the life of the law is linked inextricably not only with a society's politics but also with its moral values and with its historical experience" (ix).

Law and Revolution, II continues the story, started in the first volume, of the development of the almost thousand year history of the Western legal tradition. It focuses in particular on the enormous impact exerted by two Protestant Reformations—German Lutheranism and English Calvinism—on this tradition from the early-sixteenth to the early-eighteenth centuries. These two Reformations, Berman argues persuasively, generated and were part of two "Great Revolutions" or "total political and social

upheavals"—first, the radical realignment of church and state in early Lutheran Germany (1517-1555), and second, the English Revolution (1640-1689), defined to encompass the period from the onset of the first civil war to the Glorious Revolution. These two Great Revolutions, in turn, inspired "two successive transformations of the Western legal tradition" (1).

In sweeping yet meticulous fashion, the author traces the momentous and multitudinous ways in which the German and English legal systems were transformed in the wake of these Great Revolutions. The book's two parts—the first devoted to Germany, the second to England—elucidate the vast changes wrought in each system in the areas of legal philosophy, legal science, criminal law, civil and economic law, and social law. The authoritative nature of the volume is demonstrated by its 125 pages of endnotes and by the ease with which Berman traverses a vast terrain comprised of the lofty and mundane, the general and specific, and the complex and simple. The author, for example, is as comfortable discussing Melanchthon's "radically new theory of the ontology of natural law" (79) as he is "[t]he emergence of the doctrine of strict liability for breach of contract…[as] illustrated in the development of the [English] law of negotiable instruments" (341).

Law and Revolution, II is itself revolutionary in that it challenges much of the academy's conventional wisdom and has the potential to foment a "Great Revolution" intellectually by causing significant upheaval across a number of disciplines. While the book answers many profound, as well as ordinary, questions in legal history, it also raises a plethora of inquiries for younger scholars to take up in the future. Indeed, the author poses dozens of thought provoking ideas, and defends—exhaustively and persuasively—a host of controversial assertions. Among the book's most important and unique contributions in this regard are:

- establishing, contrary to much of the current scholarship, that the bedrock in the formation of the Western legal tradition was Christianity, initially Roman Catholicism and later German Lutheranism and English Calvinism;
- submitting, in contrast to standard Western historiography and social theory, that the Protestant Reformation should be viewed primarily "as a process of spiritualization of secular responsibilities and activities," rather than as "a process of secularization of ecclesiastical responsibilities and activities" (369);
- challenging, as inaccurate and artificial, the division of Western history into medieval and modern periods by showing the history of Western law to be an ongoing, organic tradition spanning almost one thousand years;
- rescuing, from almost total obscurity, the enormous jurisprudential contributions of Lutheran theologians and legal philosophers, chief among them Philip Melanchthon, Johann Oldendorp, Johann Apel, and Konrad Lagus;
- dispelling, hopefully for good, the notion still widely held in some circles that the Protestant Reformers did not embrace natural law theory;

- demonstrating that a robust historical jurisprudence, crystallized later in classic form by the great jurist Friedrich Karl von Savigny, developed alongside of and informed the two competing theories of natural law and legal positivism, both of which initially had religious foundations as well (381); and,
- arguing that Max Weber's thesis about the Protestant work ethic was "essentially false" because both German Lutheranism and English Calvinism were motivated positively by Christian moral teachings, rather than negatively by fears over predestination, to establish fundamentally communal rather than individualistic legal systems and institutions (24).

Law and Revolution, II, like its precursor, possesses all the hallmarks of an enduring classic. It is magisterial in stature, lucid and learned in scholarship, and portrays the Western legal tradition as venerable and noble, yet under siege and threatened. The book is somber, yet hopeful. "[T]he Western legal tradition," Berman declares in the work's final paragraph, "is no longer alive and well" (382). Law has lost the wonder and awe inspired by transcendence; the author laments that as late as 1914 "it continued to be widely believed in the West that the ultimate sources of authentic positive law are divine law, especially the Ten Commandments, natural law discovered by reason and conscience, and historical tradition expressed in sources such as Magna Carta and constitutional requirements of due process and equal protection of the laws" (17). Hope endures, however, for Berman, in the truth that the Western legal tradition has displayed incredible resiliency, surviving a series of catastrophic revolutions over a period of ten centuries by drawing upon the past to recast itself to face the future. A long, distinguished past can shed light on the path of the law and impart hope for the future. A statement by Octavio Paz, quoted approvingly by Berman, is apt, "Every time a society finds itself in crisis it instinctively turns its eyes towards it origins and looks there for a sign" (*Law and Revolution, I*, 558).

Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. x + 334. $85.00.

Reviewed by Dwight D. Brautigam, Huntington University

Nathan Johnstone, with his first book, has contributed another solid volume to the valuable series Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History. In this fascinating study he examines the development of early modern English Protestant understandings of the Devil and the widespread applications of those understandings to English society. He also carefully places this demonism in context, stressing the fact that English Protestants took neither a traditionally medieval view of the Devil nor did they hew to the more

familiar (to us) post-Enlightenment view of Satan and evil. Instead, they developed their own construct, one that built on past assumptions yet had its own particular take on the world. Johnstone argues convincingly that their view of the Devil's role extended well beyond the expected association of him with witchcraft, though of course such fears were plentiful in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, English Protestants deplored the Devil's influence in many other contexts as well, as Johnstone conclusively demonstrates from his impressively broad sources, though of course he, like all other scholars of the period, has scant information about the beliefs of the illiterate and semi-literate. Still, from the plentiful writings of the literate, he has created a narrative that takes his readers from the English Reformation to the upheavals of the Civil Wars in the mid-seventeenth century, elucidating the significant variety of ways in which English Protestants saw the Devil's baleful influence actively shaping their society.

He begins with the Protestant Reformation. It presented a huge challenge to English Reformers, who described the faults of Catholicism rooted in the Roman church as the "synagogue of Satan" (29). While this particular phrase had roots in medieval criticisms of the Church (and anti-Semitism), English Reformers followed William Tyndale's lead in applying it specifically to the experience and practices of Catholics. Their concern for the Devil's "agency" (30) rather than his identity or characteristics led them to focus "on man's relationship with the Devil himself" (31). As the English Reformation unfolded and tempestuous religious winds blew during the last part of Henry VIII's life, the short-lived triumph of Protestantism under Edward VI, the Marian reaction, and then finally the Elizabethan solution, Protestants and Catholics alike used demonic imagery and language to assail their opponents and frame their arguments. This laid a foundation that would endure at least until the middle of the seventeenth century in English affairs, spreading well beyond strictly religious discussions. As Johnstone argues, following Peter Lake and others, the Protestant "notion of contrariety" and a belief that "popery embodied a direct inversion of Christianity" meant that English Protestants had to be particularly vigilant in exposing the Devil's central place in Catholicism, "a convincing fake" version of true Christianity (41). The more they examined the situation, the more convinced they became that the Devil was also cleverly subverting Christianity under the guise of Catholicism, and the wit and subtlety of Satan was more than a match for the average parishioner, thus necessitating a vigilant and tireless effort to warn the vulnerable English churchgoer.

That effort spanned the decades of the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, as Johnstone's narrative demonstrates. The book takes its readers through several aspects of the campaign against the Devil, including the theological emphasis on temptation as the most dangerous weapon in Satan's arsenal, the vast literature spawned by the godly's overt battle against the evil one, the linking of temptation to the "demonisation" of criminal behavior as reflected in the growing pamphlet literature available to the curious public by the early-seventeenth century (142), the spread of demonic polemic into depictions of the body politic, especially during the tumultuous years of Charles I's reign, and finally the application of Satanic terminology to the crisis of the Civil War and the concomitant rise of religious experimentation. Johnstone's judicious use of extensive evidence, coupled with his well-crafted prose, makes this a

convincing and important contribution to our understanding of early modern English Protestants whose world is both familiar and yet foreign, especially when it comes to their understanding of demonic forces.

Charles W. A. Prior, *Defining the Jacobean Church: The Politics of Religious Controversy, 1603-1625*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Pp. xiv + 294. $85.00.

Reviewed by Dwight D. Brautigam, Huntington University

The Church of England during the Early Stuart era continues to attract significant scholarly attention. Though much of that attention naturally has focused on the conflicts that occurred during Charles I's reign, Prior's book reflects the increasing interest that people are showing in the religious and political debates that happened during the reign of Charles I's father and predecessor, James I. Prior's investigation of the Jacobean Church is a welcome addition to the already extensive literature because he takes care to recognize and explore the political dimensions of the arguments among the divines. He bases his thesis on the differences between two main groups, "conformists" and "reformists" in the Jacobean church (3). Conformists defended the church, relying on "a usable account of the mingling of sacred and human history, and therefore the mingling of sacred and human authority" in which the concept of *adiaphora*, or "things indifferent", loomed large (5). Reformists, on the other hand, "argued that the liturgy, rites, and governance of the Church had to derive from the *iure divino* authority of scripture, and receive confirmation from the sound and uncorrupted testimony of ecclesiastical historians, the Fathers, and contemporary reformed divines" (5). Prior demonstrates that both sides in this conflict turned to history to support their central contentions, the conformists to show how doctrine and practice had evolved over time and the reformists to show how the ancient truths had been eroded over time by the teaching and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. More pertinent than history, however, were their arguments over the political structure and the proper role of the Church as part of the state. Prior focuses on the debates between the conformists and reformists over the relationship between civil and ecclesiastical authority, and he devotes the bulk of the book to exploring various facets of these debates and the Church's place in the political structure.

The bulk of the book, then, is devoted to fleshing out this important argument. Prior examines the development of conformist thought as it advocated belief in a church that maintained its spiritual legitimacy, despite Catholic charges that the reformed church was no longer part of the true Church, and yet held civil authority sufficient to compel cooperation from the kingdom's subjects (chapter two). By contrast, the reformists, in

reacting to the Hampton Court Conference and its conclusions, found the established church far too dependent on human direction and not dedicated enough to doctrine and Scriptural practice. Their subsequent polemical writings spawned an active exchange of countering printed arguments from the conformists and confirming Prior's thesis about the link between civil and ecclesiastical authority (chapter three). It was a short step from such arguments to the heated debates that developed over the proper roles of bishops and their place in the hierarchical structure. Once more, the arguments appealed to history, and here (chapter four) Prior does an admirable job of sorting through the complicated dynamics of the arguments over the scriptural historicity of bishops, their place in an early modern monarchy, and the extent and source of the authority they wielded. Were they accountable only to the King, to the King and God simultaneously, or to the King in some instances and directly to God in others? The answers to these questions laid the basis for the more famous controversies of the Caroline regime, but many of the arguments were first developed during the Jacobean years. Chapters five and six carry the thesis further. They investigate the use of scripture and ceremonies as used in the Jacobean church and then how the whole dynamic played out in the Scottish church as well, a wise consideration given the prominent role that church would play in the contentious religio-political events of the later 1630s and 1640s.

Prior's concluding chapter artfully draws together all of these ideas. He confirms his assertion that these intensive religious discussions were eminently political and correctly follows their connection to the overtly political tone they would take during the reign of Charles I. His provocative closing mention of the civil war as "a war of religion" rings true, given his impressive collection of evidence and his insightful reading of it. He promises further elucidation of the theme in future publications, and if this book is any indication of what is to come, his next volume will be a welcome addition to the field.

Eric Metaxas, *Amazing Grace: William Wilberforce and the Heroic Campaign to End Slavery*. San Francisco: Harper, 2007. Pp. xix + 283. $21.95.

Reviewed by Robert J. Rice, Trinity Christian College

Throughout the Atlantic world and in other regions of the world as well, the nineteenth century was filled with abolitions and emancipations, accompanied by hopes, fears, and disillusionments. Through legislation and royal decrees, the ruling classes of hereditary monarchies and newly established republics prohibited the slave trade and even sought to end the scourge of slavery altogether. Eric Metaxas has offered us a helpful biography of William Wilberforce, whose considerable efforts were instrumental in abolishing the slave trade in the British empire.

Metaxas portrays the life of Wilberforce through social institutions and singular events. He interprets such social institutions as the family, the church, and the university community as constellations of individuals. Wilberforce was born into a prominent Hull family. He spent some of his early years living with an aunt and uncle near London, where he first met John Newton and first felt the Methodist sympathies that would dispose him later to evangelicalism. When Metaxas describes the religious leanings of his aunt and uncle, he yields to the all-too-common depreciation of the eighteenth century Anglican church. He writes, "Since the time of the Puritans and the religious wars of the previous century, England had decidedly turned its back on any expressions of what we might call serious Christian belief. Having led to so much division and violence, religion was now in full-scale retreat. The churches of mid-eighteenth century England all but abandoned orthodox, historical Christianity and now preached a tepid kind of moralism that seemed to present civility and the preservation of the status quo as the *summum bonnum*" (7).

The circle of friends that Wilberforce gained upon entering Cambridge inaugurated his lifetime friendship with William Pitt. Pitt in turn introduced Wilberforce to the political drama of Parliamentary debate and the political intrigue of the unreformed House of Commons. Elected first for Hull and then for Yorkshire, Wilberforce would prove himself to be a valuable ally of Pitt, particularly through his public oratory. In Metaxas describes Wilberforce's "Great Change" in 1785 (41-61); Wilberforce would discover that Christian conversion could inspire public service rather than divert it.

Much of the biography focuses on the twenty-year struggle to bring about the reformation of manners and the abolition of the slave trade. Metaxas gives great significance to Wilberforce's claim that it was first necessary to banish lesser social evils before attempting to suppress greater inhumanities. The author states, "It's not too much to say that this single observation was the lever by which little Wilberforce replaced an entire world of brutality and misery with another of civility and hope, one that we now refer to as the Victorian era" (79). Wilberforce took up the cause of abolition in alliance with such individuals as Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, James Ramsay, and James Stephen. The publication of first-person accounts by former slaves such as Olaudah Equiano intensified the call for abolition. Although Metaxas has not placed the movement for abolition in the reforming climate of the early 1780s, he does link the prospects for abolition in England with revolution in France and in Saint-Dominigue. The radicalization of the revolutions in France and the Caribbean and the commencement of European warfare would undermine the hopes for abolition.

Metaxas depicts the road to reform using the annual bills that Wilberforce introduced into Parliament, assisted in this cause by a group of evangelicals called the Clapham Community. For Wilberforce and the Clapham Community, the Parliamentary abolition of the slave trade in 1807 would be the culminating event in this social reformation. Throughout the biography, Metaxas anticipates the enactment of abolition while describing the long and painstaking struggle to achieve this elusive goal.

In the last chapters of the work, the author assesses the gains from abolition and anticipates reforms not yet accomplished. He writes, "The morning after abolition's

victory, 500,000 human beings remained imprisoned as slaves on the brutal, dangerous sugar plantations of the British West Indies, unaware of and unable to take part in the victory celebration. Wilberforce and others would never lose sight of these men, women, and children, and for the rest of their days he and his colleagues turned to the continuing war and the battles ahead—the battle to enforce abolition, the battle to spread abolition to the other great powers, and the battle to lessen the sufferings of those still in slavery" (215). That emancipation would occur, with its compromises and incompleteness, one day before the death of Wilberforce in July of 1833.

In examining the last two decades of Wilberforce's life as a reformer, Metaxas offers us insights that are important for social history. He describes the larger cultural landscape of the early-nineteenth century that would inhibit and then foster efforts to emancipate those enslaved in the British West Indies. He also discusses the changing leadership from Wilberforce to younger leaders.

This biography could have benefited from more extensive bibliographic references and fewer unbounded assessments of Wilberforce's influence. However, *Amazing Grace* remains a valuable biography.

Jodi Bilinkoff, *Related Lives: Confessors and Their Female Penitents, 1450-1750.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005. Pp. xi + 181. $22.95.

Reviewed by Ronald J. Morgan, Abilene Christian University

The publication of *The Avila of Saint Teresa* in 1989 established Jodi Bilinkoff as an important contributor to the historiography of religious women in sixteenth century Spain. With the publication of her second monograph, *Related Lives*, the historian from UNC-Greensboro has now made a masterful contribution to the study of religiosity, gender, and personal identity in Western Europe and the Americas between 1450 and 1750.

As Bilinkoff explains at the outset, her close study of female penitents in early modern Avila changed her previous conception of the confessor-penitent relationship from one that was "simple and fundamentally repressive" to one "more complex, more nuanced, and more reciprocal than I had expected" (ix). The emergence of a penitential culture among the late medieval laity transformed the spiritual aspirations of laywomen. At the same time, "the traditions of confession and spiritual direction were effectively fused, resulting in new expectations on the part of penitents and new responsibilities for priests" (17). The nexus of these interrelated processes–"an emerging interpersonal dynamic that compelled some women to 'open their hearts' to priests and some priests to open their ears to the words of women" (17)–provides the central focal point for her study.

The decision to begin her study in 1450 is hardly arbitrary. The scholarly treatment of hagiography and constructions of sanctity has remained, for the most part, the domain of medievalists. But "in terms of sheer numbers of texts produced, it is the early-modern period that should be considered as the 'Golden Age' of hagiography!" (4). More specifically, the invention of printing in the mid-fifteenth century made possible the immediate dissemination in various European vernaculars of Raymond of Capua's *Life of St. Catherine of Siena*. The *Legenda Maior*, as the work was known, marks the birth of "biography-by-confessor as an identifiable genre" (28). Raymond's prominent place in his own narrative, as spiritual director of the pious laywoman, was new as well. And crucially, in terms of Bilinkoff's broader concern, the relationship between priest-confessor-spiritual director and female penitent is "a highly complex and reciprocal one" in which the author himself "highlight[s] incidents of role reversal" (30-1). From the fifteenth century forward, pious Roman Catholic women would find a new spiritual model in Catherine of Siena; "clerics, too, could find a powerful model in Raymond of Capua" (31).

In a chapter entitled "How to be a Counter-Reformation Hagiographer," Bilinkoff explores the motivations and methods of male confessors who wrote the "lives" of their female penitents. Beyond the obvious pastoral and apologetic aims of edifying the faithful or defending the cult of the saints against Protestant attacks, "hagiographers often had their own, personal reasons for relating lives" (35). These included family loyalties, institutional goals, and local or regional pride, the latter being an especially powerful motivation for writing the lives of New World figures. Moreover, observes Bilinkoff, personal motivations also extended to matters of self-image and personal identity: "How many clerical promoters, as they proclaimed their spiritual daughters 'new' Catherines of Siena, imagined themselves 'new' Raymonds of Capua?" (40).

To facilitate his task as hagiographer, the spiritual director collected evidence about his biographical subject through a variety of methods: personal notes from one-on-one conversations, the collection and examination of the penitent's own writings, or interviews of third-party witnesses. In one remarkable case, two Jesuit confessors of Maria Maddalena de Pazzi (d. 1607) interviewed sixty nuns from her convent in the years following her death, taking care that their testimonies "were carefully witnessed, notarized, and signed by each sister 'in [her] own hand'" (44). In their methods, "like modern-day biographers or journalists," Early Modern hagiographers responded to the more critical spirit of the post-Renaissance and Reformation age; they also frequently underscored their personal roles as "trusted confidents" and "guardians" of their literary protagonists.

As her title suggests, Bilinkoff centers her analysis on "related lives," not only in terms of literary collaboration between cleric and penitent, but also in "the experience and rhetoric of spiritual friendship" itself. In chapter three, she examines the diversity of collaborative strategies employed by writers of spiritual biography and autobiography, observing that "[t]he production of these enormously popular and numerous texts was often a fundamentally collaborative enterprise, the voices of authors and subjects interwoven in intricate, sometimes surprising ways" (75). For example, exploring why

some clerical hagiographers textually reproduced so much of their penitents' own language, Bilinkoff eschews scholarly approaches that "have stressed the element of control or cooptation," an explanation she finds "unsatisfying" (65). Noting that clerics concerned with "sanitizing" female mystical voices could have simply suppressed their words, she reveals other motivations for allowing penitents to speak in their own words, including the fact that many male clerics attributed to women a greater spiritual sensitivity, particularly in terms of mystical prayer, than they themselves had experienced.

Having explored these hybrid texts, which reflected the needs of both male spiritual directors and female penitents, Bilinkoff turns to the deep affective bonds that often characterized their interpersonal relationships. The private correspondence and published hagiographies often reveal relationships that follow a typical pattern: the penitent longs and searches for a sympathetic confessor; the will of God brings the two together in an almost "love at first sight" recognition; their emotions become interwoven to the point that her prayers heal him, or she is unable to receive the Eucharist in his absence; and the death of one or the other results in a dramatic parting, often marked by observance of the last rites. In treating the perceptions of these "soul mates," Bilinkoff offers interpretive insights with valuable methodological implications. She observes, for example, that the erotic language with which female penitents often described their friendship with their spiritual directors–sometimes marked by visions of mystical marriage between priest and penitent–represents a tendency to conflate that relationship with their relationship to Christ, a dynamic whose psychological and theological complexity is most recognizable in discussions of Eucharistic practice and experiences. She also argues that the tendency for female autobiographers or male hagiographers to repeat common hagiographic *topoi* should not lead scholars to discount the actual human experience behind those narratives: "The 'bad' confessor may have become such a common topos precisely because it was such a recognizable feature of women's religious experience" (77).

Finally, Bilinkoff explores the impact of hagiographic and autobiographical literature on both pious women and their male spiritual directors. Employing recent bibliographical surveys of religious publications in Italy, Spain, and France, as well as in Spanish America and New France, she gives quantitative evidence of the popularity of this literature, while positing that "[p]rinted texts such as these helped to connect individual Catholics to a pan-European, trans-Atlantic, inter-American community of believers" (98). The most compelling part of her discussion, however, centers around what pious early modern women chose to read, and how they made those choices, perhaps influenced by a parent or confessor, perhaps due to institutional, regional or personal affinities. For example, the French woman Catherine of Saint Augustin probably chose the recently deceased Marie des Vallées as a "model and celestial protector" because of a personal affinity based on similar life circumstances and experiences. As Bilinkoff concludes, reading and identifying with the life of a famous female predecessor inspired new generations to write (or contribute to the writing of) their own lives, thereby influencing yet later generations of women who aspired to Roman Catholic piety. "This

cycle of creativity and imitation," she suggests, "played a pivotal role in the preservation and perpetuation of Catholic culture" (110).

This hagiographic literature, whose popularity peaked between 1650 and 1740, entered into a marked decline after that date, the result of "gradual but perceptible changes in the values held by Catholics," in particular, a decline in the importance of intercessory prayer (115). Under the influence of Enlightenment thought, society began to value an active apostolate over enclosure and prayer, a view that transformed both the confessor-penitent relationship and the tradition of religious life writing. At the peak of its popularity, however, "[w]hat may have held the greatest appeal for many readers…were vivid accounts of spiritual friendships shared between clerics and religious women" (112). If this last statement accurately reflects the spiritual attraction of these female penitents and their male spiritual directors for each other and for a broader Roman Catholic readership, and I suspect it does, then Jodi Bilinkoff's decision to place these related lives at the center of her study has significant implications for contemporary spirituality as well as for the historiography of gender, spirituality and religious life-writing.

David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006. Pp. xx + 466. $20.00

Reviewed by Lisa Diller, Southern Adventist University

David Weber's work has been foundational in drawing attention to and shaping the study of "borderlands"—those "spaces between" where the lines of identity are fuzzy and where the unity and fabric of human society seems most precarious. By the time I was going through graduate school in the 1990s, the study of colonial Spanish America was already indelibly stamped with Weber's insights and high standards. With *Bárbaros*, he continues this project of boundary-crossing by being intentionally comparative and by pushing the borders of topic as well as geography.

Weber argues that eighteenth century Spanish government participated in the larger goals of the Enlightenment by attempting to create a more efficient and fiscally remunerative state. Its philosophy was based on the assumptions of progress and the ideals of "civilization" and it desired to reform early modern Spanish administration. These reformers tried to incorporate "savage" Indians into the beauties of civilization, Christianity, and capitalism through peaceful means, primarily by political liberalism and free market principles. Weber uses the borders of the Spanish empire (the north of New Spain and the south of South America) to show us these goals in action, and we see how much the practical realities of independent Indian societies, constantly shifting and responding to each other as well as the various European presences, forced the Spanish

Bourbon reformers to be flexible in their approaches. It is a complicated story, and Weber demonstrates how much the student of the late colonial period would miss by overly simplifying the goals and experiences of both the Indians and Spaniards.

Weber first calls our attention to the fact that Bourbon Enlightenment reformers had changed the terms of success in empire-building for Spain. While in the sixteenth century, soul-winning and extending personal authority for the monarch dominated the goals, these eighteenth century bureaucrats defined success more in terms of financial efficiency and civilizational progress. They thought that exposure to Spanish settlers and participating in the liberal experiment of the market economy would "convert" the Indians to both civilization and Christianity. Weber makes a strong argument for tying the story of the Spanish empire into the larger, more traditional narrative of the expansion of liberal political and economic ideas.

Officially, the Bourbon crown advocated peace with the Indians in the borderlands, but it assumed this would occur from a position of power. The facts on the ground consistently challenged these ideals. The Indians were very good at playing the European powers against each other and at evading all-out war, and without the considerable resources needed to once and for all devastate the native societies, the Bourbons had to be content with constant renegotiation, backed by occasional displays of force.

Enlightenment thinkers were attempting to define where people groups such as the various Indian tribes were in the scale of progress in order to develop effective policies toward them. So boundary-crossers were especially troubling to the Bourbon reformers, and these frontier areas were full of people who had been taken captive, fled from their own society, were of mixed backgrounds, or went back and forth for the purposes of trading. These cultural brokers were often very useful to both sides, but they were troubling to the Enlightenment administrators who wanted to be consistent and efficient. In reality, individual agents, physical geography, and the presence of other powers all contributed to undermining their "enlightened" policies.

The overall picture is one of complexity and challenges the temptation to see both Spanish and Indian policies, actions, and responses as monolithic. There were multiple possible identities available both to Spaniards and to Indians, and even the use of these two terms can be problematic because it glosses over the shifting identities and the way that new groups or identities are formed and old ones disappear as the various sides negotiate with each other. Weber is just as concerned to tell the stories of peaceful cooperation and mutual reciprocity as he is to demonstrate how policy sometimes degenerated into violence, both within Spanish and Indian societies and between them. He hints at the fascinating way in which nineteenth century national policies in the Americas ended up being less flexible and humane than those of the nineteenth century, and I hope further work will be done on this intriguing cross-chronological comparison.

As one would expect from Weber, *Bárbaros* is thoroughly researched, has an extensive and helpful bibliography, and incorporates great photographs and quotes from primary documents. It covers a lot of territory, but its clear writing is also consistent with its introduction and thesis. Weber integrates his study with a great deal of the current research, but brings it together in a way that fully humanizes the actors on all sides of

these interactions. The practical problems of creating a modern state are clearly evident, and while Weber doesn't overly address these, he introduces historians to the Spanish contribution to the game of state-formation. Comprehensive and detailed, it is also readable and the themes make the story one that students of state formation and liberalism, anthropology, religion, science, and economics will all find coherent, useful and compelling.

John Lynch, *Simón Bolívar: A Life*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006. Pp. xiii + 349. $35.00.

Reviewed by Daniel R. Miller, Calvin College

Simón Bolívar's name is one of the most widely recognized in world history, yet all that most people remember about him are a pair of iconic details: he liberated South America and he complained that "those who serve a revolution plough the sea" (276). John Lynch's magisterial biography not only fills in the details of Bolívar's career, it also clarifies how a leader who achieved so much could express such despair.

The great paradox and conundrum of Bolívar's life was the difficulty of reconciling liberty with order. Liberty—an amorphous concept encompassing independence, free trade, republican government, abolition of slavery, legal equality—was his announced goal; but to secure liberty against royalist resistance he had to exercise dictatorial control over material and human resources while postponing social reforms to a less demanding time. And from within the revolutionary ranks he faced debilitating attacks from liberals who feared that he was an emerging tyrant, separatists who refused to subordinate their local interests to the demands of the central government, and "pardos" (racially mixed individuals) who threatened to divide the movement along lines of color. After fifteen years of military campaigns and sometimes violent intramural politics, Bolívar was convinced that, to preserve their freedom, the new Andean republics needed strong central governments and lifetime presidents!

Lynch offers a portrait of Bolívar that is nuanced and critical. "The Liberator" was born into Venezuela's "Creole" (white) aristocracy, yet moved easily among the popular classes. He was a voracious reader and a cosmopolitan intellectual, but he could execute prisoners without pity to terrify the Spaniards into leaving the continent. He won the loyalty of his non-white troops by offering freedom to slaves who enlisted and by basing promotion on merit rather than skin color, but he fretted often about the possibility that the *pardos* would try to dominate the whites. Bolívar's chief motivation, according to Lynch, was the pursuit of "glory," by which he meant not merely the adulation of the crowd (although Bolívar was very sensitive of his public reputation), but an accomplishment that would rival Napoleon's in ambition and exceed the Corsican's in

moral grandeur. Freeing Latin America from the yoke of Spain served Bolívar's purpose. It also won him the admiration of women wherever he went and he accepted their sexual attentions like a modern rock star.

The despair that Bolívar expressed in his final years was a product of his perspicacity and his weakness. He saw more clearly than anyone else in his generation that the class, caste, and regional divisions unleashed by the collapse of Spanish power could not be managed by liberal republican institutions. His failing physical health (he died of apparent tuberculosis in 1830 at the age of 46) seems an apt metaphor for the swift disintegration of liberated South America into a welter of military fiefdoms. As Bolívar himself wrote: "I am ashamed to admit it, but independence is the only benefit we have gained, at the cost of everything else" (270). Seeking an effective basis for social order, the Liberator turned increasingly to the Catholic clergy, to the great annoyance of more doctrinaire liberals. And in his dying hour, according to Lynch, this Enlightenment skeptic and public philanderer made peace with the Church and received the last rites.

Simón Bolívar: A Life is the product of meticulous research by a distinguished Latin American historian. While not long for such an important subject, it is a bit dry in places and overly detailed in others (e.g., the account of an obscure political *embroglio* on page 47). For those who want a briefer but still scholarly account, David Bushnell's *Simón Bolívar: Liberation and Disappointment* (New York: Pearson/Longman, 2004) offers a narrative of the Liberator's movements and actions that is easier to follow than Lynch's. An imaginative and very moving account of Bolívar's last days is provided by South America's most distinguished novelist, Gabriel García Márquez, in *The General in His Labyrinth*, trans. Edith Grossman (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990). For what it is worth, García Márquez portrays Bolívar as a religious skeptic to the end. Both books are well worth reading, but it remains the case that Lynch's work is the most up-to-date and scholarly biography of Bolívar available in English. Readers will relish the book's many well chosen quotes. And the final chapter in which Lynch assesses the Liberator's strengths and weaknesses, accomplishments and failures, is a model for any historian or indeed any person who must evaluate the life and work of a fellow human being.

J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World, Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006. Pp. xx + 546. $50.00/$22.00.

Reviewed by Paul C. Wilt, Westmont College, Emeritus

As David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed,* and many others have demonstrated in recent years, comparative history has come into its own as a valuable approach to historical study. Now Sir John Elliott, Regius Professor Emeritus of Modern History at University of Oxford, has added to our appreciation of this genre by his outstanding comparison of

the Spanish and British empires in the new world from the earliest settlement to the completion of the wars for independence in 1830. He acknowledges that "any sustained comparison of the colonial worlds of Britain and Spain in America is bound to be imperfect" (xvii), but such imperfections should not prevent us from examining them and learning from them. He introduces his own approach by suggesting that "there has been a growing realization that certain aspects of local experience in any one part of the Americas can be fully appreciated only if set into a wider context, whether pan-American or Atlantic in its scope" (xv).

Elliott begins with Cortez's colonization of Mexico and Christopher Newport's colony on the Chesapeake. He follows the course of empire from these beginnings to its end, showing how each was similar and how and why they differed. The major differences between Catholic Spain under the Habsburgs and the Bourbons and Protestant Britain, with its constitutional monarchy under the Stuarts, the Commonwealth, and the Hanoverians, while substantial, were nevertheless remarkable because of the similarity in the nature of the problems and their solutions. The differences, marked by geography, climate, and the presence of indigenous peoples, played a prominent role in each area of settlement, but so did similarities, like the experience of leaving the familiar to establish themselves in a foreign place among a strange people. The desire for wealth and commerce and the wish for land for the younger sons of the nobility were common to both the Spanish and the British, but they developed very differently in the Americas. Whereas the Spanish moved quickly to the interior where "rich" advanced civilizations existed, the British, once exploration showed neither wealth nor advanced civilizations, were slow to move from the coastal waterways. Elliott also shows that the two nations borrowed and modified freely from each other as the situation demanded.

In three sections, "Occupation," "Consolidation," and "Emancipation," Elliott makes scores of comparisons between the two empires. He examines motivation as well as method, and shows old world developments in the new world context. He studies the cultural and ideological aspects of empire building as well as the social and political. It is hard to think of any area that Elliott neglected. He opens new fields for research and teaching on almost every page.

Two sections (pages 66-78 and 184-218) deal with the impact of religion in the process. Although both Spain and Britain sought to convert the Indians to "Christianity and civility," the techniques and the results were very different, reflecting some of the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism. Both succeeded to some extent, the Spanish more than the British, but both failed to meet their expectations. The Jesuit "state" of Paraguay and the Puritan "praying towns" represented efforts to build Christian communities among the natives. Although initially successful, they ultimately failed.

Elliott's work is an incredibly complete source for both the scholar and the serious lay reader. The 68 pages of notes, containing 1868 entries, and the bibliography, consisting of more than 1100 titles in English, Spanish, French, Italian, German, and Portuguese provide resources for further study on every subject covered in the book. In addition, to the 43 illustrations, most in color, along with the accompanying commentary, amount almost a book in themselves. We owe a great debt to Sir John Elliott and Yale

University press for giving us a remarkable study that will keep many of us occupied for years to come. Perhaps Herbert Bolton's plea for "an epic of Greater America," not well received in his lifetime because many believed it impossible, has found new life. Surely Elliott demonstrates that Bolton's idea, though not yet done, might be possible. At least we now have a better understanding of the values and limitations of such an approach.

Paul Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America: The Struggle for Sovereignty in the Hudson Valley*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006. Pp. xv + 225. $75.00.

Donna Merwick, *The Shame and the Sorrow: Dutch-Amerindian Encounters in New Netherland*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006. Pp. ix + 332. $49.95.

Reviewed by Richard W. Pointer, Westmont College

Until recently, scholarship on New Netherland could have been accurately described as the "weak sister" next to the more robust work done on seventeenth century New England, New France, and New Spain, or even on the Dutch East Indies. And if that was true about the Dutch colony in general, it was even more true of the Dutch–Indian encounter in particular. The relative brevity of the Dutch project in New Netherland and the relative paucity of English-language sources (and sources in general) were just two of the reasons for the region's comparative neglect. But all of that is clearly changing, thanks in part to the large number of Dutch sources translated into English over the last three decades, a fact popularized in Russell Shorto's 2004 bestselling history of New Netherland, *The Island at the Center of the World*. Neither Paul Otto (George Fox University) nor Donna Merwick (University of Melbourne) are inclined to pay any attention to Shorto's claim that Dutch Manhattan was the cradle of later American culture or to follow his journalistic panache in telling their stories. But they do follow his lead in believing that what happened in New Netherland, and particularly the newcomers' relations with native peoples, deserves a good deal more scrutiny. For the most part, therein the common ground between Otto and Merwick begins and ends, as they employ strikingly different frameworks (and writing styles) for making sense of New Netherland. Fortunately, each one proves fruitful for unveiling critical aspects of the region's history and, in the process, helps move this colonial sister a little closer to her scholarly siblings.

Perhaps the most important way to distinguish these two histories is to say that Merwick's book is an example of global history where the focus moves inward from the very broad to the particular, and Otto's book is a type of microhistory in which the focus moves outward from the very particular to some broader contexts. *The Shame and the*

Sorrow takes its bearings from the evolution of the Dutch people and nation in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their growing maritime empire in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. It demonstrates Merwick's impressive command of Dutch history writ large, as she moves confidently back and forth from events within the Netherlands to developments within the far reaches of its colonial contacts. That big Dutch world functions as the matrix for interpreting the specific experience of Netherlanders, particularly in relation to their encounter with indigenous peoples, in what by the 1660s had become New York. Otto's work is concerned with that same encounter but limits its angle of vision to one Indian people, the Munsees, who lived in what is now southeastern New York and northern New Jersey. Less well known than their Mohawk and Mahican neighbors to the north, the Munsees were arguably the most important native group with whom the Dutch interacted in New Netherland and the people who felt the Dutch presence most acutely. Otto carefully examines the evolving exchanges between these bodies of Europeans and Indians from the time of the latter's first contacts with explorers in the 1500s through eras of trade, settlement, and warfare in the decades between 1610 and 1664. Along the way, he notes similarities and differences between New Netherland's case and what historians believe occurred in intercultural relations in New England and New France at roughly the same time. He concludes his book with an afterword that provides a more extended comparison of Dutch-native interaction in New Netherland with Dutch relations with the Khoekhoe in the Cape Colony in southern Africa. Both these works, then, want to place New Netherland's history in comparative perspective but choose quite different spatial contexts for accomplishing that purpose.

Those choices play a critical role in shaping the interpretive frameworks Merwick and Otto adopt to explain the ultimately bloody history of Dutch-Indian relations. Otto draws his construct from the new "frontier" historians (Howard Lamar, Leonard Thompson, Gregory Nobles, and others) who have revitalized the concept of the frontier as "a unique context in which intercultural contact and mixing occur alongside a struggle or competition for sovereignty in a particular region" (9). Dominion over territory and cultural ways are both at stake in that contest for sovereignty. Thus in the case of New Netherland, as Otto sees it, Munsees faced an increasingly grave crisis as the extent of Dutch expansion into their geographical and cultural space became greater and greater. With each successive stage of Dutch intrusion–initial contacts, trade, and settlement–the Munsees' challenges mounted. Like natives elsewhere, their responses varied across a spectrum of resistance, accommodation, and acculturation. Relations with the Europeans turned far more violent in the early-1640s when, in Otto's view, there was a "shift in Dutch colonial practice from a focus upon trade to a focus upon intense European settlement" (124). This First Dutch-Munsee War began a process in which most of this native group came to accept the military and political sovereignty of the Dutch and to accommodate themselves, at least partially, to the Europeans' economy and culture. Those natives who did not participated in second and third Dutch-Munsee wars. By the end of the Dutch era (1664), much of the Munsees' exterior world had been substantially altered. But their interior world (their worldview) showed more continuity than change. Here Otto's findings parallel the conclusions of other recent historians that when Indians

faced severe crises and had their worlds turned upside down, their value and belief systems nevertheless often stayed largely intact. Otto convincingly argues that the Munsees fit that pattern amid the vicissitudes of the mid-seventeenth century and beyond. In the process, he provides a rich portrait of one native group's encounter with the European presence.

Discerning the nature of that presence is Donna Merwick's central concern. What were the intentions of the Dutch West India Company for New Netherland and what were its expectations for relations with the indigenous peoples there? Framing her questions in that manner, she proposes "alongshore" as the apt metaphor for the Dutch state of mind about their desired place in relation to New Netherland and its Indians. As a maritime enterprise within a maritime empire, New Netherland's appeal was its trade rather than its territory. Remaining alongshore would be the appropriate position for the Dutch, who "counted themselves to be people of islands and coastlines, drowned land, and shifting margins" (53), and would allow them to interact peacefully with the natives. At a time when Netherlanders at home were "inventing a tradition…embracing pluralism, antimilitarism, and tolerance" (168), acting justly towards Amerindians would be the "Dutch" thing to do. Yet exchanges with Indians inexorably drew the Dutch "on shore," into more complicated entanglements, and combined with growing demands for land by some newcomers, increasingly compromised the company's original intents. Almost despite themselves, as Merwick portrays it, the Dutch took on growing political and military control in New Netherland, and the territorial expanse that went with it, at the expense of Indians and the price of repeated wars. Numerous Dutch folk on both sides of the Atlantic apparently found those conflicts troublesome, not only because of the loss of life but because Dutch actions during them failed to meet the standards of a just war as recently defined in the early-seventeenth century by Hugo Grotius and other Dutch jurists. By the 1650s and 1660s, the colony's policies in peace and war stood in sharp contrast and contradiction to the purposes and values of an alongshore people and project.

Merwick characterizes the Dutch change of course as a tragedy for what it wrought for native peoples in New Netherland. Writing from a postcolonial perspective, she defends the value of historians making moral judgments about the past. To wit, she concludes, "[in] enacting such a culture of dominance, the Dutch acted out a betrayal of ideals and accepted values: betrayal of themselves and others. They reaped the shame and the sorrow" (267). Paul Otto is far less sure that such judgments are helpful. Concerned to avoid the tendencies of many past historians of intercultural relations either to absolutize Native American culture or to romanticize one group or the other as heroes or victims, he appeals for and hopes to model a culturally relativistic study that maintains "a relative ambivalence to the groups and cultures" being researched and openly admits the cultural boundedness of the one writing the history (12). Acknowledging our situatedness as historians, he argues, is essential for understanding "past peoples as much as possible in terms of the cultural values and societal structures of these peoples" (13). Merwick would almost certainly agree with that statement, but might retort that understanding is a precursor not a substitute for moral evaluation. Here, then, is one final contrast between these two histories of Dutch-Indian encounters in New Netherland. Thankfully, with or

without moral judgments, these books teach us much about their respective subjects. From Otto, we gain a coherent picture of the Munsees' adaptation and survival in the wake of the Dutch arrival. From Merwick, we gain a new perspective on what made the Dutch Dutch and how that shaped their overseas engagements. From both, we learn anew that the stuff of intercultural relations was central to the history of early America and the history of the early modern world.

William M. Kelso, *Jamestown, The Buried Truth*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006. Pp. xiii+238. $29.95

Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007. Pp. viii+380. $29.95.

Reviewed by Cline E. Hall, Liberty University

There are some people today who view the Jamestown colonists as grubby workmen who were interested only in searching for gold, killing Indians, and engaging in cannibalism, while believing that the Puritans in Massachusetts were those who brought us democracy, religious freedom, and Thanksgiving. William M. Kelso, Head Archaeologist at the Jamestown Recovery Project, certainly gives us a different interpretation of what went on at Jamestown.

Kelso and his crew have laboriously revealed that the remains at James Fort were more than "Just Dirt." They have rediscovered the exact location of the original fort even though many people thought it washed into the James River. What has developed over the past few years in this project is a fascinating story of the people, their livelihood, and their attempts to follow the exact instructions of the London Company in establishing a community of Englishmen in the New World.

Having discovered over 700,000 artifacts, Kelso et al have been able to piece together a story of a "robust multifaceted community" that attempted to make a profit. The company sent carpenters, blacksmiths, brick makers, masons, coopers, tailors, and hunters, all of which left material remains. The men built the first fort in nineteen days, having felled 610 trees and cut them to stand on end to build a fort. This was indeed a tremendous accomplishment. The men were involved in attempts to make copper, glass, process lumber and split planks to send back to England.

The Jamestown Recovery Project has revealed many mistakes as well as accomplishments, yet the hardships expose the "level of skill and knowledge of both the Virginia Company leadership and its Jamestown adventurers" (170). Kelso leaves one with a positive view of Jamestown, in spite of the hardships and the negative view that some have of the early colonists.

If one is interested in detailed accounts of an archaeological excavation, then this is the book to read. It can be a good reference book on the colony at any educational level. The discovery of the skeleton of a young male, approximately twenty years of age, identified as JR, and the apparent remains of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, one of the councilors, provides an interesting account of using DNA to establish identity. There is no conclusive evidence about Captain Gosnold, but most likely his skeleton is the one found outside the fort. Comparing DNA over three centuries in "itself is a significant achievement in historical archaeology and anthropological science" (160).

There is much to be done yet, Most of the interior of the fort has not been excavated and the later village of Jamestown has many secrets to reveal. Kelso concludes that the causes of failure were due to climate, geography, and geology and not the will of the people. In spite of the setbacks they built a fort that was never breeched by force. Out of it came an experiment at self-government. Here lies *The Buried Truth* about modern America's birthplace. "The American Dream was born on the banks of the James River, at a place called James Fort, in 1607" (214).

Karen Kupperman, Professor of History at New York University, on the other hand, puts Jamestown into its proper perspective in the Atlantic civilization of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Her first two chapters are a detailed review of how Elizabethan England engaged the European as well as the Arab world, and the story of adventurers and opportunity seekers, including John Smith, George Sandys, and others.

In spite of the failure of the lost colony of Roanoke Island, she believes it is possible that the Jamestown people might have encountered the Roanoke people without knowing it. Kupperman points out that the process of transculturalization seems to be quick in language and dress and that there is evidence of European ships in the Chesapeake decades before 1600.

The English were interested in the study of Arabian culture as well as that of Indian peoples. Their museums included items from the New World. Since the English had a positive view about the relationship of a group of people with the land, the description of the beautiful and fruitful American landscape certainly was an indication of the level of development of the American Indians. This was an encouragement to the English to embark on colonial enterprises.

Yet, Kupperman believes the English underestimated their task, both in their attempts to find a Northwest Passage and in their relationships with the Indians. The Spanish also presented a challenge. She has an interesting chapter on the relationship of the climate, geography, plants and animals to the colonizing process. The climate was baffling. Should not land located midway between the equator and the pole have a moderate climate? The colonists were unprepared for hot humid summers along the James and cold winters. Kupperman points out that the seventeenth century was one of the coldest on record and the colonists also arrived at a period of extreme drought. Yet, by early-seventeenth century, there was widespread agreement about transplanting civil people into uncivil areas. It had not been done successfully. What the English had learned in Ireland was that control was important, so that is what the Virginia Company attempted.

Kupperman points out that one main problem was correspondence between the colony and the company. In effect, they talked past each other. By the 1620s, the company could not continue supporting a non-profit colony, while the ill-clad, starving colonists could not produce the miracles they expected. The colony was a failure as an economic experiment. Jamestown is remembered, however, by Americans as an early part of the story of the "American" colonies and the eventual creation of a new nation.

Both of these books deserve a special place among the numerous books published as a result of the 400th anniversary of Jamestown. Obviously, Kelso's sources were the rich artifacts of the earth plus diaries and written records of the colonists, while Kupperman does an excellent job of integrating primary and secondary written sources. If one wants to read a detailed explanation of everyday life at Jamestown as revealed through archaeological remains, then Kelso is the one to read, but if one wishes to place Jamestown in the larger world of European civilization, then Kupperman is unsurpassed.

Catherine L. Albanese, *A Republic of Mind and Spirit: A Cultural History of American Metaphysical Religion.* New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2006. Pp. xi + 628. $40.00.

Reviewed by Jerry L. Summers, East Texas Baptist University

Catherine Albanese is professor and chair in the Department of Religious Studies, University of California at Santa Barbara. The author or editor of nine books and numerous articles and reviews relating to American religion and culture, she approaches her research and writing using a cultural contact model of American religious history rather than the older, consensus model.

American Metaphysical religion flows as an undercurrent in popular consciousness and conversation. Often its manifestations are confused with mainstream religious and cultural convictions; at least, that is, unless one painstakingly examines teachings and identifies distinctions. It is only then that one may recognize the interplay of orthodox and heterodox elements in the general religious culture. Albanese has recounted the progress of American metaphysical religion from its transatlantic origins to the New World context of the past three centuries. Her theme of the religionists' "combinativeness" pervades the narrative; we are to understand how metaphysical religious systems took shape as their leaders, sometimes recklessly or idealistically, combined congenial concepts to create new ideologies and movements. Their combinative character usually entailed a philosophically or theologically limited synthesis; however, ideologies and cults functioned at levels defying philosophical or theological consistency. Put another way, American metaphysical religion "worked" for the minority who embraced it. Some movements persisted, most remarkably the Latter-

Day Saints as a church institution. Others died aborning, and some grand combinations of ideas such as Transcendentalism or New Thought lived on in ever new incarnations or recombinations.

Most remarkably over time, as the metaphysicians infused their combinations with ideas and practices from Europe, Africa, and Asia, they included doctrines and practices from the dominant Protestant culture. They mediated the attitude, moreover, that greater God-given knowledge came through new revelations—mysticism, metaphysics, and natural philosophies. Their attitudes resembled those of natural philosophers such as Isaac Newton, whose theological and astrological concerns overlapped his work with mathematics and physics. Consequently their creations frequently had affinities with Protestant Christianity, though almost as frequently the stark disharmonies and sometimes veiled hostility to Christianity could be striking. Albanese's narrative explicitly and implicitly reveals the hazy boundaries between the early modern European heterodoxies of metaphysical religion or philosophy, folk religion, and the emergence of modern science (or in some cases *scientism*). Suiting her purpose and topic, she makes few comparisons with the orthodox, central traditions and movements in Christianity. And so, in presenting this narrative of American metaphysical religion, Albanese provides a detailed outline rich with opportunity for further interaction and study by American religious historians.

In seven chapters Albanese describes the varied legacies of medieval and Renaissance Europe, Africa, and Asia, their diffusion through the largely British migration to North America (the elitist mystical and metaphysical elements of the English Renaissance found in cosmology, astrology, and Freemasonry; and the common culture that included the "cunning folk" or folk magicians who came to North America). Such movements proliferated during the Enlightenment, Revolutionary, and New Nationalist periods; along with the Freemasons, Mormons, and Swedenborgians, even orthodox Protestant church members uncritically imbibed in some parts the rich metaphysical ether of the common culture.

The nineteenth century spiritualists blended the novelties of science with metaphysics in mutable syntheses visible in the Shakers, emergent Theosophy, Christian Science, and New Thought. For example, Helena Blavatsky and Mary Baker Eddy can be better understood in the light of Albanese's study, which identifies the antecedents that shaped their ideas and movements. Twentieth century metaphysicians continued these combinative practices, with surprising manifestations in everything from chiropractic nostrums to osteopathy, pragmatism, positive thinking, and the twentieth century profusion of movements in a "New Age" and many "New New Ages."

Albanese emphasizes how American and immigrant Asian metaphysicians transformed Hindu and Buddhist concepts into teachings amenable to Americans and often expressed them in quasi-scientific terms. Think of yoga as "applied Theosophy," and consider the fictitious British-*Atlantean*-American *Atlantis* of Ignatius Donnelly or Helena Blavatsky's Pacific *Lemurian* "root race" (341). The peripheral implications of metaphysically-transformed Darwinism are perhaps akin to the thinking of latter-day contemporaries such as Carl Sagan, Daniel Dennett, or L. Ron Hubbard.

A word of caution or awareness of perspective: most readers may be familiar enough with traditional religious history to recognize this book focuses on significant minority leaders and movements, but that their concerns were no less religious than those of the predominantly Protestant society. Readers unfamiliar with the broader history might infer wrongly that the heterodox metaphysics Albanese has described was the main stream of influence. Yet her thesis is powerfully convincing, particularly in light of the continuing twenty-first century *combinative* character of American culture; that is, in a predominantly Christian country, there has never been and is not now a purely Christian society and culture. Moreover, Albanese explicitly states how the persons and movements of her topic "did labor at religion outside the box" (516). And so, the society remains metaphysically immured, disinclined to a biblical, Christological orthodoxy and practice. The interaction of Christ and the marvelously pagan culture continues.

What are the implications? First, the "postmodernism" of our age fails to explain enough; no single label can suffice, whether "ultra-modern," or "post-Christian," or "globalized," or "New Age". Albanese's chapter title "New Ages for All" suggests that we live amid bewildering complexity and in a spiritual starvation-state. With its professed secularity and rationality, our culture can neither resist nor satisfy the hunger. Second, the narrative of American metaphysical religion confirms the universal attraction of religion; evidence abounds for it. Third, the turn of each generation to reinterpret belief and practice applies not only in the "mainstream" religions but to all religions. So, it is no surprise that, for example, young Christian Americans lately have been turning to the emphases present in historic, orthodox Christianity, which on the one hand offers satisfaction in liturgy and the spiritual disciplines, and on the other hand offers the satisfactions of effective, practical service in church, community, and the world. That is an example of faith within the greater story, but Albanese's impressive narrative reveals to us another, closely related story, that of the anxious scramble for personal and corporate significance and healing—wholeness. That subliminal struggle lies just below, or beyond, the active, reflective awareness of our professedly secular and doggedly pragmatist society.

David L. Holmes, *The Faiths of the Founding Fathers*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. 185. $20.00.

Reviewed by Stephen P. Shoemaker, Harvard University

The founding fathers were not orthodox Christians. For those with some background in American religious history, this is not news. However, David Holmes provides a helpful survey of the nuanced beliefs of prominent early American leaders, and in the process seeks to unseat the allegedly ubiquitous misrepresentation of their religion as pseudo-

evangelical. In this brief volume, Holmes does a fine job in the early chapters, setting the historical context of colonial religion before proceeding to consider certain figures individually. Some of these middle chapters are rather thin on details, but then again, Holmes's goal is to provide an overview, rather than in-depth analysis. He posits that most of these individuals stood outside of the realm of orthodoxy—occupying a space somewhere on a sliding scale between Christian Deism and Non-Christian Deism.

For those seeking an introduction to these figures, this text can serve a valuable purpose. Holmes successfully avoids the kind of pedantic discussions that some historians embrace, and thereby provides an extremely approachable book for those with no background in the theologies of eighteenth century America. Along the way, he raises an interesting variety of related discussions: for example, if the first five Presidents were all advocates of Deism in some form, why were their wives and female offspring resoundingly orthodox in theology?

Were Holmes to leave his discussion in the eighteenth century, one might not have much else to say about his book. However, in his extended Epilogue, Holmes reaches to the twentieth century to demonstrate the discontinuity between his founding fathers and more recent occupants of the oval office. He offers an explanation for this unusual move toward contemporary comparison: "In recent decades evangelical writers, decrying a secular bias among academic historians, have argued that all but a few of the founders genuinely adhered to Christian belief" (163). Well, yes and no, says Holmes. Yes, this diverse group advocated religion in a general sense, but certainly not an orthodox one. He feels that these other agenda driven presentations of the founders are skewed in their reading of religion. To ensure that the contrast between eighteenth and twentieth century is clear, Holmes investigates the religion of Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush, Clinton and "W." Bush. He argues that these presidents religiously have a great deal in common with each other, but not with their early predecessors who would not "have known of the evangelical interpretation of Christianity that has nurtured the recent presidents of the United States" (165). In some ways, this way of closing a volume on historical figures feels awkward. However, Holmes makes it clear that he was seeking to correct a misconception, and as such, discussion of the contemporary context of this misreading helps him to ensure that readers do not take the present, and read it back into the past.

Francis D. Cogliano, *Thomas Jefferson: Reputation and Legacy.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006. Pp. 285. $45.00.

Reviewed by John Thomas Scott, Mercer University

To what extent can an individual, in this case a Founding Father and President, reach beyond the grave and shape the patterns of later historical writing? Francis Cogliano

addresses just this question in *Thomas Jefferson: Reputation and Legacy*. In this two-part work Cogliano argues that Jefferson worked intently to shape the way that both his reputation and the history of the early republic would be told by future historians, and he assesses how well Jefferson has succeeded. The result examines a relatively unexplored aspect of Jefferson the man and opens up a window to view some of the major trends in all of American historiography over the last half-century.

Cogliano argues cogently that Jefferson undertook a series of measures to insure that future historical writing on him and on the early republic would be written in such a way as to advance the causes he cared most deeply about: liberty and republicanism. Jefferson "believed in the power of history" (26) and saw historical writing as the provider of "moral and political lessons for the future" (19). Jefferson also saw historical writing as a "political act" that required the "appropriate lessons [be] learned and disseminated" (36). Jefferson chiefly wanted Americans to learn that American liberty and republicanism, so dearly won in his own day, constituted the most precious gifts of his generation to the future. Properly written history, he believed, would teach them to "safeguard America's globally important republican experiment in the years after his death" (2).

Cogliano describes the efforts Jefferson took in his lifetime to shape future historical writing: collecting primary, especially governmental, documents, carefully organizing his own vast collection of personal papers, assisting suitable historical authors in his own day and even writing some history himself, building a home (Monticello) that reflected his "view of the world and how he wanted to be viewed by the world," (108) and mandating the contents of his epitaph to draw attention to those "accomplishments by which he wanted to be remembered" (138). Through his efforts he hoped in every case to forward the cause of liberty and beat back the forces of tyranny that he perceived still existed in America, most especially the Federalist line and legacy of Alexander Hamilton and John Marshall—a line he believed wanted to "subvert the law and impose monarchical rule on the United States" (58).

Unfortunately for Jefferson, his efforts went awry almost from the moment of his death: his grandson, to whom he had left his meticulously organized papers, disassembled them, and Monticello passed out of the family and fell into disrepair. Only his epitaph remained in essentially the same form as Jefferson had wanted. Even worse for Jefferson, historians without his particular whiggish political agenda began writing histories much more favorable to his arch-nemesis Hamilton. Only after 1920 did Jefferson's reputation undergo repair, first through the public efforts of a collection of Jefferson memorialists (culminating in the building of the Jefferson Memorial during Franklin Roosevelt's presidency) and then through the scholarly efforts of two generally favorable biographers, Dumas Malone and Merrill Peterson. By 1960, Peterson could contentedly write in *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* that Jefferson had passed into the "American pantheon" (6). Again unfortunately for Jefferson, historians after 1960 refused to leave well enough alone and began re-examining Jefferson's life in a much more critical manner than had Malone and Peterson.

In part two of the book Cogliano, uniformly employing a balanced and objective perspective, reviews the historiography of some of the major themes of Jeffersonian

scholarly writing and public presentation since 1960—specifically, Sally Hemings, slavery, and his handling of international affairs as president. After examining many of the major writings on these topics and examining the manner of presentation of these topics at Monticello by the turn of the twenty-first century, Cogliano puts forward a frankly irrefutable thesis: that Jefferson's reputation among scholars has fallen over the last half-century and that Jefferson "failed in his battle with posterity…he is not remembered as he intended that he should be." Instead of focusing on Jefferson's public and political face, scholars since 1960 have concentrated on his personal dealings with his probable mistress slave Sally Hemings, with his slaves at Monticello in general, and on his presidential trespasses in both the Louisiana Purchase and the Embargo Act. For many by 2000, Jefferson had come to "epitomize not America's promise but its limitations" (263). Although generally even-handed in his treatment of modern Jeffersonian historiography, Cogliano does seem to lament, at least to some extent, the post-1960 turn. Americans, Cogliano says, have "chosen to disregard the lessons of their history" and "as a result Jefferson's legacy has been distorted, obscured, and misunderstood" (265).

Cogliano's work spreads out in many directions and ranges over a wide variety of topics. Part history and part historiography, Cogliano intentionally aims *Thomas Jefferson* at professional historians, though not necessarily at Jefferson specialists. Part one should appeal to historians of the early republic, part two to readers interested in recent historiographical trends. The book, then, is a bit of an odd mixture, and, as a whole, might actually appeal only to scholars who style themselves as Jefferson specialists. Well-written and easy to digest, it seeks to link two seemingly disparate subjects and generally succeeds in an informative and thorough manner. A fascinating study of how an historical subject sought, but largely failed, to shape future historical writing about himself, Cogliano's work reveals how historians are more greatly shaped by the events and needs of their own time than the needs or wishes of their subjects.

Jonathan Edwards, *Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 24: The "Blank Bible,"* Stephen J. Stein, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006. Pp. xiii + 1435. $200.00.

Reviewed by Richard A. Bailey, University of Kentucky

As the Yale University Press edition of the collected works of Jonathan Edwards nears the completion of its print volumes, readers continue to be presented with important writings from the Edwards corpus. The most recent offering, an edited version of the interleaved Bible the Northampton minister used to record his comments on specific biblical passages, certainly falls into this category. Though working with a difficult

document, Stephen Stein's able handling of Jonathan Edwards's "Blank Bible" offers historians and theologians a more complete image of the study habits, exegetical abilities, and inner workings of the life and mind of early America's greatest theologian.

The content of the entries, the ways Edwards used these entries, and his complex system of cross referencing his comments, Stein argues, reveals much about the colonial minister's reading and study habits. A reading of the "Blank Bible," a "booklike, leather-bound manuscript, which includes a small, interleaved printed edition of the King James Version," demonstrates that Edwards read widely and broadly (1). Not only did he quote orthodox commentators, such as Matthew Poole, Matthew Henry, and Philip Doddridge, but he also relied on the writings of a wide variety of theologians and philosophers, including Anglicans, Puritans, Calvinists, Arminians, self-proclaimed Deists, and Roman Catholics (75).

The "Blank Bible" also highlights Edwards's exegetical abilities and limitations. "As an exegete," Stein suggests, "Edwards was probably without peer in America in the middle of the eighteenth century" (82). Not only do the entries in the "Blank Bible" substantiate this claim, but they also paint a picture of a theologian who simultaneously interpreted the Bible in traditional yet imaginative ways. Edwards's repeated use of orthodox Protestant theologians, such as Matthew Henry and John Owen in his notes on several verses in Job 26, and his affirmation of orthodox Protestant positions illustrate his reliance on the Protestant tradition. Then, for example, a few chapters later, Edwards creatively applies Job 31:13-15 to his own situation as a slaveowner (457-8). According to Stein, the Northampton minister's various approaches to the biblical text "appear at different times and in diverse combinations" (83). Hopefully, as Stein suggests, future scholars will use the "Blank Bible" to analyze Edwards the exegete.

Furthermore, a careful reading of the "Blank Bible" showcases the inner workings of Edwards's mind and everyday life. On the last few pages of the manuscript, Edwards, never one to waste paper, recorded financial matters dealing specifically with his children. Noting carefully the amounts of money he borrowed from them, as well as the goods he often used to fulfill his debts, such as "an enameled ring," "silver buckles," and "gold buttons," Edwards's relationship with his children can be seen in a new light (1256-1266). Yet another aspect of Edwards's thinking that becomes ever more apparent in his "Blank Bible" entries is the disregard, or what Stein labels "hostility," that he had for other religious traditions—Christian or otherwise (84). Finally, the "Blank Bible" allows the reader to see Edwards's exegetical basis and support for eighteenth century society. In various places throughout his commentary, Edwards defends ministerial authority, patriarchal responsibility, and race-based slavery. For example, in his commentary on 2 Peter 2:19, Edwards appeals to "the law of nations" to defend slavery, an appeal he uses elsewhere in his defense of the institution of racial slavery in New England (1184).

In conclusion, this addition to Yale University Press's *The Works of Jonathan Edwards* will prove of significant value to historians and other scholars who continue to mine the life and thought of Jonathan Edwards, especially those who seek to analyze the ways in which he used the Bible (including his interaction with other secular and sacred

sources), his exegetical methods, and his explanations for life in the eighteenth century. In the end, Stephen Stein takes “a chronological puzzle and an editor’s nightmare” and provides both historians and theologians with a more complete portrait of one of early America’s greatest minds (104).

Douglas A. Sweeney and Allen C. Guelzo, eds., *The New England Theology: From Jonathan Edwards to Edwards Amasa Park*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006. Pp. 320. $29.99.

Reviewed by Charles Hambrick-Stowe, Northern Seminary

This superb anthology is edited by two leading historians of American religion who have specialized in tracing theological developments among the heirs of Jonathan Edwards over the century from about 1750 to the 1850s. Sweeney and Guelzo appropriately dedicate the book to Joseph Conforti who, they recognize, “got this started” (5)—“this” being the scholarly rehabilitation not only of Edwards’s New Divinity disciples but also of several generations of theologians in New England and the New England diaspora, whose continued debates remained within an essentially Edwardsean framework. Conforti rescued these earnest pastors and professors from their long-prevailing stereotype as something like the Beatles’ “Father Mackenzie,” culturally out of touch preservers of stale doctrines and arid moralism, writing millions of words that no one would read. Beginning with *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981) and culminating in *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), Conforti demonstrated the central role of Edwardsean theological traditions in the shaping of American evangelicalism.

Sweeney and Guelzo provide their own lively analysis of this strand of American intellectual and religious history in their general and document introductions. As they explain in a footnote, their adoption of the term “New England theology” is rooted in nineteenth-century usage, referring to “the Edwardsean tradition or school of thought…beginning with Edwards, running through the New Divinity from Samuel Hopkins and Joseph Bellamy to Nathanael Emmons, and extending to more ambiguous figures who nevertheless claimed a linkage to Edwards, from Nathaniel W. Taylor, Lyman Beecher, and Charles G. Finney to the last of the school’s stalwarts, Andover’s Edwards Amasa Park” (15). This lineup indicates the editors’ stance in the ongoing battle for the legacy of Jonathan Edwards, a position explored in their own earlier monographs. More than a merely “academic revival of obscure personae” (20), their intention is to suggest the ongoing relevance of a movement whose “staying power may be more than a little resilient.” For example, only the New Divinity’s “ethical absolutism” and New

England Theology's dynamic "ethics of disinterested benevolence" explains "the evangelical radicalism of the antislavery movement" (21). While plenty of twenty-first century Calvinists carry the banner for the Old School Presbyterian version of the Edwards legacy, Guelzo and Sweeney suggest that this more adaptive, "recontextualizing" theological tradition of evangelical Edwardseanism may still have something to say.

The great gift of this book is its judicious selection of exemplary writings from the New England theologians themselves, all edited from eighteenth and nineteenth century publications or (in one case) papers. The first section reproduces portions from seminal works of Edwards himself, material readily available in modern editions but laying the foundation for what follows. Sections two and three include generous selections from several authors illustrating the emergence of New Divinity thought and their "moral government" theory of the atonement, as traditional Calvinist doctrine was modified to fuel the engine of revival and reform. Part four contains the antislavery arguments of Hopkins and Jonathan Edwards, Jr., along with a description of the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Part five is devoted to the movement's internal debate over human sinfulness—whether, as Emmons argued, it was the inevitable but "free, voluntary exercises of a moral agent," the sinful exercise of the will (173), or, as Asa Burton maintained, was lodged in faculty of "taste" or "feeling" associated with "the heart," separate from the faculty of the will (179). Parts six and seven focus on evangelical Edwardseanism's elasticity as expressed in the New Haven Theology of Nathaniel W. Taylor and new measures revivalism and subsequent Oberlin holiness perfectionism of Charles F. Finney. Parts eight and nine include writings of Edwards Amasa Park and Harriet Beecher Stowe at the sunset of the movement.

It is good to see Sarah Osborn included in the section on the emergence of New Divinity thought, demonstrating that this was no mere intellectual exercise of pastors holed up in their studies but also flourished among the laity. My only disappointment with the collection is the absence of a sample from the writings of Lemuel Haynes, the most prominent figure among black adherents of the tradition. Nevertheless, with this volume we have an indispensable resource for the study of "America's first indigenous theological movement" (24).

Stephen G. Alter, *William Dwight Whitney and the Science of Language*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005. Pp. xiii + 339. $49.95.

Reviewed by Matt McCook, Oklahoma Christian University

Despite his early distaste for biography and his subject's purely accomplishment driven autobiography, Stephen G. Alter offers a fine example of historical biography that avoids

hagiography and instead uses William Dwight Whitney's (1827-1894) life and career as a lens through which to analyze nineteenth century thought. Alter Draws from Whitney's published and unpublished papers and commentary on linguists past and present, and argues that Whitney was a major force in the science of language and a forerunner of postmodernism, though his legacy is so embedded in theories of language today that it is often undetected.

Alter opens his narrative by detailing Whitney's mental development from his childhood in Northampton, Massachusetts and education at Williams College. He describes Whitney as a new type of intellectual; not a man of letters, not religious, and not practical. Rather, Whitney was a first rate social scientist whose passion for the study of language, particularly Sanskrit, landed him a faculty position at Yale. There he was frustrated because teaching modern languages left precious little time for scholarly pursuits and because Whitney's religious skepticism left him isolated and vulnerable. After summarizing Whitney's early career, Alter analyzes Victorian language debates and Whitney's contribution to them. Although German idealist theories dominated the study of language, Whitney drew from and altered Lockean notions by demonstrating that words derive their meanings, by social consent, and are not purely arbitrarily as Locke argued. Thus, Alter says, Whitney revived Scottish Common Sense philosophy in linguistics. Alter then details Whitney's efforts to make philology, or the study of language, a respected and independent social science through his memberships to professional organizations such as the American Philological Society and the American Oriental Society. Alter next addresses the scholarly, but often unprofessional exchange between Whitney and his arch-rival Max Muller. Muller had ignored Whitney's critiques for years, but Darwin forced their debate on the evolution of language into the open. Although Muller had a greater reputation as a philologist and Indian language scholar, he had quietly come to accept some of Whitney's theories on language change. Finally, Alter assesses Whitney's legacies, especially his impact on the German neo-grammarian school of linguists, Ferdinand de Saussure, and modern anthropologists.

Among the strengths of this book are its clearly written narrative and well supported thesis; but since these are expected rather than exceptional traits, Alter should be commended for something rare: making William Dwight Whitney and the study of language, a person and field unfamiliar to many, interesting and understandable. Although linguists will certainly know more about Whitney's theories and influence than most historians, one need not be familiar with philology or William Dwight Whitney to appreciate Alter's book. Alter makes the subject accessible not only because he explains the principles of language theories thoroughly and without oversimplifying, but because he connects Whitney and his theories to more familiar figures and principles in intellectual history. *William Dwight Whitney and the Science of Language* will deepen readers' knowledge of German idealism, Scottish Common Sense philosophy, Positivism, Darwinism, and philology's connection to these schools of thought. Alter also addresses, briefly in some cases, Whitney's connection to Horace Bushnell, the Transcendentalists, Charles Sanders Peirce, William Graham Sumner, and other familiar intellectuals.

Only two critical remarks warrant attention here. First, Alter describes Scottish Common Sense philosophy as having been almost universally rejected by intellectuals and scholars before Whitney revived it. Perhaps this was truer of linguists, but one wonders how true that was in wider American culture, since Scottish Common Sense philosophy was still the ruling epistemology of major American universities such as Princeton. Secondly, Alter emphasizes Whitney's lack of religiosity and the religious nature of Yale to such an extent that his readers will likely anticipate a dramatic showdown. If they do, they will be disappointed because nothing terribly dramatic happens. Early in his career, when Whitney was considering a move to Harvard, some of his more conservative colleagues at Yale used his skepticism to argue that losing him would not be a great loss; but ultimately, Yale recognized Whitney's value and fought to keep him regardless of his religious convictions. Yale was probably not as staunchly religious as Alter portrays, except when compared to Harvard. Historians of religion will be intrigued by Alter's early theme of religion and scholarship, but they will be left wanting more.

Overall, *William Dwight Whitney and the Science of Language* is a fine biography that offers something valuable to a number of potential readers. Philologists and intellectual historians will be most interested, but any scholar who has had to balance teaching and research, faith and scholarship, family and career, or ambition and cordiality will be intrigued and possibly inspired by this book.

Anna-Lisa Cox, *A Stronger Kinship: One Town's Extraordinary Story of Hope and Faith*. New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2006. Pp. xiv + 272. $24.95.

Reviewed by John J. Fry, Trinity Christian College

Covert Township is located in Western Michigan, near the lake. During the middle and late nineteenth century, it looked like many other Midwestern rural townships: the population was small (about 1000), characterized by face-to-face relationships, and dependent on agriculture and logging. One thing made society in Covert strikingly different from most other places in the region, however: egalitarian race relations. In *A Stronger Kinship*, Anna-Lisa Cox describes this community in detail and explores the reasons that it became what it was.

Beginning with the first arrival of African Americans in the township in 1866, Covert was a place where blacks and whites attended the same Congregationalist church, where blacks and whites sent their children to the same township schools, and where blacks and whites participated together in the local chapters of the Grange and the Grand Army of the Republic. Furthermore, African Americans ran for and were elected to township offices such as highway supervisor, constable, and even justice of the peace.

Since African Americans only ever represented as much as eight per cent of the township's population, most of their votes came from white Americans. Blacks also won judgments in cases against whites in local courts and even prevailed in one case that was appealed to the state supreme court. African American and white families were friends as well as neighbors, and at the turn of the twentieth century there were seven interracial marriages in the township. Cox persuasively argues that Covert's egalitarian race relations were the result of many individual decisions, some big and some small, that one's neighbors' skin color or past would not shape their future in the community. At the same time, Covert's African Americans celebrated their separate identity. In response to the formation of an all-white secret fraternal organization (the Odd Fellows), they founded an all-black chapter of the Free and Accepted York Masons. They also planned and promoted Emancipation Day celebrations that were attended by all members of the township. Here, African Americans enjoyed the same civil rights as whites while also being able to express their separate identity and culture. They realized W. E. B. DuBois's dream of being fully black and fully American. And at a time when rights were being taken away from African Americans nationwide, Covert's families passed on to their children the acceptance and toleration of their differences in skin color, identity, and culture.

Cox's research has caused a stir among both rural historians and historians of race relations. The nineteenth century Midwest may have been anti-slavery, but in general it was simultaneously anti-black. Most Midwestern states, including Michigan, required African Americans to post bonds to even enter the state; some excluded blacks completely. Finding documentation for such a community was a rare find, and Cox makes the most of her sources. This book is based on her dissertation (University of Illinois, 2002), revised for publication as a mass-market hardback. The publisher allowed her to keep her footnotes, while requiring her to make the treatment chronological. The book's eight chapters trace the development of the township from the 1850s to 1896. Cox moves comfortably from describing the large picture of race relations in the Midwest (and the country as a whole) to telling the stories of the individual African American and white families in Covert that made the community work. The book has been reviewed in dozens of newspapers nationwide and has prompted a segment on NPR's "All Things Considered." It also deserves the attention of scholars, and could easily be used as an undergraduate text.

Readers of this journal may be disappointed that the depiction of Covert's religious climate is mainly limited to the Congregational church's role as a community social center. This treatment may be driven by the extant sources (and it is common in social histories), but the analysis would be enriched by at least some speculation on how Covert's community might have responded to broader currents in Christianity that could influence race relations, such as higher criticism of the Bible and Darwinism. The conclusion also stumbles slightly by arguing that the question "Why did this happen in Covert?" is less important than the question "Why didn't it happen elsewhere?" Cox asserts that emphasizing the first over the second "reveals a hidden assumption that racism is the norm, that unfairness and injustice are the natural patterns that the nation

falls into if given half a chance" (208). However, the book has numerous examples that suggest that unfairness and injustice *were* the norm in the late nineteenth century Midwest. At times, the chronological structure breaks up longer narratives in confusing ways, and in places the prose is unnecessarily celebratory.

Still, the book's accomplishments are significant: it details the many individual ways that Covert's residents decided to tolerate their neighbors' differences. *A Stronger Kinship* describes a spark of hope during a dark era in American race relations. If African Americans and whites in this rural Midwestern community found a way to live together harmoniously, might there not be other places that also did so? One hopes that Cox will follow up this work with another volume describing other such communities, or a broader consideration of race relations in the Midwest. Until she does, however, this book is an excellent introduction to the subject.

Michael Lienesch, *In the Beginning: Fundamentalism, the Scopes Trial, and the Making of the Antievolution Movement*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. Pp. 352. $34.95.

Reviewed by David E. Settje, Concordia University, Chicago

Wading into a controversial topic, both within the scholarly community and American society in general, as well as a subject matter well traveled by previous scholars, requires bravery and skill. Bravery, because an author must both disengage from the emotion and politics swirling around the issue and simultaneously provide a fresh examination that both respects the historiography and adds something new to it. Skill, because the author must do so dispassionately, thoroughly, and yet with a firm voice and sound reasoning that creates this unique thesis. Venturing into religious history covered by such respected scholars as Ronald L. Numbers and George M. Marsden, to name only two, raises the stakes even more. Regardless of what side of the debate one comes from regarding the evolution versus creationism debate in America, readers will find that Michael Lienesch's *In the Beginning* navigates the waters with the necessary bravery and skill to provide an interesting examination of how the antievolution movement came into being as a political entity.

Lienesch, the respected political science professor from the University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill, approached the topic by employing political science models to build a case for how the antievolution movement became a force in American politics. Rather than another overview of the topic or an examination of the religion behind it, Lienesch treats it more as a political movement, akin to the civil rights movement, women's rights movement, or any other social concern that hits the public as a voting issue. This approach gives him a different voice to add to the conversation. Instead of

people acting merely because of a religious calling, Lienesch outlines how that spiritual sentiment coalesced into getting individuals and small groups of faithful people to band together to compel politicians and the political process to take heed of their interests and pass laws in their favor. For example, in recounting the all too familiar territory of William Jennings Bryan's leadership of the antievolution cause through much of the 1920s, Lienesch emphasizes Bryan's role as the movement's rallying figure, a leader with political experience and popular appeal that brought the subject matter to a greater audience. As Lienesch explains, Bryan hardly fit the mold of a fundamentalist religious believer and at times voiced a theological outlook in opposition to strict fundamentalism. However, the antievolution movement needed his stature to gain a wider audience, and he needed its adoration to propel him emotionally and sustain his public career.

Intriguingly, Lienesch handles the antievolution movement as a political force without dwelling on the religion; this may sound antithetical to many or even sacrilegious to others, given that the heart of the matter rests with a particular Christian worldview that cannot be disassociated from faith. But that is exactly the most unique contribution that he offers: without taking sides, though in the introduction and conclusion one sees his point of view clearly, he demonstrates how antievolution evolved in the American political landscape. What began as one issue among many anti-modernist arguments morphed into a focal point and ultimately a singular concern for fundamentalists and other allies that simply agreed on this particular issue. Notably, Lienesch pulls this argument forward and links the Scopes Trial and 1920s to the still brewing controversy of teaching evolution or intelligent design in classrooms today. Here Lienesch debunks the myth that the antievolution movement disappeared or ran away because it was embarrassed by perceived failures during the 1920s. Rather, it regrouped, changed, and ultimately won influence again in local areas in the 1980s and 1990s. One only wishes that Lienesch had done more with detailing the era from the 1940s to the 1970s to really sustain this argument. Instead, he meticulously examines the 1920s and moves quickly to the more contemporary debate. While this does not undermine his scholarship in any essential way, it does leave room for future scholars to fill the void.

Lienesch both outlines why the antievolution movement succeeded and reveals its flaws and mistakes along the way. When leaders adeptly brought people together to create a voice for their opinions in the political realm, Lienesch credits them. When they misquoted scientists or made other political or intellectual errors, he points them out, too. Through it all, Lienesch demonstrates that he braved the swiftly moving current of the evolution/creationist controversy and provided a needed voice to the scholarship: *In the Beginning* gives a history of the antievolution movement and explains why it exists as a political movement and not just a religious belief.

Mark Steinberg and Heather Coleman, eds., *Sacred Stories: Religion and Spirituality in Modern Russia*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007. Pp. vii + 420. $29.95.

Reviewed by Erich Lippman, Bethany College

For many years the religious life of late imperial Russia (circa 1890 to 1917) was largely ignored by the academic establishment, excepting a few. In the words of the introduction to this collection of essays, "until recently, religion and spirituality have not been treated as central to our understanding of this age of crisis and change, but have been pushed to the margins of analysis, dismissed as the whimpers of a dying tradition against secularizing progress, sidelined in favor of what were perceived as more 'real' social, economic, and political forces in Russian society" (5). This volume seeks to be one step in the direction of correcting this problem. In order to do so credibly, Steinberg and Coleman have amassed a venerable "who's who" of historians, literary analysts, and thinkers connected to the theme of modern Russian religiosity. Indeed, the contributors to this volume include the most notable names of the Association for the Study of Eastern Christian History and Culture (ASEC), as well as others.

The organization of the book betrays its editors' aims to be as broad as possible in their inclusion of the "varieties of religious experience" in this volatile time. The first six essays (Worobec, Robson, Shevzov, Kizenko, Wagner, Freeze) all deal with issues relating to the Orthodox Church, all addressing ways in which Orthodoxy interacted with modernity. The next three (Werth, Coleman, Breyfogle) address the plight of non-Orthodox Christians, especially in relation to the changing status of those believers after the tsarist government officially granted freedom of conscience to its citizens in 1905. Then the focus of the volume shifts from Christianity to Judaism for two essays (Stein, Safran), followed by an essay on religious imagery in the writings of worker-poets (Steinberg). From this point, *Sacred Stories* is rounded out by three essays dealing with modern interpretations of and approaches to Orthodoxy (Rosenthal, Kurbanovsky, Valliere). With such a broad palate, one wonders why there is no discussion of Islam, given its place as one of the largest religions of the empire. However, although never stated outright, this volume seems concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with European Russia.

As is clear from the organization and content of this collection, the editors' primary concern is to tease out the variety of ways in which religion and modernity interacted. In their words, "the relationships between religion and the landscapes of the modern...imbue these stories with their particular tone and urgency" (1). The essays themselves seem to bear this point in mind consciously, as one after the other each writer addresses the effects of modern media, technology, thought, etc., on the particular subjects with whom they are concerned. The topics range from the profoundly intellectual public discourse of Russia's religious philosophy to the earthy, private, written confessions of penitents expecting only the eyes of St. John of Kronstadt to ever see them. They also address the typical issues of modern historiography—class, gender, and (instead of race) religious

diversity. Almost all of the essays, excepting the more heady last three, address class and gender in some manner or other. In this way, the volume reflects some of the same modern suppositions that it seeks to analyze.

Although this work deals with religion, it is not necessarily reflective of a traditionally religious viewpoint. Indeed, religion is treated by this work "less as the story of institutions or fixed beliefs than as a vital terrain of social imagination and practice where every day (and extraordinary) experience, ideas, beliefs, and emotions come together as people make sense of their lives" (1). Given the broadness of this definition of religion, one might expect to see some mention of one of the most influential attempts to combine religion and modernity—Godbuilding. In the introduction, Steinberg and Coleman write, "At the same time, some Marxists elaborated a re-enchanted Marxism. Feeling the cold rationalism, materialism, and determinism of traditional Marxism inadequate to inspire a revolutionary mass movement, they insisted on the need to appeal to the subconscious and the emotional to create a new faith that placed humanity where God had been but retained a religious spirit of passion, moral certainty, and the promise of salvation" (3-4). Clearly, this sentence refers to the Godbuilders, but throughout this volume the word itself only appears once in passing (308). Even Rosenthal's essay on "the confluence of Nietzsche and Orthodoxy in Russian religious thought" (subtitle of her essay) focuses only on a few select Godseekers, ignoring the Godbuilders—Nietzschean Marxists who utilized elements of Orthodoxy in their efforts to create a new, humanistic religion. Instead of Godbuilders (intellectual history), we have Steinberg's worker-writers (social/cultural history). This substitution reflects the tendency of this volume to focus on social history, excepting the last few essays.

Whatever shortcomings this volume may have, they are easily overshadowed by the high degree of professional scholarship demonstrated by the writers. The ability to bring together such highly regarded scholars for this project reflects the resurgence of interest, at long last, in the religious issue of the late imperial period. This resurgence is due, in no small part, to many of the contributors to this book, from Gregory Freeze who has been working on these topics for more than twenty years, to rising stars like Nadiezhda Kizenko. This collection of essays is as much a sign of the new-found respectability of this field as it is a contributor to that respectability. As such, it must be highly recommended for those interested in religion and Russia.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History*. New York: Penguin, 2005. Pp. xv + 333. $27.95/$16.00.

Reviewed by Christopher Gehrz, Bethel University

With this welcome one-volume survey of the Cold War, one of America's leading diplomatic historians returns to the topic for the first time since 1997's *We Now Know*. Largely a synthesis of existing secondary sources, *The Cold War* is meant primarily "for a new generation of readers for whom the Cold War was never 'current events'" (x). On those terms, Gaddis succeeds extraordinarily well, offering a concise narrative that is written in an erudite but accessible, even entertaining style.

The Cold War distills the best of *We Now Know* and improves on it in at least two respects. Most obviously, it carries the story past the Cuban Missile Crisis to its end. (Surely this book was called *We Now Know More* at some stage of the editing process.) Gaddis can now deal with détente and the rise of human rights activism, the Reagan/Gorbachev relationship, and the events of 1989. Second, while Gaddis' world still turns on the Washington-Moscow axis, figures from the "periphery" play pivotal roles, especially as events unfold in the 1960s and 1970s. A subtle example of this more diffuse geographic emphasis is the map of military bases and alliances in the era of Détente (96-7). The decision to look down from the North Pole rather than center on one continent illustrates the global sweep of the conflict. (Interestingly, this is one of several maps borrowed from an earlier work by Gaddis critic Walter LaFeber.)

Enlarging the scope of the story has done little to change Gaddis's fundamental conviction that American policymakers were proven right in their quest to contain and ultimately erode Soviet power: "The world, I am quite sure, is a better place for [the Cold War] having been fought in the way that it was and won by the side that won it" (xi). But Gaddis is not an uncritical apologist for one nation or ideology. To a greater extent than before, he grapples with the problems inherent in using power to pursue an ostensibly just cause. (See especially Chapter Five, which uses the Watergate crisis to jumpstart a discussion of CIA machinations in Italy, the Philippines, Iran, and Guatemala.) Gaddis does distinguish between "moral ambivalence" and "moral equivalence" (180) and finds a "basic ideological asymmetry" (98) that makes it easy for him to celebrate the collapse of the Soviet Union and (most of) its imitators, but he does not blithely justify the means chosen to reach that end.

To satisfy his stated goal of covering more than *We Now Know* in fewer pages, Gaddis must understandably gloss over some topics. Still, one wishes that he had been more consistent in addressing the role of religion in the Cold War, so fruitfully explored by historians like Seth Jacobs and Andrew Rotter. On the one hand, he devotes ample attention to Pope John Paul II and recognizes that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a "meaningful moment in the history of Marxism-Leninism," because the Soviets' "analytical tools were wholly inadequate" to confront an Islamist revolution (210). On the other hand, Gaddis is far more comfortable discussing Ronald Reagan (whose "faith was that democracy and communism would triumph over communism," 217) than he is

explaining what motivated Christians like Reinhold Niebuhr (simply a "tough-minded theologian," 91) or Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Gaddis mentions neither Solzhenitsyn's Orthodoxy nor his 1978 address at Harvard University, which charged the materialistic ideologies of both East *and* West with being morally and spiritually bankrupt.

Despite such inevitable omissions, Gaddis has written a remarkably insightful, empathetic narrative. Most remarkably, this is not merely a chronicle of geopolitical move and countermove; the twin themes that guide this book are *emotions*: fear and hope. In the preface he notes that his Yale students are "fascinated" and "appalled" by what they learn, and that some are left "trembling" (ix). This book should inspire similar responses, as one of the many strengths of *The Cold War* is its awareness of what could have been. Always sympathetic to the possibilities of counterfactual analysis, Gaddis even begins Chapter Two with a straight-faced "alternative history" of the tragedy that might have ensued had Douglas MacArthur been allowed to drop atomic bombs on the Chinese People's Volunteer Army in December 1950! The counterpoint to the fear that runs through much of this book is the author's recognition that hope was just as central: "Both of the ideologies that defined those worlds were meant to offer hope: that is why one has an ideology in the first place. One of them, however, had come to depend, for its functioning, upon the creation of fear. The other had no need to do so" (98). So Gaddis does well to recapture the genuine joy that greeted the fall of Communist regimes in 1989.

Indeed, he seems to expect his young readers to come away with a surprising sense of optimism, "a quality not generally associated with the Cold War" (xi). At times this quality seems misplaced. Having a bit of fun with Karl Marx, Gaddis identifies three "departure[s] from determinism," including the argument that "…*war itself—at least major wars fought between major states—had become a health hazard, and therefore an anachronism*" (262, emphasis original). One hopes that the Korean War remains the last time Great Powers meet in battle, but it is hard to share Gaddis' optimism when the supposedly "Cold" War saw millions of men, women, and children lose their lives in "minor" wars and even deadlier cases of organized violence that the superpowers either abetted or failed to stop. Still, Gaddis is certainly correct that "for all of this and a great deal more, the Cold War could have been worse—much worse. It began with a return of fear and ended in a triumph of hope, an unusual trajectory for great historical upheavals" (266).

Hugh McLeod, ed., *The Cambridge History of Christianity*. Vol. 9, *World Christianities c.1914—c.2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. 717 + xviii. $180.00.

Reviewed by Alister Chapman, Westmont College

This is the final volume in Cambridge University Press's new *History of Christianity*, and it is a gem. Editing a *Cambridge History*, with the Acton-esque baggage still carried along by the definite article in the title, is a delicate task, but Hugh McLeod has done a superb job. The result is a history of global Christianity in the twentieth century that is comprehensive but not ponderous, authoritative but not arrogant, vigorous but not overly tendentious.

In an introductory chapter, McLeod identifies five themes that run through much of what follows, namely "the development of Christianity from a mainly European and American religion to a worldwide religion; the major challenges faced by Christianity in its European and North American heartlands; the diminishing importance of denominational boundaries within Christianity, together with the growth in contacts between Christians and adherents of other faiths; the huge role of war in twentieth-century history; and the relationship between Christianity and movements for the emancipation of oppressed groups" (5-6). A second scene-setting chapter by McLeod ("Being a Christian in the early twentieth century") alerts the reader to the diversity that will follow, both between and within countries, for "the meanings of being a Christian…varied radically"—hence the "Christianities" in the title. The volume then divides into three parts. The first, entitled "Institutions and Movements," surveys developments in the papacy, ecumenism, colonialism and Christian missions, the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements, and independency in Africa and Asia. The second part provides eighteen "Narratives of Change," which cover the experience of Christian churches in North America, Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, Europe, south Asia, south-east Asia, east Asia, and Australasia. The third part looks at the "Social and Cultural Impact" of and on global Christianity, with chapters on a range of topics, including liturgy, poverty, gender, homosexuality, literature, architecture, science, art, and film. McLeod then ties things together with concluding chapters on "Role models" and "Being a Christian at the end of the twentieth century."

The chapters are of an almost uniformly high quality, and together they cover a remarkable range of Christian experience in the twentieth century. If you are curious about what it was like to be a Catholic in Peru in the 1930's, or a Christian in China during the Cultural Revolution, or a missionary theologian in the 1940's, or a Christian feminist in the 1960's, there is a chapter here to enlighten you. It would be a very informed person indeed who failed to learn a great deal about world Christianity from this volume.

This new series from Cambridge reflects recent trends in the historiography on Christianity and in the historical profession more broadly. Of particular significance is the desire of McLeod and his fellow editors to provide a global history of Christianity

with a de-centered West. In the present volume, this is most evident in the regional chapters of part II, for which McLeod assembled an impressive and international team of contributors. Yet despite significant attention to Christian experience in the rest of the world, the volume still leans north and west. In Part II, for example, both “South Asia, 1911-2003” and “Catholicism and Protestantism in the Second World War in Europe” get one chapter. The challenge is even more obvious in Part III, where many chapters pay little attention to Christians south of Florence and Florida.

The task of writing a truly global history of anything is extraordinarily hard, and even harder if attempted in an edited volume. Moreover, it requires a sort of interpretive imagination that would sit awkwardly within the pages of a *Cambridge History*. But this volume will certainly provide a great deal of material for a more synthetic treatment of the subject—a history of global Christianity that is much more than a sum of the parts of the world, a history in which the countries of Western Europe and North America may still call many of the shots, but where these calls are shaped and constrained by the decisions and devotion of people on other continents.

McLeod and his team have given us an impressive and extremely useful book. This reviewer’s major problem with the book is not that it falls short of providing a truly global history of the church: it is that its price puts it out of the range of most of the people who would find this a delightful and informative volume to have on their shelves.