

Donald R. Kelley, *Frontiers of History: Historical Enquiry in the Twentieth Century*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006. Pp. ix + 298. \$45.00.

Reviewed by Keith C. Sewell, Dordt College

This is the final volume of a trilogy on the history of historiography. It is preceded by *Fortunes of History: Historical Enquiry from Herder to Huizinga* (2003) and *Faces of History: Historical Enquiry from Herodotus to Herder* (1998). In his initial volume, Kelley wrote of a “Janus-faced double herm of Herodotus and Thucydides” in the National Museum of Naples, with its “heads back to back and looking in opposite directions” (*Faces*, 2). For Kelley these are “the two foundational master historians” (*Frontiers*, 194). The continual interaction between the long-term, wide-ranging, and broadly interpretative (exemplified by Herodotus) and the immediate, specific, and often weighted towards the contemporary (exemplified by Thucydides) pervades the entire trilogy, including *Frontiers* (1, 224). The former supplies an epic of broad cultural quality, while the latter can provide intense political drama (21). As in any wide-ranging survey, it is perhaps inevitable that in *Frontiers*, Kelley for the most part writes in the mode of Herodotus. Almost inevitably, this kind of literature can lapse into a kind of extended annotated bibliography, with authors and schools cataloged and compared. If Kelley does not entirely escape this trap, his continuing commentary is rarely dull, occasionally laced with a mild urbane humor, and testifies to a lifetime of scholarship.

His more Thucydidean moments come in the more explicitly personal—even autobiographical—passages in the concluding part of the book (206 ff.). Except for these latter passages, Kelley follows the pattern set in *Fortunes*, discussing twentieth century historiography in broadly national terms. The discussion mainly alternates among Germany (29-39, 53-9, 89-100, 149-57), France (22-8, 109-17, 136-9, 182-9), Great Britain—mainly England (13-22, 100-9, 142-9, 176-82), and the USA (117-26, 157-64, 170-6, 189-91). Within these contexts Kelley offers learned commentary and stimulating asides, although few would concur with every assertion. For example, I question his statement that Butterfield’s critique of *The Whig Interpretation of History* in 1931 was offered when that interpretation was in “full flower” (13). As P. B. M. Blaas argued in 1978, the Whig interpretation was in decline by the 1890s. Yet many of Kelley’s assessments are commendable. At least two are worthy of mention. Firstly, notwithstanding the continuities (138), the travails of 1914-1922—even with the horrors that transpired thereafter—still present themselves as a mighty watershed (35, 46, 75, 89 and 135). Europe and historiography could never be the same again. That said, Kelley is skeptical towards periodical announcements of “new” cultural, social, or intellectual histories, (15, 201, 221, 239). Also, while acknowledging the force of “postmodern” skepticism, his answers are shrewd and measured (239-42). I concur with Kelley’s caution towards embracing a supposedly distinct postmodern condition—and the

corollary of a postmodern historiography (225, 250). Arguably, our era is one of *hypermodernity* rather than of a presumed *postmodernity*.

While a desire to complete so extensive a trilogy is understandable, it is regrettable that the final text contains needless repetitions. Twice we are told that our calendar is derived from the Venerable Bede (211 and 243), twice Ranke is represented as “notorious” for purporting to describe the past “as it really was” (217 and 222), and twice it is asserted that Fritz Fischer “reignited” the 1914 German war guilt question (172 and 174). The perils of word-processing are additionally evident in the repetition of an entire passage concerning Polybius and “universal history” (194, 234-5). This somewhat mars the completion of a grand enterprise, but prospective readers should not be discouraged from taking up this valuable conclusion to a significant series. It is essential reading for all historians seeking insight into their historical place in the development of the discipline.

Yet if Herodotus and Thucydides, in their different ways, both point us toward Athens, the readers of this journal might well enquire: “And what of Jerusalem?” Do these Greeks represent false alternatives from which Jerusalem might deliver us? After all, are not the one and the many, and the particular and general, altogether dependent on the Word of the Lord? Is not the historical process itself contingent on the Word of him for whom a thousand years are as but a watch in the night? Kelley’s references to Eusebius might be taken as pointing in this direction (3, 69). If he finds a biblical/Christian alternative wanting, a clue to the reason might be discerned in his reference to “the fundamentalist part of my family” in the context set by references to biblical genealogies, reflecting as they do only the folk memory of their compilers on the one hand and the impressive results yielded by DNA research in the field of historical genography on the other (224). Work in this field has contextualized as well as extended and broadened the pre-scientific genealogies of Genesis, rather than discredited them. We are indebted to Kelley for his immense labors on the history of historiography; perhaps some repayment might be rendered by way of a greater concentration on the part of Christian scholars on the relationships between the biblical texts and extra-biblical evidence.

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Michael McClymond, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religious Revivals in America*, 2 vols. Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 2007. Pp. li + 1178. \$225.00.

Reviewed by Douglas A. Sweeney, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Christian historian Michael McClymond is fast becoming the leading expert on revivals in America. In 2004, he published a volume of critical essays on revival with

contributions from up-and-coming religious historians, *Embodying the Spirit: New Perspectives on North America Revivalism* (2004). Now he has added a massive compilation of primary documents and historiographical summaries of revivals and their participants in Canada and the U.S.

Volume one is comprised of 227 brief articles, ordered alphabetically, treating the history of Christian revival in North America. Written by 118 scholars, graced by 115 pictures, these articles deal with the people, events, practices, and themes that have shaped revivalism over nearly five centuries. McClymond himself offers an even-handed definition of terms such as “revival” and “revivalism” (xviii-xxiv). He also opens the volume with a helpful “Introduction” to “The Academic Study of Religious Revivals” (xxv-xxx).

Volume two contains a host of primary sources on the history of revival in America (1527-2005). Its 153 texts, grouped in 106 entries, fall under six main rubrics: The Roots of the Revival Tradition, 1527-1727; The First Great Awakening and the Rise of Evangelicalism, 1728-1799; The Second Great Awakening, Antebellum Era, and Civil War, 1800-1865; Postbellum Revivals and the Holiness Movement, 1866-1899; The Emergence and Growth of Pentecostalism, 1900-1948; and Late Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, the Charismatic and Third Wave Movements; and the Globalization of Revivals, 1949-2005. Each of the entries is preceded by a brief historical headnote. Most are first-person accounts of Christian revivals and their effects, many written by participants, some by outsiders.

Volume two also features three extensive bibliographies by McClymond, Michael A. Farley, and Wayne Sparkman. These take up more than 250 large encyclopedia pages (387-638) and refer to roughly 5,600 books, dissertations, and published articles on revival. The first lists roughly 3,700 works on revival in North America. The second is international and includes about 1,900 works on revivals elsewhere. It is organized under fourteen regional headings and will prove tremendously important in expanding the scholarly horizons of North American academics. The third bibliography lists over 100 archival collections holding material on revivals in North America.

This is an excellent reference work that should inform all future study of revival, evangelicalism, and modern religious history. Contributors include a wide range of first-rate scholars on the history of religion: Kenneth Minkema on Jonathan Edwards, Craig Atwood on the Moravians, Allen Guelzo on the Great Awakening, David Kling on the Second Great Awakening, David Daniels on African-America revivals, Melvin Dieter on Phoebe Palmer, Kathryn Long on the revival of 1857-1858, Russell Richey on Methodist revivals, Vinson Synan on Pentecostal revivals, Candy Brown on John Alexander Dowie, Randall Balmer on Billy Graham, and Charles Lippy on the theology of revivals, to name a few. The entries are comprehensive in scope. They cover all the usual suspects, as well as a challenging roll of non-traditional subjects often neglected by the best-known scholars of revival. I dare say that no one will come away from this work without some new information. Historians, especially, will cherish the bibliographies. The price is outlandish, but perhaps the good people at Greenwood Press will see fit to issue a

paperback edition of this work. If they do, it will surely become a *vade mecum*—or due to its size, a bulky handbook on the desks—of most historians of religion in America.

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Hugh Hecla, *Christianity and American Democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007. Pp. ix + 240. \$25.95.

Reviewed by Robert R. Mathisen, Corban College, Oregon

The interplay between politics and religion in American culture has been one of both conversation and concern. In his recent work *Head and Heart: American Christianities* (2007), Garry Wills notes that “political freedom and religious freedom arrived together [during the Enlightenment], nudging each other forward” (2). It was John Adams who declared that “it is religion and morality alone which can establish the principles upon which freedom can securely stand. The only foundation of a free constitution is pure virtue.” In his 6 December 2007 “Faith in America” address, Mitt Romney made a reference to Adams’s linking of free government and religion, contending that “freedom requires religion just as religion requires freedom....Freedom and religion endure together, or perish alone.”

In the present work, the form of governance under consideration by Hugh Hecla, professor of public affairs at George Mason University, is democracy, and the religion he examines is Christianity. In their symbiotic relationship, Christianity and democracy in America are in tension as they shape each other. This symbiosis has emerged notwithstanding both lip service and action taken over the years to separate politics and religion.

A central argument of Hecla is that from the mid-nineteenth century until the 1960s, the Great Denouement of the democracy-Christianity duo, the seeds of which were planted in the eighteenth century, consisted of a “twisting helix of reciprocal influences” (35). Prior to the 1960s, according to Hecla, this tandem functioned for the mutual benefit of Christianity, which has been more democratic in America than elsewhere, and for democracy, which has benefitted from the participation of Christianity. He supports his metaphor of a double helix of mutual interaction by examining the ideas of history, personhood, and political society.

The bottom line in Hecla’s extended essay is that the intertwining of Christianity and democracy in American public life has unraveled since the 1960s and that both Christians and secularists have reason to be concerned about an impending break between the democratic and Christian faiths. With this argument Hecla has invited close scrutiny from a variety of directions.

The structure of this book is one of its strengths; it is organized as an extended dialogue rather than a traditional monograph. Hecló's opening essay of nearly 150 pages is followed by briefer responses of three renowned scholars, and then with a final rejoinder by Hecló. Mary Jo Bane, professor of public policy and management at Harvard University, provides a twenty-page response in "Democracy and Catholic Christianity in America." She contends that the Catholic experience of American democracy (with which Hecló does not deal) centered on the arrival of large numbers of Catholic immigrants. The ensuing problems were solved, she argues, via politics and the Catholic contributions to American democracy. She dispels the argument of a "coming rupture" between Christianity and democracy by pointing to religious and political solutions to tensions between Roman Catholic doctrine and democracy produced by Vatican II between 1962 and 1965.

In his essay "Pluralism is Hard Work—and the Work is Never Done," Michael Kazin, professor of history at Georgetown University, disagrees with Hecló's largely consensus analysis of Protestantism and American democracy to the 1960s. Kazin argues that Hecló "errs in seeing Christianity in the United States as a more or less unified entity that changed little over time, at least until the 1960s" (171). The ongoing dialectic *between* American religionists, notes Kazin, has raised questions over whether these tensions have promoted or hindered democracy.

In the final response, Alan Wolfe, professor of political science at Boston College, identifies in "Whose Christianity? Whose Democracy?" an apparent contradiction in Hecló's analysis. This contradiction is a result of over-generalizations at the expense of details. In particular, Wolfe contests Hecló's generic use of the term "Christianity," citing his failure to note differences between Catholics and Protestants (Wolfe agrees here with Bane) and among diverse Protestant groups.

The final rejoinder by Hugh Hecló, "Reconsidering Christianity and American Democracy," includes his many gracious comments to his three readers. Nevertheless, Hecló holds his ground in seeing "a growing possibility that democracy and anything like a genuine Christianity will wholly disengage from each other" (233-4). He closes with the argument that both Christians and non-Christians should care about the future possibility of this rupture.

Rare is the opportunity for a reader to be exposed to four first-rate scholars of religious culture in one volume. In this current campaign and election season it would be useful for all Americans to review again the vital relationship between faith and freedom.

Robert W. Caldwell, III, *Communion in the Spirit: The Holy Spirit as the Bond of Union in the Theology of Jonathan Edwards*. Studies in Evangelical History and Thought. Waynesboro, GA.: Paternoster, 2006. Pp. 212. \$27.00.

Reviewed by Christopher W. Morgan, California Baptist University

Jonathan Edwards's popularity continues to soar and not just among scholars. *Christianity Today* recently pointed out his influence on young, reformed evangelicals and showcased "Jonathan Edwards Is My Homeboy" t-shirts on its front cover. Every year scores of dissertations, books, and essays on Edwards pour out. With so much being written on a figure who is arguably America's most significant theologian, many have no doubt wondered if there is good reason to read one more of these "contributions." Too often scholars seem to interpret Edwards according to their own image—Barthian, inclusivist, paleo-Calvinist, etc.—and fail to set forth Edwards's assertions and arguments in a historically nuanced way. In contrast, Robert Caldwell's *Communion in the Spirit: The Holy Spirit as the Bond of Union in the Theology of Jonathan Edwards* is not just another book on Jonathan Edwards; it is arguably one of the most significant contributions to Edwards studies in the past decade, a major work by a proficient and promising Edwards scholar. Caldwell, assistant professor of American church history at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, based this book on his PhD dissertation under Douglas Sweeney at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School.

Caldwell puts forward this thesis: "In the theology of Jonathan Edwards, the Holy Spirit's activity as the bond of the trinitarian union between the Father and the Son is paradigmatic for all other holy unions in his theology. In the personal union of Christ's two natures, the mystical union believers have with Christ, and the union of fellowship that believers have with each other, the Holy Spirit works *ad extra* in a manner that is patterned after his inner-trinitarian work" (8).

To demonstrate his proposal, Caldwell sets Edwards's trinitarianism in its historical and ontological contexts, interacts with Edwards's "Discourse on the Trinity," and points to what he calls "the Augustinian flavor" of Edwards's trinitarianism (19-40). Caldwell then interprets Edwards's theology of the Holy Spirit, asserts its centrality in his theology, interprets his "A Treatise on Grace," highlights his immanent rather than the economic approach to the Spirit, and tries to unravel his tendency (like Augustine) to identify the Spirit with divine love and its facets: God's holiness, excellency, happiness, fullness, and grace (41-55).

On that foundation, Caldwell shows how the Spirit as the bond of union in the Trinity plays out in Edwards's theology, especially in his understanding of the plan of creation and redemption (59-73, with special attention given to God's communicative disposition), Christology (74-97, focusing on the Spirit's role in the hypostatic union), salvation (99-165, addressing union with Christ as it relates to regeneration, justification, sanctification, and the church), and glorification (169-93, emphasizing heaven as a world of union and its eternal progress of love and union). Along the way, Caldwell emphasizes that "[o]ne of the striking features of Edwards's theology is the way he desires to demonstrate the continuity between God's inner trinitarian life with the new life experienced by the redeemed. While there is a sharp distinction between God and his

people, Edwards seeks to emphasize at the same time that the redeemed know and love God much in the same way that God knows and loves himself' (59).

Caldwell's *Communion in the Spirit* bears the strengths and weaknesses of a sound dissertation. Its outline and organization are superb, its bibliography solid and up-to-date, its research broad and deep, its tone judicious and balanced, and its style complex and difficult. But even with Caldwell's good writing style, his serious interaction with some of Edwards's most intricate theology will leave most non-specialists in its wake.

The weaknesses are few, and to be fair, most of them are likely related to Caldwell's focus. Some comparisons are drawn but left undeveloped (e.g., with Augustine on the Holy Spirit as God's love, or John Owen on the Holy Spirit); some theological matters are not satisfactorily addressed (e.g., how Edwards's approach to the atonement is interlinked with his understanding of the hypostatic union and union with Christ); and some potential negative evaluations of Edwards are left unmentioned.

The strengths of *Communion in the Spirit* are much more numerous. First and foremost, Caldwell makes a convincing case for his thesis. He also helpfully guides readers in interpreting Edwards's tricky material related to God's communicative disposition, enabling them to see the Creator-creature distinction in Edwards (i.e., that Edwards was not a pantheist or panentheist) while letting Edwards's stress on God's glory shine. Further, Caldwell compellingly shows that Edwards's pneumatology stands in the tradition of an Augustinian trinitarianism, reminds readers that Edwards acknowledged much mystery in the unions, and carefully surveys much of Edwards's related theology. Overall Caldwell's work is significant and helpful, particularly to scholars interested in the theology of Jonathan Edwards and to those wanting to deepen their understanding of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, Christ's hypostatic union, union with Christ, the glory of God, and heaven by wrestling with the ideas of Edwards.

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S. Donald Fortson III, ed., *Colonial Presbyterianism: Old Faith in a New Land*. Princeton Theological Monograph Series 71. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2007. Pp. xiv + 236. \$26.00.

Reviewed by Peter J. Wallace, Michiana Covenant Presbyterian Church

This volume was produced as a part of the 300th anniversary of the formation of the first presbytery in America in 1706. The essays come from different backgrounds and perspectives which together form a valuable companion volume updating Leonard Trinterud's 1949 book, *The Formation of an American Tradition*. The editor defines colonial Presbyterianism's intended audience as including both academic and ecclesiastical readers, arguing that volumes such as these are useful in helping the church to "maintain her conscious connection to the Christian heritage lest she lose her way in

the sea of ever-changing modernity” (xi). And in large part, the volume succeeds in its mission.

This tone of advocacy is set in the early chapters by Samuel T. Logan and D. Clair Davis. Logan’s essay, “Puritans, Presbyterians, and Jonathan Edwards,” points out that congregationalism and presbyterianism were not as sharply divided in the eighteenth century as they became later and pleads for Presbyterians today to become more Edwardsian. Likewise in “Francis Makemie: Presbyterian Pioneer,” Davis not only provides biographical information, but even censures Makemie for losing “the Gospel balance of Calvin” (31) in his sometimes moralistic preaching. Davis also nicely captures the inner tension in American Presbyterianism “to be a *spiritual* entity, but also to express the coming of the *Kingdom*” (33).

The following seven chapters deal in various ways with the issues surrounding the New Side/Old Side controversy. All seven focus on the New Side. The volume claims to provide a survey of colonial Presbyterianism, but while it offers several essays on New Side institutions and leaders, such as the Log College, Jonathan Dickinson, Gilbert Tennent, and Samuel Davies, it neglects Old Side leaders like Francis Alison and John Thomson.

David B. Calhoun’s “The Log College” provides an introduction to William Tennent’s famous ministerial training school, but relies too heavily on Archibald Alexander’s nineteenth century tribute to the Log College and does not provide much eighteenth century documentation. This results in a definition of intrusion as ministers “taking their message of repentance and revival into places where, in their opinion, people were not hearing the true gospel” (52). It would be more accurate to say that these “places” were “Presbyterian congregations” (see page 160 for a better definition of “intrusions”). The Tennents were organizing preaching stations, and even congregations, out of other Presbyterian churches in the same synod. Calhoun also appears to rely too much on Trinterud, accepting his statement that Scottish universities were “in a deplorable state” (57), which then creates cognitive dissonance when he claims on the next page that William Tennent’s education at the University of Edinburgh made him a well-qualified instructor! It is more likely that the reason why the Log College could provide a decent education is because of the superior education available through the Scottish universities.

S. Donald Fortson III and William S. Barker provide slightly different perspectives on the subscription controversy of 1729-1736, but a volume publishing a collection of essays on colonial Presbyterianism should contain some diversity on the matter of subscription because of the diversity that existed in the colonial church. Barker’s work on the Hemphill controversy once again provides an excellent case study in how subscription actually worked in the colonial church.

Brian LeBeau provides a sympathetic account of “Jonathan Dickinson and the Reasonableness of Christianity,” pointing out that Dickinson was a moderate supporter of the Great Awakening who also had considerable sympathy for the Old Side’s objections to the New Side’s tactics. C. N. Wilborn is not nearly so sympathetic in his critique of

“Gilbert Tennent: Pietist, Preacher, and Presbyterian.” Wilborn shows how concern for the subjective experience of conversion dominated Tennent’s preaching and ministry until the late-1740s when he began to see the errors of his earlier adversarial style.

D. G. Hart’s essay on “Old Side/New Side Schism and Reunion” provides a paragraph or two on the Old Side, but spends most of its time chronicling the New Side path from radical to moderate revivalism. Hart very helpfully shows how moderate New Side revivalism, with its emphasis on individual conversion, became something of the model for American Presbyterianism long after the reunion of 1758.

The final two essays by James H. Smylie and L. Gordon Tait provide helpful sketches of Samuel Davies and John Witherspoon, both presidents of the College of New Jersey. A reader of this volume would probably come away thinking that the Log College and its successor, the College of New Jersey, entirely dominated colonial Presbyterianism. While it would be hard to exaggerate the influence of these institutions, it is unfortunate that this volume did not include more than tangential comment on figures not affiliated with them. Otherwise, the volume is a very useful companion (and at times corrective) to Trinterud and points to the need for a new assessment of colonial Presbyterianism.

Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *The Mind of the Master Class: History and Faith in the Southern Slaveholders’ Worldview*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Pp. 828. \$75.00/\$29.00.

Reviewed by Edward J. Blum, San Diego State University

It is a rare work that deserves to be called a *tour de force*. This is one of them. After more than eighty collective years of research and study, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese’s *Mind of the Master Class* is a masterpiece. It is the final academic work of Fox-Genovese, who passed away in early 2007, and it may be the final work of her long-time husband. In more than 700 pages of dense text, the two examine how white southern slaveholders considered their worlds, the past, the relationships between masters and slaves, the workings of free-market capitalism, and their faiths. The Genoveses conclude that while slavery affected every aspect of the slaveholders’ minds, they nonetheless had intellectually worthwhile ideas about Christianity, social cohesion, the evils of market capitalism, and the dangers of rampant individualism. This is not a book for the timid; it is not bedtime reading. This is a landmark work on the depth and breadth of southern white intellectual life.

The Genoveses divide their study into five parts. The first part examines how southern whites relied on slavery as both the bulwark of their rights and their protection against revolutionary excess. It allowed them, they believed, to overthrow monarchy

without falling into the tyranny of the mob. Part two focuses upon the lessons that southerners obtained from the past. They looked to history for moral and political instruction. Southerners devoured historical fiction from Sir Walter Scott and Edward Bulwer; they avidly read Herodotus, Polybius, Walter Raleigh, Hugh Jones, David Hume, and Edward Gibbon. Southern whites also were attuned to local and world history. They were obsessed with the study of slavery in the past as both a justification for their lordship and for ways to avoid devastation. The third part details southerners' interest in the medieval world. The Genoveses show that while southerners certainly admired much about medieval communities, such as their emphases on manly valor and honor, they did not look to re-create this mythic past. Part four centers on the faith of southern whites. It describes their approaches to God, the Bible, Jesus Christ, abolitionists, Unitarians, and denominational debates. The fifth part is a short reflection on the drive from the Protestant Reformation to the American Civil War (which the Genoveses insist on calling the "War for Southern Independence"). The Genoveses find that slaveholders relied upon slavery as their chief means not only to hold back the rising tide of bourgeois individualism that was sweeping Europe and the North, but also to maintain southern Christianity, curtail urbanism and industrialization, police gender distinctions and roles, and uphold their rural world.

Overall, the Genoveses find that two conflicting traditions influenced the minds of slaveholders: Greco-Roman approaches to history that focused on cyclical time (that societies inevitably rise and fall), and Christian belief in linearity (where progress could be sustained and society could save itself from destruction). What often divided the southern mind could be squared, however, by southern hopes that a Christian, hierarchical, slaveholding society could overcome the cycles of the past. It appears that between the Genoveses they have read about every extant document on the South from 1800 to 1860 and beyond. For as many works as they consulted, their depth of analysis is amazing. I would not assign this text for lower-level undergraduates, because most would get lost in the detail. But for advanced undergraduates, this study could be very effective. Students would be pressed, but they would find so much to consider.

Although the Genoveses understand white southern slaveholders probably better than anyone else (and perhaps better than southerners understood themselves), they are on less sure footing when discussing northern abolitionists and when considering how ideas function in society. For example, the Genoveses insist that abolitionists were more likely to draw upon secular Enlightenment ideas than Christianity in their opposition to slavery. But anyone who reads abolitionist documents will see that they were just as likely to quote the Bible and engage in Christian history as southern slaveholders. Moreover, the Genoveses never examine the material base of ideas or intellectual movement. Where were books published? How and where did southerners buy them? Interestingly, many of the pro-southern responses to Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were printed in Philadelphia or New York. They may have been read more often in the North than the South. Or, regarding the faith of southern slaveholders: what kinds of visual materials were used in Sunday Schools? The Genoveses neglect to

examine how slaveholder ideas were rooted in material culture and not disembodied notions that circulated only through conversation and the reading of texts.

Critiques aside, *The Mind of the Master Class* is an incredible work of history. While scholars may disagree with the politics of the Genoveses, be irritated with their somewhat childish insistence on their name for the Civil War, and find the level of detail annoying, no scholar of American history should overlook this book.

Michael L. Tate, *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. Pp. 328. \$29.95.

Reviewed by Jack W. Traylor, Bryan College, Tennessee

An emigrant wagon train formed into a tight circle, ringed with attacking Indian braves, all the while inside the wagons determined homesteaders peer out with smoking rifles as their wives maintain children within protective grasps, has been a staple of dime novels, Western movies, and television programs for many years. Yet this was not a particularly common occurrence on the Western migration trails, according to Michael L. Tate, professor of history and Native American studies at the University of Nebraska-Omaha, in his *Indians and Emigrants: Encounters on the Overland Trails*. In terms of danger, Native Americans were more at risk from violence at the hands of pioneers on the overland trail. And more common than attacks on each other, the two groups cooperated with and helped each other. Whites supplied many welcomed manufactured goods and gifts to Indians, and Indians often were a source of guidance and assistance to the transients in their westward trek. In short, the Western migration experience, in terms of contacts and interaction between Anglo-Americans and Native Americans, was a very complex series of events and relationships.

Tate's study focuses on the years 1840 to 1870, the time of peak movement of whites through the West to their new homes via wagon trains along the Oregon, California, and Mormon trails. Before 1840, there was only a trickle of western migrants, and after 1870 more and more came on the advancing railroads. Over the course of more than half this period, the contacts between the two groups were overwhelmingly peaceful. From the late 1850s on, however, as the volume of emigrants continued to grow, native peoples became increasingly concerned and angered about the threat to their way of life and often reacted accordingly. Whites tended to respond in kind, and the once mutually supportive relationships began to decay.

Tate, who also has written *The Frontier Army in the Settlement of the West* (2001), seemingly has examined every diary, letter, and account of westward expansion available that is relevant to his topic. His research was exhaustive. He details numerous first-person narratives to illustrate his points.

The book begins with a look at pioneer expectations of their western journey. Most feared the worst. The men thought they should be armed to the teeth to resist what they believed would be an inevitable Indian attack. Women feared western Indians would kidnap and rape them and worse yet, steal their children. In truth, migrant men probably were more at risk from injuring themselves in an accidental shooting than they were from being the victims of Indian attack. And while an occasional kidnapping of an emigrant woman or child did occur, most Native Americans were much more interested in acquiring the emigrants' horses or cattle than harming the people themselves. Emigrants thought the danger would begin as soon as they crossed the Missouri River into present-day Kansas. The accounts of their looking around for the Indian attack that rarely came from the Kansas or neighboring tribes that inhabited the region is close to humorous. Their surprise grew as they often found help from friendly natives in crossing the numerous streams and rivers in the area.

To be sure, there were dangers on the western emigrant trails from hostile Indians, and they became more so as time passed and the number of whites increased, not only to settle the West but also to pursue the various gold strikes that occurred from 1848 on. In each succeeding chapter, Tate moves from descriptions of peaceful curiosity of the two groups to mutual economic benefit to more and more hostile encounters.

Indians and Emigrants is an outstanding, thorough, and well-written study of the complex world of Indian/emigrant relationships on the American central migration trails in the mid-nineteenth century. It will go a long way to show that while the circled wagon train under Indian attack did happen on occasion, it was the exception, not the norm, in the western emigrant experience.

Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. Pp. xiv + 337. \$49.95/\$19.95.

Reviewed by Ben Cater, University of Utah

This volume examines the legal contest over polygamy ("the Principle") and freedom of religion between the federal government and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the late-nineteenth century. It highlights the effect of public opinion on constitutional law, the changing meaning of federalism, and the state's implicit defense of Protestant Christianity and marital values. Historian and law professor Sarah Gordon contributes to Mormon studies by arguing that federal attempts to criminalize plural marriage and punish polygamist lawbreakers led to a narrowly Protestant interpretation of religious liberty and religious disestablishment that still governs our treatment of religious life.

The first chapter reviews the basics of Mormon history, from Joseph Smith's 1820 theophany to the Saints' persecution in the Midwest to their exodus to the Salt Lake Valley in 1840. Gordon then discusses the historical context in which legal anti-polygamy arose. After the Saints emerged in the Second Great Awakening, Protestants denounced them for embracing false doctrines, and a fraudulent "Golden Bible," and for following a deluded, if not duplicitous, leader. Whig writers who condemned black slavery began attacking the "white slavery" of polygamy, which the Mormon Church declared to be a prophetic principle in 1852 (53). Four years later, the Republican Party labeled slavery and polygamy the "twin relics of barbarism." Polygamy condoned sexual license and rejected self-control, critics insisted, and thus threatened the moral fabric of the republic. The Principle also militated against democracy since it encouraged the formation of a patriarchal polygamist aristocracy that pledged fidelity to the Church prophet. Because the prophet held broad secular powers, anti-polygamists in Congress perceived Utah's territorial government to be a "theodemocracy" that collapsed the legal separation of church and state. On the other hand, Mormon spokesmen asserted "their right to be different (and separate), to follow God's law, and to build the political kingdom...in a federal republic that claimed to tolerate religious difference" (86).

The confusion over religious liberty and religious disestablishment worked against the Mormon Church. National lawmakers embraced a Protestant understanding of constitutional theory, which perceived federal statutes as mirroring natural law. In 1862, Congress passed the Morrill Bill to criminalize polygamy, limit Mormon Church property in excess of \$50,000, and rescind the territorial government's incorporation of the Church. Mormon "barbarism" was thus subordinated to the "religious truth" of Protestant Christianity (82). Yet actions in Utah contrasted with those in the nation's capitol, as Mormon-packed local courts, which tried criminal cases, overlooked the Act (83). In 1874, Congressional anti-polygamists closed this loophole by granting federal courts criminal jurisdiction. That year, Brigham Young tested the Morrill Act by encouraging Mormon bigamist George Reynolds to be indicted by a federal jury. Defense attorney George Biddle cited the First Amendment's religious protections to appeal the charge, but the Supreme Court ruled that such protections did not apply to plural marriage. Further, the federal government did not weaken the federal system by overriding popular sovereignty. The effect of *Reynolds v. United States* (1879) was to change the meaning of federalism by limiting state autonomy, encouraging a more activist federal government, eroding local sovereignty, and affirming Protestant humanism. Gordon writes, "the secular power of the federal government over marriage, exercised in opposition to the expressed wishes of a local religious majority, was coated in polygamy cases with a sweet deference to Protestant mandates" (140).

The final chapters of *The Mormon Question* examine the effect of public opinion on later anti-polygamy legislation and the lasting importance of Mormon polygamy rulings to American religious life. In the 1880s, federal officers raided Utah settlements and found that polygamists continued to break the law. Mormon women, who were perceived by Protestant reformers as passive victims, were in fact willing participants. Frustrated reformers urged national lawmakers to "'use the dynamite of law' to destroy Mormon

polygamy” (165). In 1887, Congress passed the Edmunds-Tucker Act, which imposed stiff jail sentences on polygamous lawbreakers, disincorporated the Mormon Church, and seized the bulk of its property. In *Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. United States* (1890), Gilded Age concerns about corporate financial power combined with anti-polygamy rhetoric to influence the Supreme Court to “create and sustain an entirely new branch of federal constitutional law” that affirmed the Protestant morality of the Constitution and the separate institutional structures of church and state (186). Yet Gordon concludes, “in the twentieth century secular rationality and disestablishment undermined many of the constitutional principles antipolygamists [sic] believed in and fought for” (233).

The Mormon Question is an excellent study for Mormon specialists and lay readers. Gordon’s prose is clean and her arguments persuasive, and her treatment of various issues—religious liberty, higher law arguments, and Gilded Age politics—is superb. If read with Kathleen Flake’s *The Politics of Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (2004) and Todd Kerstetter’s *God’s Country, Uncle Sam’s Land: Faith and Conflict in the American West* (2006), this volume will contribute to understanding both American church-state relations and Mormon identity.

Edward J. Blum, *W.E.B. Du Bois: American Prophet*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. Pp. 288. \$39.95.

Reviewed by Phillip Luke Sinitiere, University of Houston

What comes to mind when you hear the name W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963)? For many students of American history, his name prompts recollection of his storied debates with Booker T. Washington over industrial education and academic training for the “talented tenth.” Perhaps others relate Du Bois to his role in founding the NAACP, his magisterial *Souls of Black Folk* (1903), or his participation in the Pan African movement at the turn of the twentieth century. Still others may associate Du Bois with Ghanaian citizenship in the early 1960s, or maybe his eventual membership in the Communist Party. Very few students of American history think about Du Bois’s relationship to religion, let alone Christianity—likely taking cues from some of his biographers, most notably David Levering Lewis, whose authoritative biographies of Du Bois scored two Pulitzer Prizes. Biographers and other Du Bois scholars collectively argue that Du Bois kept religion at arm’s length and engaged it only when it best suited his purposes. Edward J. Blum’s *W.E.B. Du Bois, American Prophet* summarily challenges this view, and in turn offers a compelling revision of Du Bois’s relationship to religion, and to Christianity in particular.

After an effective opening chapter that examines Du Bois’s autobiographical writing in the context of other black autobiographical writing, Blum brilliantly tackles Du Bois’s

massive and important *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Here Blum illuminatingly situates *Souls* in the context of nineteenth century reflection on spiritually informed racial understanding, and pays keen attention to the book's reception both in America and abroad throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Blum brings *Souls* into conversation with nineteenth century readings of Genesis 9, for example, as well as writers such as Edward Blyden and Benjamin Tucker Tanner, African American authors who wrote perceptively against white supremacy.

Adding to his previous work in *Reforging the White Republic: Race, Religion, and American Nationalism, 1865-1898* (2005), Blum crafts a late-nineteenth and early-twentieth history of American religion that intelligently shows who, what, when, where, why, and how both northern and southern whites more aggressively associated whiteness with godliness, baptizing white supremacy as a kind of national religion, replete with sacred texts, religious rituals, and spiritual practices. These are subjects he takes up with precision in chapters three and four as well, and it is against this backdrop that Blum's reading of *Souls* becomes so powerful. He captures the spiritual fervor, righteous anger, theological creativity, and sacred understanding that Du Bois displayed in this seminal text—from his careful rendering of black spirituals, for instance, to the brilliant way he imagined and aligned chapter titles with the *Thirty Nine Articles of the Church of England*. Ultimately, Blum shows clearly that Du Bois's literary, historical, sociological, and even theological prowess stands unmatched, and in the book's most important chapter he solidifies Du Bois's role as an American prophet who still speaks.

Blum's third chapter studies Du Bois as a historian and a sociologist, paying particular attention to the religious dimensions and spiritual interpretations Du Bois offered in works such as *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) and *John Brown* (1909). Blum shows that at the base of Du Bois's careful social, economic, cultural, and political analyses of black life in the United States rested the deep conviction that white supremacy and its expressions of faith constituted a religious problem, what Blum terms the "spiritual wages of whiteness" (103).

Further clarifying Du Bois's conception of white supremacy as a theological concept, chapter four provides careful readings of Du Bois's creative writing, and the imaginative ways he testified about the sacred dimensions of black religious life. In novels, plays, short stories, and reflections that appeared in the NAACP magazine *The Crisis*, Du Bois reimagined religious life in the United States where black biblical characters assailed and condemned the religion of white supremacy. Blum's jarring accounts of the ritualized dimensions of lynching and the sacred significance whites attached to it renders the spiritual dimensions of Du Bois's creative offerings striking. Blum perceptively demonstrates how in his literary work Du Bois, like a Hebrew prophet, located "dramas of redemption" (180) in the midst of suffering, violence, and gross inhumanity, centering black characters as spiritual exemplars and arbiters of redemption.

Blum's final chapter, "Christ Was a Communist," chronicles the closing decades of Du Bois's life. Du Bois traveled widely throughout the world, forged key relationships among the globe's communists, spent a considerable amount of his public reflection on

Africa, and as is well known finally joined the Communist Party. Importantly, Du Bois remained intriguingly religious and presented himself as such in his final autobiographical installment along with a vast array of other publications, and both Langston Hughes and Paul Robeson still described Du Bois as a prophet in the 1950s. Blum argues that Du Bois's critical reflection on church and missionary collusion with colonialism, particularly in his work *Color and Democracy* (1945), is not evidence of his irreligion, but is actually consistent with his understanding of white supremacy in theological categories. Moreover, Blum documents several of Du Bois's key friendships with liberal white ministers during this period, not to mention his regular presence at their churches.

Stylistically, Blum's writing is clear and lucid, and his ability to craft poetic statements that summarize and/or explain is something to emulate. *W.E.B. Du Bois, American Prophet* also makes signal contributions and offers critical challenges to several academic fields of study.

Historiographically, Blum effectively challenges conventional biographers of Du Bois who overlook religion altogether, or at best relegate spirituality to the margins of his life. In light of Amanda Porterfield's 2005 *Religion and American Culture* review essay on religious biography, Blum's book raises the bar for subsequent work even as it sits alongside recent spiritual biographies such as Cynthia Taylor's study of the life of African American labor activist A. Philip Randolph, Kathi Kern's portrait of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Michael Kazin's work on William Jennings Bryan, Andrew Manis's study of Fred Shuttlesworth, and Louis DeCaro's religious examinations of both Malcolm X and John Brown. The depth of Du Bois's spiritual engagement with the concrete realities of everyday life also prompts Blum to suggest that Du Bois anticipated the rise of black theology in the 1960s and womanist theology of the 1970s, claims specialists are certain to debate in the years to come. Furthermore, Du Bois's theological rendering of white supremacy and the countless ways it sought to quell cries for justice and demolish claims to equality leads Blum to issue a call for whiteness studies scholars to more fully consider the ways religion informs racial perceptions and racial identities.

On a final note, the undeniable historiographical significance of Blum's book should prompt important conversations about teaching Du Bois, race, and religion—especially given Lendol Calder's public challenge to enhance such discussion at the 2004 and 2006 CFH meetings, and this journal's willingness to give significant space to pedagogical reflection. This is one way the profession can honor the spiritual legacy of W.E.B. Du Bois and in turn see faith and history in a whole new light.

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Mary S. Hoffschwelle, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*.
Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006. Pp. 432. \$39.95.

Reviewed by Ryan McIlhenny, Providence Christian College

When thinking about the history of African American education, we often view it in terms of the heroic efforts of marginalized communities as they challenged the racist hostilities of public institutions. Rarely, however, do we consider the ways in which such excluded groups effectively shaped mainstream schooling. In her latest book, *The Rosenwald Schools of the American South*, Mary Hoffschwelle, professor of history at Middle Tennessee State University, considers the monumental influence of Rosenwald schools that not only represented “African Americans’ historical struggle for educational justice” but also contributed to the formation of public education in general in the early-twentieth century South (271).

The Rosenwald School project was the brainchild of the wizard of Tuskegee, Booker T. Washington, and the president and later chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck and Co., Julius Rosenwald. In the mid-1920s, the shrewd, business-minded Rosenwald dedicated himself to philanthropy, especially the cause of African American education. He was eager to cooperate with Washington—who willingly exploited white charity—after reading *Up From Slavery*, Washington’s autobiography. The two met in 1911 and discovered “that they shared a commitment to ‘self-help’ as well as a firm belief that education could improve the lives of black Americans in the rural South” (10). Between 1912 and 1932, the Rosenwald building project, with the donations of Rosenwald and the matching funds raised largely by African Americans in communities where the schools were built, reached a combined total of over nine million dollars and established well over five thousand schools of which one in five was African American.

In writing her account, Hoffschwelle has undoubtedly benefited from the latest trends in material, social, and cultural history. Washington and Rosenwald tapped into the progressivist pedagogy of the early-twentieth century that paid close attention to the relationship between material conditions and social development. The actual physical layout of the school—and the lighting, sanitation, and ventilation—were essential in shaping individual “experience and values” and advancing communities toward “social progress” (3). More importantly, the Rosenwald schools were so impressive that they became models for southern public education in general, which then, Hoffschwelle argues, “created a visual vocabulary for southern rural schools that crossed the color line and suggested that all students could and should learn in professionally designed instructional environments” (113).

The project’s administration revealed the racial structures endemic to Jim Crow America, with whites holding top positions and blacks occupying lower ones. But the spatial, cultural, and class distance between white and black agents did not undermine the project’s overall goal: the building of new schools and organizing a southern educational infrastructure. Furthermore, as contemporary theory emphasizes, effective social change rarely occurs neatly from the top down, but from a discursive interplay between the top, middle, and bottom. Hoffschwelle highlights the activities from below. The success in spreading over five thousand Rosenwald schools over fifteen states depended on the determined efforts of local African Americans, who used the project to advance their own

ideas of racial uplift. At the bottom, therefore, the Rosenwald school building program became a “space of pride and achievement” (6).

Readers will face great difficulty finding weak points in Hoffschwelle’s meticulously researched and well-written book. This reviewer is motivated to explore a greater dialogue between Hoffschwelle’s volume and studies that deal with other movements that challenged (directly or indirectly) southern segregation. Indeed, the book would be effectively complemented by a reading of Peter Ascoli’s recent biography of Julius Rosenwald. Whatever the outcome of such a comparative analysis, readers must credit Hoffschwelle for elevating from obscurity the material and pedagogical persuasion of Rosenwald schools “as historical places of community achievement” (271).

R. Clifford Jones, *James K. Humphrey and the Sabbath-Day Adventists*.
Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2006. Pp. 250. \$50.00.

Reviewed by Douglas Morgan, Columbia Union College, Maryland

Despite being the charismatic pastor of a large, thriving church in Harlem during the 1910s and 1920s, and then, in the 1930s and 1940s, the presiding bishop of a small denomination with congregations throughout the United States and the West Indies, James K. Humphrey (1877-1952) is thoroughly obscure outside of Seventh-day Adventist circles and, to a large extent, marginalized even in the historical memory of that community. In this groundbreaking study, R. Clifford Jones shows Humphrey and the churches he led to be a noteworthy part of the story of urban African American religious movements in the twentieth century. Not a narrative biography, the strength of Jones’s work lies in its analysis of Humphrey’s significance in a variety of contexts: African American religious history—more specifically, in Harlem during its heyday—and Seventh-day Adventist history—more specifically, the story of Adventism as a vital movement among African Americans.

Already a Baptist minister, Humphrey joined the Adventist movement in 1902, soon after emigrating from Jamaica to New York City. At that time Adventism’s evangelical mission to black Americans and to New York in general were both in their infancy. Within two decades, the 600 members of Humphrey’s Harlem Church No. 1 would alone surpass the overall total number of African American Adventists (five hundred at most) when he joined the denomination in 1902. In 1920 the church opened Harlem Academy, providing education rooted in Adventist principles to Black youngsters. From 1924 to 1930 its faculty included the Harlem Renaissance author Arna Bontemps.

During the 1920s, however, Humphrey became increasingly frustrated in his efforts to develop the Adventist work in ways that would contribute to black economic self-determination and bring home the advantages of the church’s strengths in health care. In

the centralized Adventist system, Humphrey's church was administered by the white-led Greater New York Conference. Though Harlem No. 1 was the conference's largest and greatest income-generating congregation, racial discrimination in the church made it impossible for Humphrey and other black ministers to exercise administrative authority in the conference or to rectify inequities along racial lines in the appropriation of funds. This situation was paralleled at the denomination's higher administrative levels, and it created the basic dilemma facing African American Adventists as a whole.

In 1929, Humphrey decided to circumvent conference administration in carrying forward plans for a project called the Utopia Park Benevolent Association, placing it solely under the auspices of his congregation. He envisioned Utopia Park as a black-owned resort community that would offer cultural, educational, and recreational opportunities and where Adventism's healthful living principles would be practiced. Unfavorable news reports about the real estate developers precipitated a showdown with the Greater New York Conference, but it was the preacher's refusal to submit his plans regarding Utopia Park to the conference leadership that led to his dismissal from the ranks of Seventh-day Adventist ministry.

The overwhelming majority of Humphrey's congregation followed him to form the United Sabbath Day Adventist church in Harlem. Because Humphrey was the most gifted and renowned Black minister in Adventism, and because his experience resonated with African American Adventists everywhere, the crisis in New York sent shockwaves through their ranks. Although a large majority remained with the Seventh-day Adventist organization, by 1932 fifteen congregations, ranging as far west as Omaha and as far south as Panama, had formed to join with the Harlem church in comprising the United Sabbath Day Adventist denomination, over which Humphrey presided as bishop until retiring in 1947.

The author, Jones, who is associate dean of the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary at Andrews University in Michigan, does not confine his study to the inner dynamics of Adventist history. His rich portrayal of the political, economic, religious, and cultural life of 1920s Harlem, including the complex relationship between West Indian and American-born blacks, makes vivid the challenges that Humphrey faced and highlights both the appeal and limitations of his work in addressing them.

Jones draws on leading studies of African American religious movements in analyzing what made Humphrey's church an attractive option to hundreds of people in that social context. Eschewing the flamboyance and extreme theological innovations of such leaders as Father Divine and Daddy Grace, Humphrey was a charismatic leader who identified with the long line of reformers in the Christian tradition who protested the injustice and corruption of the established church.

Although he mentions it, Jones fails to make much of the Sabbath-day Adventists' intriguing distinction from Seventh-day Adventist doctrine. Humphrey and his followers injected a kind of black nationalist element into the apocalyptic theology of history central to the Adventist tradition. Because of their egregious hypocrisies and failures to live up to biblical ideals with regard to race relations, the era of white Christians ("Gentiles") as bearers of the gospel was now over, Humphrey taught. Thus, in the very

last days of world history, “the call of the hour is to Negroes to preach the gospel to the world.”

Jones characterizes Humphrey as a “prophetic” and “nationalistic” leader. Humphrey was “prophetic” in articulating a vision of justice over against the injustices experienced by an oppressed people. He was “nationalistic” in emphasizing black self-determination as a solution more than “reformist” political action to change the dominant system. Ironically, in the Sabbath-Day Adventist breakaway, the “pastoral” role of comfort and consolation came more to the forefront in Humphrey’s leadership. He became preoccupied with the survival of his new movement and failed to carry forward initiatives for economic and educational uplift.

Indeed, the United Sabbath-Day Adventists ultimately failed to develop foundations more lasting than the charismatic leadership of its founder or transcend its identity as a standard-bearer of racial protest. At the outset of the twenty-first century, only the original Harlem congregation remained, its weekly attendance averaging around sixty. Humphrey’s larger historical legacy thus remains connected with the Seventh-day Adventist church. The same is true of the Northeastern Conference of which these congregations are a part. Jones’ study shows how Humphrey’s breaking ranks with the denomination, rather than leading to a major schism, became an important factor in prodding the church leadership to give greater heed to its racial problem. The trauma of the Humphrey “defection” contributed to changes that culminated in 1945 in the creation of the Northeastern Conference, along with additional regional conferences for other parts of the nation. These conferences gave black ministers much greater autonomy in administering the denomination’s work among Americans of African descent, and they have proven to be structures for a growing and thriving Adventist presence in the nation’s cities to the present day.

Clifford Jones’s study of James K. Humphrey brings to light abundant historical information and analytical insights for understanding Adventism as part of the history of religious movements that have promised a better way to African Americans grappling with the dominant political, economic, and cultural forces of urban society. Hopefully, in addition to its own merit, this book will stimulate further work to carry that understanding forward.

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Catherine A. Brekus, ed., *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. Pp. 352. \$19.95.

Matthew Avery Sutton, *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007. Pp. 351. \$26.95.

Reviewed by Danielle Du Bois Gottwig, University of Notre Dame

Although most historians know that they ought to include questions of women and gender in their work, these topics remain marginal to the field of American religious history. Evangelical historians in particular struggle to address women's and gender history adequately in their work, often because the topics they select seem far from scholarship on gender.

Catherine Brekus argues that this need not be the case. In her previous book, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845* (1998), she recovered the forgotten activities of early American female evangelists, stressing how her subjects failed to fit into either the remembered past of American Christianity or the feminist quest for women who have self-consciously sought to claim their rights. Now she has performed a similar service in editing *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past*, an essay collection that doubles as a primer in how studying religious women of the past can illuminate the history of both gender and American religion.

The volume Brekus has assembled amounts to more than the typical collection of essays. She graces the volume with an introductory chapter that outlines the current state of the field, especially the need for greater dialog between women's history and American religious history. This lucid bird's-eye-view of the key scholarship in these two fields helps both the acquainted and unacquainted get their bearings.

The essays that follow reflect each author's unique interests; nonetheless, the collection coheres. The authors reliably bring their respective chapters back to questions that are of broad interest to historians of American religion. Essays on the colonial and early national periods address the Puritan belief system, religious interactions between European colonists and enslaved Africans, and the influence of the Enlightenment on eighteenth century evangelicalism. Essays on the nineteenth century treat the religious dimensions of notions of selfhood, the willingness of black holiness believers to disregard middle class standards of "respectable" practice, the creation and influence of popular theology, and Roman Catholic identity. Twentieth century topics include religious beliefs of second-wave feminists, Catholic participation in the civil rights movement, religious devotion among Mexican-American Catholics, and the American Jewish experience.

One can find an equally intriguing example of the relevance of women's history to American religious history in Matthew Avery Sutton's *Aimee Semple McPherson and the Resurrection of Christian America*. His dissertation-turned-book argues that McPherson decisively shaped the course of American Pentecostalism and evangelicalism. Celebrated and trivialized by the media powers whose attention she courted, the nationally-known evangelist and founder of the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel has been

remembered primarily as a quirky figure whose scandals left most Americans with raised eyebrows. Sutton rescues McPherson from her fate as Pentecostalism's most famous oddball, demonstrating how her media prowess enabled her to wed the "old-fashioned gospel" to contemporary popular culture and to politics.

Sutton's work is at once analytically astute and supremely readable. He is a good storyteller writing about an unusually energetic person. The result is a fast-paced narrative that rarely lets the reader's mind wander. This readability in no way obscures his scholarship. Sutton begins with the evangelist's rise to prominence in Los Angeles during the twenties, then chronicles her career as a national figure and movement-builder. Each portion of the tale reveals an important facet of McPherson's message, her appeal, her evolving strategy, and her importance to conservative Protestant Christianity.

There is tried-and-true material in Sutton's biography as well as some pleasing surprises. Sutton covers such familiar ground as the scandal surrounding McPherson's disappearance in 1926 and her expert use of media attention. However, he also provides valuable analyses of McPherson's Los Angeles audience, her involvement in local civic affairs, and her repeated attempts to restore biblical Christianity as America's national faith. He also examines how her scandals and the coming of the Great Depression pushed the formerly ecumenical McPherson to realign herself with Pentecostalism, to embrace a vigorous program of social welfare through the Angelus Temple commissary, and to place greater emphasis on racial and gender justice. In short, he demonstrates that McPherson successfully inserted herself into both local politics and national cultural battles, in the process teaching a significant subset of the nation's conservative Protestants that they belonged at the center of the national life.

Sutton's analysis is poignant not simply for his "mainstreaming" of McPherson but for the larger story of American religion and culture. He also demonstrates that first-rate religious history can include gender analysis. According to Sutton, McPherson did not simply happen to be a woman who maneuvered her way into leadership of a denomination. To the contrary, he finds that gender was an integral part of her public identity. Early in her career, McPherson made herself a symbol of her movement and the activity of God in the world, thereby implicitly challenging the image of God's champions as male or masculine. Critics interpreted her latent sexuality and femininity as insidious, while many ordinary believers, flappers, and women reporters found McPherson refreshing and flocked to her. When her tale of kidnapping brought her under public scrutiny, public attention riveted to her hairstyle, her undergarments, and her sexuality. In the years that followed, McPherson made her support for women's rights explicit and cultivated the young women who in the past had been such valuable sources of support. McPherson bobbed her hair, argued that the New Testament taught that all discrimination against women in ministry should cease, encouraged the leadership of LIFE Bible College's numerous women students, and gained the applause of the National Women's Party.

Brekus and Sutton remind historians that more work can and should be done in the area of women's religious past. To those stirred by the possibility, they also provide excellent models of the shape some of that work might take.

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Peter J. Bowler, *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons: Evolution and Christianity from Darwin to Intelligent Design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007. Pp. 272. \$24.95.

Reviewed by Christopher M. Rios, Baylor University

During the second half of the nineteenth century, a select group of scientists and writers successfully established the idea that religion and science are at war with each other. Over the last several decades, scholars have struggled to correct this so-called warfare model, revealing it as an overly simplified view that fails to understand the complex relationship between science and religion and ignores many of the figures who were instrumental in developing the most advanced science while remaining deeply committed to their religious faith. Peter J. Bowler's *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons* is a welcome addition to this field of study. This lucid and insightful work affirms the inaccuracy of the warfare model, while showing that regardless of its bankruptcy, it continues to be perpetuated by select groups on both sides who hope to benefit from its message.

Bowler (professor of history of science, Queen's University, Belfast) has been a leading figure in the history of evolution for nearly a quarter century. His many works include *Evolution: The History of an Idea, Third Edition, Completely Revised and Expanded* (2003) and *Reconciling Science and Religion: The Debate in Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (2001). Although a self-proclaimed novice to the study of religion, Bowler's contributions to the field have provided valuable insight for those struggling to understand the issues. This work is another such contribution.

The breadth of Bowler's chronological coverage is admirable. Reaching as far back as the seventeenth century, Bowler shows how the rapidly developing scientific views of the natural world both influenced religion and were influenced by it. Throughout, the book offers an insightful analysis of the complex issues that lay behind both sides of the controversies. Bowler clearly shows how the convictions about design, providence, and scripture that often determined the Christian interpretation of science were mirrored by the political and social commitments held by those who sought to overturn scientific views conducive to natural theology.

The strength of Bowler's work is his treatment of the developments between 1860 and 1930 and the circumstances surrounding the so-called "Eclipse of Darwinism," the period after 1870 when an explicit anti-Darwinian mood swept through the scientific

world. During this period an anti-materialist current led many to support the non-materialistic, neo-Lamarckian versions of evolution over T.H. Huxley's scientific naturalism and Darwin's ateleological theories. It was not until twentieth century developments in the field of genetics affirmed Darwin's theory of natural selection that Darwinism became the dominant evolutionary theory. The effect of this transition was to strip the possibility that science could discover a guiding element in evolutionary development. Religious thinkers who were trying to place God within a neo-Lamarckian scheme could no longer look to science for support.

Bowler's attention to the current situation notes the resurgence of creationism since 1960 and the spread of fundamentalism around the globe, and it offers some speculation about the motives of those who continue to see one field of study threatened by the other. Bowler ends by briefly surveying and evaluating the work of those who are seeking a middle way between fundamentalist religion and anti-religious science.

Bowler's interpretation has far more strengths than weakness, but one shortcoming deserves attention. The work unfortunately defines the categories religious liberal and religious conservative according to the acceptance or rejection of evolution. This is a misuse of terms that carry specific meanings in the field of religion. It is clear from Bowler's other works that he is fully aware that figures such as Asa Gray, James McCosh, and B. B. Warfield were religious conservatives who accepted evolution, but his tendency to generalize the categories in this work has the effect of labeling all religious conservatives as antievolution fundamentalists. This does not appear to accurately represent Bowler's argument, which is to be commended for affirming the weakness of the warfare model while recognizing that it is alive and well among both fundamentalist Christians and anti-religion scientists.

Overall, *Monkey Trials and Gorilla Sermons* is a commendable survey and interpretation of the challenges evolution brought to Christianity. Few books offer such depth, insight, and clarity in so few pages. Bowler's work is accessible to those with little background in the subject and offers valuable insights for those already well versed in the issues.

David P. Setran, *The College "Y": Student Religion in the Era of Secularization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Pp. x + 318. \$79.95/\$28.95.

Reviewed by Brett H. Smith, Baptist Student Foundation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

In this book David P. Setran explores and chronicles a significant yet overlooked movement in the history of American higher education: campus YMCAs. The Ys thrived during an era when religion became privatized, relieving the colleges and universities from the responsibility of providing religious activities. Although this development

greatly informs recent scholarly discussions about secularization in higher education, Setran says that so far “no concentrated attempt to demonstrate the positioning and influence of students in this religious transformation” has occurred and that the Ys provide the ultimate case study of that transition (3). “Without question,” he argues, “the intercollegiate YMCA movement was a result of the secularization of higher education” and at the same time was “a source of secularization for the individual students” themselves (8-9). To illustrate his thesis, Setran traces the movement’s history across eight decades, noting three significant theological transitions centered around the period’s three leaders: an evangelistic stage, led by Luther Wishard; a character-formation and service stage—with its “conservative social gospel” (131)—led by John R. Mott; and a Kingdom-building, progressive education phase, led by David R. Porter.

Building upon earlier YMCA histories by Clarence Shedd (1934) and William Morgan (1935), Setran intentionally limits his focus solely upon the male collegiate experience, setting the YMCA story “within the larger context of the history of higher education” and amplifying “the lived realities of campus chapters” (4). He adds to prior research on the topic by poring over materials located in the national YMCA archives and also at 112 local campuses. Advocating the secularization thesis previously proposed by scholars like George Marsden, Jon Roberts, and James Turner, he adds to their work by demonstrating a concrete example of “the voluntary extracurriculum” which allowed the colleges and universities to specialize and do research while relegating student religion to peripheral clubs (82). Although, by pointing to the Ys, administrators could assure the public that their schools were flourishing spiritually, the resulting quandary of boundary issues between churches, parachurches, and the schools themselves remains with us today. And, ironically, he argues, in the long run, the YMCA movement actually undermined religious vitality on campus while seeking to enhance it.

The book includes a number of attention-grabbing discoveries and provides a wealth of detailed information. We learn, for example, that the college Y’s founding was linked to the businessmen’s revivals of 1857-1858. The great D. L. Moody himself directly influenced Wishard and the early Ys by hosting camps at his personal estate and writing curricula. In an era preceding student unions and student services offices, the Ys built spectacular buildings, some of which even housed bowling alleys. The usually young secretaries of local chapters functioned as unofficial university chaplains, attaining a high degree of access to administrators and faculty while providing a vital bridge between them and their students. African American chapters especially thrived, dominating the religious climate of the historically black colleges and universities. And throughout the book, we are consistently reminded of the Y’s staggering numerical impact. For example, between 1900 and 1920, almost thirty percent of all male students in the U.S. were members of a college Y.

Written in a straightforward yet thorough style, the book features extensive research in both secondary and especially primary sources. It integrates engrossing and illustrative biographies with a dazzling command of statistics. Excellent overviews at the beginnings of sections and chapters concisely summarize the period’s theological trends and controversies. The book would be even more helpful if it included a bibliography, as the

progressively abbreviated endnote formatting sometimes slows the reader's enjoyment by requiring extra hunting for a prior citation.

But despite such minor annoyances, Setran's conclusions come through loud and clear. The relegation of religion to the voluntary extracurriculum, he says, unfortunately "encouraged a variety of dualisms between facts and values, public and private truths, and sacred and secular spaces," promoting the university classroom to a public arena for almighty facts, while demoting the Ys to a private place for mere opinions (247). And vainly trying to keep pace with academic trends (the folly of adopting theological modernism, he implies) eventually doomed the vitality of the college Y. The progressive religious education movement obliterated the Y's original evangelistic thrust, excluding students who valued traditional beliefs. Since these were the very collegians for whom religious self-identity was of primary concern, there were not enough potential participants left to support the Ys, which soon experienced a rapid numerical decline in both individuals and chapters. A possible lesson for evangelical campus ministries is to watch out for partnerships with ministries departing from the old time religion, because friendship with the world is a slippery slope. On the other hand, liberal and progressive Christians might disagree and claim that the precipitous decline of the campus Ys simply demonstrated that the world and church were not yet ready for the radical social gospel that Jesus and the YMCA proposed. Any such lesson-drawing must, of course, also note the vastly changed context for religion and universities in the twenty-first century.

But therein lays the beauty of Setran's work. He has ably crafted an important institutional history for us, while giving the reader room to interpret for him or herself. This book is a must read for historians of higher education and American Protestantism, as well as student service professionals and campus ministers. It will likely stand for many years to come as *the* reference work for this necessary ingredient in the story of American Christianity.

A. Donald MacLeod, *C. Stacey Woods and the Evangelical Rediscovery of the University*. Downer's Grove: IVP Academic, 2007. Pp. 240. \$25.00.

Reviewed by Jeffrey P. Bouman, Calvin College

C. Stacey Woods left an indelible mark on college and university student ministry in Canada, the United States, and many other parts of the globe—that much seems indisputable. A. Donald MacLeod's biography of this influential visionary does the hard work of bringing out what Woods himself referred to as the "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde" of his life and character. To his credit, Woods seems to have reached the end of his life, in 1982, with a surprising level of comfort with his lifelong flaws. MacLeod reports that

Woods insisted that any remembrances given of him after his death include these flaws. He had no time for pretense, even in death.

Using hundreds of archival letters, minutes, and other reports and collections, MacLeod systematically recounts the amazing life led by Woods, a central figure in the establishment of student ministry in Canada and the United States through InterVarsity Christian Fellowship (IVCF) and throughout the rest of the world through the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES). One of a coterie of highly influential individuals to arise in the evangelical world between 1930 and 1945, Woods joined Harold Ockenga and Cornelius VanTil, and preceded Jim Rayburn, Billy Graham, Bill Bright, and Samuel Escobar, among others, in founding influential institutions to run the middle ground in the emerging evangelicalism that functionally bridged between fundamentalists, Reformed-confessional types, and later Pentecostals.

MacLeod writes a systematic overview of this Australian emigrant's life of globetrotting missionary zeal for evangelism training for university students with the care of someone who personally benefited from Woods' monumental influence. Stacey was born in 1910 in Bendigo, near Melbourne on Australia's southeastern coast, was raised in a devout Christian Brethren family, and enjoyed a childhood of some means and much exposure to a culture of missions and evangelism, particularly by observing his (globally) itinerant preacher father, Fred Woods. He learned early about duty to the gospel, and MacLeod's account gives good evidence that if Stacey had any unconscious competition with his traveling father for time away from family in service to the gospel, he succeeded. One largely unsung hero in the C. Stacey Woods story is his wife, Yvonne, and the two who perhaps suffered the most were his sons Jonathon and F. Stephen, neither of whom figure prominently in the story. He traveled often and he traveled far from home and family.

Educated at what was then the Evangelical Theological College in Dallas (later Dallas Theological Seminary) and Wheaton College, Woods made lifelong contacts during those years with men and women of influence from evangelical circles worldwide. His gifts were myriad, including a passion for the basics of evangelism, Bible study, and prayer, an openness to complexity in biblical interpretation, a winsome personality that made wealthy donors feel connected to the ministry, and an ability to envision big things and then make them happen administratively. He served as the leader of IVCF Canada, IVCF US, and IFES, at various points simultaneously. This fact hints at his overriding weakness, a drive for perfection and an inability to delegate effectively. He also could be a bully and a workaholic. And despite the logical necessity of doing so, he appears to have never developed a fully-orbed statement on how evangelical students could integrate their Christian commitments with their scholarly pursuits.

The book serves many functions, perhaps the most useful being its retelling of the development and rise of a second wave of student world evangelism. Depending on how one interprets this history, the rise of IVCF and IFES is either a natural progression from the earlier Student Volunteer Movement and Student Christian Associations, or an arrogant and entrepreneurial usurping of their missions without their institutional blessings. Indeed, a large subtext of the book is the recurring theme of evangelical groups

supplanting each other with charges that the earlier group was not orthodox enough, did not support and train their staff enough, or were not visionary or creative enough. The early IVCF presence in the United States had this posture, MacLeod argues, toward the League for Evangelical Students and the Student Volunteer Movement. Ironically, fifteen years later, IVCF was on the receiving end of these charges from two upstart organizations, Campus Crusade for Christ and the Navigators.

A difficulty of MacLeod's telling of the story is that he weaves multiple stories, both individual and institutional, from multiple time periods, without effective markers to identify who does what and when. There is a constant back and forth between the distinct periods in Woods' life that begins to feel like a slingshot and prevents good tracking of the story as it unfolds. Despite this, a careful reading of MacLeod's biography of Woods is not disappointing. Somewhat ironically, he tells a great deal about American evangelicalism in the twentieth century in this book. Despite Woods' Australian heritage, his many years in Canada, and his retirement and death in Switzerland, the book remains largely an American evangelical story with Chicago (Wheaton, Downer's Grove), Philadelphia, and Boston figuring prominently.

C. Stacey Woods faced many tensions in his life and ministry, many of which are instructive for a generation of successors in evangelical leadership. In providing Christian ministry to university students, how should an organization interact with the established Church? With Christian colleges and seminaries? How should visionary leaders balance the demands of local, global, and family responsibilities? True to form, Woods provides both a positive and a negative role model relative to these and other vocational questions.

James T. Patterson, *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore*. The Oxford History of the United States. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Pp. 448. \$35.00.

Reviewed by Craig A. Kaplowitz, Judson University, Illinois

The 1970s were not all bad. Students in the standard U.S. history survey might find that statement difficult to believe, given the usual suspects for coverage of the decade: Watergate, Kent State, Vietnam, stagflation, urban decline, the Iran hostage crisis, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, rising crime rates at home, and apparent impotence in world affairs. One of the pleasures of *Restless Giant*, James T. Patterson's incisive survey of U.S. history from Watergate to the 2000 election, is its ability to hold the myriad experiences of a nation in balance. Yes, during the 1970s Americans experienced

substantial problems and disappointments, all well chronicled here. But the decade also saw advances in personal computer technology, early work on what would become the internet, medical innovations such as the MRI, the beginnings of cable television, continued advances in civil rights, gains in educational levels, and real economic growth (modest in many regions, but particularly strong in the South and Southwest). In fact, “[t]hrough rising inequality accompanied this progress, most people, blacks included, fared a little better absolutely” over the course of the decade (74). This is not revisionism so much as historical perspective, and Patterson consistently uses such sober-minded analysis to add clarity and sophistication to our understanding of the last quarter of the twentieth century.

In *Restless Giant*, Patterson picks up the thread he followed through his earlier book, also in The Oxford History of the United States series, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974* (1996). That volume explored the growing American confidence fueled by victory in war, moral superiority to communism, technological and economic booms, and substantial progress in race relations. Those soaring expectations proved excessive, and a series of crises through the early-1970s—particularly Vietnam and Watergate, but also racial animosity, the economy, and growing conflict over the legacy of the 1960s—resulted in a chastened America less sure of both its future and of its past. The effects of that chastening resonate through *Restless Giant*. In the decades following 1974, the United States emerged from the economic stagflation of the 1970s, enjoyed the longest continuous peacetime economic growth in its history, remained dominant in the development and application of new technologies, grew increasingly open to people of all races and ethnicities, and became the lone world superpower as the Cold War ended. Yet many Americans continued to fear “the passing of what they had imagined as the golden age of American history that had followed World War II” (8). Some of that fear stemmed from the contradiction between expectations and reality since the early-1970s; some resulted from a romanticized vision of the earlier postwar period. In either case, the chastened giant moved uneasily through the end of the century. This is the story of a return of rising hopes, albeit more tempered than those of the postwar era.

Patterson’s narrative is given analytic bite by his focus on several contradictory tendencies within the recent American past. The first, alluded to above, is the tendency of Americans to be doing better but enjoying it less. Indeed, a key question emerging from this work is “what defines ‘the good life,’” and the reality Patterson reveals is that astonishing material prosperity has not made us feel better or more secure. A second tendency is that of Americans to criticize the growth of government while demanding that government leaders do something to solve the nation’s problems. This contradiction is particularly helpful for understanding the problems facing leaders of the Reagan era and later—there is a profound difference between advocating for smaller government and actually governing according to that principle. It also reveals a widespread and complex mix of self-reliance and community spirit that complicates the American story. A third tendency is that of Americans to express widely divergent attitudes about their personal experience and about the direction of the nation as a whole. Two poignant examples include education and politics: most people express satisfaction with their children’s

schools and approve of the job their congressman is doing, but believe that the nation faces a crisis in public education and that Congress has been captured by special interests. Patterson refers to these tendencies throughout *Restless Giant*, providing threads to follow through the narrative. The text alternates chapters or pairs of chapters devoted to political developments with chapters focused on social, cultural, and economic trends. Patterson exhibits his personal expertise in the political chapters, with compelling summaries of complex developments and sharp mini-biographies of key leaders. In chapters on social and cultural developments he proves to be a master of the telling anecdote, providing brief examples that put flesh on the skeleton of the standard narrative. Throughout the text he employs a helpful approach—describing fairly and responsibly the position of advocates on different sides of an issue (for example, the cultural legacy of the 1960s, or Reagan’s role in ending the Cold War), then addressing the issue with dispassionate historical perspective. The result finds some merit and some flaws on each “side,” revealing the seriousness of the debates while also suggesting the importance of perspective, or perhaps worldview, for framing those debates.

Patterson ends his story in the year 2000, believing we lack historical perspective to make sense of the September 11 terrorist attacks in particular. To some extent this is true for the 1990s as well. Important material from the presidential archives, to cite one example, is only beginning to become available for research, and the historical literature is in the earliest stages of being written. The result is that for some important citations *Restless Giant* perhaps relies too heavily on newspapers, newsweeklies, and “first-wave” histories by journalists—quality works, no doubt, but lacking the perspective that time and archival research afford. This does not absolve us from the responsibility to try to make sense of the recent American past, of course, and in the able hands of one of our most accomplished historians, *Restless Giant* provides a thorough and thought-provoking place to begin.

Gary DeMar and Francis Gumerlock, *The Early Church and the End of the World*. Powder Springs, GA: American Vision, 2006. Pp. xvii + 180. \$24.95.

Reviewed by W. Brian Shelton, Toccoa Falls College, Georgia

The *Left Behind* series of apocalyptic novels is not one that the early church fathers would have appreciated. Nowadays, popular writings on eschatology tend to be futuristic and dispensational, frequently marshaling historical and exegetical support from early church writers to buttress particular and often peculiar perspective on last things. Gary DeMar and Francis Gumerlock challenge the largest overstated claim about the early church within this genre: that most of the patristic writers were futurist premillennialists. *The Early Church and the End of the World* surveys literature from patristic authors to

demonstrate how many early Christians were not premillennial but even showed preterist tendencies.

In a convincing collection of historical citations, the authors take a two-pronged approach: to highlight preterist tendencies among the church fathers and to dispel the supposed myth of dispensational claims to the same fathers. A preterist view of scripture maintains that New Testament prophetic passages usually considered future and apocalyptic were mostly fulfilled within a generation of the audience's own time, usually centering on the destruction of the Temple in AD 70. DeMar and Gumerlock's chapters are generally chronological or thematic: preterism among first century writers, the supposed premillennialism in centuries following, ancient and medieval readings of the Olivet Discourse, patristic dating of Revelation, and historical interpretations of "latter days" in Acts 2:19-27. The two authors ascribe their name to individual chapters, allowing this review to cite each author specifically.

DeMar and Gumerlock explore ancient writings on scripture that support preterist readings. Second century Hegesippus records that James, brother of Jesus, was on trial with the Pharisees when he claimed that Jesus was about to return just before he was thrown from the Temple to his death in AD 70. Some recognizable names speak to a pre-70 fulfillment at times: Eusebius, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Bede, often interpreting New Testament time indicators like "shortly," "near," "at hand," "at the door," and "this generation" as pointing to destructive tribulation in the first century. Plenty of less recognizable names favoring a pre-70 fulfillment abound, such as fourth century Titus of Bostra and ninth century Otfrid of Weissenburger. This report of patristic and medieval comments clearly reveals how preterist interpretations at least on single verses abound, refuting popular misleading claims for any single patristic eschatology.

Besides showing that the fathers were not all premillennial futurists, DeMar seeks to disprove those fathers that were. For example, since the *Epistle of Barnabas* uses the creation week as a basis for believing that the seventh thousand-year period would be the millennium, DeMar dismisses it as unbiblical (47), so also for Irenaeus, Commodianus, and Lactantius. DeMar might delineate premillennialism too narrowly by requiring that a church father "must state unequivocally that Jesus will reign on the *earth* for a thousand years," as well as requiring that "Revelation 20 must be used to support the claim" (44). Although the fathers did regularly allude to scriptures for their case, they did not cite or elaborate as specifically as modern authors, and a church historian ought to allow this latitude.

The dating of Revelation is crucial to the debate. If one can establish a pre-70 AD writing, then its contents could anticipate the destruction of the temple under Titus rather than a rebuilt temple under future Antichrist. Gumerlock surveys four patristic opinions on the date of Revelation, "very early" under Claudius (Epiphanius), "early" under Nero (several Syriac sources), "late" under Domitian (Irenaeus), and "very late" under Trajan (Dorotheus), clearly attesting to a multiplicity of provenance views, and in turn allowing for various interpretations of its prophecies.

All the major details of Jesus' Olivet Discourse find a preterist fulfillment in some ancient or medieval writer, if not several. For example, Augustine said of the historic

destruction of the Temple, “Luke made clear what could have been uncertain, that what was said of the abomination of desolation referred to the siege of Jerusalem, not to the end of the world” (87). When Peter’s Pentecost sermon speaks of the darkening of luminaries, fifth to ninth century Syrian expositors found this referent to be the crucifixion of Christ. Meanwhile, Greek interpreters between the fifth and eleventh centuries find partial referents in Jerusalem’s destruction and partial referents in final judgment. One of the book’s greatest contributions is Gumerlock’s novel translation of material from Denis the Carthusian, Beatus of Liebana, Apringius, and the *Irish Reference Bible*. These medieval commentators “are reflections of earlier patristic traditions,” evidencing that the Domitian dating was “popular but by no means an exclusive opinion” among Latin-speaking Apocalypse commentators (151).

DeMar and Gumerlock successfully disprove any claim of a universal patristic premillennial view of the future. At times, DeMar employs polemics against contemporary dispensational writers, which only detracts from a very meritorious case for patristic and medieval preterism. Comments sometimes oversimplify history, such as, “While history is important and should be studied, it is not authoritative” (6, cf. 9), without explication of history’s relationship to the authority of scripture. The lack of a biblical or historical index prevents researchers of particular passages easy access to abundant historical data. Important historical data on eschatology, especially its medieval sources, are not contained elsewhere, making this book a useful tool and definitive work for historical biblical exegesis and eschatological studies. Extremely reader friendly, its greatest contribution is the marshaling of historical writers against those who broad stroke the church fathers as dispensational premillennialists.

Alvyn Austin, *China’s Millions: The China Inland Mission and Late Qing Society, 1832-1905*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007. Pp. xxxi+506. \$45.00.

Reviewed by Michael D. Wilson, Vanguard University

The book’s title is taken from the monthly magazine of the China Inland Mission (CIM), the subtitle gives only two of many topics covered in this wide-ranging, fascinating history. In addition to the CIM and late Qing society, Austin explores nineteenth century revivals, the Taiping Rebellion, the Boxer Rising, opium addiction and cures, the development of fundamentalist theology, and the lives of a bulging cast of characters—including, of course, CIM founder Hudson Taylor, but also Pastor Hsi Shengmo,

“overcomer of demons,” a man of extraordinary gifts who challenged foreign assumptions about missions and evangelism.

The book is organized chronologically around the first three generations of CIM missionaries. Part One, covering the years 1832-1880, recounts Hudson Taylor’s early life and CIM origins. A grim vision of millions of Chinese perishing without Christ convinced Taylor that God had called him to evangelize the world’s most populous country. He founded the CIM the next day, without money, denominational backing, or anything else but faith. In 1866 he took his wife, their four children, and sixteen adults to China. A year later, Taylor was directing thirty-five missionaries, making the CIM the largest mission in China. One of Taylor’s great challenges was to find men and women “spirited enough to survive in China, but not so independent to challenge his leadership” (103). While most of those who did survive remained loyal to Taylor, some chafed under his rules—Austin does not gloss over the tensions and ruptures, as did contemporary CIM publications and the later hagiographic biographies of Taylor. Neither does he hide the utter degradation of Shanxi Province—the primary, almost the only, Chinese setting in the book. Austin has chosen Shanxi as a “microcosm...because it was both typical and larger-than-life, where the best and worst aspects of the CIM were played out” (xxvi). Shanxi Chinese were commonly destitute, addicted to opium, and afflicted by evil spirits.

The task set by Taylor—opening mission stations far from the safety of the treaty ports—was daunting and the sacrifices made by the missionaries extraordinary. By 1874 the CIM seemed doomed, but between 1875 and 1888 (Part Two of the book), religious revivals awakened English men and women, including the “Cambridge Seven,” a group of talented young aristocrats whose affiliation with the CIM attracted international attention and gave impetus to the international Student Volunteer Movement.

The CIM continued to grow after 1888, in large part due to the expanding role of North Americans. In Part Three, Austin develops one of two “large questions” upon which he wants this work to shed light: “How did nineteenth-century British evangelicalism feed into twentieth-century American fundamentalism, and eventually into worldwide Protestant patterns of the twenty-first century?” (xxviii). After Taylor witnessed first-hand the American enthusiasm for China missions, he opened a North American branch, which became an important feeder of personnel and money. At the same time, the CIM became involved in establishing Bible schools and colleges in the United States and Canada. Thus the CIM, already a pioneering mission in China, charted new territory as an organization of evangelicals free of denominational and now even national identity. On the other hand, the American influence was constricting: it imposed a “fundamentalist” character on the more “tolerant” British CIM (292). Henry Frost, whom Taylor appointed American Secretary, eventually formulated the CIM’s very first creedal statement in order to combat modernist influences. The creed “became a shorthand for fundamentalism” (313), and it was used to weed out members with “heretical” views—such as Stanley Smith, one of the Cambridge Seven, who preached the “non-eternity of punishment” for the unrepentant.

The other “large question” with which the book deals is “how did evangelical Christianity become Chinese?” Here Austin explores interrelationships between Chinese

folk religion and Christianity. While foreign missionaries distributed printed tracts accessible only to literate elite males, Pastor Hsi showed how to make Christianity simple, by using the wordless book (distilling the gospel to a message using four colors); attractive, by presenting it to “seekers” (i.e., members of religious sects) as a syncretic but superior religion; and powerful, by employing gifts of healing and exorcism—especially to release people from opium addiction. A key moment was the decision of the Cambridge Seven to submit to Pastor Hsi and follow his lead. The decision was controversial; other CIM missionaries distanced themselves from him. But what emerged nevertheless was an indigenous “model for mass evangelism in twentieth-century China” that influenced Jonathan Sung, Watchman Nee, and others (441). The efficacy of the indigenous model seems to be supported by two of Austin’s charts that together imply that “generally speaking, the larger and more ‘foreign’ the work, the fewer the baptisms; the more indigenous, the more converts” (346).

This is an exhaustively researched, carefully crafted, and provocative book that will interest a wide audience, but especially those who study missions (it is billed as “the first history of the CIM by an outsider”). The story of the enculturation of the gospel is particularly important for those seeking to understand the stunning growth of the rural church in China today.

Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley, eds., *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c. 1815-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. xvi + 683. \$180.00.

Reviewed by Russ P. Reeves, Providence Christian College, California

The *Cambridge History of Christianity* is a nine-volume project oriented toward two ambitious goals. First, it seeks to offer a “complete account of the development of Christianity in all its aspects—theological, social, political, regional, global” rather than a merely institutional history. Second, it is “not a history merely of Western Christianity,” but one that seeks to provide a comprehensive account of world Christianity (or “Christianities,” as they prefer) from the earliest church to the present. These are formidable goals, but, given recent historiographical developments, necessary for a work of this scope. This particular volume, paralleling the period Kenneth Scott Latourette termed the “Great Century” in his *History of the Expansion of Christianity* (and, significantly, the period to which four of Latourette’s seven volumes were devoted), has a particularly pivotal place in the series as a whole. Though it does not quite live up to these high demands, it is nevertheless a helpful, even essential, work.

The volume is divided into three sections. The first, “Christianity and Modernity,” offers thematic chapters on a variety of topics, including women, science, social thought,

art and architecture, and music, as well as topics less standard but significant for this period, such as theology's relationship with the Enlightenment, literature, and the discipline of history. The second, "The Churches and National Identities," builds on themes introduced in the first section on voluntary religion and the increasing prominence of the papacy, examining the relationship between church, state, and the fervent nationalism of the nineteenth century. These first two sections focus heavily on Europe (with only two chapters out of twelve going outside of the European continent, one on Latin America, and the other on the United States and Canada). The third, "The Expansion of Christianity," includes ten chapters on missions, world regions (the Middle East, India, East Asia, Indochina, the Philippines, Australia, Africa), and African-American Christianity.

Despite the breadth of the volume's intention, there is a parochialism in some chapters that might have been expected in an early-twentieth century work from Cambridge but is out of place in a twenty-first century work claiming global scope. The multi-authored format of the work compounds this problem. For example, the chapter on music focuses narrowly on liturgical reforms in European Catholic churches, without even a glance toward the flourishing of less refined yet enduring compositions of American gospel song writers such as Fanny Crosby (who is mentioned only in Mark Noll's chapter on Christianity in America and Canada) or in other parts of the world, or even toward the influence of Christian faith outside of church liturgy (religious themes found in the music of Felix Mendelssohn or Charles Ives, for example). This narrowness results in a lost opportunity to explore the foundations of the continuing fondness for nineteenth century gospel song found among Asian and African Protestant churches that could have contributed to the Cambridge History's broader goal of a truly global history of Christianity.

The organizational structure of the book also works against creating a more holistic perspective of world Christianity. It separates churches facing modernity (i.e. European churches) from those in colonial contexts (i.e. non-Western) and only occasionally addresses encounters with modernity in the colonies. The non-Western section complements the European focus of the book in a way that is illuminating, yet regrettably comes as something of an appendix to what at one time could have been a complete work in just the first two parts. For example, the first section offers admirable examinations of the growth of Catholic devotional practices, liturgical developments, and the interplay of religion and nationalism, but there is scarce acknowledgement of how all three of these themes come together in the Virgin of Guadalupe in the third section. And what of the role of indigenous Christianity in the non-Western world that pre-existed the "great century" of European missionary expansion? It is sporadically acknowledged, but purely incidental to the work overall, making the book less an examination of world Christianity and more a look at European Chalcedonian Christianity and its offspring in other parts of the world.

What the book does accomplish, it accomplishes well. Examinations of the dramatic changes in the role of the papacy, in biblical scholarship, in the rise of voluntary religion, and in devotional practices in Protestantism and Catholicism receive a quality of analysis

not usually found in a survey work. In these specific themes, various chapters come together in a way that gives a surprising level of coherence for a multi-authored work. While one could always hope for more, there is plenty in this volume to benefit researchers of all levels, and it will stand as a notable achievement in a time of historiographical transition.

Meic Pearse, *The Age of Reason: From the Wars of Religion to the French Revolution, 1570-1789*. (Baker History of the Church) Grand Rapids: Baker, 2006. Pp. 457. \$29.99.

Martin I. Klauber, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

This work represents the fifth volume in the Baker History of the Church series under the guidance of consulting editors, John D. Woodbridge and David F. Wright. The series editor is Tim Dowley who also supervised the editing of the *Introduction to the History of Christianity*, which is still in print and is widely used as a text for beginning level courses in church history. The Baker series takes a deeper look at a more limited period of time and is more useful for advanced seminars on particular eras of church history.

Dr. Pearse, a professor of history at Houghton College, is well known for his 2004 book, *Why the Rest Hates the West*, that was so well received that he was invited to address the Republican Party national leadership at a major retreat. Scanning a broad sweep of global church history, in this work, Pearse goes beyond traditional approaches, which tend to focus on Western Europe and the United States, to include extensive discussions of Eastern Europe, Russia, China, Japan, the Philippines, the Ottoman Empire, and Latin America. This method fits well with the move from Western civilization to world civilization as it is now taught in most undergraduate history or religion departments.

The author makes the material interesting and often adds his personal insights in his description of events. For example, in his discussion of Calvinist resistance theories in the sixteenth century, he argues that the development of doctrine often follows practice rather than the other way around. The Calvinists argued for the right of self-defense against Roman Catholic threats in spite of the prohibition against resisting authority in Romans 13. They did so via the “lesser magistrates” theory developed by the Huguenot Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, among others. Christians owed allegiance to the local authority and when “tyrannical” monarchs violated their constitutional responsibilities to the local officials, Protestants would be justified in rebellion. So, this resistance theory was developed during a time of persecution. Pearse’s argument suggests that if there were no persecution, there would be no resistance theory.

On the peace of Augsburg between Roman Catholic and Protestant princes in Germany, the author comments that “peace and diplomacy, of course, are simply the continuation of warfare by other means” (53). I think that this statement is a bit of an over-reach, but Pearse makes the point that even though the two sides came to a formal agreement, proselytization continued on both sides with the Protestants seeking converts in southern Germany and Austria and the Jesuits opening up schools in marginal areas. Ultimately the peace did not last, and both sides were back at it during the Thirty Years War from 1618-1648.

In his discussion of the Thirty Years War, Professor Pearse laments the atrocities done to the peasants and the unpleasant revenge that many peasants inflicted on soldiers. The author argues that such mutilation should have no place in the history of Christianity. The fact that it is recorded and did take place serves as a “condemnation, not merely of the participants, but of the entire phenomenon of politicized Christendom whereby churches have, and claim, a legal monopoly in entire populations” (160). He goes on to say that such events, including the Crusades and the Inquisition, are the inevitable consequences of the state Church system.

In his discussion of the Salem witch trials of 1692, Pearse admits that this entire story reeks of bigotry and cruelty. However, if one looks at these trials in the context of late-seventeenth century Christianity, it is not that surprising. Witchcraft was a punishable offense in Europe, and there were consistent cases of people being executed for it in Europe, at least in Germany. What made these executions such a catastrophe, says Pearse, is that there had been no executions of so-called witches in the English-speaking world for over eighty years. Here he places the witch trials in historical context and is thereby able to make effective judgments about such an important series of events.

These are just a few examples of Professor Pearse’s lively style, which makes for engaging reading and should promote discussion in the classroom. I would highly recommend this book as a text for a college or seminary level course on the early modern Church.

John Wolffe, *The Expansion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Wilberforce, More, Chalmers and Finney*. Vol. 2 of *A History of Evangelicalism*, ed. David W. Bebbington and Mark Noll. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2007. Pp. 280. \$23.00.

Reviewed by Richard R. Follett, Covenant College

John Wolffe’s contribution to InterVarsity’s multi-volume *History of Evangelicalism* covers the period from 1790 to 1850, making it the second volume of the series chronologically, but the third to be published. Wolffe, professor of religious history at The Open University in England, provides not only a solid summary from both classic and recent studies, but also employs many insightful primary sources on evangelicalism

in this era. The easy style of the writing and apt analysis make this volume a worthy addition to the series and an extremely helpful overview of the age. Wolffe depicts an expanding movement consciously tied to its origins in the eighteenth century, but one which was also responding to new circumstances, such as the opportunities and threats of the French Revolution, the impact of early industrialism, conditions in the young American republic, and the challenges that numerical success itself bred. Expansion exacerbated the tension between a “common evangelical identity” and “a recurrent internal divisiveness” (19). Wolffe is very interested in exploring the commonalities within evangelicalism, but also the contradictions, paradoxes, and shortcomings.

The book is arranged into eight chapters, beginning with one identifying personalities, key concepts and definitions, and background history and geography. As it touches on developments in Britain and Ireland, North America, the Caribbean, southern Africa, Australia and the islands of New Zealand, these introductions are absolutely necessary. In framing “evangelicalism,” Wolffe employs the fourfold matrix developed by David Bebbington in *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989)—conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism—but he is also interested in the personal connections and networks between those who considered themselves evangelical. Two chapters provide a chronological structure, while the remaining chapters are organized thematically, pursuing evangelical practices and debates over of worship and spirituality, gender roles and families, efforts to engage and transform society, the politics of slavery and church-state relations, and a concluding chapter exploring the numerical impact of evangelicals and the conflicts between their recurrent sense of spiritual unity and their regional, national, and sectarian particularism.

As the subtitle suggests, this study of evangelicalism in an age associated with the reforming efforts of William Wilberforce or Hannah More “gives more attention to society and politics and less to theology and culture” than the volumes already published in the series (22). The book does not ignore new trends in theology or practice, but argues that these had greater impact in the decades after the 1850s; the fruition and extension of previous developments give this study plenty to cover. The ministries of Thomas Chalmers and Charles Finney are explored in detail, but both are presented as leading examples of a multiplicity of evangelical efforts. So too are the reforming efforts of Wilberforce and his “Saints” in Parliament. The era was full of charities, associations, and committees for improving this or that aspect of society, and their variety defies easy categorization. Wolffe acknowledges that some were short-sighted and insensitive, but defends evangelicals as a whole against the recurrent charge of indifference towards the poor, observing, for example, areas of working-class activism in evangelical revival and social reform, and the political effort to protect factory workers.

This book provides ample resources on the origins of revivalism, not only clarifying the meaning and impact of the “Second Great Awakening,” but providing particular information on stages of development, such as the camp meeting revivals in the United States (56-62) and the reaction of established churches in Britain to restrain revivalism. The book demonstrates that women had significant influence in evangelical circles during

this period of shifting definitions of family and of male and female roles. Even though by 1850 many denominations had imposed clear restrictions on women preaching, the literary and moral influence of a Hannah More or Harriet Beecher Stowe remained considerable. Wolffe argues that evangelicals who addressed gender roles modified rather than uncritically accepted the language of “separate spheres,” in particular because for them, “domestic and family responsibilities actively involved men as well as women” (147). This meant that evangelical “concepts of manliness were a challenge to contemporary secular male values,” whether based in “honor,” machismo, or family lineage, making the story more complex than many existing histories allow.

By the late-1830s and the 1840s, claims of evangelical unity were strained on many fronts. Antislavery united evangelicals in Britain and Canada, but split Americans along regional lines. Challenges to the privileged position of the Anglican church divided evangelicals in England and Wales, while concerns for the independence of the church from political control brought the “disruption” of 1843 in Scotland. Wolffe suggests that by this time only one issue consistently united evangelicals across ocean and denomination: fear of resurgent Catholicism, which prompted the efforts to form a transatlantic Evangelical Alliance. But this thin unity foundered on the slavery issue, and Wolffe concludes that these difficulties were a “microcosm of wider evangelical ironies and paradoxes....The slogan of ‘unity in diversity’ encapsulated their affirmation of individualistic spiritual autonomy, in creative but sometimes destructive tension with their vision of the spiritual affinity of all ‘true believers,’ whether in the local congregation or the worldwide church” (246).

Wolffe’s descriptions take seriously the spiritual quest of the men and women he studies, allowing them to be shaped and influenced by, but never merely subordinated to, the social and physical settings around them. While one might wish to see more discussion of the contrasts in social class, this may be more particular to the British situation than to the transatlantic phenomena he has tried to summarize. Besides providing an engaging set of stories in a coherent structure, the book has ample footnotes and twenty-four pages of bibliography for those interested in pursuing further information or digging deeper into the sources. *The Expansion of Evangelicalism* would be valuable for any undergraduate course discussing church history in the period, especially for those interested in transatlantic connections. It should also serve as an introduction for those studying American or British cultural and social developments in the first half of the nineteenth century, as it not only provides a careful introduction to evangelicalism and its impacts, but also provides a successful model for how one might combine various religious, political, social, and cultural elements into a single, albeit complex, history.

Deborah Cohen, *Household Gods: The British and Their Possessions*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006. Pp. xviii + 296. \$40.00.

Reviewed by Marc Baer, Hope College

Academic historians all too frequently dismiss trends in consumer spending as passing fancies, whose study by default falls into hands of their colleagues in fields such as cultural studies. One long-lived obsession which has only recently come under the scrutiny of historians is kitsch: One generation's IKEA is the next's definition of bad taste, and therein lies a story.

The trajectory of Deborah Cohen's study is, as she puts it, "from evangelical self-restraint to the reign of personality" (146). The author traces the clash between the design elite's vision for Britons and consumers' concern with sense of self through shaping the interiors of their homes during the century before 1940, but also addresses contemporary consumerism in an epilogue. The difficulty for consumers and those design reformers who sought to guard the home against its inhabitants was that many occupiers had no protection *against* their homes, for in almost the blink of an eye chic could become passé.

From the 1830s on, for two generations, morality was the metric for evaluating household possessions. For evangelicals, shopping was a test of their faith. Then incomes rose in mid-century, and as they did observers noticed that homes became stuffed with more objects, the new consumerism justified by a post-evangelical theology which suggested that possessions had moral qualities, so that good taste might make moral people. The new morality also reversed an incarnationalist theology and complemented an emerging environmentalism, which suggested that domestic goods shaped character—for better or worse. Thus John Ruskin, in 1864, said: "What we *like* determines what we are" (24).

In the late-nineteenth century the leading theory on how furnishing the home might elevate character moved from morality to art. Echoing the mantra of art for art's sake, Walter Pater could proclaim his conversion to "the religion of art" (79), where color-sense was more important than the sense of right and wrong. Critics, including Christians such as Canon Samuel Barnett, and post-Christians, such as Frances Power Cobbe, argued that hedonism bred heathenism, that materialism, rather than leading to goodness, substituted for it. Meanwhile, the efforts of the aesthetes resulted more often than not in more clutter. Form divorced from function led to novelty, which all too quickly became silly—as in a crocodile card-holder.

Until the 1880s home decorating was the male's responsibility, suggesting that the home was a man's castle. But by the 1920s staging the home was predominantly the task of women. The turning point, Cohen argues, came at the end of the nineteenth century, when some men chose to retreat from "domesticity." Because of the growing divide between the urban place of work and the suburban home, many men simply had less time to spend on interior decoration. The home rights for women movement paralleled

political, legal, and other campaigns. While the suffragist as a home body is fascinating to contemplate, one might question how extensive this trend really was.

But clearly Cohen is on to something significant in arguing that the late-nineteenth century saw the dead end of ersatz morality: delight in the material world and the individual decorative scheme was a far cry from the home as a moral training-ground. Individualism replaced morality, and thus the decades before 1914 reveal the growing popularity of the notion—one is hard-pressed to think of it as an idea—that the domestic interior expressed the owner's inner self.

The newest post-1900 trend, an antidote to novelty, was major department stores stocking antiques and the concomitant rise of a reproduction industry. There is some irony in the demand for old furnishings in a self-consciously modern age. Cohen argues that the failure in the 1920s and 1930s of modernist furniture to capture a UK market had three causes: love by the British of their past over their present; the sobering effect of World War I and life in servant-less flats or Tudorbethan semi-detached houses thereafter; and social class. Repudiation of functionalism in favor of "safety first" paralleled Baldwinesque politics, thereby producing, predictably, uniformity rather than individuality.

The great strength of Cohen's book for readers of this journal is that she takes her subject so seriously that she attempts to apply theological understanding to it. On this note Cohen may be criticized for failing to push this analysis far enough, for it would appear that the quest for the perfect home parallels other Enlightenment perfectionisms, from Comte to those ubiquitous advertisements promising perpetual bliss if we will only buy the product. But of course the perfect home is also the empty home, as the perfect life is empty. As well, her theological thread runs out around 1900, and we are left for the last century with, simply, swings of taste. Two other minor criticisms: Cohen uses novels at times uncritically, and there is nothing in *Household Gods* on the kitchen, which for Isabella Beeton was "the great laboratory of every household."

The history of the domestic interior is an important topic, as suggested by two other recent books, which interested readers should compare with Cohen's work: Judith Flanders, *Inside the Victorian Home: A Portrait of Domestic Life in Victorian England* (2004) and Margaret Ponsonby, *Stories from Home: English Domestic Interiors, 1750-1850* (2007). Of the three, Cohen's book is the superior study. And I would be remiss not to praise Yale University Press for including so many splendid illustrations.

Jonathan Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism: English Liberalism, National Identity and Europe, 1830-1886*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. x + 424. \$96.00.

Reviewed by Edward J. McNeilly, St John's College, University of Cambridge

With apologies to Rudyard Kipling, it could be said of most nineteenth century British diplomatic and political history that “Foreign is Foreign, and Domestic is Domestic, and never the twain shall meet.” Diplomatic historians have traditionally limited their analysis to interactions at the highest diplomatic levels and have ignored the domestic context as clamour irrelevant to the business of international statecraft, while historians of British politics have seen foreign affairs as a specialised domain—of little interest to many politicians, and even less to voters—and thus as a topic which can be safely excised from domestic political studies. Fortunately, this dichotomy has been challenged in recent years, as several works have examined the domestic implications of foreign policy decisions, seeking to embed them in the context of party politics and public opinion. (See, David Brown, *Palmerston and the Politics of Foreign Policy*, 2002). Perhaps the most significant of these studies is Jonathan Parry’s *The Politics of Patriotism*, the final installment of his trilogy on Victorian Liberalism. Contending that the nineteenth-century political elite was profoundly concerned with the image that Britain should present both at home and abroad, Parry argues that domestic, imperial, and foreign policy debates all centered on the nature of British values and the way that these should be advanced. Conscious of Britain’s status as the globe’s foremost power, Liberal politicians and thinkers were profoundly affected by European events, which raised questions about the effectiveness of Britain’s ability to foster constitutionalism, liberty, and progress both domestically and overseas.

The book is divided into two sections. The first part examines the development of Liberal values between 1830 and 1886 in the domestic context, while the second analyzes the impact of specific European crises—the 1848 revolutions, Italian unification, the Franco-Prussian war, and the Eastern Question—on domestic and foreign policy. In part one, Parry argues that Liberals sought to legitimize the state through timely constitutional reform and to use this moral authority to forge an ethical national community based on Christian values. Liberals were able to entrench their political success through their ability to portray these Liberal values of liberty, conscience, and humanitarianism as distinctively English, and in consequence to paint their Tory opponents as reactionary and unpatriotic. This emphasis on the underlying Christian motivations of the Liberal elite provides a welcome corrective to hackneyed statements about the Victorian “crisis of faith,” which still appear in scholarly literature, and reminds us that nineteenth century Britain remained a fundamentally religious society. Especially noteworthy is Parry’s re-appraisal of Lord John Russell’s educational policies of the 1830s and 1840s as flowing from a liberal Anglican desire to mould a humanitarian society, rather than the utilitarian motivation ascribed to him both by contemporary evangelical opponents and historians.

Underpinning the book’s second section, which convincingly demonstrates the resonance of European events in British politics, is the argument that the strength of non-interventionism has been overstated and that the Palmerstonian interventionist tradition represented the Liberal mainstream. In particular, Parry shows that Gladstone, far from being the Cobdenite sop of much historiography, was in fact “an intense British nationalist” (205), whose attacks on Bourbon tyranny in Naples in 1851, support for a

planned Anglo-French alliance in Italy in 1859-60, and condemnation of foreign influence on Irish Catholicism in 1874 reveal a hitherto undiscovered Palmerstonian and Russellite dimension. This ability to re-conceptualise familiar political events and personalities in a fresh and illuminating fashion constitutes one of the most impressive features of Parry's study.

Readers familiar with the author's previous study will note that this new book, like its predecessor *The Rise and Fall of Liberal Government in Victorian Britain* (1993), ends with the Home Rule crisis of 1886. It is certainly true that this marked a major turning point for the Liberal party, as it sank into unelectable sectionalism for a generation. However, in not stating clearly enough the continuities between pre- and post-1886 Liberalism, the new book gives the impression that Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign and condemnation of "Beaconsfieldism" formed a coda to the story of patriotic politics. Rather, they represented a fresh source which inspired radical opposition to the Boer War and alliances with illiberal governments in the period after 1900.

In addition, Parry does not pay enough attention to Conservative views of patriotic politics. It may seem churlish to quibble about this absence in a book explicitly centered on Liberal politics in a period of Liberal domination. However, politicians in a two party system must constantly react to political opponents, and the lack of a Conservative voice sometimes suggests that this was a one-sided conversation. Only in the chapter on the 1870s and 1880s—admittedly the period in which Conservatives were most effective in playing the game of patriotic politics—does the binary nature of this contest fully emerge. As Parry himself suggests, "a similar book could be written about Conservatism" (3), and such a study would indeed form a fascinating counterpoint to this work.

These stringent criticisms are in themselves testimony to the high standards Parry has set for himself. Like the new imperial history, *The Politics of Patriotism* undercuts provincial historiography by placing British history in a global context and offers an intriguing conceptual paradigm for Victorian politics which may, perhaps, prove Mr. Kipling wrong.

Clare Pettitt, *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?: Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers, and Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007. Pp. 231. \$22.95.

Reviewed by Matthew Sterenberg, Northwestern University

If a survey were taken in which respondents were asked to name the most iconic moments in the history of Western imperialism, Henry Morton Stanley's 1871 meeting with Dr. David Livingstone on the shores of Lake Tanganyika would undoubtedly appear near the top of the list. The encounter between the two men, capped by Stanley's understated, incongruous, legendary greeting of "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?," continues to echo through British and American culture. It surfaces frequently in cartoons, jokes,

films, and works of fiction, even though few could explain this continued resonance. As Clare Pettitt shows in her fascinating new book *Dr. Livingstone, I Presume?: Missionaries, Journalists, Explorers, and Empire*, the Stanley-Livingstone meeting was an instant media sensation, and it had an immediate cultural impact in both countries. But the history behind that meeting “has decomposed so fully that all we are left with is the image of two men clasping hands in the jungle” (208). Pettitt’s aim therefore is to recover “the symbolic complexity” (18) of the meeting by reinserting our disembodied image of it firmly into its historical context.

Pettitt, a lecturer in Victorian Studies at King’s College, London, argues that “the story’s immense resonance in the nineteenth century, which has kept it current to this day, was intimately tied up with an important shift in Anglo-American culture in the 1870s” (12). She further contends that this seemingly simple encounter “actually has relevance to some of the most complex issues which still affect us today: technology and its transformation of social relations; the growth of celebrity culture; and the tricky issues that remain around the relationship between America and Britain” (12). She makes this argument through four main chapters. The book begins with a chapter on Livingstone’s life, moves on to examine the meeting between Stanley and Livingstone, then tells the story of Livingstone’s servants Susi and Chuma, and concludes with an examination of Stanley’s life. Each of the chapters is based on impressive and up-to-date research in both primary and secondary sources, as detailed by Pettitt in a Further Reading section appended at the end of the book.

The story of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting is rich with ironies, contradictions, and complexities, as Pettitt deftly illustrates in her profiles of the two men. Though ostensibly a missionary, Livingstone’s greatest fame was as an explorer. He arguably was a failure in both endeavors: his sole convert later relapsed, and his greatest achievement as an explorer—identifying the source of the Nile—turned out to be a misidentification. Stanley’s life was likewise marked by contradictions. After his triumphant discovery of Livingstone, he was represented in the media as an exemplar of the intrepid American spirit, yet he was born in Wales and would eventually settle in Britain where he served for a time as a member of parliament.

It is interesting to compare Pettitt’s assessments of the two men. She is quite critical of Livingstone and to some extent attempts to rehabilitate Stanley. Pettitt documents how Livingstone had achieved transatlantic fame by publishing best-selling accounts of his African exploits well before his discovery by Stanley, but she also shows how this Victorian hero was a deeply flawed man who was often recklessly impetuous and breathtakingly imprudent. Livingstone invited missionaries to join him in Africa, but his failure to plan properly for their arrival, or to support them adequately when they did arrive, had disastrous consequences. Pettitt also highlights Livingstone’s callous and unthinking treatment of his wife and suggests that such treatment drove her to alcoholism and an early death.

In actuality, Stanley’s geographic achievements, which included discovering the source of the Congo, were in many ways more noteworthy than Livingstone’s. And

Pettitt notes how a tradition of unfair quotation from Stanley's writings has made him a "whipping boy of our post-colonial conscience" (187). Her illuminating discussion of Stanley's immense fame and influence reveals why she chose to conclude the book with an examination of his life. Not only was it "Stanley who ensured Livingstone's fame, and Stanley who was the more famous on both sides of the Atlantic at the end of the nineteenth century" (205), but also "Stanley's writings were hugely important to creating a myth of primitive Africa which has stayed with us to this day" (207).

Pettitt is at her best when showing how the encounter between Stanley and Livingstone connects with and illuminates a number of other significant late-nineteenth century developments. Consequently, the strongest chapter of the book is the second, which unpacks the history behind the meeting and examines the meanings that were imposed on it at the time. Pettitt shows how the Livingstone-Stanley meeting was "one of the first international 'celebrity' moments in history," and she demonstrates how media coverage of that meeting "represented a new form of political communication, and was the harbinger of a new kind of public sphere that would develop through the last third of the century" (80). This new form of political communication was represented by papers like James Gordon Bennett Sr.'s *New York Herald*, which bankrolled Stanley's expedition and used the recently-laid Atlantic cable to communicate the news of its success. At the time, the *Herald* was widely read in both America and Europe and had the highest circulation of any paper in the world, thanks in part to its innovative publication of the latest financial news from Wall Street. Bennett's paper was thus at the forefront of a shift in which news, rather than editorial content and assorted facts, became the main content of newspapers. And news, as Stanley's "discovery" of Livingstone showed, could be created.

However, the news of Stanley's discovery of Livingstone could of course be framed in different ways and put to different purposes. Pettitt explains how the Stanley-Livingstone meeting was freighted with a variety of meanings at the time. In part, it served as a timely symbol of a nascent rapprochement between America and Britain, at a time when relations between the countries were strained over Britain's support of the Confederacy during the Civil War. At the same time, because Stanley had succeeded where British expeditions had failed, the meeting "was an uncomfortable reminder that British superiority was no longer so secure as it had seemed at mid-century. In 1872 Stanley was seen as standing for everything that was 'go ahead' about America" (117).

Pettitt also helpfully reminds us that our image of the Stanley-Livingstone meeting suppresses important characters who were present besides the two white men, namely a number of black and Arab Africans. She devotes a chapter to recovering the story of two of these, Livingstone's black African servants Susi and Chuma, who carried his mummified body over 1,000 miles to the coast of Africa so that he could be buried in Britain. Another of Livingstone's black African servants, Jacob Wainwright, then traveled with the body to Britain; Susi and Chuma followed later. Pettitt explains why his servants undertook such a Herculean task, and she attempts to reconstruct their experience of Victorian Britain. She concludes that "the Victorian idea that Africa existed

in some kind of earlier stage of civilization, and was immune to the ‘modern,’ becomes utterly untenable if we take the trouble to think about the experience of these men” (174).

The book is evidently intended for a non-professional audience, and while this results in a concise, briskly-moving narrative, it also results in some shortcomings. The introduction is engaging, but could set the analytical issues of the book more clearly and in greater detail. There are a number of points at which more extensive analysis would have strengthened the book. For instance, Livingstone’s theological views get short shrift. We are told that Livingstone, influenced by his father’s move from strict Calvinism to a more liberal Congregationalism, “read a lot of American theology” and held to a variation of “Christian liberalism” (21). But Pettitt does not spell out how these theological views shaped his opposition to the slave trade and his dissent from a Victorian racism that held black Africans to be an inferior race suited to slavery. Some readers will be annoyed at the lack of footnotes or references of any kind. The Further Reading section is useful, but ultimately of little help to readers who may want to track down the exact location of an intriguing quotation. To be fair to Pettitt, these limitations are almost certainly a function of the book’s format rather than oversights on her part. That said, the concise nature of the book along with its ability to illuminate a range of important historical issues would make it a good candidate for use in a variety of undergraduate courses. I would consider using it in world and European history survey courses as well as upper-level courses on the history of imperialism, and I would be surprised if it is not well-received by students.

D. K. Fieldhouse, *Western Imperialism and the Middle East, 1914-1958*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. vii + 376. \$115.00.

Reviewed by Todd M. Thompson, University of Cambridge

In an age witnessing the unfolding consequences of recent Western intervention in the Middle East, D. K. Fieldhouse has provided a timely and provocative historical assessment of an earlier era. Fieldhouse is a seasoned historian of the British Empire, but this is his first attempt to concentrate exclusively on the Middle East. In the introduction, he explains that in the course of editing the memoirs of his father-in-law, Wallace Lyon, a British officer who served in Iraq after World War I, he became convinced that a larger

scale comparative study of the five post-War League of Nations mandates in Iraq, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon was both necessary and feasible. Though it might be tempting to assume that the resultant study, which relies almost entirely on secondary sources, might be too superficial to be of much use, Fieldhouse has drawn on a lifetime of scholarship in many different branches of imperial history to produce a strikingly fresh and authoritative work of synthesis.

Fieldhouse tells a tragic, cautionary tale. Despite the idealism enshrined in the terms of reference for the League of Nations mandatory powers, which called for the creation of viable nation states out of former Ottoman imperial provinces, military dictatorships and violent instability have plagued the region supervised by Britain and France for nearly half a century. Though he balances attention to short-term external factors with long-term internal factors, Fieldhouse explains the transformation of relatively stable Ottoman provinces into some of the most volatile regions of the world today as the product of British and French imperial policies (vi).

Throughout his narrative, Fieldhouse balances attention on the nature of imperial techniques of control and their effects on subject populations with consideration of the strengths and viability of indigenous political movements and institutions that preceded imperial rule. Fieldhouse contends that Western imperial policies exacerbated and intensified internal social and political factors that contributed directly to the tensions of the Middle East today. While the situations were complex, and while seemingly insurmountable difficulties abounded for both imperial administrators and indigenous elites, Fieldhouse's narrative also points to the importance of choice and decision. For example, Fieldhouse attributes the present day stability of the Jordanian monarchy to the political realism of King Abdullah and the commitment to political neutrality instilled in the Arab Legion by the British. As a result, Jordan is one of the few Middle Eastern states never to have suffered a military coup. In comparison to this relative success in Jordan, Fieldhouse explains the tragic failure of the Palestinian mandate as a combination of factors set in motion by British misjudgment. Though internal factionalism and a principled resistance to compromise hampered opposition to Zionist immigration and any productive Arab cooperation with the British, he argues that British policy was based on serious inattention to indigenous views of Zionist infiltration. This error in judgment created the constraints that fostered intractable religious conflict and recurrent political gridlock. In his estimation Britain's policy in Palestine reflected "one of the greatest errors of judgment in western imperial history" (348). In a similar manner, Fieldhouse recounts how France mistakenly approved of the inclusion of Islamic territory in the nascent Lebanese state in response to the requests of Maronite Christians. This miscalculation also led to religious conflict and instability.

In addition, Fieldhouse has offered fresh insight into British and French imperialism in the Middle East by placing frequently isolated narratives into a comparative framework. This is most apparent in his comparisons of British and French styles of rule and their consequences. Fieldhouse also makes illuminating references to other regions and eras that bring the phenomenon of imperialism in the Middle East out of isolation and provide evidence for rejecting certain exceptionalist hypotheses. For instance, he

contends that Britain's unnatural perpetuation of the traditional social structure of Iraq after the fall of the Ottoman Empire had parallels in many colonial regimes in Africa. The thing that distinguished British rule from colonial rule elsewhere was the brevity of Britain's period of control and its duplicitous contention after 1932 that Iraq was a sovereign democratic state even though it remained essentially an *ancien regime* ruled by a minority elite. Likewise, the French performed a similar act of resuscitation and prolongation of life for the traditional elite of Syria with equally nefarious results.

In sum, *Western Imperialism in the Middle East* reminds us of the tragic historical consequences of uninformed political idealism and the ease with which idealism can slip into opportunism. It also serves as an example and a reminder of the exciting possibilities of comparative analysis in imperial history.

Caroline Elkins, *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2005. Pp. 476. \$27.50/\$17.00.

Reviewed by Todd M. Thompson, University of Cambridge

Mau Mau was a violent and bloody response by portions of the Kikuyu population in Kenya towards injustices they suffered under British colonial rule. Just as Mau Mau itself has been little understood, Britain's equally brutal response has remained veiled and largely forgotten since the 1950s. In 2005, Caroline Elkins's *Imperial Reckoning* and David Anderson's *Histories of the Hanged* provided potent antidotes to historical amnesia in Britain and Kenya concerning Britain's response to Mau Mau and provoked widespread debate amongst scholars and politicians. While Anderson explored legally suspect trials and executions of suspected Mau Mau insurgents, Elkins focused on the violent and inhuman treatment of detainees in detention camps and Emergency villages. Her research inspired a documentary by the BBC in 2002, and her book won the Pulitzer Prize for general non-fiction in 2006.

Elkins is at her best when she traces the development of Britain's rehabilitation program and detention system. The British colonial propaganda machine portrayed Mau Mau insurgents as savages. Most officials refused to admit that insurgents might have legitimate grievances, preferring to believe instead that they suffered from an irrational psychosis. Many white settlers shared this view and evinced a racist "eliminationist" mentality that undercut official pronouncements concerning rehabilitation. While a vast system of detention camps and Emergency villages formed the structural backbone of the rehabilitation scheme, financial constraints coupled with a dehumanizing view of the insurgents encouraged the development of an inhumane system of confinement focused on forcefully extracting confessions and collecting intelligence. In the course of her research, Elkins conducted approximately 300 interviews that she employs along with

archival and published accounts to reconstruct the world of the detainees. The picture that emerges is a chilling one that Elkins conveys with a detailed, visceral immediacy. Detainees were regularly subject to violence including beatings, castration, exposure, electric shock, sodomization, genital mutilation, and whipping. In addition, detainees were often poorly fed, poorly clothed, and forced to work. Determining the scope and scale of British repressive reaction to Mau Mau remains an inexact and controversial matter, but Elkins provides compelling evidence for the reevaluation of official statistics. She successfully debunks the Colonial Office estimations of 80,000 detained and 11,000 dead, but fails to convincingly prove her own estimations of 1.5 million detained and up to 100,000 dead.

Elkins's analysis is least satisfactory when she assesses the role of Christianity. In Elkins's narrative missionaries surface frequently, sometimes as quiescent and ineffective critics and other times as complicit tools of colonial power. Yet, Elkins does little to inspire trust in her account. It is evident that she does not understand the basic institutional structures of missionary societies. For example, she incorrectly calls the Executive Committee of the Church Missionary Society, which was only one among many voluntary missionary societies affiliated with the Church of England, "the Anglican Church's oversight committee for its missionary work around the world" (280). In addition, Elkins fails to adequately assess the fundamental theological concerns of missionaries. She claims that during the emergency missionaries "wanted above all else to continue God's work in upholding Britain's civilising mission" (94). But this is far too sweeping and superficial a characterization. Furthermore, it is uncertain what evidence Elkins is drawing on to form her conclusions. Though in a bibliographical post-script she lists the archives of the Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland, the African Inland Mission, the Anglican Church of Kenya, and the Presbyterian Church of East Africa among the archives she consulted, the actual citations from missionary sources in her narrative do not reflect nearly so wide a range of research. Finally, Christianity remains largely the religion of the colonizer in Elkins' account. She provides tantalizing details concerning the travails of neutral Kikuyu believers caught between Loyalists and Mau Mau insurgents and the spiritual journeys of detainee converts to Christianity, but she passes quickly over the former and implies the latter were simply settling for cheap spiritual compensation in lieu of political failure. As a result, those who are looking for a thorough, probing evaluation of the role of Christianity during Kenya's Emergency will be disappointed by Elkin's simplistic portrait.

However, even with these significant caveats in mind, Elkin's detailed and disturbing account of the experiences of detention makes her book indispensable reading for students of British and African history.

R. Todd Mangum, *The Dispensational-Covenantal Rift: The Fissuring of Evangelical Theology from 1936-1944*. Bletchley: Paternoster Press, 2007. Pp. 319. \$39.99.

Reviewed by F. Lionel Young III, University of Stirling, Scotland

The Dispensational-Covenantal Rift is a welcome addition to the *Studies in Evangelical History and Thought* series edited by David Bebbington, John H. Y. Briggs, Timothy Larsen, Mark Noll, and Ian M. Randall. The battles of the fundamentalists are prominently featured (again!), with a groundbreaking study of the bitter divisions that ensued *after* their battle with modernism in the 1920s. Mangum, an associate professor of theology at Biblical Seminary in Pennsylvania, situates his work within the larger story of twentieth century evangelicalism, and contributes to our understanding of an important aspect of the eventual “break-up of the fundamentalist-evangelical ‘organic complex’” (23).

Mangum’s revised doctoral dissertation “is the first study to take up a sociological and historical-theological analysis of the debate between dispensationalism and covenant theology as it unfolded in the late-1930s to the early-1940s” (5). While Mangum demonstrates how his research speaks to larger developments in American evangelicalism, his work is more narrowly focused on disputes within American Presbyterianism over the issue of dispensationalism in the 1930s and 1940s. These disputes would lead to an unfortunate parting-of-the-ways for fundamentalist-evangelicals after WWII. While acknowledging that a spate of literature exists on the actual differences between dispensationalism and covenant theology, this work is an effort to provide additional clarity to these differences by asking the question, “What actually happened?”

Mangum introduces his study with the intriguing suggestion that it is really anachronistic to talk about two competing theological systems, one dispensational, the other covenantal, before the late-1930s. He suggests a refinement of Ernest Sandeen and George Marsden on this point, both of whom observe that “dispensationalists” and “Princetonians” formed a convenient coalition during the fundamentalists-modernist controversies. Instead, Mangum wants to say that “before the 1930s, it is hard to find any clear line of demarcation between dispensationalism and covenant theology” (10).

He then demonstrates how the battle lines begin to harden between “Niagara Fundamentalism” and “Presbyterian Fundamentalism” (29), with the rising prominence of Lewis Sperry Chafer in the 1930s and the investigations of the Ad Interim Committee on Changes in the Confession of Faith and Catechisms of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. (AIC) into the “question as to whether the type of Bible interpretation known as ‘dispensationalism’ is in harmony with the confession of faith” (220). Mangum shows that Chafer only reluctantly accepted the label “dispensationalism” in 1936, as a heuristic device, while he maintained in the strongest terms that he was in “general agreement” with the Westminster confession and the Presbyterian church through which he was

licensed. Mangum examines the flurry of letters, journal articles, and books that surround the controversy, along with the unfavorable verdict by the AIC in 1944 which resulted in “the fracturing of the Fundamentalist coalition” (25).

One of the strengths of Mangum’s work is the prominence given to numerous social and historical factors that played a role in the controversy. Competing “conservative agendas” created a rift between “Niagara Fundamentalists,” who wanted to retain doctrinal purity (contra the modernists) within a broader, interdenominational coalition, and those who wanted to preserve a distinctly Presbyterian denomination. Divisions within the newly formed Orthodox Presbyterian Church (1936) over the use of alcohol (and other “Christian liberty” issues) aggravated the fault line between advocates of moderation, who were “typically of European background,” and those who insisted on total abstinence. This led to the formation of the Bible Presbyterian Church (1937), a move that “heightened animosities between OPC amillennialists and premillennialists” (43). The untimely death in 1937 of J. Gresham Machen created a power vacuum and “threw the parties into more determined quests to advance their aims” (60). Machen was an evangelical icon, a full-blooded confessional Presbyterian who opposed modernists while advocating tolerance for premillennialists; he abstained from drinking while defending the freedom to do so on biblical grounds. His death gave rise to voices less sympathetic to unity.

All the clamor created by these (and other) social and historical developments made it difficult for “dispensationalists” and “covenant theologians” to sit down and really talk about their differences. Mangum points out numerous examples of both sides “not hearing” what the other side was actually trying to say (176-210). For example, dispensationalists had a hard time hearing (or believing) covenant theologians who repeatedly told them that their opposition was not directed to “dispensationalism’s eschatological chronology, but against the distinctively heterodox, anti-Confessional tenets of dispensational soteriology” which over-emphasized the discontinuity between the testaments and taught “two ways of salvation” (176-7). Covenant theologians, in their rush to protect confessional Presbyterianism and the “one covenant of grace,” repeatedly made the mistake of appealing to the Scofield’s notes as the *dernier cri* of dispensational thought, even though a majority of dispensationalists found themselves in disagreement with Scofield on numerous points and many continued to affirm “the unity of the covenant of grace” (84, *passim*).

Clearly Mangum is at home talking about the internal disputes of dispensationalists and covenant theologians. (He studied at Dallas Theological Seminary.) His copious use of records and written primary sources is also bolstered by personal interviews of persons on both sides of the dispute who had intimate knowledge of the controversies. (Notes on personal interviews were placed in the footnoted materials, and I found them to be enjoyable reading.) Mangum’s readiness to discuss how theology has been shaped by historical and social factors like American prohibition, European influence (i.e., “Dutch Reformed” versus “American Presbyterian”), and North-South tensions demonstrates once again that we can no longer write the history of theology without some awareness of social history.

I would have recommended a different title as this work is primarily about Presbyterian history, though it does speak to larger issues within American evangelicalism. Absent from the work is any mention of Carl MacIntyre, someone who played quite a role in divisions within American Presbyterianism in the late-1930s and early-1940s. (Perhaps this was intentional.) Also absent is any discussion of unity efforts in the early-1940s, especially the formation of the National Association of Evangelicals, which was established in 1942. This would not undermine Mangum's main argument, but it would serve to complement Joel Carpenter's *Revive Us Again* (1999) by showing that while there was "fissuring" among fundamentalists-evangelicals, there were also many who were working together in spite of their many differences.

Mangum is right to point evangelicals to their past in an effort to find a better way forward. He directs our attention to revisions made in 1967 in the *New Scofield Reference Bible* and to recent progress made between covenant theologians and progressive dispensationalists to say that finding common ground is possible and probably could have been found even sooner but for all the commotion surrounding the disagreements. Mangum's work is a scholarly study that ends with a pastoral call to evangelicals to learn from their past, with the hope that "clearer heads will now prevail" (211).

Simon Prince, *Northern Ireland's '68: Civil Rights, Global Revolt and the Origin of The Troubles*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007. Pp 260. \$30.00.

Reviewed by Ronald A. Wells, Maryville College, Tennessee

The phrase "this is a timely book" is overused. But in this instance—the publication of Simon Prince's excellent book on "the events" of 1968—the phrase is quite apt. Within two weeks of this book arriving in my mail box from the book review editor, The History Channel aired a Tom Brokaw special on the significance of 1968, and *Newsweek* magazine announced that 1968 was "the year that made us what we are." As John Meacham wrote in *Newsweek* and Simon Prince says in this book, in many ways, we are still living with the ideas and feelings that came from that crucial time. Not since David Caute's *The Year of the Barricades* (1988) a generation ago has there been such a good book—well-written and internationally focused—on that pivotal year.

The special quality of *Northern Ireland's '68* is this: while the treatment of student and radical militancy is worldwide, the place from which we view the revolt is Northern Ireland. As the nonviolent protest marches escalate into confrontations with the police in Belfast and Derry, we are kept abreast of events in Berkeley, Berlin, New York, Prague and, above all, Paris. Yet we never lose sight of where we are and why we are there. It is an interesting, even daring, way to construct a book, and the author does it well. The

story itself, and Simon Prince's writing about it, make this history monograph better than a novel.

As the subtitle suggests, being part of the global revolt of 1968 brought to the fore the long-standing religious-ethnic divide in Northern Ireland. Moreover, that revolt was vital in creating "The Troubles" (that wonderful euphemism for civil strife that the Irish coined). Indeed, the historic patterns of discrimination against the National/Catholic community might have gone on relatively uncontested had not the revolt of 1968 occurred. In short, the author contends—in an interpretation I had not heard before, but am impressed with now—that one could not necessarily have predicted that the Civil Rights marches of 1968 would spin out of control, cause a Protestant/Unionist backlash, and usher in a generation of communal murder, mayhem, and general strife. The radicals in Belfast and Derry were aware of their comrades in other cities and nations, and they were prepared to push the limit.

In a way, the events of the global revolt were both based on the realities of historic discrimination, and in another sense, they were a media event. The names of the radical leaders are legendary: Mario Savio in Berkeley, Rudi Dutschke in Berlin, Daniel Cohn-Bendit in Paris, to which we add Michael Farrell and Bernadette Devlin in Belfast and Derry. They all—but according to the author, the last two especially—badly misread the historical lessons they thought apparent in the struggle. They thought they could confront the authorities, destabilize government and society, raise class consciousness and then, after the paroxysm of violence, usher in a socialist republic. Instead, what they accomplished was to tear apart a very fragile "peace" based on Catholic/Nationalist resignation that nothing would ever change (what some blacks in the U.S. deep South felt for many years, that "there ain't nothin' gonna change; that's just the way it is"). But what they launched in challenging the Unionist/Protestant hegemony was a generation of sectarian violence that blighted a whole generation and is only now beginning to yield to a sort-of-normal democratic politics.

Prince's interpretation is not only exciting and insightful, it is also useful in the present moment. He ends with an almost-elegiac refrain about the problem of innocent radicals who, armed with the wrong "lessons from history," run amok in the context of historic injustice. This book will please conservatives who like Burke on the French Revolution, though I doubt that was the author's intention. It will also be useful to people on the Left, reminding them that they should choose wisely the company they keep when the barricades go up.

Philip Jenkins, *God's Continent: Christianity, Islam, and Europe's Religious Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007. Pp. 340. \$28.00.

Reviewed by Todd Green, Vanderbilt Divinity School

With this book, Philip Jenkins rounds out his trilogy on the future of Christianity. The first book, *The Next Christendom: The Coming of Global Christianity* (2002), was met with much praise inside and outside the academic world as an insightful analysis of Christianity's transformation from a historically Western religion to one whose future strength and influence will be centered in the Global South. In *The New Faces of Christianity: Believing the Bible in the Global South* (2006), Jenkins explored the differences between northern and southern Christianity, particularly in regard to the more literal interpretation of the Bible in the latter and the similarities that many non-Western Christians find between their world and that of early Christians.

This last book shifts the focus from the part of the world where Christianity is most vibrant to the continent in which its present and future influence are most in doubt. Jenkins sets out to allay the fears of scholars, politicians, and other cultural observers who have concluded that Christianity has no future in a Europe whose political order is dominated by secularism, whose "old-stock" inhabitants are apathetic to historic Christianity, and whose communities are being overwhelmed by Muslim immigrants. While both Christianity and Islam face significant difficulties in the century ahead in trying to survive in a predominantly secular environment, Jenkins argues that there are signs that both religions are adapting and will continue to adapt to what Peter Berger has called "Eurosecularity."

Jenkins devotes the first few chapters to the state of Christianity in modern Europe. He largely accepts the secularization theory's explanation for the decline in traditional Christian beliefs, church attendance, and the numbers of religious professionals, but he adds that the theory does not explain everything. Immigration and domestic mobility must also be taken into account. As people move from one geographical or cultural context to another, they often seek out religious institutions and communities to help ease the transition. Until recently, Europe has experienced much less immigration and domestic mobility than the U.S., and this partly explains the greater degree of secularization in the former.

Jenkins's treatment of Christian communities formed by immigrants from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean is particularly illuminating. He points out that the fastest growing Christian communities in France are evangelical and charismatic, and this is largely due to immigration from Francophone Africa. In Britain, a church census from 2005 revealed that 10 percent of Sunday churchgoers were of African or Afro-Caribbean origins, with that number rising to 44 percent in London. Jenkins demonstrates that immigrant Christians are responsible for some of the most vibrant, active congregations in contemporary Europe.

And it is not simply immigrant Christianity that is resisting secularizing trends. Catholic political parties still have influence in countries such as Poland. Catholic renewal orders movements such as Opus Dei and the Neocatechumenal Way have made inroads in parts of Europe. The Thomas Mass in Finland has been an attractive draw for teenagers and young adults for several decades. The Alpha Course developed by British evangelicals has reached new generations of unchurched peoples at home and abroad.

European Christianity has experienced significant decline, but Jenkins reminds us that it still has a pulse.

Most of the remaining chapters are devoted to the rise and future of Islam in Europe. Jenkins indicates that Europe has experienced a sharp increase in Muslim peoples, and by 2025 Europe may have as many as 40 million Muslims. But this represents only 8 percent of the population, a figure rising perhaps to 15 percent by 2050—a far cry from full-scale Islamization. He adds that there are many forces in European societies that favor assimilation in the future, and most Muslims in Europe do not subscribe to the more radical, militant version of the faith.

But caution is in order. Europe's Muslims are disproportionately young, undereducated, poor, and unemployed, and they are often victims of racism and other social ills. A more militant version of Islam can become an attractive option for them should European governments continue to fail at their efforts at integration and accommodation. Jenkins believes that to the extent that there is a "Muslim Problem" in Europe, it is a religious problem only because of "a systematic failure by European elites to understand religious thought and motivation" (259). Political elites have failed because they have so thoroughly subscribed to secularism that they cannot find common ground with those peoples, Christian and Muslim, who seek to order their lives by a different worldview.

Jenkins's book does have a few problems. One is his not-so-balanced portrayal of Europe's political and cultural elites. For Jenkins, these elites and the secular states that they uphold are the main culprits in Europe's religious crisis. I agree that modern European governments have done an extraordinarily poor job of accommodating the needs of some religious communities. But the fact that religious minorities have the right to worship, form communities, and participate in the political process is possible largely because governments have moved away from confessional states and the overt suppression of religious "dissenters." The liberal, secular states of contemporary Europe provide freedoms and possibilities to a wide spectrum of religious communities that would have been unfathomable a century or two ago.

Another problem involves the use of statistics. The book has plenty of tables and statistical data to support the larger narrative, but at times Jenkins's interpretations of the data barely scratch the surface. The most prominent example is the information he provides on the rise in the number of visitors to European pilgrimage sites in recent decades. He views this trend as a sign of the resilience of Christian spirituality in Europe. But where are these visitors coming from, and why are they coming? Many of them are undoubtedly non-Europeans, not to mention that others are visiting these shrines more as tourists than as spiritual seekers. Jenkins glosses over these complications, leading the reader to believe that the statistics reinforce the strength of Christian devotion in Europe when in fact the significance of the data is unclear.

But the larger story that Jenkins is trying to tell is an extremely important one, and most of his arguments and interpretations are solid. This book is particularly helpful in challenging what really has become an overarching master narrative in modern European religious history—secularization. The growth of immigrant Christian and Muslim

communities, the resilience of some Christian practices, and the public debates over how to assimilate and accommodate religious communities in largely secular societies suggests that the role of religion in modern European history has been far more important than is sometimes assumed, and that whatever Europe's future holds, religion will continue to have a place in it.