

making. By taking the opportunity to explore how print culture was introduced and used in late-eighteenth-century India, Ogborn offers us a history that overcomes the temptation to read print culture in British India as intrinsically either neutral or imperial. Rather, Ogborn introduces us to contentious conversations among EIC agents about how best to translate Indian manuscript literature to print and how best to understand that literature within the context of the Company's expanding Indian empire. At the same time, Ogborn also offers a magnificent discussion of the work of men like Nathaniel Halhed and Charles Wilkins, whose efforts transformed Bengali as they "translated" it from a manuscript to a print language. The printed word, in this instance, became the literal geographic space at which imperial power was contested and contextualized.

As Ogborn argues in this book's prologue, "*Indian Ink* argues for an engagement between the histories of overseas trade and empire and the history of the book in order to understand a changing world." (275) *Indian Ink* insists that we take a new look, in a new way, at the writing produced by the EIC's engagement with the East. It insists that we see the writing less as a product of that engagement and more as an active part of the process of engagement. Writing is not the result of history, Ogborn argues. Rather, it is a "vital part of the practices that are actively involved in shaping how the world works" (274). Seen in this light, those nine miles of records at the British Library are incorrectly seen as mere records of history. They are the history itself.

Jack Cunningham. *James Ussher and John Bramhall: The Theology and Politics of Two Irish Ecclesiastics of the Seventeenth Century*. Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006. xx + 233 pp. \$99.95. Review by JOSEPH M. MCCARTHY, SUFFOLK UNIVERSITY, BOSTON, MA.

John Bramhall, responding to James Ussher's biographer, Nicholas Bernard, who suggested that Bramhall's theological viewpoint was antithetical to Ussher's, denied any meaningful breach between them. Their differences, Bramhall contended, were merely peripheral, their foundations common. He adduced the analogy of the *menorah*, whose branches were oriented the each other by being joined at the base. The inadequacy of traditional catego-

ries of sixteenth-century Protestant theological positions in the British Isles (Arminian, Calvinist, Anglican, Puritan, Presbyterian, Laudian) has led Jack Cunningham to base his comparative study of the theological and political views of these two thinkers on this analogy, contending that, while Ussher and Bramhall were about as far apart as they could be, the grounding of their theologies in scriptural notions that were different but not exclusive meant that their deep and serious disagreements could and did stop short of mutual rejection. The essential glue in this instance was the Biblical notion of fear of the Lord. On the one hand, the fear of the Lord as an inevitable consequence of human inadequacy in the face of Yahweh's judgment finds elaboration in a *justive motif*, whose constituent descriptors are law, word, individual, internal, exclusive, pessimistic, certainty and prophetic. On the other hand, fear of the Lord combines existential dread with joy and fascination and is worked out in a *numinous motif*, whose corresponding descriptors are sacred, numinous, communal, external, inclusive, optimistic, mystery and priestly.

When John Bramhall came to Ireland in 1634, accompanying Wentworth as Archbishop Laud's emissary, James Ussher's church was "at best moribund and at most destitute," (41) affording the Laudians the opportunity to write on a blank canvas, not merely clarifying their differences with lower-church Calvinism and prevailing over it in Ireland, but also adumbrating the future pattern of religious thought and practice in England. This conflict, which has great significance for the causes of the political/religious conflict that underlay the wars of seventeenth-century Ireland, appears in the polarities of their dogmatic theology. Ussher argued that humans are utterly depraved as a result of Adam's sin, capable only of rebelliousness and unable to be saved except by God's free gift of grace that confers on the regenerate person the ability to be good. This extreme statement of the justice motif is challenged by Bramhall's defense of the sacraments as channels of grace and of the residual grace that is available to every believer by contact with the community of the people of God that perpetuates the experience of the numinous. Consistently, Bramhall could agree with the Catholics Molina and Suarez that man tends toward the good and could staunchly oppose Hobbes's determinism. At first blush, it would appear that Ussher and Bramhall were diametrically opposed, yet pursuit of the nuances of their sacramental theologies indicates a receptivity on Ussher's part, rooted in an appreciation for liturgy, to the practice of the sacraments as useful adjuncts to the Word, while

Bramhall's advocacy of the power of the sacraments, that leads him to emphasize their mystery and grace and go so far as to accept sacrificial references to the Eucharist, nowhere leads him to defend them as necessary rather than desirable. Their differences seem less extreme when viewed not as the clash of rigidly opposed principles but as the result of diverging preferences for justice and the numinous as organizing themes.

Examination of their views on ecclesiastical histories, ecclesiastical politics, secular politics and practical policy usefully clarify this notion. The accounts presented by Ussher and Bramhall of salvation history and the emergence of national Churches are conditioned by the justice and numinous motifs, Ussher taking up the Mosaic-Covenantal strand of biblical history and emphasizing an ancestry of underdog champions who rely on divine intervention that illumines the struggle of the bishops against Rome, Bramhall favoring the Davidic-Royal emphasis on continuity of authority through the apostolic line to the bishops as guardians of national Church independence. In secular political theory, Ussher's allegiance to the justice motif expressed itself in fervent advocacy of divine right monarchy scripturally justified, while Bramhall expressed a more supple and modern vision of monarchy as justified by natural law and circumscribed by the law and custom of the land, clearly drawing heavily on the communitarian emphasis of the numinous motif. To Cunningham, the agreement of the two that their king was both a secular and religious leader appointed by God constituted the stem and base of the menorah that contained and circumscribed their doctrinal differences, which are less a matter of particular tenets and more an expression of a preference for either the justice or numinous motif as organizing thought and experience. What is true of Ussher and Bramhall, Cunningham suggests, is generally true of post-Reformation theologians from Calvin to Cajetan and allows us to place them on a continuum of theological discussion rather than situating them over against each other.

Doctoral dissertations are a form of scholarship much maligned for poor writing and overstretched conclusions but this betrays neither fault. It begins with carefully researched biographies of Ussher and Bramhall, not the sort of potted lives so often offered pro forma (by a fortunate accident of publication, we also have available Alan Ford's *James Ussher: Theology, History, and Politics in Early-Modern Ireland* [2007], very useful as parallel reading to Cunningham). The theological issues uniting/dividing the two are carefully

presented in a well-structured account. There is, of course, a great deal of difficulty in pinning down something as elusive as a motif in theological writings so closely reasoned and often highly apologetic. What is capable of being described as a motif by reference to specific descriptors may well originate not in intellectual analysis but in temperament (as psychologists define it). Nonetheless, Cunningham's proposal is intriguing and deserves consideration in the study and interpretation of seventeenth-century Christian theology.

Peter C. Mancall ed. *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007. xi + 608pp. + 25 illus. + 6 maps. \$65.00 cloth/\$27.50 paper. Review by TY M. REESE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA.

During the spring of 2007, commemorations occurred that marked that 400th anniversary of Virginia's founding and the permanent start of English activity in North America. The anniversary created an opportunity for historians of Virginia, colonial America and the Atlantic World to reflect upon the current state of early American scholarship and how the rise of Atlantic Studies shapes our understanding of this period. This volume of collected essays emerged out of a 2004 conference held at Williamsburg that sought to understand Virginia within the context of cultural interaction within the early modern Atlantic World.

The volume begins with an introduction by Peter Mancall who works to bring cohesion, and develop themes, from the collected group of diverse essays. The work is divided into five sections that each examine different thematic/temporal areas that either directly or indirectly deal with the Atlantic World and Virginia. The first section focuses on 'Native America Settings' and includes essays from Daniel K. Richter, Joseph Hall and James D. Rice. This section is the work's most cohesive in that each essay explores similar themes in different contexts. They all deal with interaction from a native perspective and in doing so explores the relationship between goods and power. Because of the redistributive nature of Native society and politics, many local leaders saw in the English and Spanish presence an opportunity to acquire 'prestige goods' (32) that increased their power and standing. Thus, from a