

COMPARATIVE/WORLD

ARTHUR H. WILLIAMSON. *Apocalypse Then: Prophecy and the Making of the Modern World*. (Praeger Series on the Early Modern World.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2008. Pp. x, 354. \$49.95.

The apocalypse, or the eschatological visions and millennial expectations contained in the Revelation of St. John the Divine, the last book of the New Testament, has exercised a unique role in Western society. This book influenced Western imaginations for many centuries, and through its marvelous prophetic visions and apocalyptic scenario it determined the space of experience and horizon of expectations of many generations. No wonder that the power of the apocalypse continues to attract many scholars. Excellent studies have appeared on the role and power of the apocalypse in the Middle Ages, such as Norman Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (1957), and Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn's edited volume, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (1992). As yet, however, there is no definite, systematic study of the power of the apocalypse in the early modern period.

Arthur H. Williamson has written important works on the role of the apocalypse in Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The present book is his most ambitious on this topic, claiming "the apocalypse underwrote the Reformation in the sixteenth century, the British Revolution in the seventeenth century, and the American Revolution in the eighteenth century" (p. 1). His goal in the present study is to provide a survey of the power of apocalypse during the early modern period, asserting that "apocalyptic ideas and expectations" exercised in early modernity "the European imagination" from "Moscow to Mexico City, from Scotland to the Yemen" (p. 1). Believing that modernity was formed during the early modern period, Williamson argues that between "1500 and 1800" apocalyptic expectations "created modernity" (p. 2), in the sense that they transformed the nature and meaning of time. It is through apocalyptic expectations that "prophetic future becomes persuasive" and "history and concepts of changes become articulate and acquired importance, providing intelligibility that other ways of thinking no longer seemed to offer" (p. 2). This contention leads naturally to the very name of the book. In this context, the book may be seen as another attempt to reveal the origins of the modern world, along the lines of such important studies as Hans Blumenberg's *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* (1983), or Jürgen Habermas's *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity: Twelve Lectures* (1987).

The book's first chapter provides a short survey of the apocalypse in Judaism and early Christianity, as well as its transformation during the medieval period. In the second chapter, the author traces the role of the apocalypse during the Protestant Reformation, rightly claiming that "history and prophecy were one" for Mar-

tin Luther and his followers (p. 45). A new concern with time is thus evident in the Reformation through apocalyptic expectations. Thus, out of the battle against the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant apocalypse during the sixteenth century "created the first genuinely historical vision of Europe" (p. 65). In chapter three, the author deals with the rise of the Spanish and Portuguese "messianic empires" (p. 75) of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their millennial and eschatological meaning and significance, as well as with the opposition to them in Europe: "During the later decades of the sixteenth century, the English, the Scots, the French and the Dutch overwhelmingly and emphatically rejected the Last World Empire" (p. 84). In chapter four, Williamson describes the relationship between the apocalypse and science, arguing that "the apocalypse" provided "the spine for the program of science and the vision of its purpose" (p. 108). Chapter five deals with the British revolutions and the rise of modern politics. "The apocalypse reached its high mark" with the Scottish Revolution of 1637 and the English Revolution of the 1640s. In chapter six, the author continues his exploration of the relationship between the apocalypse and science, dealing more specifically with the works of John Locke and Isaac Newton, and especially with Thomas Burnet's *Sacred Theory of the Earth* (1681), which served as an important proof of the prevalence of the apocalypse in science. Chapter seven analyzes the crisis of apocalyptic consciousness through the cases of the Quakers, Jews, and other religious minorities. With the Quakers, the apocalypse was transformed: it "became bifurcated in that it offered a historical vision and at the same time 'realized eschatology' with the inner light of every individual" (p. 191). Likewise, the conversion of Sabbatai Şevi to Islam in 1665 "was disastrous for radical Protestantism and millenarian expectations" (p. 217). In chapter eight, Williamson explores the relationship between prophecy, the Enlightenment, and democratic revolutions, dealing with the transformation from the apocalypse to the new concepts of progress, historical probability, and the rise of civil millenarianism. Chapter nine discusses the American Revolution and the American Civil War, the latter of which "comprises the last major act of the Reformation" in the sense that it became "an eschatological crusade" (p. 288). The final chapter, "Antichrist in the Postapocalyptic Age," brings the story of the apocalypse into our time.

It is very hard to do justice in a short space to such a rich and imaginative study. This work is a *tour de force*, a clear testimony to the author's amazing range of interests and the depth of his research. It is a welcome, unique contribution to the puzzle of the relationship between apocalypse and history, modes of persuasion and modes of conduct. The book clearly succeeds in demonstrating the central role of ideological, apocalyptic considerations in the history of early modernity. Scholars and students alike will greatly benefit from the

discussion and analysis of Williamson's most valuable work.

AVIHU ZAKAI
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

COLIN G. CALLOWAY. *White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xxi, 368. \$35.00.

Both Scots and American Indians have received increasing attention in Atlantic world studies, and Colin G. Calloway's book brings the two together in a single volume. Although known primarily for his contribution to American Indian history, Calloway's consideration of the Highland Scots, both in Scotland and in America, is equally impressive.

Calloway offers less a clear comparative examination than something of a parallel study in which he loosely relates the experiences of Highland Scots and American Indians within the wider context of the English, and after 1707 British, Empire. The chapters are broadly thematic, yet the familiar chronology of contact, colonization, and conquest is also evident. Calloway's work lacks an explicit, driving thesis—a conscious choice of the author—but underpinning much of the book is an argument about the culturally destructive force of imperialism and capitalism that would be familiar to students of Edward W. Said. In Calloway's view, the tribal cultures of both American Indians and the Highland Scots were victims of British imperialism. The book thus examines territorial conquest as well as the attempts at cultural conquest, or "civilizing" efforts of the colonizers on the colonized. Individual chapters relate such events as missionary efforts to turn the tribal savages into civilized Protestants, the impact of industrialization and commercial agriculture on tribal economies, and the Highland clearances and Indian removal. Other chapters examine Highland-Indian relations in America, noting that among Europeans, the Scots were disproportionately prevalent on the frontiers and in Indian country as settlers, traders, bureaucrats, and warriors.

Ultimately, neither scholars of American Indian country nor those of Scotland are likely to find much new here in terms of their own fields, but both will benefit from the wider, comparative context and astute analysis Calloway offers. The comparison is not any easy one. The difficulty Calloway faces, and identifies, is threefold. First, neither Indians nor Highlanders operated as culturally distinct, unified groups during this period. They fought among themselves as much as they fought the British—something without which British imperial expansion would not have been possible. In this sense, Calloway likens the Mohegans' assistance in the destruction of the Pequot in the seventeenth century to the role of the Campbells in bringing the Highlands under English metropolitan control (pp. 35–36). Moreover, the Scots did not always divide easily among Highlanders, Lowlanders, and Scots-Irish, especially

once they reached and intermingled in America, and even the concept of a Highland culture is largely anachronistic and one that has been (mis)placed on the whole of Scotland. Second, the long-term outcomes for the Indians and Highlanders under English-speaking rule were incredibly different. As bad as the Highland experience was at times, Highlanders were ultimately integrated rather than annihilated. As much as Calloway emphasizes that Highlanders were perceived as non-whites by the English and Scottish Lowlanders, Highlanders were far more accepted as husbands and comrades than Indians ever were. Third, neither Indians nor Highlanders were consistent in recognizing each other's similar plights. Calloway has collected a host of anecdotal examples of English officers and the Lowland Scots that dominated the Scottish Enlightenment likening the Highlanders to Indians and the two in turn finding much in common with each other—the most poignant of which was perhaps the plea of John Ross, principal chief of the Cherokees, that appeared in April 1847 in the *Cherokee Advocate*: "Have the Scotch no claim upon the Cherokees? Have they not a very especial claim? They have." However, as Calloway explains, Scots that had been forced out of their Highland homes did not hesitate to seize Indian lands, and Indians retaliated against them with the same vengeance they dealt English or German colonizers.

Despite these difficulties, Calloway makes clear that the Highland and Indian experiences were similar to a point. In fact, Calloway's hesitancy to offer a more assertive analysis and conclusions can at times be frustrating. Highland and Indian experiences tell a broader story of the devastation that resulted when the British Empire crashed into cultures rooted in kin-based tribalism: some destruction was consciously perpetrated by the colonizers, some was a by-product of the better-organized and better-financed British system of commerce and war, and some was brought on by collaborators. In this broad sense, Indians and Highlanders become case studies in a familiar tale throughout British imperial expansion and rule that was evident not only in the Americas but also Ireland, Asia, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the South Pacific. The similarities are fascinating, but what is even more interesting—and a topic Calloway opens up for further inquiry—are the complexities of why the ultimate outcomes for cultures in these places was so different. Thus, Calloway's book makes for thought-provoking reading for all students and scholars interested in the cultural impact of imperial expansion.

TROY BICKHAM
Texas A&M University

USSAMA MAKDISI. *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*. (The United States in the World.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 262. \$35.00.

Ussama Makdisi's timely and significant book deals with a topic that until very recently has been widely writ-