fortifications that greatly lessened that danger. It was a valuable government service that brought with it opportunities to sell provisions to the garrisons and lucrative local military offices for the gentry to hold. In chapter 7 Cooper describes how both the duchy of Cornwall and the Stannaries governing Westcountry tin mining also served to promote regional loyalty to the central government. The duchy was a source of local patronage and employment to the gentry as well as being a benevolent landlord to its tenants among the commons. The Stannaries conferred special privileges in law to miners, which gave them enhanced status and cemented grassroots loyalty to the crown.

Cooper's final chapter is titled "Propaganda." He points out that revisionist historians have demonstrated that the late medieval church was generally popular and functioning successfully. Under that circumstance, how can the obvious triumph of the Reformation be explained? His answer is that a practical theology of obedience evolved during the Henrician Reformation and continued to evolve. Henry VIII's religious reforms included a resanctification of kingship that further reinforced popular loyalism to the dynasty. The Tudors coopted the parish church as a primary conduit of dynastic propaganda. Liturgical prayers for the monarchy became a regular feature of church services for the first time in English history.

Propaganda and the Tudor State presents a well-written and convincing case for how the Tudor dynasty secured the voluntary loyalty of its subjects in the localities. Its conclusions nicely complement the findings of Ethan Shagan's Popular Politics and the English Reformation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Cooper convincingly demonstrates that local religious life consisted of a lot more than just devout plowmen sitting around learning their pater noster until a tyrannical monarchy forced hateful religious changes down their throats. In Cooper's Westcountry, after the coming of the Henrician Reformation, those pious plowmen learned about their duty of obedience to the monarchy and prayed for their sovereigns every Sunday under the tutelage of the local parish priest. The Westcountry was not a hotbed of rebellion nor was it a lawless land. Instead it was a loyal but distinct region of England, and its very distinctiveness contributed to strengthening its loyalty to the central government, as Cooper so ably shows. Thanks to the researches of John Cooper, we are closer to understanding the nature of the relationship between the Tudor monarchs and their subjects.

Richard Hooker and Reformed Theology: A Study of Reason, Will, and Grace. Nigel Voak. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 348 pp. \$85.00. ISBN 0-19-926039-7.

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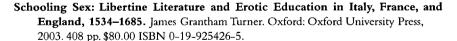
In 1599 an anonymous tract titled A Christian Letter, identified only as having been authored by "certaine English Protestantes, unfayned favourers of the present state of religion, authorized and professed in England," set out to portray Richard Hooker's theology as inconsistent with established norms of Reformed doctrinal orthodoxy, chief among them the Thirty-Nine Articles approved by Parliament almost thirty years earlier in 1571. The Letter accused Hooker of promoting "Romish doctrine" and "the darknesse of schoole learning," chiefly on the ground of his theological claims concerning the capacity of the human faculties of intellect and will with respect to conditions of both nature and grace. As Diarmaid MacCulloch has recently demonstrated (English Historical Review 117 [2002]: 773–812), Hooker's reputation, especially concerning such matters as these, has fluctuated to a

remarkable degree over the intervening centuries. While throughout the later nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries Hooker was almost universally perceived as the defender (and, by some, even the inventor) of an Anglican via media between the extremes of Roman Catholicism and continental Protestant Reform, more recently a revisionist interpretation has emerged that casts Hooker in the role of magisterial defender of the essentially Reformed character of the Elizabethan religious settlement. Thus scholarly opinion today might well be described as divided between those who, like the authors of A Christian Letter, entertain a deep suspicion of Hooker's credentials as a mainstream Reformer, and others who are equally convinced that these anonymous sixteenth-century critics fundamentally misconstrued his theology as inimical to Reformed orthodoxy. The outstanding merit of Nigel Voak's excellent study, Richard Hooker and Reformed Theology, is to press tirelessly for resolution of this vexed question of Hooker's theological reputation, once and for all."What is needed," Voak maintains, "is not simply one further perspective, but a resolution to this debate ... (139)." Hooker cannot logically be both the conservative proponent of the reformed Elizabethan Church and a revolutionary formulator of a neo-Pelagian, proto-Arminian-cum-Laudian rejection of reformed orthodoxy, or at least not both at the same time. Although Voak's attempt is valiant and worthy of praise, a final and definitive answer to this conundrum remains stubbornly elusive, in this reader's reckoning.

In the first of two principal parts of his argument, Voak undertakes an extensive and highly illuminating discussion of Hooker's philosophy of mind and action. With commendable thoroughness, Voak explores the scholastic intricacies of Hooker's treatment of the faculties; these findings provide in turn a sound basis for the development of his central thesis in the second part, where the human faculties are considered in the light of their interaction with the influences of divine grace. The "central problem of human nature" and, more specifically, the manner in which the faculties of reason and will relate to grace, are quite correctly viewed by Voak as "most important for understanding Hooker's theology, and for resolving many of the controversies that beset Hooker scholarship today" (18). Voak demonstrates most convincingly the high estimate placed by Hooker upon the human capacities of reason and will; he describes his position as a "metaphysical libertarianism" akin to the theological anthropology of Scotus, Molina, and Suarez and distinguished from the "soft-determinism" of both Calvin and Aquinas. A key consequence of this reading is to render more plausible Hooker's putative leaning toward a proto-Arminian soteriology, a "soft-pedalling" as it were of the doctrine of original sin. In short, Voak suggests, Hooker is to be understood as "optimistic" concerning the faculties of human nature to an extent that will firmly distinguish his stance from mainstream Reformed tradition (167). With admirable discernment, Voak recognizes the question concerning the manner of the human reception of grace as the "the polemical heart of the Lawes" (168). The critical significance of this claim should by no means be underestimated. Arguably, much of the critical disagreement over how to interpret Hooker's theological position stems from either inability to see or refusal to allow this altogether essential premise.

Following in the footsteps of John Henry Newman, that great defender of the Anglican via media, Voak proposes that Hooker's soteriology undergoes a significant shift away from the explicitly reformed position apparent in his early sermons toward a neo-Pelagian retraction in the later *Dublin Fragments*, the incomplete manuscript of his response to *A Christian Letter*, composed towards the end of his life. While Voak claims that Hooker's mature theology of grace departs from the Calvinian orientation of the early sermons, it seemed to this reader that he almost persuades himself to the contrary in the close analysis of these fragments in

the closing chapters of the monograph. If Voak's argument has one signal weakness, it is a certain lack of clarity and assurance when broaching the intricacies of continental Reformed theology. The interpretation of Hooker's thought, as indeed of the doctrinal assumptions of the English reformers more generally, has long been bedeviled in the English-speaking world by "exceptionalism," a certain tendency to insularity expressed in an unfounded, anachronistic, somewhat Romantic assertion of the peculiarity of sixteenth-century English theology as compared with that of the continental divines. Rather than take for granted popular neo-Barthian assumptions concerning Calvin's position, a more careful reading of Calvin such as one finds, for example, in the work of David Steinmetz, Richard Muller, and Susan Schreiner—would reveal Calvin's own strongly "optimistic" side in his affirmation of a high natural theology (Inst. 1.1-5) and a developed doctrine of natural law (Inst. 2.8). Both of these themes in Calvin's theology are in essential agreement with precisely those aspects of Hooker's thought most often represented as being at odds with continental reformed orthodoxy. Here lies the rub. As long as Hooker's theology is measured against tattered stereotypes of continental magisterial reform, there is not likely to be satisfactory progress in resolving the main question. Paradoxically, it would seem that we are almost exactly in the same position as Hooker's second-generation "Calvinist" critics who had already lost a sense of the dialectical breadth of Calvin's theology, a breadth that Hooker was perhaps one of the last English theologians to appreciate. For Hooker, just as for Calvin, there is no theological sense to the assumption of the authors of A Christian Letter (and, for that matter, of modern critical scholarship) that there is necessarily a linear spectrum on which one is situated as either a relative optimist or a relative pessimist concerning the capacities of human intellect and will. In Hooker's and Calvin's soteriology human nature is simultaneously both totally depraved as a result of original sin in foro conscientiae and yet dignified and noble in its natural or phenomenal capabilities in foro externo. Unlike the fideistic authors of A Christian Letter, both Hooker and Calvin refuse to allow moral and rational activity to be obliterated or absorbed by the gracious act of God; nor do they allow religion to become an irrational biblicism that seeks to replace reason. The recovery of critical attention to the alien religious mentalité implicit in this dialectical position—grounded as it is in the principles of an Augustinian Trinitarianism, honored equally by Hooker and Calvin, and by which the human faculties are subjected to a twofold measure—may provide a way forward in dealing with this intractable problem of interpreting Hooker's theological position. The definitive resolution of the debate about Hooker's theological reputation may depend ultimately upon the pursuit of more careful study of the theological assumptions of the continental reformed tradition against which he is to be measured.



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James Grantham Turner's new book extends the study of the history and culture of sexuality he has begun in One Flesh: Paradisal Marriage and Sexual Relations in the Age of Milton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) and Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630–1685 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Schooling Sex is a valuable enlargement upon the geographical and chronological compass of



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