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Book Review of Borderland Religion: The Emergence of an English-Canadian Identity, by J.I. Little

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The Commentary proper begins with an enlightening excursus on types of genealogies and their functions, in which Knoppers follows the currently accepted categories of "segmented," which follows different branches of a family tree, and "linear," which follows a line of descent from an ancestor to a descendant. Genealogies are inevitably affected by the writer's point in time, since they employ literary conventions in reconciling or selecting from available traditions, often comporting with contemporary realities. It is for this reason, Knoppers argues, that the genealogical introduction of Chronicles accords special attention to Judah, Benjamin, and Levi. By the use of chiasm as a literary device, Chronicles makes Levi central to Israel and David central to Judah (260-263). Furthermore, the structure of the genealogies makes prominent both the privileged place of Israel among its neighbors, and the continuity between the postexilic society and Israel's past, "setting the stage for the reestablishment of an Israel centered around Jerusalem" (264).

A small editorial slip reveals that the author probably started out with the assumption that 1 Chronicles would be covered in a single volume. On p. 101, he states that the "major themes and theology of Chronicles will be explored in the introduction to the second volume of this commentary"; however, a perusal through the second volume yields no such introduction. Apparently, the author must be referring not to the second volume, but to a forthcoming commentary on 2 Chronicles. Judging by the quality of his commentary on 1 Chronicles, the present reviewer can hardly wait for the publication of his commentary on 2 Chronicles.

Knoppers is both thorough in his discussion and fair to the evidence and to his fellow scholars. In spite of this thoroughness, he is both succinct and lucid. This two-volume commentary on 1 Chronicles is unsurpassed for its depth and comprehensiveness. It will remain a standard reference for many years to come.

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The Eastern Townships form a region in the southern part of the province of Quebec that was first settled largely by American immigrants in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. J. I. Little, Professor of History at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, argues that during the first sixty years of settlement in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, "a competitive struggle between the American and British denominations, as well as between radical revivalism and religious conservatism" (111), led to the emergence of a Protestant English-Canadian identity by the middle of the nineteenth century. In this borderland region to the north of the state of Vermont—divided by the 45th parallel, not the 49th parallel as presumed by Little (xii, 32, 145, 277)—American immigrants, later joined by British immigrants, established a number of Protestant denominations. Although to some extent the Eastern Townships remained an extension of the northern New England states for most of the nineteenth century, political fluctuations between the two countries and different social and political structures in Canada provided the impulse to create "a distinctively English-Canadian identity—an identity that represented a still somewhat lumpy synthesis of American and British values" (285).

Of particular interest to the readers of this journal is Little's analysis of the Millerite movement and its impact upon Protestant denominations in the Eastern Townships. As
I have chronicled in my book, *Adventism in Quebec: The Dynamics of Rural Church Growth, 1830-1910* (Andrews University Press, 2004; reviewed in this issue of *AUSS*, see pp. 338-341), the Millerite movement had a strong following in the Eastern Townships and, in time, gave rise to three Adventist denominations. Relying mainly upon denominational archives and church records, and my prior studies on Millerism, *Borderland Religion* analyzes the impact of this movement upon local churches, particularly Baptist and Methodist. Rich in details and depth, the book gives a vast amount of information on each denomination and succeeds in demonstrating that by the mid-nineteenth century churches in the Eastern Townships had acquired their own Canadian identity, albeit a work still in progress.

According to Little, Millerism’s impact on Congregationalism was minimal and mainly felt in Stanstead, where Pastor R. V. Hall remarked that, as a result of Josiah Litch’s revival meetings in May 1842, a number of local churches had been “awakened by the Holy Spirit,” but with only a few Congregationalist church members joining the movement (62-64). But the situation was different for Baptists and Methodists. As a Baptist preacher, William Miller had a profound influence on most Baptist congregations in the Eastern Townships, particularly the Freewill Baptists. Little correctly notes that “the Millerite movement did stir up a level of debate and dissension that fragmented most of the local [Freewill Baptist] congregations,” which “failed to recover from the Millerite incursion” (108).

Methodist congregations were also greatly affected by Millerism; Little notes that it “essentially accelerated a revivalist momentum that was already beginning in the southern parts of the region” (195). The combination of these revivalist impulses led to many baptisms and a general sense of progress in Methodism. But Millerism, along with emigration, also contributed to a decline in many churches, even more so after some Methodist pastors became Millerite preachers. In fact, some of the most respectable Methodist families converted to Millerism (63). Little shows that Methodist congregations sustained a lack of religious fervor after the Millerite movement came to an end in the fall of 1844 (204-205). “The Millerite movement, and the ensuing religious divisions and exhaustion, had clearly undermined all aspects of the Wesleyan missionary effort” (213). This decline, Little believes, “affected most of the Protestant denominations and churches in the Eastern Townships during the later 1840s” (213). He concludes that “the Millerite movement of the early 1840s represented the most serious American challenge to British religious hegemony over the English-speaking population of the Eastern Townships, but it was one that dissipated quickly when the predicted Apocalypse failed to take place in 1843 or 1844. In fact, by undermining the Baptist meetings that were beginning to establish a solid foundation in the region, and by contributing to the fracturing of Methodism, the Millerite movement probably strengthened the Anglican Church’s position in the region” (283). This move toward a more religious conservatism also prevented more radical sects, such as the Shakers or Mormons, from spreading north of Vermont.

As briefly noted by Little, during the first years of the movement, Millerism was first and foremost an evangelical, ecumenical, and revivalist movement (11, 129). William Miller never intended to establish a new denomination and preached only in the already-existing churches that invited him, yet to refer to Millerism as an “invasion” from the United States (e.g., 104, 108, 126, 145) or as an attempt to infiltrate congregations (195) is to misunderstand what the movement was all about and also to quickly forget that most denominations in the Eastern Townships, at least those among American settlers and their descendants, had first come from south of the border.
Referring to Millerism as an American invasion would hardly have been the opinion of the hundreds of people from American descent who attended its lectures and camp meetings. Before 1843, pastors in the Townships remarked that Millerism was a welcomed revival that benefitted most churches (93-94). However, in the summer of 1843, some Millerite preachers began to emphasize that churches that did not accept the premillennialist teaching of Christ's soon return were, in fact, part of the Babylon of the book of Revelation. Hence, people were urged to leave the "apostatized" churches if they wanted to be saved on the coming day of judgment. Only then did the movement become radical and sectarian, divisive and intrusive, yet Miller himself never agreed to this approach. Little's analysis of the impact of Millerism upon Eastern Townships churches would have been more accurate if a distinction between its two phases had been taken into account more consistently throughout the book and particularly in the chapter on the Millerites.

While Little correctly observes that some Baptist congregations grew substantially between 1838 and 1841 as a result of Miller's visits—as in the case of the Georgeville congregation (94)—he does not associate Miller's first three visits with similar numerical growths during the same period in Hatley and Stanstead (102). The same can be said of his analysis of Methodist revivals when he overlooks that revivals in Hatley in 1835 and 1838 coincided with Miller's first and second visits to the area (187, 193). Again, while the author contends that the revival experienced in many churches in 1840-1841 came "a year or two before Millerism made a significant impact in the region" (142), I believe he is underestimating the positive impact of Miller's earlier visits. Although the Eastern Townships were not taken over by the same intensity of religious enthusiasm as experienced in the "burned-over district" of Vermont and upstate New York, the region nonetheless experienced some of the same revivals, and Miller's first three visits prepared the way for the more intense Millerite revival of 1842 and 1843. Furthermore, although these churches had already begun to establish their own Canadian identity by 1840, the religious and cultural affinities between the Townships and the northeastern states still provided much of the religious impulse experienced in that region. Here, in trying to distinguish his findings and conclusions from those of other historians of antebellum American religious life (142), Little is overreaching, draws some distinctions that are not fully warranted, and fails to see how the first phase of Millerism was part of a greater picture, one that benefitted religious life not only in the United States, but also in the Eastern Townships.

Borderland Religion's major contribution to Millerite study is that of pointing out that the Millerite revivalist impulse in the Eastern Townships likely peaked in 1843, not in 1844. Although I believe more study is needed to definitely confirm this point, Little is accurate in noting that some Millerite preachers observed a decline of religious fervor among their believers in the early months of 1844 (138). But were those observations only their subjective impressions that enthusiasm was not as strong in the Townships as in the United States? It is true that the absence of prominent Millerite leaders who concentrated their efforts in the major urban areas in the United States may have slowed enthusiasm in the Eastern Townships; yet, after July 1844, Millerite activities in the Eastern Townships picked up again. Moreover, the violent reactions to meetings held in Waterloo and Frost Village in late December 1844 and early January 1845 certainly indicate that to many people, Millerism was still a dangerous sectarian threat—far from being a spent force or impulse, it still provoked strong passions. This raises some uncertainty as to whether the peak of revivalism and enthusiasm came in 1843. To reach this conclusion, Little also relies on denominational statistics and notes that numbers of
baptisms in a Methodist circuit declined in 1843 and 1844 (137). Hence, he concludes that the Millerite impulse was also declining by then. However, one must remember that by the summer of 1843, now in its second phase, Millerism was becoming a sectarian movement and would not be benefitting Baptist and Methodist congregations any longer. A decline in numbers of baptisms in these congregations is rather an indication that Millerism was still a major factor influencing their growth, albeit it a negative one.

Little’s conclusion that “to some extent, the Eastern Townships remained an extension of the northern New England frontier by mid-century” (284) certainly proved to be the case for the three Adventist denominations that arose from Millerism and which were dependent to a large extent on preachers from New England. Although the author estimates that “Millerism was largely a spent force by mid-century” (24), the American religious influence and sectarian impulse that generated it continued to affect the religious life of the Eastern Townships for the remaining decades of the century. These Adventist churches grew steadily and represented about 2 percent of the Eastern Townships population for most of the second half of the nineteenth century and, in 1881, reached close to 10 percent of the population in some townships closest to Vermont.

Two other factors that influenced religious life in the Eastern Townships are also well documented in Borderland Religion and support my conclusions in Adventism in Quebec. Little provides evidences that the emigration of the English-speaking population was an important sociodemographic factor in the 1840s (102, 205, 207, 218), setting a trend that would continue to deeply affect all churches in the Eastern Townships throughout the nineteenth century. In addition, in his discussion of Methodism, Little gives good evidence that a circuit-riding type of itinerant pastors (162, 220-221), with short length of parish ministry, was not the type of organizational structure most conducive to facilitating growth and retention of membership, a problem that also affected Adventist parishes during the remainder of the century.

Even though it tends to be biased against Millerism, Borderland Religion is a good addition to Canadian religious historiography, and students of Millerism and Adventism will appreciate its insights.

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Probably the most useful information for those approaching this book for the first time is a clarification of what the book is, and what it is not. The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research is not an introductory textbook on Septuagintal studies for any but the most sophisticated students. McLay approaches his subject in an inductive manner, launching almost immediately into detailed considerations of various citations of the Septuagint (LXX) by the NT and leaving the uninitiated reader struggling to make sense of an overwhelmingly expanding mass of data until, if tenacious enough, he finds the underlying issues and principles more explicitly laid out near the end of the book. The volume is, on the other hand, an important contribution to the development of methodology for analyzing NT quotations of Scripture and a persuasive argument for the recognition of the centrality and the impact of the variety of Greek translations of Scripture on the text and theology of the NT.

McLay begins his book with an important Introduction which lays out his goal of “providing a framework for understanding how the NT writings have been influenced