

Review

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naeus of Lyons (London: Routledge, 1997), which agree with him on many details, though hardly on the thesis.

ROBERT M. GRANT, *Chicago, Illinois*.

FOGEL, ROBERT WILLIAM. *The Fourth Great Awakening and the Future of Egalitarianism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. 383 pp. \$25.00 (cloth).

Religionists will find in this book intriguing combinations, such as an economist who is fascinated by the great evangelical awakenings of modernity. Robert William Fogel is a Nobel Prize-winning econometric scholar at the University of Chicago, distinguished by his technophysiological theories put to good use in his well-known book *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (Boston, 1974). Following various religious, political, and economic periodization theories, Fogel constructs a model for four Great Awakenings, each of which has three movements: (1) the religious phase in which sensuous religious experience responds to the human disjunction and confusion brought on by technological and economic development and gives rise to, (2) new political coalitions that translate the religious visions into public policy, and then (3) a new period of rapid technological change in which the lagging behind of ethics and the breakup of political coalitions give rise to new anxiety and inequalities. Thus, allowing for all three phases and their overlapping, we get four modern religious-political-economic cycles: (1) First Great Awakening, 1730–1830, (2) Second Great Awakening, 1800–1920, (3) Third Great Awakening, 1890–, and (4) Fourth Great Awakening, 1960–.

From a theological-historical perspective, Fogel gives a relatively sound treatment of the religious phase of the First and Second Great Awakenings, but the perspective on subsequent awakenings is increasingly less acute theologically and historically. By the time they reach the Fourth Great Awakening many readers will question whether Fogel's ultimate arguments can really be supported by the claim that the religious right's emergence since the sixties constitutes an awakening comparable to the first three. The Fourth Great Awakening turns out to be a rehashing of certain themes present especially in the first two epochs, namely, the recovery of personal sin and the theme of the equality of opportunity as opposed to the equality of condition.

Fogel is primarily interested in the Awakenings as the flip side of the Enlightenment's twins, democracy and capitalism, and, in particular, as crucial engines of the sine qua non of the American spirit, equalitarianism. The best barometer of human suffering because of technological and economic change and the best envisioner of alternative social and political policies has been religious revival. Despite the stupendous power of technology and market and their respective sciences and despite the irreversibility of their processes, on their own they cannot produce and, in fact, deter equality. In this sense, Fogel's thesis is most elegant with respect to the Second Great Awakening and is similar to the "revival as democratization" thesis of Nathan Hatch and others.

As it turns out, Fogel is himself a secular disciple of the Third Great Awakening set in motion by the Social Gospellers, put in policy by the reforms against big business and the governmental measures to redistribute material conditions of equality, and foundered on its failure to distribute the nonmaterial conditions of equality. The Third Great Awakening was wrong in its assumption that distributing material goods would lead automatically to enhanced spiritual health. Revival

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is better than revolution, and at least in America, according to Fogel, equality cannot be realized without personal, embodied awakening.

The stress is on embodied *spirit*. The freshness of Fogel's approach is that, despite his full credentials in neoclassical economic theory, he wants no body-soul dichotomy. Like Adam Smith, he assumes that if the human spirit can flourish, the onslaughts of technology and market can be lived through to a better human future. So his constructive arguments have to do with the ways in which equality is enhanced by distributing nourishment of the body and the spirit.

Fogel spends much energy in showing how the advances of technology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have given us stronger, more resilient bodies. He prefers his biomedical measures such as stature, "body mass index," and life expectancy to wages and income as the means of judging inequality. Advancing technology, not the intervention of government, gets the points for increased equality. He is troubled by the trends toward inequality of income since the seventies, but, on the whole, he finds the American nation advancing toward ever greater equality—except on the spiritual side. Fogel offers a rather long list of the attributes of "spiritual resources" or "spiritual capital," including a sense of purpose, a sense of community, a strong family ethic, a strong work ethic, and high self-esteem. These "immaterial commodities" are transferred, not through the market, but between individuals privately. Now that we have reached an advanced degree of equality on the material level, it should be the task of society and government to distribute these spiritual goods more equitably.

It becomes clear that the public policy phase of the Fourth Great awakening for Fogel is principally education. Human equality will depend on how equitably we distribute the knowledge necessary for people to make it in the knowledge economy created by the new technologies wiring the world and to cope with meaningful existence in the thirty-odd years added to life expectancy by medical and other technologies. Equality for our age will be determined by the immaterial resources people have for "earnwork" and "volwork."

Fogel has opened up an extraordinarily important discussion that theologians and religious leaders should join. He offers the latter some new ways of thinking about the relation of economy and faith. But his hindsight regarding the first three Great Awakenings is much better than his unguarded assumptions about how the religious right can engender the social programs necessary for distributing anything in the stalemated politics and culture wars of our time. As the Marxist Ernst Bloch maintained that socialism needed something like the church, so surely does revival headed toward humanizing the world. Fogel may expect the university to be church, so surely does revival headed toward humanizing the world. Fogel may expect the university to be church in the Fourth Great Awakening's search for equality. If so, how will the university escape its own commodification? One is heartened to speculate that, on the terms of Fogel's own argument, the Fourth Great Awakening has not yet happened.

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LITTLE, LAWRENCE S. *Disciples of Liberty: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the Age of Imperialism, 1884–1916*. Nashville: University of Tennessee Press, 2000. xvii+246 pp. \$32.00 (cloth).

In terms of African-American religious history, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church has probably received more scholarly treatment than any of the