John Patrick Donnelly, remarking that Vermigli's *Loci communes* devotes a great amount of space to practical social questions and that to Peter Martyr there was no distinction, as there is for the modern reader, between social and ethical thought, offers an "exploratory essay" into "The Social and Ethical Thought of Peter Martyr Vermigli." In clear, incisive paragraphs, the essay touches upon "Social Status, Inequality and Minorities" (women, nobility, slavery, religious dissenters, Jews, Moslems), "The Christian and the Economic Order" (wealth, poverty), "Marriage" (also polygamy, mixed marriages, divorce, virginity), to terminate with some "General Principles and Presuppositions" that point out Vermigli's strong links with Aristotle (especially with the *Nichomachean Ethics*), his mixture of theological and secular proofs for an argument, and his use of Roman law.

Robert M. Kingdon examines "The Political Thought of Peter Martyr Vermigli" to show that, although the structure and some of the contents are Aristotelian (from Vermigli's days at the University of Padua), most of Vermigli's thoughts derive from Scriptural and Patristic sources, while some come from Roman law, and a few from contemporary political practice. Professor Kingdon then examines in detail Vermigli's definition of government (or of "the magistrate") and the question of political resistance by "inferior magistrates" or by citizens, basing his observation on the *loci* dealing with the ten scholia that he feels are most instructive in this question.

Joseph C. McLelland brings the book to an end with his essay "Peter Martyr Vermigli: Scholastic or Humanist?" in which he shows that "Martyr is more subtle than allowed by the thesis that he is a chief contributor to the fall of Calvinism into 'scholasticism'" (p. 150). The point, present in several of the articles preceding this one (especially Vasoli's and Anderson's), is supported by an examination of contemporary scholarship and the place of both Aristotelianism and Scholasticism in Vermigli's education. As such, it is an appropriate conclusion to this fine collection of essays.

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Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe. *The Practice of Piety. Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982. Pp. xvi, 298. \$28.00.

Though a number of writers have reestablished the signal importance of spirituality to Puritanism, little attention has been paid to the themes of piety or how it was practiced on a daily and weekly basis, a subject for inquiry long overdue given recent interest in social history and popular culture. In this Jamestown Award-winning study Charles Hambrick-Stowe explores the "inner" history of ordinary people through an examination of public worship, family and small group discussions, and private or "closet" meditations. Hambrick-Stowe succeeds admirably in providing readers with a useful description of the form, content, and impact of spiritual activities in seventeenth-century New England.

At its heart, Hambrick-Stowe argues, Puritanism was neither a social nor an

intellectual movement, but part of a larger devotional revival that swept European communities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Through a careful examination of devotional manuals and sermons, he shows how significant continuities linked Puritan, Anglican, and even Roman Catholic devotional themes and rituals. The theme of intensive self-examination and meditation upon one's sins, for example, was previously assumed to be a unique activity of lay Puritans. Yet, by exhibiting parallel texts, Hambrick-Stowe demonstrates how introspection also characterized Catholic devotionals. Likewise, many other spiritual exercises, such as meditation upon the joys of heaven and emphasis upon human experience and divine initiative in salvation were shared by Puritans and Catholics.

Having reestablished Puritanism's ties to mainstream Western Christianity, Hambrick-Stowe builds a strong case for the popular nature of Puritan culture. The central themes of Puritan spirituality, he argues, had long been at the heart of popular piety and were shared by clerics and laymen alike. The point is crucial because the description of devotional themes and practices—which comprises most of the book—is drawn almost exclusively from manuals, sermons, almanacs, and other documents composed by ministers. The principle metaphor running through all these sources is that of the pilgrimage. Ministers described the individual's spiritual life as a journey from sin to salvation and glory. Building on the work of others like Michael McGiffert and his mentor David Hall, Hambrick-Stowe asserts that the conversion experience, generally a gradual rather than violent, life-altering development, marked the beginning of the soul's pilgrimage, not the culmination. The Puritan achieved salvation only after death, upon redemption and union with God. Preparation for salvation, then, did not end with the conversion experience but continued throughout life and public and private worship, the means by which the individual proceeded along the path toward redemption.

Several chapters are included that contain illuminating and insightful descriptions of public and private devotional activities. Means of public worship included participation in the sacraments, attending sermons, church discipline, and prayer. Private devotions involved family prayer, private prayer meetings and conferences, and individual "secret" devotions. While all prayer centered around some variation of the redemptive cycle of confession, petition for forgiveness, thanksgiving, and union with God, the daily private devotions were of particular importance to the individual Puritan. Secret exercise, Bible study, meditation and prayer were the most powerful channels through which grace might flow, the crucial point of contact between the believer and God. Hambrick-Stowe distinguishes between the specific functions of prayer and meditation. While the believer actively sought God through prayer, he attempted to find ongoing evidence of salvation and to chart his progress on his pilgrimage through meditation.

Although this devotional synthesis survived in New England until the early eighteenth century, the second generation faced a devotional crisis. The old spiritual images and religious terminology no longer seemed to apply to a generation that did not share the founding experience of the fathers. Ministers con-

fronted unprecedented difficulties in attempting to motivate their flocks to seek salvation. Clerics responded to the challenge by adapting several major themes of Puritan devotionalism to the new circumstances. They venerated and celebrated the fathers, and placed a greater emphasis upon the spiritual implications of their pilgrimage to America. In addition, ministers created new forms of worship, such as the covenant renewal. Renewed interest and larger printings of devotional manuals in the late seventeenth century suggest that ministers succeeded in rekindling the devotional zeal that characterized the first years of settlement.

The Practice of Piety is a useful volume though, as with any book, the reader is left with a few questions that may be mentioned in passing. For example, in his discussion of popular culture Hambrick-Stowe argues that Puritanism represented an effort to reform English culture from within. The reform impulse was neither propagated nor directed by ministers, who, partly because of their emphasis upon literacy, could not monopolize the Bible and thus "wielded little authority of their own" (48). Their style of plain preaching and prayer was a response to the demands of the movement, just as the contents of their writings reflected popular needs. Hambrick-Stowe does well to remind readers that the ministers and the laity interacted within a shared world of meaning. Many will resist, however, his undocumented assertion that Puritanism's individualism coupled with its rejection of outward forms resulted in a popular culture characterized by inherent anticlericalism. Hambrick-Stowe also makes a significant contribution in stressing the paramount importance of private devotions in the conversion process. But again, his subordination of the ministry in the early chapters seems anomalous and unnecessary, especially in light of his later description of the ministerial role in rejuvenating zeal and redefining critical devotional themes. Though the ministry is by no means ignored, emphasis upon the individual relationship with God is so strong in parts that the reader is surprised to see the 1650 Connecticut law stating: "The preaching of the Word . . . is the chiefe ordinary means ordained by God for the converting, edifying, and saving of the soules of the elect" (116).

In addition, the influence of social and cultural change upon the practice of piety on the individual level remains cloudy, a problem undoubtedly rooted in a lack of available sources. Hambrick-Stowe asserts that the Puritans "practiced preparation for salvation through the means of grace," yet devotes little attention to the spiritual experience of the sizeable proportion of second generation believers who never experienced conversion (219). In general, Hambrick-Stowe's treatment of the conversion experience should not be considered the final word on the subject. His description of the gradual conversion experience, a notion central to his lifelong pilgrimage theme, is based heavily upon evidence drawn from Thomas Shepard's Cambridge church. Shepard emphasized the gradual nature of conversion as much or more than any of his contemporaries. The sudden, life-changing conversions experienced by many followers of John Cotton, Solomon Stoddard, and others receive little attention here; they suggest that the variety of spiritual experience may have been more significant than Hambrick-Stowe implies.

The above points pertain largely to matters of detail. In general, Charles Hambrick-Stowe's rich description and penetrating analysis casts much needed

light into an area of Puritanism fraught with obstacles to research and long overdue for study. *The Practice of Piety* enriches our understanding of Puritan "inner" history and the spiritual experience of the individual and the movement as a whole.

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Joyce Main Hanks. *Ronsard and Biblical Tradition*. Tübingen and Paris: Gunter Narr Verlag and Editions Jean-Michel Place, 1982. Pp. 199. DM 38.

One is perhaps too often tempted to regard the poets of the Pléiade as wholly pagan in their *vision du monde*, despite Lucien Febvre's having shown in the case of Rabelais that no-one in sixteenth-century France can justifiably be called non-Christian. This book is an important contribution to a developing interest in the influence of the Bible and of the biblical tradition on both the content and style of sixteenth-century French poetry, since, as Dr. Hanks says in her introduction, "no attempt has been made to show [Ronsard's] overall dependence on the Bible, conceived primarily as a literary source." When, some six years ago, she completed her doctoral thesis on which this book is based, the author was able to draw on a recent major work in this field. Jacques Pineaux's *La Poésie des protestants de langue française* (Paris, 1971). One can only regret that she was not able to use Marguerite Soulié's *L'Inspiration biblique dans la poésie religieuse d'Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris, 1977) and Malcolm Smith's invaluable edition of Ronsard's *Discours des misères de ce temps* (Geneva, 1979), which prints earlier texts than hitherto of the *Epistre au lecteur par laquelle succinctement l'auteur respond à ses calomniateurs* (Paris, 1564) and the *Prière à Dieu pour la victoire* (Paris, 1569), provides more biblical references and cross-references to Ronsard's other works than Paul Laumonier's edition of 1946 and, as Jean Baillou did in 1949, brings together all the prose and poetry which was to form the *Discours* in the collective editions from 1567 to 1587.

The close investigation by Hanks of her subject can be seen from the titles of the five main chapters: "Biblical Imagery and Language," "Biblical Characters and Events," "Biblical History and Classical Mythology," "Biblical Commentary and Polemic," and "Biblical Vision: God and Man." She is always careful to avoid implying that Ronsard repeatedly read biblical texts as subjects of imitation or of free adaptation. She prefers the term "biblical tradition" to describe what the poet draws on: his how reading of the Bible, readings at mass and in the breviary, sermons, readings of other poets and recollections of all of these, all elements of that cultural memory described by Du Bellay in the second preface to *L'Olive*. The many biblical quotations rightly adduced in the text properly come from the translation of the Bible by Lefèvre d'Étaples or from the Vulgate, when the latter is closer to Ronsard's language or thought than Lefèvre's version.

Since most of Ronsard's themes are decidedly secular and his sources tend to be more mythological than Judeo-Christian, it is inevitable, given the Renaissance cast of mind, that one should find a syncretist mixture of the two traditions in some poems, a mixture that has often disconcerted readers and critics. Ancient myth is