

Christianity and Human Rights Reconsidered

This is the first global examination of the historical relationship between Christianity and human rights in the twentieth century. Leading historians, anthropologists, political theorists, legal scholars, and scholars of religion develop fresh approaches to issues such as human dignity, personalism, religious freedom, the role of ecumenical and transatlantic networks, and the relationship between Christian and liberal rights theories. In doing so they move well beyond the temporal and geographical limits of the existing scholarship, exploring the connection between Christianity and human rights, not only in Europe and the United States, but also in Africa, Latin America, and China. They offer alternative chronologies and bring to light overlooked aspects of this history, including the role of race, gender, decolonization, and interreligious dialogue. Above all, these chapters foreground the complicated relationship between global rights discourses - whether Christian, liberal, or otherwise - and the local contexts in which they are developed and implemented.

Sarah Shortall is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame. Her work has appeared in *Past and Present*, *Modern Intellectual History*, the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, and *Boston Review*. She is the author of *Soldiers of God in a Secular World: The Politics of Theology in Twentieth-Century France* (forthcoming).

Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins is Postdoctoral Fellow in the History Department at Dartmouth College. He is currently the managing editor of *Modern Intellectual History* and is the former editor of *The Immanent Frame*. He is the author of *Raymond Aron and Cold War Liberalism* (forthcoming) and the co-editor, with Stephen Sawyer, of *Foucault*, *Neoliberalism and Beyond* (2019).



Human Rights in History

Edited by

Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann, University of California, Berkeley Samuel Moyn, Yale University

This series showcases new scholarship exploring the backgrounds of human rights today. With an open-ended chronology and international perspective, the series seeks works attentive to the surprises and contingencies in the historical origins and legacies of human rights ideals and interventions. Books in the series will focus not only on the intellectual antecedents and foundations of human rights, but also on the incorporation of the concept by movements, nation-states, international governance, and transnational law.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/human-rights-history



Christianity and Human Rights Reconsidered

Edited by

Sarah Shortall

University of Notre Dame

Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins

Dartmouth College







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108440851

DOI: 10.1017/9781108341356

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2020

First paperback edition 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Shortall, Sarah, 1985– editor. | Steinmetz-Jenkins, Daniel, 1979– editor. Title: Christianity and human rights reconsidered / edited by Sarah Shortall, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins, Dartmouth College. Description: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Series: Human rights in history | Includes index. Identifiers: LCCN 2020012021 | ISBN 9781108424707 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108341356 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Human rights – Religious aspects – Christianity. – History – 20th century.

Classication: LCC BT738.15 .C476 2020 | DDC 261.709/04–dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020012021

ISBN 978-1-108-42470-7 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-44085-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List of Figures

	List of Contributors	viii
	Preface	X
	SAMUEL MOYN	
	Acknowledgments	xiii
	Introduction	1
	SARAH SHORTALL AND DANIEL STEINMETZ-JENKINS	
Part	I General Reflections	
1	The Last Christian Settlement: A Defense and Critique, in Debate with Samuel Moyn	19
	JOHN MILBANK	1)
2	The Alpine Climb between Paris and Rome	40
	JULIAN BOURG	
Part 1	II European Catholicism and Human Rights	
3	Explaining the Catholic Turn to Rights in the 1930s JAMES CHAPPEL	63
4	Catholic Social Doctrine and Human Rights: From	
	Rejection to Endorsement?	81
	CARLO INVERNIZZI ACCETTI	
5	Radical Orthodoxy and the Rebirth of Christian Opposition to Human Rights	103
	UDI GREENBERG	103
6	The Biopolitics of Dignity	119
	CAMILLE ROBCIS	

V

page vii



vi Contents

V1	Contents	
Part III	American Protestant Trajectories	
7	William Ernest Hocking and the Liberal Protestant Origins of Human Rights GENE ZUBOVICH	139
8	Inside the Cauldron: Rawls and the Stirrings of Personalism at Wartime Princeton P. MACKENZIE BOK	158
9	The Dignity of Paul Robeson VINCENT LLOYD	189
Part IV	Beyond Europe and North America	
10	On Chinese Rites and Rights ALBERT WU	207
11	"Expert in Humanity": An African Vision for the Catholic Church ELIZABETH FOSTER	223
12	Neoliberalism, Human Rights, and the Theology of Liberation in Latin America DAVID M. LANTIGUA	238
13	Two Sudans, Human Rights, and the Afterlives of St. Josephine Bakhita CHRISTOPHER TOUNSEL	261
	Index	276



Figures

3.1 Mentions of "rights" in encyclical literature from 1890 to 1940

page 66

vii



Contributors

- CARLO INVERNIZZI ACCETTI is Associate Professor of Political Theory at the City University of New York, City College, and Associate Researcher at the Center for European Studies of the Paris Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po). He is the author of Relativism and Religion: Why Democratic Societies Do Not Need Moral Absolutes (Columbia University Press, 2015) and What Is Christian Democracy? Politics, Religion and Ideology (Cambridge University Press, 2019).
- P. MACKENZIE BOK is Lecturer in Social Studies at Harvard University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences. She is an intellectual historian who specializes in the young John Rawls and his path to writing *A Theory of Justice*. A Marshall Scholar, she earned her PhD at St John's College, Cambridge, winning the Quentin Skinner, Sara Norton, and Prince Consort and Thirlwall Prizes. Her published work also received the Society for US Intellectual History's Dorothy Ross Prize. In 2019, Kenzie was elected to the Boston City Council.
- JULIAN BOURG is Associate Professor in the History Department at Boston College. His first book, From Revolution to Ethics: May 1968 and Contemporary French Thought (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007; 2nd ed. 2017), won the 2008 Morris D. Forkosch book prize from the Journal of the History of Ideas. He is currently writing a conceptual history of terrorism since the eighteenth century.
- JAMES CHAPPEL is the Hunt Family Assistant Professor of History at Duke University. He is the author of Catholic Modern: The Challenge of Totalitarianism and the Remaking of the Church (Harvard University Press, 2018). He comments on Catholic affairs for Commonweal and other public-facing venues.
- ELIZABETH FOSTER is Associate Professor of History at Tufts University. She is the author of *Faith in Empire: Religion, Politics, and Colonial Rule in French Senegal, 1880–1940* (Stanford University Press, 2013), which won the 2014 Alf Andrew Heggoy Prize of the French Colonial

viii



List of Contributors

ix

Historical Society. In 2019, she published *African Catholic: Decolonization and the Transformation of the Church* with Harvard University Press. Her work has been supported by fellowships from Fulbright, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

- UDI GREENBERG is Associate Professor of History at Dartmouth College. He is the author of the prize-winning *The Weimar Century: German Émigrés and the Ideological Foundations of the Cold War* (Princeton University Press, 2015), as well as multiple articles on modern European thought and politics.
- DAVID M. LANTIGUA is Assistant Professor of Moral Theology/Christian Ethics at the University of Notre Dame. He is the co-author of Comparative Religious Ethics: A Narrative Approach to Global Ethics (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011) and Bartolomé de las Casas and the Defense of Amerindian Rights: A Brief History with Documents (University of Alabama Press, 2020), and the author of Infidels and Empires in a New World Order: Early Modern Spanish Contributions to International Legal Thought (Cambridge University Press, 2020).
- VINCENT LLOYD is Associate Professor of Theology and Religious Studies at Villanova University. He is the author or editor of eleven books, including *Black Natural Law* (Oxford University Press, 2016), *Religion of the Field Negro* (Fordham University Press, 2018), and, with Jonathon Kahn, *Race and Secularism in America* (Columbia University Press, 2016). He co-edits the journal *Political Theology* and directs the Villanova Political Theology Project.
- JOHN MILBANK is Research Professor of Religion, Politics and Ethics at the University of Nottingham. He is the author of *Theology Social Theory, Being Reconciled: Ontology and Pardon, Beyond Secular Order*, and numerous other books. Milbank delivered the Stanton Lectures at Cambridge in 2011.
- SAMUEL MOYN is the Henry R. Luce Professor of Jurisprudence and Professor of History at Yale University. Moyn is a specialist in the history of human rights, the law of war, international law, and modern intellectual history. His books on human rights include *The Last Utopia*, *Christian Human Rights*, and *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World*.
- CAMILLE ROBCIS is Associate Professor of French and History at Columbia University. Her first book, *The Law of Kinship: Anthropology, Psychoanalysis, and the Family in France* (Cornell



x List of Contributors

University Press, 2013), won the 2013 Berkshire Conference of Women Historians Book Prize. Her second book, *Disalienation: Politics, Philosophy, and Radical Psychiatry in France*, is forthcoming with the University of Chicago Press. Her essays have appeared in *Modern Intellectual History, Yale French Studies, Social Text, French Historical Studies, Discourse, South Atlantic Quarterly*, and the *Journal of Modern History*, among others.

SARAH SHORTALL is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame. Her book Soldiers of God in a Secular World: The Politics of Theology in Twentieth-Century France is under contract with Harvard University Press. In addition, her work has appeared in Past & Present, Modern Intellectual History, the Journal of the History of Ideas, and Boston Review.

DANIEL STEINMETZ-JENKINS is a postdoctoral fellow in the History Department at Dartmouth College. He is currently the managing editor of *Modern Intellectual History* and is the former editor of *The Immanent Frame*. He is the author of *Raymond Aron and Cold War Liberalism* (Columbia University Press, forthcoming). He is the coeditor, with Stephen Sawyer, of *Foucault, Neoliberalism and Beyond* (Rowman & Littlefield). His work has appeared in *Modern Intellectual History*, the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, and elsewhere.

CHRISTOPHER TOUNSEL is Assistant Professor of History and African Studies at Pennsylvania State University. He is a 2019 recipient of the Woodrow Wilson Career Enhancement Fellowship, and his book Chosen Peoples: Christianity and Political Imagination in South Sudan is forthcoming from Duke University Press.

ALBERT WU is Assistant Professor and Chair of the Department of History at the American University of Paris. His first book, From Christ to Confucius: German Missionaries, Chinese Christians, and the Globalization of Christianity, 1860–1950, appeared with Yale University Press in 2016.

GENE ZUBOVICH is Assistant Professor in the Department of History at the University at Buffalo, SUNY. He is the author of *The Global Gospel: Christian Human Rights and the Fracturing of the Twentieth-Century United States* (forthcoming) from the University of Pennsylvania Press.



Preface

Samuel Moyn

In a short time, the study of the relation of Christianity to human rights has passed a critical threshold. Not long ago, except for a dispute among Roman Catholic scholars about origins reflecting a twentieth-century dilemma about whether to treat rights as appalling or indispensable, it was still common to claim that Christianity must have "contributed" somehow to the making of human rights. And the chief reason for this tradition was a larger historiography of human rights that understood its task to be the acknowledgment of influences and the accumulation of precedents.

Nowadays the intellectual situation looks entirely different. From one perspective the intra-Catholic dispute about human rights has been generalized. A default liberalism has been newly challenged from perspectives outside the mainstream, many of which can allow for nagging doubts about the beneficence of rights, or radical interpretations that profoundly transform their ethical and political bearing. To be sure, Karl Marx himself offered an excoriating treatment of rights and the critical legal studies movement revived it a few decades ago. But then, over the same period, liberalism itself clove to rights frameworks like never before in its own contested history, especially after the publication of John Rawls's *Theory of Justice* in 1971. So it is hard to doubt that the past few years have opened up an intensity of challenge to "human rights" such as would have been surprising shortly before.

From another perspective, the historiographical terrain for stories about where rights came from has undergone a seismic shift of massive proportions. A more or less uncritical historiography of rights that grew over several decades around the turn of the millennium was challenged soon after, starting with Lynn Hunt's *Inventing Human Rights* (2007). The effect was augmented because, whatever the prior efforts to reconstruct the history of rights generally (and the relation of Christianity to them), an altogether new push to discern the origins of human rights appeared thanks to the great new age of the internationalization of the principles in global politics in the era straddling the Cold War's end. At

хi



xii Preface

first this push shared something of the ratification of human rights as the morality at the end of history of some complacent liberal histories. But in short order a more fully critical spirit prevailed and "the dark sides of virtue" became fashionable to highlight, whether because of entanglements of human rights with the hierarchies of geopolitics or neoliberalism.

In short, disputes around both rights themselves and stories of their origins transformed out of all recognition the setting for making claims about how Christianity fit in. This volume marks another stage in that transformation, as scholars clear the wreckage of prior contests for new engagements, or even begin in earnest in taking up new stances on the relationship between Christianity and human rights. A number of the chapters take up my lectures on Christian Human Rights (2015), but this volume is far more than merely a referendum on it from diverse perspectives. An essential purpose of this book, indeed, is to leave the debates sparked by any one position behind, in order to move fully into an age of scholarship with the hallmarks of every mature field: it is always critical but also always pluralistic. For that reason, even when they do directly engage my own book, various chapters are best read as establishing range of interpretive options for continuing disagreement. Fortunately, when it comes to Christianity and human rights now, there is a conversation in which no one gets the last word.

This is especially true insofar as some of the chapters shift the timeline far toward the present from the middle of the twentieth century where others linger, while another set of authors explores far beyond the transatlantic geography of initial discussions. For that matter, historians of the United States have insisted that their evidence suggests a very different landscape than historians of Europe have depicted even when they have striven to include American Christianity – and other authors push the geography of inquiry into Africa and Asia too.

At the end of the exercise, if anything stands out, it is the question of what risks loss – including loss when Christianity receives too much attention as a source of human rights ideals and practices. After all, in the long history of Christianity, affirmations of and resistance to human rights may never have been much more than marginal and other concerns prevailed – and the same could occur again in the future. It is possible that the greatest risk is that Christianity, whether it invented human rights or not, and whether its agenda is advanced through appeal to them or not, is reduced when its relation to human rights is at the forefront.



Acknowledgments

The editors would like to thank Michael Watson, Emily Sharp, and the series editors at Cambridge University Press for supporting this project and shepherding it through to its completion, as well as the anonymous readers who provided invaluable comments on earlier drafts of the essays in this volume. Thanks as well to Stephanie Taylor, Richards Paul, and Ami Naramor for seeing the manuscript through the production phase. We would like to thank the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts at the University of Notre Dame for providing funding for the index and Pam Scholefield for creating the index. Finally, we would like to thank *Humanity* and *South Atlantic Quarterly* for permission to reprint material from chapters 4 and 6, respectively.

xiii