



BOOK REVIEWS

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AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Imperial Crossroads: The Great Powers and the Persian Gulf. Edited by Jeffrey R. Macris and Saul Kelly. (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012. Pp. xxiii, 235. \$34.95.)

The Gulf has been an object of Great Power attention and intervention for millennia, but the primary focus of *Imperial Crossroads* is US foreign policy, with bookends on earlier imperial history and on India and China in the Gulf. The US emphasis is not surprising given that the book originated in conferences cosponsored by the US Naval Academy and the UK's Joint Services Command and Staff College.

The five chapters at the heart of the book view pivotal events in the 1970s and 1980s as seen from Washington and, less so, from London—an approach that tends to view the countries of the region as essentially pieces on a chessboard. Tore Petersen covers the development of the Nixon Doctrine, and Jeffrey R. Macris poses the question of why the United States did not replace Britain in the Gulf as well as looking at the antecedents of the Nixon Doctrine in the Johnson administration. Frank Jones examines Zbigniew Brzezinski's role in pushing Jimmy Carter to a more forceful posture on the Gulf, and Jason Campbell explains how a US forward-projection capability depends on cooperation with Saudi Arabia.

Combined, these authors make a convincing argument that American reluctance to take up the British role of protection was shortsighted and inadequate. It took two decades to reverse the American hands-off approach in the Gulf. This change in policy was the consequence of a steadily deepening entanglement in US Gulf policy until the original “twin pillar” conception of reliance on Iran and Saudi Arabia gave way to the regional footprint of the US Central Command.

The four “macro” chapters discussed above are complemented by an excellent case study by Clive Jones on the role of British intelligence during the Dhohar Rebellion in Oman. The final two contributions expand the book's vantage farther east in Asia, as James Holmes and Toshi Yoshihara apply the Monroe Doctrine to India's emergent regional maritime strategy and Ben Simpfordorfer details China's desire to maintain an unobtrusive, nonmilitary presence in the Gulf in order to protect its economic interests.

The emphasis on the recent era should not be allowed to overshadow the magisterial surveys of the Portuguese and Dutch roles in the Gulf by Rudi Mathee and Virginia Lunsford respectively, condensing centuries of expansion,

domination, and decline into a few short pages. The British role had the most impact of all the European powers, but this presence is only partly and even inadequately addressed. Robert Johnson trains his focus on the “Great Game” and its part in the forward policy into the Gulf from India at the turn of the twentieth century. Saul Kelly cites J. B. Kelly, one of the first diplomatic historians of British policy in the Gulf, to the effect that Britain should not have withdrawn from the Gulf and that the United States should not have relied on the twin pillars.

Although *Imperial Crossroads* does not cover the subject comprehensively, it does present laudatory studies on both the earlier and more contemporary phases of imperial intervention in the Gulf.

Tucson, Arizona

J. E. Peterson

Mau Mau's Children: The Making of Kenya's Postcolonial Elite. By David P. Sandgren. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012. Pp. xxv, 185. \$26.95.)

This relatively brief contribution to postcolonial Kenyan social history, marked by a misleading subtitle, provides two studies in one. The first three chapters provide the reader with a brief background to the Mau Mau Rebellion and colonial education woven together with a memoir of the author's time as a high school teacher in Kenya before and after that country's independence. That specific experience at Giakanja, a new secondary day school in then-Nyeri district, linked David P. Sandgren to a group of students whom he taught and whose lives and experiences, after completing their high school education, form the basis for the last four chapters of the book. The initial section of the study makes clear the varied ways in which Mau Mau impacted the lives of the families of all the former students interviewed in the 1990s. Not surprisingly, these interviews showed, as have similar studies of the Mau Mau Rebellion, that the categories of loyalist or rebel were not static but shifted through the main period of the rebellion and that the rebellion was not merely a struggle against the colonialists but between Kenyans as well.

In many ways, the last chapters provide more-novel insights into the experience of those who completed high school in the decade after independence. As a group, Sandgren's former students seem to have been quite successful in building careers and families, though the interviews and the analysis bring out evidence of generational conflict that is largely the result of the fact that the Kenya of the 1990s and the first decades of the twenty-first century is far different from that of the

1970s in terms of economic and social opportunities for those with a high school education. Moreover, the last section of the book offers insights in social history that are relatively rare in the historiography of Kenya and the Mau Mau Rebellion.

Thus, while the book is not about the making of Kenya's postcolonial elite but rather a small portion of that elite, as the subjects of the study are all male and from a relatively small portion of the country, the book is nevertheless readable and informative. It is the type of study needed in Kenyan and African history and can serve as a model for the way in which the lives of ordinary individuals can illuminate experiences in broader social history. It was particularly appealing to this reviewer who, like the author, joined Teachers for East Africa after college and was privileged to have the opportunity to play a part in educating young men who helped to build a newly independent nation.

West Virginia University

Robert M. Maxon

THE AMERICAS

The Peninsula Campaign and the Necessity of Emancipation: African Americans and the Fight for Freedom. By Glenn David Brasher. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. Pp. viii, 288. \$39.95.)

This intriguing study adds new twists to the well-known tale of the Peninsula Campaign. In the spring of 1862, Union General George B. McClellan set out to capture the Confederate capital of Richmond. Confederate strategists mobilized slaves as conscript laborers to obstruct the federal advance. Enslaved and free African Americans sought refuge with federal forces, providing intelligence that Union observers described as "our most accurate information" and effectively depriving the rebels of their services (130). Glenn David Brasher argues that these actions not only aided McClellan's forces but also profoundly influenced federal war policy specifically by making a case for emancipation as a military necessity.

The accounts from former slaves, particularly those gathered by McClellan's master spy Allen Pinkerton and his agents, reveal the complexity of daily life behind Confederate lines. As Union soldiers quickly realized, slave-built fortifications presented a double advantage to Richmond's defenders: strong defensive positions that they had not exhausted themselves to erect. Less obvious at first was the fact that impressment also removed slaves from the control of their masters and created opportunities for escape.

By inadvertently disrupting slavery, the federal invasion enabled enslaved men and women to chart a course to freedom. Although the pathway was at times short and straight, more often it meandered. Some slaves reasoned that movement toward Confederate camps might offer “a convenient hiding place from their masters” (109). Escape to the Yankees might come later. Once achieved, freedom had no firm guarantees. When federal forces abandoned the city of Hampton in August 1861, the former slaves who had taken refuge there were left defenseless. Confederate soldiers captured approximately 150 of them and promptly sent them to work on the fortifications at Williamsburg.

Brasher addresses the matter of “Black Confederates.” He finds convincing evidence from contemporary sources that black men fought against the Yankees, but he rejects the modern-day notion that they did so out of loyalty to their masters. The larger point, however, is that all black conscripts—even the involuntary ones who wielded shovels instead of muskets—provided valuable service to the Confederacy. As one Northern newspaper noted, they were essentially “combatants against us . . . who have been doing work in the trenches, manning the guns the chivalry dare not man, and otherwise aiding the rebellion as so many full able-bodied men” (118). In their numerous acts on behalf of McClellan’s forces, African American Virginians withdrew their valuable support from the Confederacy and presented the Union with a dilemma, the solution for which lay in emancipation, not as a humanitarian gesture, but as a matter of military necessity.

As contemporary and later observers noted, had the Peninsula Campaign resulted in a clear victory for one side or the other, slavery may have lived on, perhaps for decades. As much as Union and Confederate leaders may have deplored the stalemate, Brasher convincingly shows that it resulted in a “something of a triumph for African Americans” (226).

Howard University

Joseph P. Reidy

The FBI’s Obscene File: J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau’s Crusade against Smut.

By Douglas M. Charles. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2012. Pp. x, 171. \$24.95.)

In this brief, eye-opening policy history, Douglas M. Charles succeeds in delivering a “primer” on the FBI’s efforts to police obscenity over the course of much of the twentieth century (4). Since the Bureau destroyed its physical stockpile of obscene films, magazines, and other paraphernalia in the early 1990s—“one

of the largest and most comprehensive” porn collections by one G-Man’s estimation—Charles had only the administrative portion of the file with which to work (27). Researchers in FBI records will sympathize with Charles as he recounts the obstacles to access, which include the destruction of records, a labyrinthine filing system, the lengthy Freedom of Information Act process, a plethora of redacted passages, and, perhaps most significant, the lack of a centralized index. With over one hundred thousand FBI case files that carry obscenity-related classifications, Charles is quite aware that his research represents only the tip of the iceberg.

What spurred this massive investigation? Though sensitive to the role of technological innovations and what he calls “great sociocultural shifts,” Charles places more emphasis on FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover whose “own particular and puritanical value system” shaped his agency’s campaign to regulate national morality (136). Hoover’s antiradicalism and xenophobia blended with his traditional Victorian moralism and inspired his quest to serve as a public watchdog guarding against all forms of licentiousness. Hoover’s Bureau defined obscenity broadly; for example, it policed postwar “race music,” fearing that white children would be lured into depravity by the combination of sexually suggestive lyrics and energetic rhythm-and-blues beats.

Hoover’s FBI sought not only to contain the spread of pornography but also to educate the public in correct moral behavior. Hoover used the FBI’s publicity apparatus to highlight moral dangers, including the supposed threat of homosexuality during the so-called Lavender Scare when gays and lesbians were being systematically purged from the federal government on the grounds that they constituted security risks. The Bureau attempted to capitalize on this atmosphere of homophobia when, “[d]uring the 1950s, FBI officials sought to use anti-obscenity laws to silence the first significant gay rights group in the United States, the Mattachine Society, and the first significant group to publish a nonpornographic gay magazine, *One, Inc.*” (45). Soon, however, the courts began narrowing the definition of obscenity, thereby hindering the FBI’s effort to stifle these groups through obscenity investigations.

Clearly, Hoover lost his crusade against smut and his battle to regulate public morality. He struggled even to control his own agents. The Bureau constantly fretted over the “improper handling of obscene exhibits” by its own officials, and Hoover personally set up regulations to guard his agents from “undue curiosity about such filth” (35, 62). Such efforts were to no avail. According to former Assistant Director William Sullivan, “within hours a file with compromising photographs would be opened and closed [by FBI agents] so many times that the

tape would lose all its adhesiveness” (62). Hoover’s grip on the broader culture proved even more tenuous.

It is striking to consider the FBI’s failure to combat obscenity in relation to its more effective political surveillance. Charles may have profited from pursuing this theme further. Nevertheless, his book makes an important contribution to FBI history and to studies on sexuality and censorship, and it is certain to provoke further research.

University of Waterloo

John Sbardellati

To Promote the General Welfare: The Case for Big Government. Edited by Steven Conn. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. ix, 233. \$19.95.)

It might seem axiomatic: Industrial societies foster more government involvement—economic and social—than undeveloped nations. But in this work, Steven Conn suggests that the government’s role has always flourished in the United States (expanding each decade) and offers ten essays by American specialists reflecting this premise. This is not a new idea, but it is one rarely appearing in book form. However, far from a studied assessment, this is a spirited denial of conservative claims that we are governed too much. And as in most debates, the essayists enter the lists with gusto—challenging, but not subjective.

No brief review can evaluate ten authors in depth. Of course, as in all such collections, the essays are of uneven weight. Brian Balog sets the theme when he shows that Americans have demanded government help since the 1700s, often innocent of its implications: government “hidden in plain sight” (4). Equally confusing, conservatives and progressives often misunderstand one another. Elizabeth Tandy Shermer details American financial complexities, leaving little doubt that responsible federal regulation is essential. Deftly tracing health concerns from patent medicines to the CDC, Karen Kruse Thomas acknowledges that recent health reforms are yet untested, and Jonathan Zimmerman concedes educational missteps but extols the G. I. Bill and Title IX. Richard R. John stresses the aid given to media communications, and Zachary M. Schrag focuses on the pivotal federal role in our highway system. Still, criticisms may be appropriate. Kevin Boyle admires unions and John Maynard Keynes but minimizes entrepreneurship. Conn applauds encouragement of the arts and culture (WPA, NEA, etc.), which was partly financed by subsidies and tax credits. The last, however, magnifies the power of the elite—never deeply considered by Conn. Thomas J. Sugrue posits a

“right” to a decent home without explaining the legal basis of social “rights.” And in tracing the housing crisis, he demonstrates discrimination in ownership but downplays buyers’ judgment. The book closes with Paul C. Light reciting government’s “greatest endeavors” while warning that the enemy is at the gates—though given his long list, it probably is not.

This is an impressive collection. But this reviewer offers several caveats. Though not of central importance, the book’s preface reveals little understanding of what serious conservatives actually believe. Ignoring such theorists as Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek, even “popular” publications (*National Review* comes to mind) do not base their philosophy on states’ rights, “bigotry,” or “rugged individualism.” And incidentally, Garry Wills is hardly the lodestone of conservative thought, as Conn’s citations imply. Of greater personal concern to the reviewer is his belief that man is a social animal, requiring significant cooperation but also one deserving substantial individual rights and self-determination. No doubt the essayists would agree; but without defined limits, a popular government often chooses order and material gratification, putting restrained undertakings and creativity at risk. In that case, the danger is less opposition to government than the possibility of a “velvet” authoritarianism. In short, the essayists offer a sprightly, provocative book. But readers wishing for a deeper and more balanced analysis of government’s role in a free society should look elsewhere.

Midwestern State University

Everett W. Kindig

Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis. By Thomas C. Danisi. (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2012. Pp. 466. \$26.00.)

The book under review is not a biography of Meriwether Lewis [1774–1809]. That came in 2009 when Thomas C. Danisi and John C. Jackson coauthored a biography of William Clark’s co-leader on what may have been America’s most perfect exploring expedition. This time Danisi—who obviously had more to say about Lewis than he could fit into a single volume—presents his material in a topical format rather than a chronological one. That is, each of the fourteen chapters in *Uncovering the Truth about Meriwether Lewis* centers on an event or happenstance that Danisi considers life changing in the man’s life and career. Events that qualify include, for example, Lewis’s potentially career-ending court martial in 1795 or his lapse into a reputed “fiscal house of cards” during his post-expedition term as the governor of Louisiana Territory (124).

Not neglected by Danisi are choices made by Lewis during the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Why, for example, did Lewis neglect his journal-keeping duties for extended periods of time while traveling across the uncharted West? Several of the most knowledgeable scholars of the expedition, among them Gary Moulton and Paul Russell Cutright, have suggested that Lewis was lax in his responsibility because he tired of the burden. Or, in the opinion of Stephen Ambrose, Lewis suffered from mental depression. Danisi disagrees and proves—at least to his own satisfaction—that Lewis, in fact, was actively collecting and describing items in the expedition’s natural-history collection or he was attending to his weather diary and was therefore writing, just not in his journal. Danisi is an indefatigable researcher, as his extensive bibliography for this book demonstrates, so he has evidence to support his conclusions. Danisi, similarly, rejects all but his own deductions about the presumed “murder” of Meriwether Lewis: He “was not stricken with a psychological illness, namely depression, but rather with a physiological disease, ‘the ague,’ which is known today as malaria” (192). Danisi is not the first person to come to that conclusion, but to his credit he clearly states how he came to his position while refuting the arguments of anyone who disagrees with him.

Besides several topical chapters, *Uncovering the Truth* provides nine appendices altogether containing forty-five documents totaling 134 pages. Not since 1978, when Donald Jackson edited two volumes of *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents*, has another author located so many previously overlooked documents pertinent to the life of Meriwether Lewis. The commentary that accompanies each document, plus supporting evidence in the aforementioned bibliography, confirms that Danisi has written an authoritative book. Students of history, not just students of the expedition, would do well to read this volume if for no other reason than to see the historian’s craft in action. Danisi is a researcher with few equals; his writing is clear and persuasive, and he is unafraid to challenge conventional wisdom.

Gonzaga University

Robert Carriker

American Naval History, 1607–1865: Overcoming the Colonial Legacy. By Jonathan R. Dull. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. Pp. ix, 194. \$27.95.)

This broad overview of the early period in American naval history provides not only a well-written and succinct summation of recent scholarly literature but also

a much-needed new perspective on the topic. The subject of American naval history has long been too burdened by an overtly nationalistic and patriotic focus that has made it seem as though there was some inevitability in American naval development that led inexorably from the American Revolution to the superpower navy of the present day. Jonathan R. Dull, who was himself a serving US naval officer in the Vietnam War era, corrects this view and brings to the topic a wide and refreshing range of scholarship as an accomplished scholar of such subjects as eighteenth-century European diplomacy, the American Revolution, Benjamin Franklin, and French naval history.

This small volume is a companion to his earlier overview of similar size and length from the same publisher: *The Age of the Ship of the Line: The British and French Navies, 1650–1815*. The two short volumes are complementary and designed to be read together. By approaching American naval history by first reading *The Age of the Ship of the Line*, a reader is immediately led to break away from the narrow American nationalistic approach. *The Age of the Ship of the Line* provides a broad view on the great navies of the period and places in proper perspective the scale of the competition that Americans entered when they attempted to use their slim resources to build a navy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The construction of these two companion volumes is in itself part of an intellectual revolution that at long last brings to American naval history recognition of the fact that events at sea are part of world and global history and at the same time deeply tied within the context of national histories. This is a perception that American naval historians have long neglected, and it is the first of several broad insights from Dull's work that future historians can profitably carry further in detail. Although that insight results from reading the two volumes in tandem, his *American Naval History* has some important, new conclusions to offer within its own covers.

American Naval History provides a very important intellectual contribution by connecting American naval history to the American colonial experience across the entire scope of permanent settlement from 1607 to 1775. Though the author summarizes this 168-year period in a mere eleven pages, he clearly and convincingly links the debates in American history over the proper role of a navy to the survival of its colonial legacy in beliefs about isolationism, distrust of government, hatred of taxes, and obsession with guns, which become the theme of his fine volume.

Malcontents, Rebels, and Pronunciados: The Politics of Insurrection in Nineteenth-Century Mexico. Edited, with an introduction, by Will Fowler. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. Pp. li, 299. \$40.00.)

This study is the second of three volumes of papers from a series of conferences on the subject of the Mexican *pronunciamiento*, or pronouncement, held at the University of St. Andrews under the leadership of Will Fowler. There are twelve articles and an introduction written by eleven authors and the editor respectively. Although some are rather narrow case studies with no summary or interpretation, the essays explore roughly the middle period of the 1821 to 1876 era, which saw approximately 1,500 *pronunciamientos*, or armed insurrections in pursuit of a particular program or change of policy.

A unique Mexican political phenomenon, pronouncements were, in the judgment of Erika Pani, an expression of Mexico's vision of the nation as "radically and essentially" sovereign, a political culture founded on a radical conception of national sovereignty that was "beyond institutional representation and above constitutional law" (238). In Fowler's words, it was a country built on "the theory of the general will" as the primary driving force of national life. Pronouncements were characterized by a "strangely consultative dynamic," and negotiation and compromise were intrinsic parts of the process (210). The number of pronouncements diminished sharply after the Constitution of 1857 because the conception of political legitimacy finally became grounded in law rather than in the expression of the popular voice, and the last successful pronouncement in the nineteenth century was that of Porfirio Díaz in 1876.

Juan Ortiz Escamilla explains why Veracruz was so critical and why *pronunciamientos* in Veracruz were all led by regular military officers. That state was a clear example of the way in which administrative disarray and illegitimacy of elections by 1827 encouraged disorder. Guy Thomson addresses how Puebla's geographical location made it the focus of so much turmoil but surprisingly few *pronunciamientos*, arguing that Puebla was not primarily motivated by religious conservatism. Terry Rugeley argues that in the Yucatán region federalism did too little for too few. Ann Staples emphasizes that the clergy played a significant role in civil tumult both during the independence struggle and after it because the clergy had lost their evangelizing purpose by the late colonial era, although her cases show very reluctant lower-clergy support for specific *pronunciamientos*. Raymond Buve shows that in Tlaxcala, which remained an "archipelago of local societies" well into the 1850s, pronouncements were mainly critical gestures of rebellion made in order to negotiate Tlaxcalan autonomy.

Josefina Zoraida Vázquez surveys the pronouncements led by centralist Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga in the 1840s and provides the only article that uses harsh words for a *pronunciado*; it declared Paredes guilty of “true treason” and stated that after he took power in 1846 “his irresponsibility was suicidal” (194, 199). Will Fowler narrates the career of Antonio López de Santa Anna, calling him the one truly consummate *pronunciado* in nineteenth-century Mexico. He led six national pronouncements, and he promoted, used, or crushed eleven others. Fowler touches on a key theoretical element when he discusses the way in which “the general will” was expressed through the pronouncements, making them more akin to electioneering or straw-polling than to coups. Santa Anna’s ability to build coalitions was a key to his success as a *pronunciado*. Eduardo Flores Clair concludes the volume by discussing the 1868 pronouncement of Julio López Chávez, who led a rural land rebellion that declared itself socialist and, though unsuccessful, served as inspiration for later protests.

Taken together, this whole multiyear project of Will Fowler and the articles in this volume constitute a giant step in clarifying the causes and meaning of this heretofore-troubling phenomenon of nineteenth-century Mexican history. Rather than some retrogressive descent into national chaos, the *pronunciamiento* was a logical, if not strictly legal, Mexican response to the institutional weakness engendered by an independence that came suddenly to a society that had not yet developed its own mature political structure and syntheses.

University of Manitoba

Timothy E. Anna

Frémont’s First Impressions: The Original Report of His Exploring Expeditions of 1842–1844. By John C. Frémont. Introduction by Anne F. Hyde. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2012. Pp. xxvi, 366. \$28.95.)

Telling the extraordinary story of John C. Frémont’s life as an explorer is nearly impossible to do without using words such as “courageous” and “visionary” right next to the words “contradictory,” “enigmatic,” and “rash.” Frémont has confounded historians who have both praised and crucified him while attempting to determine his historical significance. Anne F. Hyde’s latest book, *Frémont’s First Impressions: The Original Report of His Exploring Expeditions of 1842–1844*, reminds readers that often the best way to evaluate any figure this important and imperfect is to set aside the books written by historians and simply reexamine the

subject. Reading Frémont's own words may not change any judgments about his character or leadership abilities, but it will deepen the understanding of both the man and his era.

Frémont's reports are a true adventure story that emphasizes the spirit of American expansionism and Manifest Destiny that was so prevalent during the early nineteenth century. The explorer's wife, Jessie Benton Frémont, rewrote and edited his original notes, and the report produced by their collaboration quickly became popular among emigrants and provided a stimulus to western movement. Frémont's narratives revealed the remarkable variety of landscapes, climates, animals, and peoples that made up the American West. He wrote enticing descriptions of the land, and his own wonder and excitement are conspicuous throughout the report. He clearly realized the potential of the land and the urgency of American exploration and acquisition. Better than any historian's narrative, Frémont's own words convey his appreciation of the variety and vastness of the region on the eve of the invasion of American settlers.

Reading the reports in their original form also invites readers to reconsider historians' seemingly harsh judgments of the explorer. Frémont's contemporaries and later historians have accused him of allowing pride, ambition, and ego to influence his decision making, sometimes with tragic results. *Frémont's First Impressions* provides some subtle clues and significant insights into the explorer's character. For example, in an effort to save time while crossing a river during one of his expeditions, Frémont ordered a boat overloaded and then blamed the pilot when the boat capsized. Frémont's adventures brought him into contact with some of the most colorful and significant frontier characters of the time, such as Kit Carson, "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick, and Jim Beckwourth, yet in his recounting of their adventures together, the storyteller himself remarkably always seemed to emerge as the hero.

Anne Hyde's book is a refreshing reminder to both students and seasoned historians of the benefits of reading a story written by the person who saw it firsthand. Her work will rekindle old debates over Frémont's leadership and character but will also help to explain why John C. Frémont, with all his flaws, became the perfect symbol of American expansionism in the early nineteenth-century West.

Rethinking Anti-Americanism: The History of an Exceptional Concept in American Foreign Relations. By Max Paul Friedman. (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012. Pp. xiv, 358. \$32.99.)

In this richly researched book, the author corrects widespread misconceptions about the worldwide breadth and depth of “anti-Americanism.” Max Paul Friedman challenges the conviction that foreigners have an irrational resentment, even hatred, of American freedoms, democracy, and modernity. He finds troubling the tendency among policymakers to conflate foreign criticism of unpopular American policies, such as George Bush’s decision to invade Iraq, with anti-Americanism. As a consequence, they often reject what proves to be prescient, if unwanted, advice. Who can doubt Lyndon Johnson would have been spared needless grief if he had listened to Charles de Gaulle’s warning to avoid involvement in Vietnam? Policymakers in Washington instead attributed de Gaulle’s position to “prideful vengeance” and his desire to preserve French influence in Southeast Asia. Research in French and other European archives persuaded Friedman that de Gaulle acted with good intentions and that American reactions amounted to “obfuscation” with tragic consequences (172).

Such wide-ranging research is one of the defining characteristics of this book. Friedman worked in five languages and nine countries. He explodes two other widely held myths: that European artists and intellectuals, ranging from Charles Dickens to Jean-Paul Sartre, were deeply anti-American, and that, conversely, mass public opinion was generally more pro-American. Such elites were more often seeking to correct deficiencies, slavery chief among them, than to condemn the United States. Their critiques were not without humor. Nineteenth-century European travelers almost universally disparaged excessive public spitting. “To attempt to describe any phase of American manners without frequent reference to the spittoon is impossible,” noted G. A. Sala, adding, “It would be like the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet omitted” (38). Was his observation anti-American or simply a well-turned statement of fact?

Friedman explores the roots of the concept of anti-Americanism and its evolution across the nineteenth century before focusing on its expression in the early Cold War, Latin America, the Vietnam Era, and the age of protest from the 1960s until the end of the Cold War. To find fault with such a rich menu would seem to chide the author for not writing the book the reviewer imagines. All the same, *Rethinking Anti-Americanism* is heavily weighted to the Cold War era, which accounts for four of its six chapters. More importantly, Emily Rosenberg has argued quite persuasively in an essay on consumer capitalism that a variety of

European elites on the left and right associate mass consumerism with the United States and condemn it as soulless, decadent, and modernist. Here is a vein with a rich literature worthy of exploring. Also somewhat surprising is a lack of focus on the “Neo-Cons” with their exceptionalist rhetoric and abiding sense of a worldwide animus against the United States. Friedman quotes them but does not analyze them systematically as well he might.

Those caveats aside, Friedman fulfills the mission that diplomatic historians had in mind when they called for a multiarchival approach, and he makes a vital case when he describes how a misguided preoccupation with anti-Americanism blinds us to the truths our critics have to tell.

Bard College

Mark Hamilton Lytle

Higher Education for African Americans before the Civil Rights Era, 1900–1964.

Edited by Marybeth Gasman and Roger L. Geiger. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2012. Pp. 200. \$34.95.)

Both the histories of higher education and of African American education have flourished in recent years, producing rich bodies of scholarship; this volume of essays nicely melds them together. Coeditors Marybeth Gasman and Roger L. Geiger maintain a twofold purpose: first, to focus on the efforts of historically black colleges and universities (HBCU) to establish complete autonomy and raise academic profiles; and second, to shed light on discrimination and intimidation of African American students attending Northern universities.

The editors carefully chose the periodization, commencing with W. E. B. DuBois’s pioneering study in 1900, *The College-Bred Negro*, and culminating with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This represented a unique and critical time in American history that witnessed the maturation of Southern de jure segregation, persistence of Northern de facto segregation, record lynchings, the Harlem Renaissance, and key Supreme Court decisions that profoundly shaped African American experiences in higher education—*Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada* [1938], *Sweatt v. Painter* [1950], and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* [1950]—as well as the conflicts surrounding the admission of African American students to the universities of Alabama in 1956 and of Mississippi in 1962. The essays bring these events into sharper focus by adding texture and exploring specific, and often ignored, institutions and experiences in a variety of locations.

Gasman and Geiger are well known for their valuable contributions to the history of higher education, and the essayists consist of a fine blend of promising

junior and established scholars. Michael Fultz's contribution gives readers a rare glimpse of "obscure" forms of higher education for African Americans residing in urban areas, examining numerous city normal schools and junior colleges (18). Richard M. Breaux analyzes how aspiring African Americans found limited opportunities at six leading Midwestern universities because of hostility by some white classmates, manifested through student Ku Klux Klan incidents and black-face minstrel performances, among other racial threats and insults. Lauren Kientz Anderson's study of "interracialism" at Fisk University is fascinating, examining yet another attempt—albeit unsuccessful—at racial progress within a university setting (77). Howard University receives special attention. Timothy Reese Cain reveals the means by which this institution's faculty pioneered unionization while Louis Ray presents the university's maturation process. Finally, Linda M. Perkins examines the competition between HBCU and Northern white universities for talented African American students.

These authors as a whole provide a fascinating collection that ponders higher education dynamics through the lens of race. They include relationships between and among students, faculty, and administrators in dominant white society, portraying relentless struggles as well as many setbacks and some steady, but difficult, progress. From an editing standpoint, the writing occasionally appears uneven. Nevertheless, the broad range of topics tickles the palate and promises an exciting research agenda. This volume too would serve as a fine pedagogical tool in African American history courses as well as courses in the history of higher education.

University of Pittsburgh

Richard J. Altenbaugh

Young Thurgood: The Making of a Supreme Court Justice. By Larry S. Gibson. (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2012. Pp. 413. \$28.00.)

We are enjoying a bumper crop of scholarship on the young Thurgood Marshall. This is the Marshall before he led a team of NAACP lawyers to victory in *Brown v. Board of Education* [1954] and became known to the nation as "Mr. Civil Rights" and long before he became in 1967 the first African American appointed to the US Supreme Court. Gilbert King won the 2013 Pulitzer Prize for *Devil in the Grove*, a dramatic recounting of Marshall's work defending a group of young black men in Florida who were falsely accused of rape in the early 1950s. Michael Long recently published a collection of Marshall's letters from the 1930s through the 1950s. Ken Mack's *Representing the Race: The Creation of the Civil Rights*

Lawyer [2012] offers a compelling reconsideration of Marshall's early legal career. To this impressive crowd we can add Larry Gibson's *Young Thurgood*, a finely detailed examination of Marshall's life and career up to 1936, when he left private legal practice to work for the NAACP full time.

Gibson's book reflects impressive research. He has combed through the available documentation related to Marshall's early years, and he draws on a wealth of interview material, largely from interviews he conducted over the last several decades. This is a thorough book, offering as detailed an account of the young Marshall as we are likely to see. Gibson has done a clear service to the historical record on this important figure.

The source material on which Gibson relies is always at the foreground of his narrative. He quotes extensively from primary documents and interviews. The text is interspersed with pictures—of Marshall, his friends and family, and various people with whom he crossed paths—and reproductions of letters, newspaper clippings, and assorted documents, much of it rather mundane (such as Marshall's high school report card or his membership card for the Baltimore City Junior Bar Association). The book has an almost-scrapbook feel to it. In effect, Gibson allows the reader to look over his shoulder as he examines the documents of Marshall's early life, to sit at his side as he interviews those who knew Marshall. This is a notably intimate as well as affectionate biography.

Young Thurgood offers little in the way of analysis. Gibson's primary goal is to describe all that he has found about Marshall's first three decades. No historical claim drives the narrative, apart from the prosaic (and basically irrefutable) claim that the roots of Marshall's subsequent greatness can be found in his younger years. Gibson's approach is to inundate the reader with details but to offer little in the way of justification for their inclusion (other than the fact of their relation to Marshall) or guidance as to their larger significance. The question of what to do with these details is left for the reader to answer. Historians and legal scholars are fortunate that Gibson has provided such a thorough accounting of Marshall's upbringing and early legal career, even if this book is best supplemented with other more analytically rich accounts (Mack's book first and foremost) to provide a framework for making sense of all this material.

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Christopher W. Schmidt

Crossroads at Clarksdale: The Black Freedom Struggle in the Mississippi Delta after World War II. By Françoise N. Hamlin. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. Pp. vii, 371. \$39.95.)

An amorphous mass of racially diverse individuals walking in lockstep behind a stolid Martin Luther King Jr. singing “We Shall Overcome” is an image often used by educators to convey the togetherness of the American civil rights movement. Françoise N. Hamlin adds a new wrinkle to this picture in *Crossroads at Clarksdale*. Using Clarksdale, Mississippi, as a case study, Hamlin examines how the civil rights movement unfolded at the grassroots level, shedding light on the tensions and fissures that undergirded what is typically characterized as a cohesive national effort to secure black equality. Utilizing self-conducted oral histories, newspaper accounts, and countless manuscript collections, Hamlin constructs a work that artfully rejects the “King-driven narrative . . . the SNCC-driven Mississippi movement narrative and . . . the traditional temporal boundaries” of previous treatments, skillfully showing how “individuals used organizations” to achieve meaningful change in their local communities (7).

Using two key figures in Clarksdale’s civil rights struggle as a medium, Hamlin demonstrates how civil rights leadership styles differed at the local level and, despite the differences inherent in these styles, how activists managed to achieve noticeable improvement for Clarksdale’s black citizens. Clarksdale’s NAACP president Aaron Henry represented one leadership style in which activists, frustrated at the inability of national civil rights organizations to respond quickly to civil rights issues at the ground level, reconsidered institutional allegiances and sought new ways to achieve their goals. Leaders such as Henry began to work *with* and *in* multiple organizations, including SNCC and the SCLC, to obtain civil rights victories for the NAACP, despite directives from organization headquarters that officers were not to engage with other groups. Vera Pigeo embodied a different leadership style in which she used her social contacts in Clarksdale’s youth and female communities to “mother” the movement. Instead of abandoning the NAACP, organizers like Pigeo made the organization more flexible to suit grassroots needs. Particularly worth note are Pigeo’s own recollections about her tenure in the movement, which add to burgeoning literature on activist memory. Hamlin’s foregrounding of Pigeo’s role and the former’s contention that sexual violence catalyzed the black civil rights struggle in Clarksdale also bolsters recent work by Danielle McGuire and Katherine Charron on the vital roles female activism and sexual violence played in the movement.

Hamlin breaks new ground in her incisive and at times unnerving examination of how lingering racial inequalities in Mississippi in what has been characterized

as the “post-civil rights era” have shaped the social, political, and educational lives of Clarksdale’s black citizens in the present. Persistent segregation fostered by white flight from Coahoma’s public school system combined with waning governmental support for community-improvement programs, such as Coahoma Opportunities Incorporated, in the late 1960s and 1970s reinforced rather than broke down Clarksdale’s racial barriers.

Crossroads at Clarksdale is a much-needed additive to the already-extant literature on the Mississippi civil rights movement, not only for its artful prose, but also because it sets a high standard for future researchers, pushing scholars to expand their source base and periodization. Hamlin’s book should be widely read not only by scholars of twentieth-century American history but by all those with an interest in grappling with the complicated nature and shocking realities of social movements at the grassroots.

Auburn University

Zachary L. Wakefield

Lincoln and the Border States: Preserving the Union. By William C. Harris. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011. Pp. xii, 416. \$34.95.)

The author of this book has written a straightforward and balanced narrative history of the relations between the Republican administration in Washington and the border states of Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, and Delaware during the whole Civil War. The book is a decidedly top-down affair. William C. Harris occasionally notes President Lincoln’s errors of judgment or the lack of realism in his or other politicians’ proposals. On the whole, however, readers will find the book avoids analysis and relies on narrative painstakingly and clearly laid out, often in close and very useful summaries of important documents.

Differences over emancipation and the recruitment of African American soldiers from these states were always a concern, and Harris lays them out with care. President Lincoln linked the border states together in a failed scheme of compensated emancipation that he proposed in the spring and summer of 1862. When the politicians in the border states refused to sign on, the history of the border became, if it had not been the case before then, four separate histories. Slavery remained intact in Kentucky and Delaware until war’s end and the Thirteenth Amendment, whereas Maryland abolished slavery in 1864 and so did Missouri early in 1865. After leading the reader through a complex and winding trail, Harris does not offer a conclusion at the end of the book.

Indeed, the author is almost infuriatingly reticent. Cumulatively, radicals do not come off well in the book, and Lincoln is depicted as a moderate. An occasional mild adverb implies a judgment. Thus Missouri governor Thomas Fletcher considered Lincoln's advice on the state's future in 1865, "*probably correctly*, an unrealistic proposal for ending the lawlessness and violence in the state" (346, italics added). But Harris does not systematically argue the pros and cons of controversial policies and does not always make clear the great significance of the issues at stake.

In the instance mentioned here, General John Pope, following Lincoln's preferences and not those of Governor Fletcher, attempted to end the wary Republicans' reliance on martial law in Missouri in 1865. That was an essential policy at a critical moment. Lincoln had always said that restrictions of civil liberties were temporary and matters of necessity for winning the war. When he defied the Unionists in Missouri and pushed for a return to ordinary civil government in 1865, Lincoln proved that he had no taste for perpetuating party rule by circumscribing the rights of the opposition.

The issues were very great indeed—despotism or freedom—but Harris leaves it up to the reader to arrive at such judgments. The overall result is a rather bland treatment of an exciting subject.

Pennsylvania State University

Mark E. Neely Jr.

State of War: The Political Economy of American Warfare, 1945–2011. By Paul A. C. Koistinen. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2012. Pp. xiii, 328. \$39.95.)

This study, the last in a five-volume *magnum opus* on the political economy of American warfare, is a readable and well-balanced piece of research that is based on a vast bibliography. The book boasts the merit of keeping at the center stage a particular subject, the American "military-industrial complex" (MIC), to explain the paradox that today, "nearly twenty years after the Soviet Union fell apart, defense budgets (excluding the costs of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan) are higher than at any time during the Cold War" (8). Paul A. C. Koistinen's analysis, which includes trenchant evaluations on past presidential administrations, clarifies why the MIC, "a huge, permanent military system absorbing trillions of dollars," an "enclave" protected and guaranteed, has become so intertwined with the American economy and why the Department of Defense budgets are now considered "sacrosanct" and nearly "impossible to downgrade" (37, 65, 237).

According to the author, the present situation has its roots very much in the Cold War period, but some presidents had more responsibility for it than others. Eisenhower's picture is the most benevolent, that of a commander in chief who achieved the primary goal of avoiding war and had the credit of denouncing first, in his farewell speech, the dangers of the MIC and a "scientific technological elite" (163). By contrast, the author denounces Reagan's approach as very negative. It was during his two terms that defense budgets reached "the biggest peacetime military spending in American history" (27). The harshest judgments are reserved for the George W. Bush administration, which, through "unilateral and often internationally illegal actions" based on an "aggressive, crusading nationalism," bogged down America in expensive wars and weakened it economically as well as militarily.

The MIC developed exponentially from the immediate post-World War II period, when technological advances in weaponry became an ongoing pre-occupation for Washington, taking advantage of interservice rivalries—the US Air Force was pivotal in this process—and relying more and more on private industries to obtain hypertechnological weapons, like fighters, bombers, missiles, rockets, and space vehicles. Here is the core of the MIC, as Koistinen successfully explains: It was created thanks to military procurement, a non-competitive industry, and a concentration of large corporations that depended heavily on government contracts and, since the end of the Cold War, on sales abroad. The MIC, then, self-perpetuated its power with "numerous well-placed and effective lobbies," making huge profits on high-technology weaponry of great sophistication *and cost*. The future depicted in the research is gloomy; Koistinen predicts that American military budgets will continue to rise because of short-lived, "unimaginably expensive" weapons while the quality of the US military will decline. This clouded future, made of skyrocketing military expenditures, will be matched with a much more dangerous world, because the MIC, with its insatiable hunger for profits, has fundamentally contributed to making the United States the world's principal arms merchant (109).

University of Padua

Roberto Fornasier

Native Performers in Wild West Shows: From Buffalo Bill to Euro Disney. By Linda Scarangella McNenly. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012. Pp. xv, 254. \$34.95.)

Native Americans who performed in Wild West shows have long interested scholars. Who were these people? What motivated them? Why would they participate in entertainment spectacles that demeaned their cultures and ancestors? Anthropologist Linda McNenly returns to these questions with familiar arguments. But she adds something fresh in her analysis of contemporary entertainers, demonstrating that the complicated consequences of colonialism are playing out.

For at least a generation, scholars have emphasized that Wild West shows and world fair exhibits perpetuate stereotypes of American Indians, illustrating the supposed hierarchy of racial types and trumpeting Euro-American civilization and progress. McNenly counters this postcolonial criticism by examining how performers saw their roles. Based on archival research, oral histories, and contemporary ethnography and interviews, she concludes that Native American participants exercised power and received tangible benefits. While not denying that the power between whites and American Indians was unequal or that performers could be exploited, she complicates the overall picture. Native Americans sought out these jobs because they provided opportunity and benefits including freedom from reservations, wages, and a chance to support and sustain families who sometimes traveled together. Further, participants took pride in their cultures and their personal work. They shaped the shows' contents by modifying songs, dances, and costumes. Performing honored their cultures, whether non-Indians understood that or not. In other words, they ascribed their own social meaning to the shows, different from that of their audiences and bosses. In sum, McNenly presents the story as less one of exploitation and more one of negotiation. These entertainments involved two-way interaction and cultural production. Native performers, to be sure, exercised unequal power, but they nevertheless exercised some "agency," to use the common academic term.

That these shows live on in the twenty-first century is surprising. Disneyland Paris, for instance, re-creates Buffalo Bill's Wild West show and hires Native Americans to play simplistic, superficial, and stereotypical roles. Here is where the book breaks new ground. McNenly's interviews with the native performers, who hail from the United States and Canada, reveal they—like their historical antecedents—do not see themselves as exploited or as selling out. They are aware of the postcolonial critiques but insist these shows are mere re-creations of historical re-creations. They want to assure that the re-creations are historically

accurate and that native people play native roles. Performers tolerate perpetuation of stereotypes because that is “show business.” Moreover, these jobs provide social and economic opportunity and demonstrate cultural pride. Ignoring the Alice-in-Wonderlandish aspect of re-creations of re-creations, McNenly seemingly accepts the native participants’ justifications. She does acknowledge, however, that their agency reflects pursuit of personal goals and intentions and does not resist power. This view has opened them up to criticism from their own communities for embracing both capitalism and neoliberal ideas about individual success.

McNenly’s heavy reliance on the language of postcolonial theory may put off historians. She misses an opportunity for gender analysis regarding sexualized costumes of American Indian women performers. But the modern examples of this performative tradition make this a book that Native American, Western, and cultural historians need to read.

Southern Methodist University

Sherry L. Smith

Daily Life in Colonial Mexico: The Journey of Friar Ilarione da Bergamo, 1761–1768.

Edited, with an introduction, by Robert Ryal Miller and William J. Orr. (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2011. Pp. x, 240. \$19.95.)

Although the admission of foreign travelers to New Spain was rare and required special royal permission, a limited number journeyed to this new world to explore its people, cultures, flora, and fauna. Among this cohort, a select few maintained journals and memoirs of their journeys that today provide an important outsider’s view of the colony. To the few accounts that have been made available in English, Robert Ryal Miller and William J. Orr add that of the Venetian Capuchin friar Ilarione da Bergamo, which relates his seven-year visit to Mexico from 1761 to 1768. Miller and Orr rescue this eighteenth-century manuscript from relative obscurity and successfully present it to the modern reader in an engaging way. Scholars will find the editors’ endnotes particularly helpful in providing additional historical context for the narrative. Throughout, Miller and Orr judiciously edit the original manuscript to eliminate tedious passages, lengthy sentences, and the occasional displaced comment. Although this includes the omission of select drawings found in the original or the rearranging of a paragraph or two, the end result is a flowing account of daily life in colonial Mexico accessible to scholars and undergraduates alike.

Ilarione traveled to Mexico in 1761 as an alms collector for the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, or Propaganda Fide, and its attempts to fund

evangelization efforts in Tibet. At the time, Mexico was the richest of Spain's colonies, thus the assignment seemed logical. Ilarione took up residence in a town just north of Mexico City in Real del Monte and had the occasional opportunity to travel to the various cities of central Mexico. Here, Ilarione learned to enjoy the local cuisine, customs, and people. Indeed, it is with tears that he reluctantly ended his seven-year residence in New Spain as a result of the eviction of all foreign missionaries in 1768 (the Jesuits having been expelled the previous year).

This is not to say that Ilarione was without prejudice or reflected a perspective affected by the Enlightenment. An important contribution of this account is its ability to illustrate the prejudices and preconceived notions foreigners brought with them to the New World. Ilarione mentions natives in their roles as laborers and servants, yet he never opposes their abuses nor advocates for their improved role in society. Regarding blacks and mulattos, Ilarione consistently refers to them as "heavy brandy drinkers, thievish, and licentious" (181). Moreover, Ilarione often compares Mexican life to that in Italy and typically concedes a superior status to that of the latter. Other contributions are also available in myriad other topics ranging from piracy to local government to the divisions among the religious orders themselves. Although such insights are limited to Ilarione's overarching concern to not "bore" the reader with details he deems unnecessary, gems can be uncovered for any scholar or reader interested in colonial Mexico.

Assumption College

Mark Christensen

Fever Reading: Affect and Reading Badly in the Early American Public Sphere.

By Michael Milner. (Hanover, NH: University of New Hampshire Press, 2012. Pp. xxii, 188. \$85.00.)

In this book, students of US intellectual and civic life will be glad to see sustained probes of genres as unexpected as pornography and scandal. *Fever Reading* demonstrates how certain subsets of genres that pundits have long indicted for eroding moral fibre, swamping the intellect, or otherwise imperiling the rational social actor can be interpreted as "attempting to imagine a different kind of public-sphere interaction, one based on fervor and conversion rather than rational-critical debate and argument" (xxii). Michael Milner contends that though pundits denigrate the genres named, as well as evangelical exhortation, due to distrust of the whelming somatic responses each rouses, these genres may "produce powerful kinds of knowledge that are critical, reflective, and essential to

the workings of the modern public sphere and society” (xv–xvi). This contribution to a series on modernity studied over the *longue durée* uses literary methods to investigate nonliterary print. It concludes with an epilogue that links Milner’s claims about tutelary implications in antebellum print to present-day concerns about Internet addiction.

After a thorough survey of early US injunctions against “bad” reading, *Fever Reading* lucidly pits Habermasian assertions about the rational public sphere against William M. Reddy’s claim that “text-generated emotions . . . [allow] for the evaluation of, or a critical relationship with, the surrounding environment” (15). Milner supports the textured claims he makes on the basis that Reddy’s research provides by “close” reading of material that is as new to intellectual and civic historians as obscenity arrest records, trapped-in-a-nunnery tell-alls, and colporteurs’ reports. Students of the public sphere and tutelary print will find much to chew on. Other researchers, though, who agree that “[w]hen readers speak of their experiences of reading, they are only articulating partial truths” may still wish that Milner had consulted more scholarship that recovers articulation of this kind (20). They will also note a wobble in claims to discuss reception. For example, a promise of “an investigation of the practices of fever reading” dwindles into a reduced assertion that the genre in question “attempts to structure the relationship among reader, texts, and the public sphere” (xvi). Later, “might allow” morphs into “produces,” after which “might be understood” turns into “provides,” which sags back to “seems” and then “instilling.” Tentative too is discussion of a “must” topic—what contemporaries would have made of Nat Turner’s search for signs (64).

Lively all the same, and plausible, is Milner’s reflection on “de-emotionalizing embodiment” in obscene print (88). His proposal that “the object of identification in celebrity worship is not a particular person but the public sphere itself” is suggestive (106, cf. 111). Bold as well, on a foundation that is documentary rather than conjectural, is *Fever Reading*’s charge that “religious texts . . . were received” in New Jersey’s notoriously remote and ill-educated Pine Barrens “in the context of a modern, critical public sphere” (129). As researchers pull these claims into conversation with projects by scholars of reception *an sich*, they are sure to enjoy the provocations Milner’s work offers.

Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861–1865. By James Oakes. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2013. Pp. xxiv, 595. \$27.95.)

The author of this study charts the evolution of Civil War-era abolitionist policy from its prewar antislavery origins to the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. The book's importance stems not from its marshaling of "new" evidence but from the author's textual dissection and analysis of dog-eared, though deceptively complicated, texts long familiar to historians. He reaffirms that President Abraham Lincoln considered emancipation intertwined with, not ancillary to, union.

Early on, Lincoln's government initiated a flurry of emancipation measures. The First Confiscation Act [August 1861] authorized the government to seize property, including slaves, used by Confederates. An additional Article of War [March 1862] all but emasculated the Fugitive Slave Laws of 1793 and 1850. In April 1862, Congress abolished slavery in the District of Columbia. It emancipated slaves (without compensating their masters) in the federal territories in June 1862, which overturned the *Dred Scott v. Sanford* [1857] case. The July 1862 Militia Act empowered the president to enlist blacks in the military as he saw fit, including in support roles and combat. Congressmen envisioned the Militia Act as enabling blacks to work as military laborers, thereby freeing up whites to serve in combat units. It also declared free the rebel-owned male slaves and their families. And the July 1862 Second Confiscation Act declared "forever free" Confederate-owned slaves who made their way to federal lines or who resided in Confederate territory that fell to Union armies. The bill forbade federal officers from returning fugitive slaves to Confederate masters. It also granted Lincoln the authority to utilize "persons of African descent" any way the president considered "necessary and proper for the suppression of this rebellion." Significantly, these measures predated Lincoln's September 1862 preliminary Emancipation Proclamation and the final version of January 1863.

"By the time Lincoln signed the Second Confiscation Act," James Oakes explains, "Republicans in Congress had made it clear that in passing the law, they intended to destroy slavery completely in the seceded states" (239). He adds: "It was a complicated statute, ambiguous in places, but not the legally incoherent mess historians sometimes pronounce it to be" (236). Better than any previous scholar, Oakes connects Section 6 of the Second Confiscation Act to Lincoln's preliminary emancipation edict.

Though historians long have recognized that Lincoln and the Republicans began emancipating slaves early in the war, Oakes frames the emancipation process around Lincoln's determination to restore the Union while respecting the

US Constitution. By 1863, he and his party already had concluded that freedom would have to be national, not sectional, and that, in order for the Union to endure, all slaves, not some slaves, would have to be freed. Oakes's foremost contribution thus is clarifying and confirming what one might term the "New Lincoln/Emancipation Paradigm" espoused by recent historians, one that underscores emancipation's linearity.

Was Lincoln a "Reluctant Emancipator" or a "Great Emancipator"? While both monikers remain shrouded in mythology, one thing remains certain: Circumstances early in the war forced Lincoln to initiate indirect, piecemeal steps that culminated in the Emancipation Proclamation. Ultimately, the Thirteenth Amendment rendered freedom national.

University of North Carolina at Charlotte

John David Smith

An Empire of Small Places: Mapping the Southeastern Anglo-Indian Trade, 1732–1795. By Robert Paulett. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2012. Pp. xiii, 259. \$24.95.)

An Empire of Small Places is a good book. As the title suggests, Robert Paulett surveys the places, many of them small, that were integral to Georgia's eighteenth-century deerskin trade. In his first chapter, Paulett looks at maps and sees competing definitions of space. For people involved in the deerskin trade, he argues, geography was "relational and processional," meaning that a place's location was understood only in how it connected to other places (22). In the next four chapters, Paulett processes through this landscape. Chapter 2 follows the course of the Savannah River from the Atlantic coast to the falls. Chapter 3 reposes at Augusta, near the falls, in the houses of trading companies. Chapter 4 traverses Indian paths that connected Augusta with Indian communities in the interior Southeast. Chapter 5 resides in the homes of British traders in Indian villages. Each chapter rebuilds these places and populates them with the people who came and went while the deerskin trade was thriving. The conclusion shows how the landscape changed during and after the revolution; settlers, rather than traders, asserted control and redefined the spaces, displacing paths with neighborhoods and causing changes in Anglo-Indian relations.

Paulett's sojourn develops important themes. First, he deftly demonstrates how imperial development was contingent on the environment in which it happened. Rather than telling a triumphal tale of British settlers imposing their will on the land, Paulett presents a story of uncertainty, with traders often feeling at the

mercy of forces barely known and hardly controlled. He reminds us that the Savannah River was treacherous (63). Augusta thrived, he shows, not according to a predetermined trustee design but according to how the straggling settlement related to other places in the Southeast (78–79). Paths and trader houses in Indian towns were contested spaces, more likely to shape the behavior of traders than to be dominated by them (122). Second, Paulett's visits give graceful voice to non-Britons. Indians contributed to colonial cartography (23). Indians, Africans, and Britons together built and steered the boats of the Savannah River (65). Augusta was a corporate endeavor, entwining British trade companies, Indians resident within the settlement, and enslaved Africans operating key aspects of the trade (109). Travelling paths and living in Indian villages meant accommodating behavior to Indian understandings of property and gender (116).

Paulett's tour provides useful glimpses of the eighteenth-century Southeast, and his details add fascinating color to our picture of the colonial frontier, but his survey does not fundamentally alter views. He observes the murky and turbulent waters of the Savannah River; he does not plumb its depths. Nevertheless, travelling the river and visiting the spaces with Paulett makes for a consistently interesting journey, and the vistas along the way should be enjoyable for all historians of the colonial Southeast and appreciated by any historian whose gaze fixates on a particular region of Britain's empire.

Radford University

Kurt Gingrich

Shifting Grounds: Nationalism and the American South, 1848–1865. By Paul Quigley. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xi, 325. \$34.95.)

Understanding the nature of nationalism in the American South remains critical for answering key questions in nineteenth-century US history: Why did secession occur? What happened to Confederate nationalism during the Civil War? What ultimately was the legacy of the Civil War? Paul Quigley's outstanding book is directed to these questions, offering one of the most textured accounts of Southern nationalism to date.

Although traditional explorations of nationalism (especially Southern nationalism) have, implicitly or explicitly, seen it as a static ideology measurable against some unspoken yardstick of loyalty or disloyalty to the federal government, Quigley laudably takes a different approach, which is concerned as much with process as outcome. For him, nationalism, though drawing from ideology and interest, is "multidimensional," continually in flux, and experienced by both elite

and non-elite white Southerners in “three directions: outward, to their understandings of nationalism throughout the nineteenth-century transatlantic world; backward, to their long experience as American nationalists; and inward, connecting nationalism with their everyday lives and identities” (5). *Shifting Grounds* beautifully keeps these various dimensions in play, tracing the ever-changing contours of political identification from 1848 to 1865 within personal, regional, and international settings.

Drawing from diverse archival materials and print culture and building on insights offered decades ago by David Potter and more recently by Robert Bonner, Peter Onuf, Stephanie McCurry, and others, Quigley sees overlapping affinities rather than dichotomous ones. Far from “abandoning their existing American national identities,” for example, “southern nationalists were attempting to define a new nation within the parameters of the old, striving to render the sacred remembrance of American nationalism’s ‘golden age’ specifically southern” (83). Even after what is somewhat ambiguously described as the “Pinch” of the Union had broken what Quigley calls the “affective national community” with Northerners, sentimental feelings about the old Union persisted (95). Fervent Confederates continued to celebrate Fourth of July celebrations (albeit somewhat more unsure about their meaning) but created no agreed-upon commemorations for the independence of the Confederate States of America.

In short, the making of Southern nationalism—both before and after secession—was hard and incomplete work. The divided sovereignty inherent within federalism presented challenges. So too did the shallow roots of Southern cultural or ethnic distinctiveness. Racial slavery offered better material but remained of limited utility on the world stage, leaving victimization, experienced in personal, collective, and often gendered ways, as the primary glue for Southern unity. Yet strong pockets of Southern unionists, who are nicely woven into the story, problematized even that sentiment. A useful chapter on 1861 illustrates the challenge of defining citizenship in the context of political crisis, uncertain loyalties, and the coexisting fears and hopes upon which the Confederate state was launched. As the war deepened, prewar victimization and misplaced optimism for quick victory and international recognition gave way to a more deeply rooted sense of nationalism, itself transformed by the personal suffering and collective sacrifice that an exhaustive modern war demanded. The Confederate nation did not endure (largely because slavery was a weak basis for distinctiveness), but more important for Quigley, the ambivalent way in which it was experienced by average men and women reveals that, contrary to its proponents, nationalism is “not a

unitary or a total phenomenon” (217). This book will be profitably read by scholars of the American South and the Civil War era as well as anyone interested in the nature of modern nationalism.

Ohio University

Brian Schoen

With a Sword in One Hand and Jomini in the Other: The Problem of Military Thought in the Civil War North. By Carol Reardon. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. Pp. 177. \$30.00.)

Whether Helmuth von Moltke ever said it or not, generations of military historians have accepted his legendary appraisal of the American Civil War as a clash of two armed mobs chasing each other around the countryside. With her latest contribution to the field, Carol Reardon assesses the influence of military theory upon the Union conduct of the war, in the process providing a sobering glimpse into the neophyte mind of the victorious North.

The book at first glance may seem like a shotgun marriage of two unrelated topics. First, it is an investigation into the different military theorists known to Union leaders in the war, even though these theorists generally were not the deeply studied lodestars of legend. Second, it is a study of combat psychology and unit cohesion in the Army of the Potomac during Grant’s May–June 1864 Overland Campaign. What unites these two themes is Reardon’s analysis of the glaring shortcoming in Union military thought: Leaders and theorists alike did not value the moral component of war. They therefore struggled to explain the degradation in Union *élan* from the Wilderness to Appomattox. Reorganization, continuous combat, night marches, and the withering away of veteran companies all combined to deprive the Army of the Potomac of cohesion and resilient morale.

Reardon’s work follows the insightful analysis of Thomas J. Goss, whose *War Within the Union High Command* [2003] examines the divide between Northern professional and political generals. Reardon, a masterful military historian, uses a similar framework in her discussion of the Union search for “genius” over “intellect.” Genius, that rare amateur gift for intuiting leadership and strategy, fit well into the American tradition of resisting a strong standing army. Intellect was the result of West Point lessons and military textbooks. A true military genius was born, not made. The Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War, a machine utilized by radical Republicans to oversee the Army of the Potomac, always sought out gifted amateurs because so many of the professionals, in the Old Army

tradition, were ardent Democrats. Ulysses S. Grant, who did more than any other general to win the war, was, if not quite a genius, a man who exemplified unique “strength of character” (82).

In its epilogue, the book examines the postwar trajectory of professionalization within the army, summarizing the reform efforts of men like Emory Upton and Elihu Root. For all their focus on fostering intellect among future leaders, however, these reforms failed to elucidate a cohesive military theory that acknowledged the crucial lesson of the Civil War. At a time when European theorists like Ardant du Picq were emphasizing the moral element of combat, Americans were focused on technical and instrumentalist matters designed to separate soldiering from the complexities of human will and passion.

Reardon knows her subject well, and this resulting contribution to Civil War literature ought not to be ignored by anyone hoping to understand the making of strategy or the moral component in war.

Ohio State University

Zachery A. Fry

He Rode with Butch and Sundance: The Story of Harvey “Kid Curry” Logan. By Mark T. Smokov. (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2012. Pp. xiv, 440. \$29.95.)

The author of this book has written the definitive biography of Harvey “Kid Curry” Logan, sometime member of the “Wild Bunch,” a late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century gang of desperadoes—the most famous of which were Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid. Mark Smokov’s thesis is that Harvey Logan—Kid Curry—rather than the dull-witted, bloodthirsty criminal of popular lore was in fact a crafty robber who murdered fewer victims than commonly believed and who provided better leadership of the gang than either Cassidy or the Kid. Further, Smokov contends that Kid Curry was a more important partner of Cassidy than was the Sundance Kid. The author submits that there were at most only five victims, rather than nine.

Born in 1867 in Iowa and christened Harvey Alexander Logan, he adopted the moniker “Kid Curry” sometime after moving to Montana in either 1883 or 1884. In 1886, after establishing themselves as successful cowboys, Curry and his brother Hank bought a ranch in northern Montana. Eight years later, Curry committed his first and only definitively proven homicide when he killed Pike Landusky in a saloon fight in Landusky, Montana. Rather than stand trial for murder, where he might well have successfully pleaded self-defense, Curry fled

from the law, eventually hiding out in the famous outlaw enclave known as Hole-in-the-Wall in northeastern Wyoming. Shortly thereafter, he commenced rustling cattle, launching a criminal career that he would pursue for the rest of his life.

In 1897, Curry joined Butch Cassidy's Powder Springs (Wyoming) gang, which included the Sundance Kid. In the same year, Curry and another member of the gang robbed a mail stagecoach but were eventually arrested by a pursuing posse and jailed in Deadwood, South Dakota. Curry, the Sundance Kid, and two others escaped from the jail. During his subsequent career, Curry mostly robbed trains, sometimes but not always with Cassidy and the Kid. On December 13, 1901, after a bloody barroom fight in Knoxville, Tennessee, alerted law enforcement to his whereabouts, Curry was arrested, tried, and, after months of legal wrangling, convicted of passing and forging bank notes that he had acquired by robbing a Great Northern Railroad train. On June 27, 1903, Curry made a daring escape from the Knoxville jail, where he had been incarcerated pending the appeal of his conviction. Curry ended up in Colorado where in June 1904 he botched an attempt to rob a train. Cornered by a pursuing posse and seriously wounded, Curry killed himself.

Smokov's biography of Curry is drawn from impressive examination of the available sources. Because of the paucity of direct evidence about Curry's comings and goings, the author is often forced to make conclusions from incomplete accounts. A broader historical context of Curry's criminal career would have strengthened the monograph. Nonetheless, Smokov has demonstrated that Curry was a shrewd robber and not the doltish follower of more-celebrated bandits. Students of Old West criminality will find this meticulous study to be an informative read.

University of Kentucky

Robert M. Ireland

Seward: Lincoln's Indispensable Man. By Walter Stahr. (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2012. Pp. 703. \$32.50.)

In terms of its impact on the public, Steven Spielberg's recent movie on America's "Great Emancipator" outshone even the five-year bicentennial celebration of Abraham Lincoln's birth in 2009. Many who saw the film might want more information about the main historical characters in it. This biography handily fits that need for both scholars and the general public. Moreover, as a long-time lawyer and the author of a previous biography on America's first chief justice,

Walter Stahr is qualified to undertake this challenge for it involves a rivalry between two impressive lawyers over many constitutional issues during the Civil War.

Lincoln, of course, was the dark-horse candidate who would defeat William Seward, the front-runner for the Republican Party presidential nomination in 1860. The dark horse went on to become America's greatest president and the subject of more books than any other democratic leader in world history, while the erstwhile front-runner has been sometimes ranked as America's second greatest secretary of state. As the biography clearly shows, Seward learned to appreciate Lincoln and would loyally serve as his closest cabinet member. Ironically, the previously radical Seward grew more conservative as secretary of state, while Lincoln grew more liberal as president. Seward sought to keep Europe out of the Civil War, but after it was won he worked to create a colonial empire for the United States.

Perhaps the most useful aspect of this sympathetic biography derives from the information it provides on why Seward and Lincoln developed such a close relationship. Neither took much interest in how they dressed; clothes did not make either man. Instead, they were naturally social, humorous, practical, and bright. As young lawyers, they knew how to use their personalities and skills to win over juries and judges. As Whigs, both had opposed the Mexican-American War, yet neither was particularly ideological or religious. Instead, both were more in favor of science and technology with Lincoln as the only president holding a patent and Seward having focused on patent work as a lawyer.

Seward had traveled both abroad and down South, whereas Lincoln had only travelled down the Mississippi River twice to New Orleans in his youth. Yet their interests were similar in a love of the theater, especially Shakespeare. Both had unusual marriages to politically aware wives. They spent long periods apart from their wives, but Seward always remained in close contact through correspondence with his abolitionist wife. Politics was the first love of both Lincoln and Seward. They were sufficiently at ease with themselves that neither became paranoid about his personal security. They focused on politics.

In the end, one comes away from this biography with a feeling that both Lincoln and Seward treated each other as equals in a team effort to save constitutional democracy. Though the relationship may have begun as a rivalry, it ended in a strong political friendship. Though hardly a page turner, this biography is clearly written and provides the fullest picture available on William Seward.

Brigham Young: Pioneer Prophet. By John G. Turner. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2012. Pp. viii, 500. \$35.00.)

As the man responsible for leading the Latter-Day Saints to their new promised land, Brigham Young often seems a man set apart from his times. In this engaging and fast-paced biography, John G. Turner argues that Young was fundamentally a product of the nineteenth century. Placing Young in his contemporary context helps explain how a poor carpenter with little education could have become the prophet of a religious movement numbering in the thousands. As a youth, he dabbled in some of the more ecstatic forms of evangelicalism, but he saw these antebellum religious institutions as hopelessly corrupt. This spiritual hunger primed him to accept the revelations of Joseph Smith.

After converting to Mormonism, Young never looked back. He became one of the staunchest defenders of Smith and one of the most active apostles for the Mormon faith. Young also developed leadership talents, organizing massive relief efforts in the wake of the Missouri War and converting thousands on his mission to England.

These early years prepared Young to lead a reeling Mormon Church after the murder of Smith. Through the force of his personality and organizational skills, Young moved the entire faith across the continent to the Utah Territory. A dry but hospitable place, Utah would provide Mormonism with the space to thrive without religious persecution.

The Young that Turner describes in Utah is the archetype of a nineteenth-century frontiersman. He used posses to dispense frontier justice, to solidify Mormonism's success, and to establish his own authority. This extralegal violence led to inevitable eruptions, as in the 1857 Mountain Meadows Massacre. Turner does not say Young was responsible for the violence, but he does think Young's policies may have encouraged it.

Young's political and economic decisions led to inevitable conflict with the American government. The building tension between Young's desire to be free of interference and Washington's desire to prevent the establishment of a theocratic state resulted in the American military invading Utah in order to put in place non-Mormon government officials. Although the army was successful, Young still exercised significant political and spiritual authority.

One important way Young organized Mormonism was through a more systematic theology. Turner describes how Young privileged the importance of religious practice, explaining his emphasis on building temples and formalizing endowment ceremonies. This kind of sacred materialism is at the heart of Young's promotion of polygamy, a topic Turner does not avoid.

Turner shows that one of Young's strengths was his adaptability. As he got older, Young moved away from the defensive posture he had held in theological and political matters. He avoided the use of violence, allowed female relief societies, and embraced commerce through Mormon-backed mercantile houses.

This malleability demonstrates Turner's fairness toward Young. Although Young may have been a violent racist, Turner places these beliefs in a particular historical moment and within the context of Mormon theology. His book will stand as the definitive biography of Brigham Young for years to come.

University of Delaware

Nathaniel Wiewora

Louis D. Brandeis: A Life. By Melvin I. Urofsky. (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 2012. Pp. xiii, 955. \$24.95.)

In this majestic biography, the author takes the reader painstakingly and diligently through all the stages and chapters of the life of Louis Dembitz Brandeis—from a loving, highly assimilated German Jewish family and a comfortable middle-class upbringing in Kentucky; to the ambitions and accomplishments of a gifted student at Harvard; through his years as a successful attorney in Boston, as a progressive reformer of persistence and moral integrity, and as the ideological father and organizer-in-chief of American Zionism; and finally to his towering and revered presence as justice on the Supreme Court. Although Melvin I. Urofsky's account tries to "give us a sense of a man who is certainly greater than the sum of his parts," the reader is still left wondering about Brandeis the "inner man," wanting to know more about the person and less about the persona who often appears aloof, unshaken in his principles, and as never doubting his purpose or questioning the difficulties at hand (xii). In sum, Brandeis emerges as the epitome of the famous British World War II propaganda slogan: "Keep Calm and Carry On."

Urofsky admits that his job as biographer would have been "much simpler had Brandeis been an introspective man" (xii). Despite a mountain of legal briefs and tens of thousands of letters he wrote during his lifetime, Brandeis remained always factual, rarely confiding his inner world of thoughts to paper. As a result, Urofsky had to work within the limitations many biographers encounter when constructing a man's life more on the testimony of others and mostly on the basis of his many accomplishments. Accordingly, the author ably draws on his vast knowledge of Brandeis's legal contributions and masterfully paints the dramatic changes in American society and politics in general and within the American Jewish community in particular to showcase his protagonist both as a man of his time

and as a prophet of sorts, whose words on privacy and freedom of speech continue to influence modern jurisprudence.

Urofsky calls Brandeis an Isaiah, “not because of his accomplishments as a lawyer, a reformer, or even a judge, but for the high moral standards he demanded of those in public life” (736). That appraisal toward the end of the book sheds better light on what Urofsky initially refers to as “idealism wedded to pragmatism.” In fact, Brandeis the moralist rather than Brandeis the idealistic pragmatist emerged in his fight against big business. Urofsky himself seems to temper his assessment of Brandeis’s pragmatism when he states that, in the fight over monopoly and bigness, “moral imperatives outweighed economic considerations, leading him [Brandeis] to ignore important features of the debate” (181).

Due to the lack of autobiographical sources that would shed more light on Brandeis’s thoughts and motivations, the author is careful not to fill this lacuna with speculation, sometimes to a fault. Even after sorting through thousands of records and materials, Urofsky is still reluctant to provide a definitive answer to one of the most hotly debated questions as to why Brandeis became a Zionist. He does not agree with Yonathan Shapiro’s interpretation that it was mostly a bid for power or Ben Halpern’s explanation of it being Brandeis’s way to embrace his American Jewish identity. He repeatedly dismisses Allon Gal’s claim that anti-Semitism proved a constant factor in Brandeis’s life and, in the end, the motivation for his support of Zionism. Urofsky’s Brandeis is a reformer, not a crusader: “Brandeis did not go out seeking a new cause; it came to him” (399). Neither a religious Jew nor one who let anti-Semitism determine his actions, Brandeis, so says Urofsky, came to Zionism through Americanism, under common principles of democracy and social justice.

Louis D. Brandeis: A Life is a rich and carefully researched book, but the reader is kept at a distance throughout the work. At one point, Urofsky likens Brandeis to Abraham Lincoln, another figure larger than life. Maybe only a movie by Steven Spielberg can bring Brandeis the relatable human being to life.

Concordia College Moorhead

Sonja Schoepf Wentling

Geronimo. By Robert M. Utley. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. Pp. xii, 333. \$30.00.)

Geronimo has been the subject of numerous biographies and authored an autobiography that is still in print, so a reader may well ask, “Why do we need

another?" Robert M. Utley's goal is to write a revisionist account that examines the cultural icon that is Geronimo, providing a more nuanced biography that captures his complex persona and tries to understand his actions within an Apache cultural/historical context. Utley's work moves chronologically and utilizes a wealth of scholarly work completed since Angie Debo's important 1976 biography of Geronimo. The author also makes use of Apache oral traditions mainly expressed as opinions about Geronimo and his place in tribal history. These sources provide depth and authenticity. Some readers may not appreciate the writing style implemented by Utley. He describes an event from the Apache perspective with the information that was available to them at that point then follows with an account from the non-Indian side. The resulting redundancies in the narrative flow are a bit distracting, but the overall result is a solid retelling of Geronimo's life.

Utley notes that there are wildly different views on Geronimo ranging from "thug" to cultural hero, but he rejects both extremes, writing that "within the constraints of Apache culture, he was a human being with many strengths and many flaws" (3). Utley is particularly troubled by the image of Geronimo as a hero fighting to save the Apache homeland from American invaders. This is often cited as the reason for the frequent raids against ranchers, farmers, villagers, etc. Utley dispels this notion by demonstrating that the vast majority of raids carried out by Geronimo were actually in Mexico and that his deep-seated hatred was largely against Mexicans, writing, "No part of Mexico formed his homeland" (130). Even so, the author concedes that the "legendary Geronimo promises to live on in the American mind" because the heroic image is "so deeply entrenched" (4).

Another interesting aspect of Geronimo's life addressed by Utley is the Apache cultural concept of "power." Geronimo was highly regarded as a shaman, and many Apache acknowledged his apparent access to the spiritual/supernatural world. Whether he was healing the sick, prophesying the outcome of a battle or where troops would appear, or controlling the weather, the Apache respected Geronimo's power.

Any good biography must attempt to explain the personality of the individual. Utley notes that Geronimo's character was both "complex and contradictory" (264). Throughout the narrative, he provides accounts that reveal Geronimo could be a brilliant strategist who sometimes allowed his followers to be surrounded through incomprehensible tactical lapses. Geronimo could be defiant at one moment and submissive in another. Yet in some ways, Utley sees Geronimo as consistent, but not always in positive ways. When summarizing a list of such

traits, Utley includes “deeply ingrained suspicion,” lying, and total commitment to family (266). Despite his contradictions, Geronimo remains the Indian leader with the most recognizable name.

McNeese State University

Ray Miles

Affairs of State: The Untold History of Presidential Love, Sex, and Scandal, 1789–1900. By Robert P. Watson. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012. Pp. v, 491. \$55.00.)

In an effort to understand better the men who have served as President of the United States, Robert P. Watson has embarked on a planned two-volume examination of the personal relationships of several presidents. In this first volume, which covers Presidents Washington through McKinley, Watson proposes to enhance our understanding of the men who have held the highest office in the United States by uncovering details from their love lives. The author seeks to “gain potentially important insights into presidential character by examining the presidents’ dirty laundry and their love affairs” (417). Although this is a reasonable endeavor, and greater understanding of history makers such as presidents can enhance our understanding of different decisions, policies, and eras, *Affairs of State* does not fully deliver on its promise.

There are chapters in which a scandal or relationship is shown to have had an impact on a presidency, but these do not make up a majority of the book. James Buchanan’s relationship with Alabama Senator William Rufus King may have influenced the Pennsylvania native to take a proslavery position throughout his presidency. Grover Cleveland’s affair with Maria Halpin a decade before he ran for president played a role in his eventual election. But even these chapters shy away from the most scandalous aspects of these relationships.

Most of the relationships that Watson asserts are important to the lives of our presidents are from well before these men became president. For example, there are three chapters that focus on the life of George Washington, but nowhere is there a scandal. It is implied that a young Washington may have been in love with a woman who might have influenced the course of his life, but there is no real explanation of what that influence actually was.

The chapters on Lincoln wade into a long-standing controversy over whether or not he had been in love with Ann Rutledge. Watson takes the view that the two did have a close relationship and may even have been engaged to one another, but

the only connection he makes between the Rutledge story and Lincoln's presidency is to suggest that his relationship with Mary Todd Lincoln might not have been the most loving.

Watson's greatest contribution is a series of brief biographical sketches of presidents and a handful of first ladies. For readers who are less familiar with the lives of these presidents, the book is a well-paced and sometimes-exciting introduction. For those familiar with presidential history, there will be little new information. Perhaps the fault is that the book is packaged as one that reveals tales of sex and scandal in the White House, and although the second volume (which is forthcoming) might have more fodder (Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Clinton come to mind), the presidents covered in this book just did not lead the salacious lives of those in the twentieth century. Though Watson has put together a book that is interesting to read for those less acquainted with presidential history, it is not a must read.

McDaniel College

Bryn Upton

Southern Prohibition: Race, Reform, and Public Life in Middle Florida, 1821–1920.

By Lee L. Willis. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2011. Pp. xi, 209. \$24.95.)

This new study provides a much-needed long view of the prohibition movement in the South. In doing so, Lee L. Willis highlights that after the 1820s prohibition was never totally absent from public life in middle Florida and that race always played a role in public policy. Willis, however, tells us relatively little about why opponents of prohibition objected to this reform and how the numbers and tenor of the antiprohibitionists changed after the 1880s.

Willis does an especially good job of rescuing from obscurity the attempts to encourage temperance in nineteenth-century Florida and the increasing division of public consumption of alcohol along class and race lines. Focusing on middle Florida allows Willis to sketch the connections between the national and the local. Typically, the impetus for prohibition came from outside the region and was closely linked to evangelical Protestantism. Proscribed by their local variant of religion and the limitations of a plantation system, however, women in middle Florida played a much less important role in promoting prohibition than elsewhere in the United States. Since the sale of alcohol to slaves was already banned in Florida, antebellum prohibitionists gained little traction with the standard argument that the lower classes needed to be protected from vice, drunkenness,

and disorder. Gradually, however, drinking establishments segregated along class lines with genteel patrons congregating in hotel bars and no longer rubbing elbows with the working class in taverns.

Willis argues that after the Civil War, local conditions remained central to the success of the prohibitionists, who lost several attempts at statewide prohibition but won local option elections. County conditions often explained the course of events as counties with a high percentage of African Americans moved toward prohibition first, while middle- and upper-class whites, still typically led by elite males, extended and solidified white supremacy, segregation, and their own Protestant view of public morality. In counties with a more diverse population, anti-Catholicism and nativism often motivated prohibitionists to seek control of those outside their ethnic, racial, and class groups, but here prohibition often awaited the World War I years in part because those groups could vote.

Willis could have done a better job of teasing out the impact of the tensions and abrupt changes to prohibition that came with World War I, but in general he offers an insightful explanation of the ups and downs of prohibition based on both external forces and county-level conditions. Missing, however, are answers to the questions as to who opposed prohibition and why they lost power after 1900. Essentially, Willis recounts a war while only focusing on one side. For example, what was the impact on the antiprohibitionists of Progressives' attempts around 1900 to limit voter turnout to "the better sort" and whites only? Was the cause of prohibition an impetus for these changes or simply the beneficiary? Were these changes in voting laws and customs decisive in determining both local options and statewide prohibition elections? Did the religion of backcountry, poor, and working-class whites change to make them more amenable to prohibition? Without answers to these questions and others, this valuable and suggestive study of the move toward prohibition in one Southern region remains incomplete.

Texas A&M University

Walter L. Buenger

Theodore Roosevelt and the American Political Tradition. By Jean M. Yarbrough. (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2012. Pp. xi, 337. \$39.99.)

This study seeks to bring clarity to a president who is generally beloved by the public and often misrepresented or oversimplified by academics. The author contends that though Theodore Roosevelt considered himself a historian and a

supporter of the ideals of the “Founding Fathers,” he lacked a proper education in either area. Instead, he was more informed by the scientific theories and the “German idealism” he experienced at Harvard University and Columbia Law School.

Jean M. Yarbrough begins by exploring the actual courses Roosevelt took during his education. She examines not only the works of his teachers but also the texts they assigned. Next, she demonstrates how, in his early writings, the future president cloaked contemporary debates on the military and Manifest Destiny within his historical narratives. Also, though Roosevelt extolled college students to read the *Federalist Papers*, Yarbrough demonstrates that practical experience and the influence of his Columbia professor John W. Burgess caused him to increasingly challenge John Locke’s concept of the rights of the individual.

The author regularly returns to the *Federalists* to track TR’s political development. At times, Roosevelt’s critiques of Jefferson and a “pluralistic executive” matched those of Alexander Hamilton (106). As his ideas on good government evolved, however, he came to parallel modern politicians in their invocation of the Founding Fathers. He claimed Washington as his inspiration in foreign policy, yet the first president would not have recognized Roosevelt’s imperial America. By contrast, Yarbrough shows that if TR had read Hamilton’s “Pacifcus,” he could have found better justification for his actions.

Yarbrough asserts that Roosevelt’s *Oliver Cromwell*, written while governor of New York, provides important insights into the future president’s understanding of the limits of executive power. Cromwell, in TR’s eyes, failed to understand the importance that constitutional law held to safeguard liberty. That said, at times Roosevelt willingly bent the rules. In his early career, he attacked Jackson for such actions, but as president, he came to look at “Old Hickory” for inspiration. His resulting argument of “inherent power” has been used by almost every president since.

As a natural scientist, Roosevelt saw America as “an organism subject to certain biological imperatives” (115). As early as his governorship, Roosevelt promoted himself as the individual who sought a “just balance” and an alternative to more radical politicians like Eugene Debs or William Jennings Bryan (188). As he developed as president, he came to fear radicals less and plutocrats more. The author believes the turning point in Roosevelt’s presidency came after the 1906 election when Progressive Republicans and Democrats gained seats in Congress. He felt he had to move to the left to continue his role of providing balance.

Yarbrough's text is more than just a political history of an individual's ideas. She has created an effective and concise biography. She uses Roosevelt's library, including his own writings, to reconstruct effectively the complicated and evolving puzzle that was Theodore Roosevelt's political philosophy. The result is a well-written and well-researched work.

Mary Baldwin College

Edmund D. Potter

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Wavell and the Dying Days of the Raj: Britain's Penultimate Viceroy in India.

By Muhammad Iqbal Chawla. (Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xi, 293. \$25.00.)

This study revisits the complex, protracted negotiations among the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and the British colonial government between 1945 and 1947. The author's focus, however, is on a participant perhaps less well remembered, or at least historically attended, than figures like Nehru, Jinnah, and Mountbatten: Lord Wavell, viceroy from 1943 through early 1947. His argument, buttressed by substantial archival material, is that Wavell was much more than the temporary placeholder his contemporaries and those like Churchill, who appointed him, perceived him to be. Muhammad Iqbal Chawla establishes that, in addition to working to alleviate the massive famine in north-eastern India in 1943 and to prepare India as a base against Japan in Burma, Wavell threw himself into the search for a negotiated settlement for an independent postwar India.

Calling together the protagonists at formal conferences and in private discussions, Wavell sought a settlement that would retain the political and geographic unity of India. This was "his treasured dream" (110). It was Congress, in the author's estimation, that prevented this dream from coming true through its intransigence and bad faith in discussions of solutions like the three-tiered Indian federation proposed by a British cabinet delegation, and supported by Wavell, in 1946. Moreover, Wavell received little support from home in his efforts. Before the Tory defeat of 1945, Churchill resisted any discussion of postwar changes in India, and after 1945, Labour seemed reluctant to grant any real political weight to Jinnah and the League, seeing Congress as the only true party in India. Chawla portrays a viceroy struggling to keep a unified India—one with substantial protections for Muslims—but ultimately unable to stop Congress from driving Jinnah

further away from compromise. Frustrated, Wavell drew up his Breakdown Plan, a scheme whereby Britain would leave India unilaterally and in stages, handing over some provinces to Congress, holding on to others, and providing the League with pieces of the Punjab and eastern Bengal. To Chawla, this is proof that Wavell was ultimately no supporter of partition, as it was a plan designed to frustrate both Nehru and Jinnah enough to get them back to the bargaining table. Those in London disagreed, seeing Wavell as “a defeatist and an advocate of scuttle” (240). Mountbatten soon replaced him in New Delhi.

Chawla is right to insist on recognition of Wavell’s efforts and to mark his Breakdown Plan as a scheme that ought to have received some consideration as an alternative to the hastily organized one-time handover that Mountbatten produced in August 1947, with its catastrophic results. Two concerns about this work do remain, though. There is too much historiography here, resulting in some awkward chapter introductions and generally weighing down the narrative. More substantively, there is very little about Wavell himself. He is an actor in these events but not at all one with any dimension. What influenced him? What drove that “cherished dream” of a unified India? Chawla has established what Wavell wanted to do as viceroy but has not explained why.

Metropolitan State University of Denver

Andrew Muldoon

The Everlasting Empire: The Political Culture of Ancient China and Its Imperial Legacy. By Yuri Pines. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012. Pp. 247. \$39.50.)

The exceptional longevity of the Chinese Empire [221 BC-1912 AD] is a fascinating subject for historical research in China and outside it. In China, what has happened in those 2,133 years holds an enormous lesson for the nation today. Outside China, the Chinese experience of success and failure can serve to educate and to help make wiser decisions.

It is small wonder that interest in this subject area is often intensified when China is in a time of crisis or decline or when it is rising and becoming more powerful. During such times, a massive output of books, articles, and essays hits the reading public, and China becomes a “hot” field of study. For instance, in the 1920s and 1930s when China was torn by the wars and carnage between the warlords and humiliating incursions by foreign imperialists, a huge number of works—long and short, scholarly and popular—appeared to diagnose the strengths and weaknesses of imperial China, that is, the roots of the longevity of

the Chinese Empire, in order to find the “miracle drug” for the ailing post-imperial China. Among the numerous monographs and other massive tomes, there were at least forty-five volumes that focused on this central theme through detailed and thorough historical presentation—generally organized dynasty by dynasty. In their long introductions, most of these works clearly discussed such major topics as political culture (including imperial systems, political systems, political consciousness, and the like), ideology, social systems and class stratification, the role of the populace, the dynamics of local politics and elites, and the relevance of imperial experience for post-imperial China. A similar historiographical and intellectual enterprise also occurred in Taiwan in the 1950s when Nationalist China (Republic of China) resettled there after having lost the Civil War [1945–1949] and the mainland to the Communist forces (The People’s Republic of China).

On the other end of this issue—the historical relevance of China’s imperial experience to its modern situation—is the emergence of China as the second-largest economy in the world. Renewed interest in the Chinese Empire is evinced by the production of special TV projects and the publication of other popular works. In America, university presses have even started to issue textbook series under specific titles such as “Imperial China” and “The Rise of the Chinese Empire”—this reviewer’s similarly titled, three-volume book included.

Interestingly, *The Everlasting Empire* is yet another addition to this category of historical literature. Whether it is coincidental, accidental, or otherwise is not important, but the purported goal of this intellectual endeavor is to trace the roots of the Chinese Empire’s exceptional longevity and unparalleled political durability and to show how lessons from the imperial past can be relevant for China today. To achieve this goal, Yuri Pines analyzes the strengths and weaknesses of the political culture of “Ancient China” in the first five chapters of this concise book: “The Ideal of ‘Grand Unity,’” “The Monarch,” “The Literati,” “Local Elite,” and “The People.” In these chapters, Pines forcefully shows how deep tensions between political actors—the monarch, the literati, local elites, and rebellious commoners—enabled the empire’s basic institutional framework to remain critically vital and adaptable to ever-changing sociopolitical circumstances. And thus he points out in his concluding chapter, “Imperial Political Culture in the Modern Age,” that as contemporary China moves toward a new period of prosperity and power in the twenty-first century, the legacy of the empire in its remarkable posthumous strength can and may become an increasingly important force in shaping the nation’s future trajectory. The book ends with the line: “Now, as always, studying China’s past is essential for an understanding of China’s future.”

The intellectual skeptics may say, “So, what’s new?” This reviewer wants to assert that profound inspiration is often found in common, familiar themes. This book is still beneficial reading, especially for nonspecialists.

University of Michigan

Chun-shu Chang

EUROPE

The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era. Edited by Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan. (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2012. Pp. ix, 318. \$29.95.)

Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan should be proud of this edited volume. With this book of collected essays taken from a 2009 conference on the topic, the editors have greatly expanded historians’ knowledge of both loyalism and the historiographical boundaries of loyalist studies.

As the collection makes clear, Loyalist studies are no longer confined to the American Revolution nor limited to the exodus to Canada; the geography of loyalism has expanded to include the whole Atlantic world. As essays by John G. Reid on the relationship between Briton and Aboriginal in Mi’kma’ki/Wulstukwik, Jennifer K. Snyder on Loyalist slaves in St. Augustine, and Carole Watterson Troxler on the Bahamas all demonstrate, escaping American republicanism did not necessarily lead to reexaminations of the nature of British liberty. As the Loyalist Atlantic expanded, it led to the re-creation of slave societies and the continuation of bondage for slaves or unequal friendship for the aboriginal population.

Perhaps the most important contribution of *The Loyal Atlantic* is how the essays overcome the older, more “American Revolution-centric” idea that Loyalism is Toryism renamed. Essays by Keith Mason on the Loyalist problem of Loyalist identity, Philip Gould on Loyalist responses to *Common Sense*, and Gwendolyn Davies on New Brunswick Loyalist printers, as well as contributions by Allison O’Mahen Malcom and Allan Blackstock on Loyalist Orangemen and Irish loyalism, respectively, all note that loyalism, as expressed through prisms of print culture or religion, was a deeply complex phenomenon often touching the historical memory generations after the initial Loyalist settlements.

Not only do the essays explore how the Loyalists contoured the post-American Revolution British Empire in both good and bad ways but the editorial decision to focus on the transnational permits the contributions to explain how loyalism

was more than just a set of ideas; loyalism was actions, print culture, and generational memory as well. At the same time, however, this transnational focus does have a serious drawback. The broadening of our understanding of loyalism, especially as it plays out in the nineteenth century, requires perhaps more background knowledge of the British Empire than most American readers will possess, thereby making it difficult to engage the arguments effectively. Nonetheless, it seems odd that a volume on how loyalism shaped the Atlantic world has almost nothing to say about the ideas and actions of American Loyalists before the diaspora. It was these Loyalists, after all, who fled revolutionary America and became the main actors who shaped the Loyal Atlantic. Their ideas and actions on the nature of loyalism before and during the Revolution must have factored into their identity and loyalism afterwards. An essay on this topic would have been a helpful contribution. Nevertheless, Bannister and Riordan wanted their volume to reflect how “loyalism fundamentally shaped the British Atlantic world” (ix). They have achieved their goal with resounding success. *The Loyal Atlantic* should open historiographical pathways previously unimagined.

Kentucky Christian University

Aaron N. Coleman

The Crusader States. By Malcolm Barber. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. Pp. x, 455. \$38.00.)

It is easy to get the impression that the history of the Crusader states is a topic that has received its fair share of attention over the past couple of decades. Surveys covering these territories and their development can be found in many works published in recent years, including those concerning the Near East, the crusades, and the military orders. Nevertheless, whilst the basic story has been told on many occasions, there has long been a pressing need for an in-depth study in English that works through the subject in detail and draws together the recent scholarship in this area. This is a niche that has been filled until recently by Jean Richard's and Joshua Prawer's monographs on the kingdom of Jerusalem, and yet most of these works were produced over three decades ago (and Richard's *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* is not readily available). Thus, Malcolm Barber's *The Crusader States* is a welcome addition.

Fundamentally, *The Crusader States* provides an extremely detailed political history of the Latin East from the First Crusade through the close of the Third Crusade. Every move made by the various players on the Levantine chessboard is discussed and contextualized, creating what is arguably the most detailed account

of the rise, fall, and early recovery of the Latin East yet written. This holds true for the period from 1099 to 1187, but the Third Crusade is—by comparison—discussed with greater brevity. Barber supplements and enriches his account of the unfolding events with a wider discussion of the cultural and economic activities of the Franks in this region and the development of a distinctive Latin Eastern identity. Within this, he draws deeply on the considerable advances made in crusader archaeology in recent years, whilst also incorporating the suggestive findings of art historians.

Throughout this work Barber touches upon many areas of long-standing debate, often supplying a new perspective or adding a new piece of information. A case in point is his discussion on the reconstruction of the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth following an earthquake in 1170. He uses this ambitious building project to demonstrate that, in some circles at least, the decades directly before Hattin were not marked simply by falling confidence and decline—a view communicated so vividly by Archbishop William of Tyre (291–293).

In general, this work is precisely what you would expect from the author of *The New Knighthood* and *The Two Cities*. It is a comprehensive and thorough piece of work that reflects the author's immense experience. Engagingly written and challenging in its insights, *The Crusader States*, like every other book Barber has published, will swiftly become the fundamental point of reference on this subject for students, professional academics, and the informed general reader.

Nottingham Trent University

Nicholas Morton

The Queen's Hand: Power and Authority in the Reign of Berenguela of Castile.

By Janna Bianchini. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. Pp. ix, 350. \$69.95.)

This biography of Berenguela of Castile is a welcome addition to the study of medieval women. Using chronicles and charts as her primary sources of information, Janna Bianchini examines the political life of Berenguela to determine what power medieval queens were able to exercise while operating within the constraints of a patriarchal society.

Following the narrative of Berenguela's life, Bianchini demonstrates how the queen accrued power. Central to Berenguela's influence was her control of property, particularly the thirty castles in the Tierra de Campos granted as her

marriage settlement by her husband, King Alphonso IX of León. Even though the marriage was deemed consanguineous by the pope and annulled in 1203, Berenguela remained in control of much of her marriage portion. The annulment made Berenguela an unmarried woman who was nonetheless ineligible for marriage; a position that Bianchini speculates should have removed her from the political game. But, in fact, quite the opposite was the case as Berenguela's political capital increased as she assumed the roles of negotiator and "agent of peace" (95). The sequential deaths of her parents in 1214 also placed Berenguela in the powerful position as regent for her minor brother. Although Berenguela eventually gave up her regency, Bianchini argues that Berenguela was the architect of her abdication and political future rather than a powerless pawn.

In 1217, events would again propel Berenguela into the political spotlight when her brother died, leaving her young son Fernando as the heir to Castile. Bianchini posits that Berenguela shared power with Fernando as queen of Castile, and her careful analysis of the charter formulae is particularly persuasive. The political ground shifted once again in 1230 when Berenguela's former husband died and named his daughters from another marriage as his heirs to León. Fernando and Berenguela immediately began a campaign for the crown of León. Berenguela's skill as negotiator and her access to the Tierra de Campos proved to be crucial to their success in winning the crown for Fernando. As Fernando's attention turned to forcing the Muslims out of Spain, he depended even more on Berenguela to rule their kingdom and provide military advice and money to support his military ambitions. Obituary entries and the statements made by Fernando at the time of Berenguela's death in 1246 attest to the influence, power, and respect this queen commanded.

Bianchini does a commendable job of situating Berenguela in the politics of her time. In particular, the author excels in teasing out information about Berenguela from the charters to demonstrate how she exercised power and what power she wielded. Bianchini also succeeds in showing the barriers that conscribed Berenguela and how she was able to navigate around them. By the end of the book, Bianchini has made a compelling argument for Berenguela's power and participation in plural monarchy.

Although the book is ultimately successful, there are a few missteps. Sometimes Berenguela herself gets lost amongst the political detail. The author also falls into the trap of portraying Berenguela as too exceptional, as little is done to situate Berenguela among other Iberian or elite women. Moreover, the author continues to assert the outdated notion that thirteenth-century Spain was somehow unusual in including women in inheritance and adhering to cognatic family structure.

Finally, the decision to use acronyms for the important chronicles of Berenguela's time is unfortunate as they are off-putting and confusing for nonspecialists in Iberian history.

As a political biography of a medieval queen, however, this book contributes significantly to the scholarship and demonstrates that Queen Berenguela was a political force of her day.

Wittenberg University

Amy Livingstone

Whispering City: Rome and Its Histories. By R. J. B. Bosworth. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011. Pp. xvii, 358. \$37.50.)

The subject of this book is the multivocality of Rome, both the physical city with its multiple layers of ancient ruins and subsequent architectural accretions and the psychological city, a "mental entity" in Freud's words, which "whispers with many pasts." R. J. B. Bosworth surveys the terminology of heritage, history, memory, and palimpsests, all of which are problematic, before embarking on his exploration of Rome's multiple pasts in which times and spaces interpenetrate. His focus is on the period from the Enlightenment up to the Olympics of 1960 and beyond. The concept of "history wars" is flagged as fundamental, with regard to the claims laid to Rome's past by the Roman Catholic Church, the aristocracy, fascists, and multiple others (7–8). In the pages that follow, Mussolini, Berlusconi, Garibaldi, and Pius XII jostle with Caesar, Constantine, Bernini, and Fellini for readers' attention.

The introduction is prefaced by a map of Rome and its environs, and chapters 1 and 2 zoom in on the city's historic center, including the Colosseum and Vatican City, thereby supplying Bosworth with the *points de capiton* for all his ensuing discussions. Indeed, each chapter opens with a map of a particular location within the city, by which readers can orient themselves, at least initially. Thus, chapter 2 starts with the Museo Napoleonico (opened in 1927, five years after Mussolini became prime minister) across the Tiber from Castel Sant'Angelo and proceeds to examine the impact of revolution on Rome and the proclamation of the Republic in 1798. Bosworth continues by interweaving people and buildings, pasts and presents, in a dizzying array of *exempla* and mininarratives. The overall effect is one of prodigious learning blended with a sense of the almost unbearable complexity of Roman topography and history.

The lives and monuments of individuals are frequently highlighted as emblematic of the cityscape; so, in chapter 5, readers move from the 1899 inauguration

in the Campo de' Fiori of a statue of the rationalizing Dominican priest Giordano Bruno (burned by the Inquisition in 1600) to an examination of the struggles between the Church and anticlerical forces across the centuries. In chapter 6, the central character is the Vittoriano, whose marbled monumentalism confronts—or affronts—all visitors to the city today. Discussion of the Vittoriano leads into chapters 7 and 8 in which the contours of Rome's fascist history and its architectural embodiments are laid bare. The Duce as “living statue”—even more “granitic” and infused with the spirit of *romanità*—recalls the rise and fall of Emperor Tiberius's murderous henchman, Sejanus, so unlovingly detailed by Tacitus and Juvenal (195). Fittingly, this segment of the volume concludes with the largely unedifying saga of Pope Pius XII, around whom histories continue to be rewritten.

The author makes clear that there have always been “many Romes in Rome” and that it remains a city that, perhaps uniquely, defies monologic and monolithic schemes of interpretation (293).

Texas Tech University

David H. J. Larmour

Remembering 1759: The Conquest of Canada in Historical Memory. Edited by Phillip Buckner and John G. Reid. (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2012. Pp. 336. \$65.00.)

The British victory over the French outside the walls of Quebec on 14 September 1759 was by no means the end of the Seven Years War, nor did it guarantee British sovereignty over the French colony after the fighting ended. Nonetheless, it was a turning point in the North American theater, and the drama of the engagement, involving, as it did, the death of both commanders, Montcalm and Wolfe, has secured it an important place (at various historical moments) in the collective memory of several nations, including those of the British, the Americans, Anglophone Canadians, and the Quebecois. In 2009 a troop of military reenactors, who had been tracing the steps of the Seven Years War and re-creating important battles since 2004, were blocked from restaging the pivotal 1759 engagement after passionate protests from Quebec nationalists, who considered the proposed reenactment insensitive. Oddly enough, the memory of 1759 was more openly and fiercely contested in 2009 than it had been over the intervening 250 years.

Remembering 1759 is a collection of essays stemming from an academic conference held in 2009. The chapters, drawing on a historical record that is

sometimes sparse, trace the ways various groups have remembered 1759 over the passage of time. Joan Coutu and John McAleer, Alan Gordon, and J. I. Little discuss the first era of commemoration, concentrating (by necessity it seems, given the documents that survive) on Anglophone efforts to keep memory alive. Jean-François Lozier's contribution on indigenous perspectives highlights the continuing legal and political ramifications of the details of our recollections. The remaining seven essays, by Michel Ducharme, Michel Bock, David Meren, Alexis Lachaine, Brian Young, Nicole Leatby, and Jocelyn Létourneau, cover the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the twenty-first, concentrating on French Canadian analyses of the 1759 event.

French Canadian debates over the significance of 1759 have become increasingly heated since the 1960s, so much so that Létourneau proposes that perhaps today "1759 does not belong primarily to a past that we might wish to study and understand, but, rather, to a present and a future that we might wish to shape and control" (279). The memory of the conquest has become a central element in the definition of Quebec nationalism, and this collection of essays serves as an excellent, accessible introduction to the politics surrounding that movement.

Ironically, one of the reasons the people of Quebec argue so vehemently today over the significance of 1759 is that French Canadians did not argue much, at least not in print, in the first decades following the conquest. Commentating on the situation as it stood in 1839, Ducharme puns on Lord Durham's assertion that the French Canadians were "a people with no history" (138). Of course they had a collective past, but before 1845 none of them had found a way to publish a history of the colony. Thus we are left to speculate about the meanings the conquered generation attached to life under British rule. The early silence is evocative and troubling, and it animates several of the essays in this volume.

University of East Anglia

Geoffrey Plank

Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome. By Brian Campbell. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012. Pp. xvii, 585. \$70.00.)

Based on the premise that rivers were crucial for the success and security of communities and foundational in the ancient popular and scientific imagination, Brian Campbell presents an empire-wide study that reconstructs ancient river environments and surveys ancient responses to the benefits and dangers of rivers. The focus comprehensively embraces two themes, namely the practical significance of rivers for legal concerns, military strategy, and economic exploitation

and the “psychological resonance” of rivers in constructions of space, mythological symbolism, recreation and healing, and perceptions of Roman imperial control. The holistic approach usefully broadens the focus beyond purely riverine subjects and repeatedly highlights the connection between rivers and their surroundings, for example in geographic narratives or the formation of regional identities.

The author uses an impressive array of sources, ranging from literary evidence, epigraphy, numismatics, and legal commentaries to excavation results and regional survey data, although the discussion favors the canonical texts of geographers, technical experts, legal commentators, and historical authors. The argument effectively illustrates the importance of rivers in the ancient imagination, but it does not always stay on subject: For example, the discussion of state intervention to secure the water supply, while exploring intriguing legal dilemmas, is ill-connected to the main argument or the theme of rivers (90–98). The comprehensive coverage, both geographically and chronologically, also necessitates the overall assumption that “in general river characteristics did not change much” over time, which is perhaps an overly static reconstruction that sits ill with the many instances of historical change recognized in other parts of the book (38). The narrative is usually structured as a survey of major characteristics, regions, rivers, or primary authors. The amount of information presented in this format is vast, which produces a tendency to drown overarching arguments and undermines the overall readability.

Given the breadth of coverage and the abundance of technical detail that this book provides, it may be less useful as a continuous narrative to most readers who are not directly involved in river studies than as a reference for the varying uses and perceptions of rivers in antiquity as well as the current state of research in these areas. The extensive apparatus effectively enables this kind of use with over two thousand footnotes that provide access to the primary sources and link to the extensive bibliography. Likewise, the apparatus provides useful lists of navigable rivers, spas, persons, and places, but they do not locate all occurrences of all entries. For example, several discussions of Herodotus and Polybius are missing from the relevant index. A more complete apparatus and a more comprehensive general index may have facilitated the use of the book as a reference work.

Showcasing the Great Experiment: Cultural Diplomacy and Western Visitors to the Soviet Union, 1921–1941. By Michael David-Fox. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xii, 396. \$55.00.)

The fellow travelers to the Soviet Union in the 1930s have fascinated and repelled commentators for decades. Yet scholars have tended to treat Westerners who justified the socialist experiment as a source for polemics. Michael David-Fox's new book stands this tradition on its head, turning the Soviet attempt to showcase the ongoing experiment to foreigners into a central story for understanding that project.

During the 1920s and 1930s, around one-hundred-thousand foreigners visited the USSR. Accommodating them gave rise to a new form of Soviet cultural diplomacy, embodied in the 1925 creation of the All-Union Society for Cultural Ties Abroad, better known by its Russian acronym "VOKS." David-Fox's story is largely one that traces the rise of this institution, the records it kept on its visitors, the showcase tours it provided, and the changes within the bureaucracy over the course of twenty momentous years. Nonspecialists may find the introduction and early chapters daunting because of the wealth of information and sheer number of people contained in them, but readers will be rewarded by the end.

David-Fox provides illuminating and often gripping historical details that ask readers to rethink many important aspects of Soviet history. One of David-Fox's best chapters concerns Maxim Gorky's 1928 return to Soviet Russia after seven years abroad. Gorky was both an outsider and an insider to the Soviet project, and he immediately threw himself into the task of reporting on his country's recent transformations. After his visit to Solovki, the first camp of what later became the Gulag, Gorky produced an infamous account that claimed the brutal prison was engaged solely in the task of reforging its inmates. Gorky's apologia has produced two strands of debates, one that views the writer as a cynic and one that sees him as a dupe. David-Fox instead situates Gorky's visit and subsequent writing about it within a larger context. In this view, Gorky understood that his account would have an international audience. He described Solovki not as it was but as it should have been. His account, as David-Fox argues, was the first prototype of Socialist Realism.

These are the sorts of insights that ultimately make David-Fox's book an exceptional one. He effectively places cultural diplomacy at the center of the history of the Stalin era. David-Fox adds to our understanding of the Stalin cult's genesis, the Soviet engagement with the radical Right in Europe, the Great Terror in 1937, and the rise of the Stalinist "superiority complex," the xenophobic

culture that dominated the late 1930s and that put an end to the twenty-year efforts of cultural diplomacy.

Throughout the study, David-Fox cautions against crafting “a single master explanation for the blindness of the intellectuals” who visited the USSR (246). As he concludes, the dialogue between superiority and inferiority vis-à-vis the West—a dialogue that had developed across the centuries in Russia and that was at the heart of the new cultural diplomacy—would also shape the next round of engagement, this time during the Cold War.

Miami University

Stephen M. Norris

Fashioning Change: The Trope of Clothing in High- and Late-Medieval England.

By Andrea Denny-Brown. (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2012. Pp. 252. \$59.95.)

This book is about medieval writers' use of clothing to mirror the changeability of human experience. Identifying variety as characteristic of English dress, the author's starting points are Tertullian—the third-century theologian who rejected the Roman toga for the Greek pallium as a philosophical, Christian garment—and Boethius, whose imprisonment involved a transformation in clothing. Andrea Denny-Brown focuses initially on texts by, or following, Boethius. Although Boethius himself was nonspecific about garments, preferring the generic term *habitus*, later treatments of his *Fortuna*, and the iconography of victims rising and falling on her wheel, use changes of dress metaphorically. Exploring Fortune in the pseudo-Boethian *De Disciplina Scholarium* (and its English commentators Trevet and Wheatley; de Lille's *Anticlaudianus*; de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*; Chaucer's *Fortune* and his other works; Lydgate's *The Fall of Princes*; and Charles, Duke of Orléans's *Fortunes Stabilnes*) and relating the texts to sumptuary laws and authorial biography, Denny-Brown reveals Fortune's self-fashioning; how her changeability of dress fuses with the new concept of fashion; the relationship of her clothing to morality; and ultimately (in Orléans's poem), her constancy in an ever-changing world.

The book then turns to the cope, firstly in William Durand's explication of ecclesiastical vestments (and here one should note that it was not the cope [as stated on page 91] but the chasuble that changed shape in response to the introduction of the elevation of the Host); thence to the satirical *Song upon Tailors*, which demonstrates the transformation of a cope through alterations until it is finally donated to a servant. Discussion of costume transformations in

Chaucer's depiction of Griselda and the perception of them by both the in-text and wider audiences as well as by Lydgate are followed by analyses of poetic treatments of the "galaunt," who reflected every whim of fashion.

Although manifestly not about dress as such, the author's material from more obscure sources will be welcome to the costume historian, though translations do not always make the best of their material in detailing medieval fashion. In translating an anonymous mid-fourteenth-century sermon, " 'dyvers atyre, as of strayt clothes and schorte . . . and crakowes of half a fote longe, harlotes and laddes and other dysgysynges' [diverse attire, as of straight clothes and short . . . crackows (long pointed shoes) of half a foot long, shoe thongs and other disguisings]," the author both fails to convey that *strayt* means "narrow" (and therefore in this context "tight") and omits the word *harlotes*, which refers to joined hose (often mi-parti) (8). Similarly, *perre* in a sentence from the 1363 English Sumptuary Law surely, in this context, refers specifically to gemstones: "*ne quilz ne usent . . . null autre apparaill ne hernys dor ne dargent, ne riens de perre, de nule manere de pellure*" [and that they wear . . . none other apparel, nor armor of gold nor of silver, nor nothing of stone, nor no manner of fur]" (68).

Minor issues apart, with its unusual selection of material and its insights into metaphors of transience, this book presents an innovative theoretical approach to medieval thought.

University of Manchester

Gale R. Owen-Crocker

New Netherland in a Nut Shell: A Concise History of the Dutch Colony in North America. By Firth Haring Fabend. (Albany, NY: New Netherland Institute, 2012. Pp. vi, 139. \$25.95.)

Novelist-historian and settler-descendant Firth Haring Fabend sets out to produce a concise and popular history of the former Dutch colony in North America from the initial exploration by Henry Hudson in 1609 to the final transfer of the Dutch settlement to the English in 1674 in order to challenge the Anglocentric paradigm and finally make "one of our best kept secrets," America's Dutch connection, available to a wider American audience (i, 124).

Apart from a foreword, preface, endnotes, and chronology, this little book, beautifully illustrated with the paintings of local upstate New York artist Leonard Tantillo, is divided into eleven miniature chapters that are further subdivided into even smaller subsections covering a wide array of miscellaneous topics. The eleven chapters can be roughly broken up into four sections. The two opening chapters

provide a measure of contextual background and a cursory survey of the tentative beginnings of the New Netherland colony from Hudson's explorations in 1609 of Upper New York Bay and the river subsequently named after him until the recall of Director Wouter van Twiller [1633–1637] in 1637.

Chapters 3 to 5 cover the tumultuous term of office of Director Willem Kieft between 1638 and 1647, which was dominated by Kieft's War or the First Dutch-Munsee War [1643–1645] and the resulting "mother of all feuds" between Kieft and Reformed Dutch Minister Everardus Bogardus (42). Relying heavily on the account of Bogardus's biographer Willem Frijhoff, the author considers this conflict "the pivot around which New Netherland's history ultimately turned," centering on "a contest between church and state, dominie and director, for control over public morality on the one hand and public policy on the other" (42–43, 50–51).

Chapters 6 to 9 correspond with the tenure of Director Petrus Stuyvesant between 1647 and 1664. These years witnessed another feud, this time between the autocratic "doer and fixer" Stuyvesant and the lawyer Adriaen van der Donck, the latter representing the "earliest glimmerings of democracy in action in New Netherland" (54). Though the Stuyvesant administration was "by far the most successful in New Netherland's history" this period saw renewed conflicts with the Munsees and the loss of the colony to the English in 1664, despite a brief restoration of Dutch rule in 1673–1674 (76).

Chapters 10 and 11 describe the highly diverse social, ethnic, and religious composition of the pluralistic New Netherland "melting pot" and the reasons for immigration, which were mostly spurred by the hope for economic betterment, along with the "large imprint" left by the New Netherland colony: ethnolinguistically, materially, religiously, and politically (113).

To be fair, Fabend herself acknowledges the challenge of distilling forty or fifty years of history into slightly over one hundred pages without simplifying the story beyond recognition and without offending historians of the period by not giving due space to their special topics (ii). Nevertheless, aimed at the interested layperson "perhaps short in time, but long on interest," her revisionist "little New Netherland" and rehabilitationist "Dutch settler history" perspectives come at a heavy analytical price, and the writing and formatting are at times awkward at best (iii).

The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor: The Trials of Marguerite Porete and Guiard of Cressonessart. By Sean L. Field. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012. Pp. x, 407. \$40.00.)

The author of this study masterfully narrates the history of the imprisonment, trial, and condemnation of the Beguine, Marguerite Porete, and of her book (which are two separate processes, as he shows). Sean L. Field lays out both the book's fate at the hands of the late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century religious authorities and Marguerite's persistent refusal to accept negative judgments against it, a refusal that ended with her being given over to secular authorities and put to death by fire at the Place de Grève in Paris on June 1, 1310. Field shows that Marguerite's story is inseparable from that of Guiard of Cressonessart, who claimed to be the Angel of Philadelphia named in Revelation and, bearing that *status*, believed it incumbent on him to come to Marguerite's defense when she was imprisoned by ecclesiastical authorities. The Dominican inquisitor and confessor to King Philip IV, William of Paris, conducted the trials and so plays a key role in Field's account.

The Beguine, the Angel, and the Inquisitor is also a story about modern scholarship; about how errors are made and widely disseminated; and about how, through close, patient, and expert textual analysis, they might be corrected. So Field corrects errors, particularly with regard to the timeline of events in Marguerite's story. He also further substantiates previous work, showing that Guiard evinced a widespread apocalyptic sensibility tied to the writings of Joachim of Fiore and Peter of John Olivi, one in which religious authorities might be the Antichrist acting against God's chosen ones.

Field substantiates hypotheses that have been widely disseminated but never fully argued, such as the claim that Marguerite's and Guiard's trials were closely related to the king's assault against the Templars. As Field shows, William conducted the trial and condemnation meticulously, and so "in the wake of the hastily arranged burnings of the Templars on 12 May," his general sermon on the day of Marguerite's death "was an essential indicator that the intersection of royal and inquisitorial justice could produce results that were legally unimpeachable" (166).

Field also makes bold new claims. He argues, for example, that Marguerite was likely killed at the Place de Grève because on the same day a "relapsed Jew" was also put to the stake. Jews, expelled from Paris in 1306, had previously lived north and east of the Place. Nearby lay the site of a famous anti-Jewish Eucharistic miracle. Marguerite's death, then, like the rest of her story, is deeply entwined with that of the larger religious worlds of which she was a part. She is no less singular for that fact.

By attending to everything from the nature of the document from which came much of the evidence for Marguerite's and Guiard's trials, to the writings of the Masters of Theology called in to judge excerpts from Marguerite's book, to the near simultaneity with which events effecting Marguerite, Guiard, and the Templars occurred, Field provides a handbook for the writing of history. He generously provides fresh translations of all the relevant documents, creating an ideal book for classroom use. This reviewer will be assigning it to all of her students!

Harvard Divinity School

Amy Hollywood

The Epicure's Almanack: Eating and Drinking in Regency London, The Original 1815 Guidebook. Edited by Janet Ing Freeman. (London, England: The British Library, 2012. Pp. liii, 313. \$55.00.)

To say that *The Epicure's Almanack* was a pioneering work of epicurean history is an understatement. Originally published in 1815, it was the first and only guide that was entirely devoted to London's culinary culture until the appearance of Raymond Postgate's *Good Food Guide to London* in 1951. Long valued as a source not only for historians of food but for Regency social and cultural history more broadly, it has now been reissued in a handsome new edition by the British Library, edited by Janet Ing Freeman. The editor supplies a lengthy introduction and copious annotations through which readers learn much more about the book's history. It was written by Robert Rylance, a joiner's son with social and literary ambitions. His approach was pragmatic: he focused less on London's most exclusive dining venues than on more-humble establishments such as eating houses and taverns, grouped by neighborhood, that offered good value. Despite a major publicity campaign by the publisher, Longman, the *Almanack* was a flop; 450 of the 750 copies were pulped two years after it was published.

The Epicure's Almanack provides a clear sense of how London's dining-out patterns have changed over time. Dinner was the main meal, often served in the form of an "ordinary" or fixed-price menu of three or four courses, usually between twelve and four o'clock. Breakfast was rarely offered as a dining-out option, and "lunch" referred to light meals served any time of day. Some places served a late "supper" in the evening, but by that time of day most establishments had switched their primary emphasis from eating to drinking. Women rarely frequented the kinds of establishments that Rylance described, though they did visit confectionery shops, bakeries, and tea gardens.

In terms of *what* people ate, “the roast beef of old England” is no mere caricature: beef—grilled, roasted, boiled, or stewed—dominated London’s menus. Even in 1815, British food suffered in comparison to its continental counterparts; Rylance asserted that “the whole system of English cookery is much inferior in economy and variety of resources to either the French or the German” (230). He was an early advocate of a British food revival, however, arguing that “we have the means of effecting a culinary revolution in our own power; and if we neglect to avail ourselves of them, we deserve to suffer the penalty of that neglect more than we do” (231). Rylance provided a further glimpse of London’s culinary future with his oft-quoted description of Sake Dean Mahomed’s Hindostanee Coffee House, usually regarded as London’s first Indian restaurant, where “all the dishes were dressed with curry-powder, rice, Cayenne, and the best spices of Arabia” (110). Like Rylance, Mahomed was ahead of his time: his restaurant had already closed by the time the book was published.

Given the burgeoning of London’s culinary reputation in the last decade, this reissue is well timed and offers a fascinating look at the capital’s dining scene two centuries ago. Freeman has scoured old maps of London and other sources to help readers match up the city that Rylance described with that of today. (Many things have changed, but, amazingly, no less than fifteen establishments survive in the same location and essentially the same form in which they existed in 1815.) This is a worthy and well-produced new edition, which will be of interest to food historians and foodies alike.

Clemson University

Stephanie Barczewski

The Night of Broken Glass: Eyewitness Accounts of Kristallnacht. Edited by Uta Gerhardt and Thomas Karlauf. Translated by Robert Simmons and Nick Somers. (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012. Pp. xi, 279. \$25.00.)

There are numerous historical interpretations of the events of November 8–10, 1938, the so-called *Reichskristallnacht* pogrom that is generally regarded as the turning point in Nazi anti-Jewish policy and the beginning of the violent persecution culminating in the decision to exterminate European Jewry. Historians have differed widely in their interpretations of the origins of the pogrom and the perverse twists of internal Nazi politics that produced it; of the responses, degree of spontaneity, and participation by the German populace; and of the degree to which the violence was planned or directed by Hitler himself. Recently Alan E. Steinweis, in *Kristallnacht, 1938* [2009], argued forcefully that many previous works on the subject have underestimated the degree of popular

support and even enthusiastic participation by non-Nazi townspeople, as well as the extent to which the violence was planned and orchestrated by Hitler and Goebbels in Berlin.

“Eyewitness accounts”—either anthologies of the testimony of Jewish victims, or more rarely of German perpetrators or bystanders, or both—are quite numerous, but what sets this anthology, edited by German sociologist Uta Gerhardt and literary agent Thomas Karlauf, apart from other firsthand accounts is the immediacy of the testimonies. The twenty-one autobiographical accounts of men and women in this volume—comprising sections entitled “The Terror,” “In the Camps,” and “Before Emigration”—were all recorded within two years of the event, before the invasion of the Soviet Union and the effective beginning of the “Final Solution.” As Saul Friedländer says in his foreword, “The testimonies. . . assembled in this volume, describe what the authors believed to be the height of Nazi barbarism” (x). The accounts reproduced in this book were among the 263 memoirs submitted in response to a contest sponsored by Harvard University in 1939–1940 and deposited in Harvard’s Houghton library. Thirty-four were selected and edited for publication by Edward Hartshorne, one of the project editors, but the manuscript was lost after his death in 1947. Uta Gerhardt discovered it while doing research for a biography of Hartshorne and has brought the stories to light.

Reading these harrowing testimonies in conjunction with the oral testimony in Steinweis’s recent monograph—much of which was taken from the postwar trials of *Kristallnacht* perpetrators—is both poignant and instructive. While Steinweis’s narrative emphasizes the degree to which many “ordinary Germans” joined in the violence, whether spontaneously or not, the accounts in this anthology emphasize the kindness and support of many of the victims’ neighbors and even total strangers—a vivid example of the issues surrounding the intersection of memory and history. Their stories also manifest the bizarre inconsistencies and vagaries of Nazi persecution and the degree to which simple chance played a role in one’s survival and eventual escape from Germany. Nevertheless, all of the accounts reveal the degree to which their authors were traumatized by their experiences, as they realized that the pogrom was not a spontaneous outburst but rather part of a cynical Nazi plan to force the expulsion of German Jews, and how they decided, without exception, to leave their homeland forever.

Double Entry: How the Merchants of Venice Created Modern Finance. By Jane Gleeson-White. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2012. Pp. 293. \$26.95.)

This delightful book is based on the false premise that the work of Luca Pacioli on double-entry bookkeeping in the fifteenth century could somehow “make or break the planet” today (226). This background allows the author to provide a well-researched and insightful account of the life and times of Pacioli, credited with the revolutionary introduction of double-entry bookkeeping. This account comprises the first six chapters of the book. The final four chapters and the epilogue are concerned with the evolution of accounting and capitalism from the Industrial Revolution to the present: “the very concept of capitalism encapsulates the double-entry system and could not have come into being without it” (164). In chapter 8, the connection between accounting, Keynesian economics, and national income accounting is traced to a “landmark 1940 pamphlet [in which] Keynes first developed a system of national accounts for the United Kingdom based on double-entry bookkeeping” (183). The chronological narrative ends with the ominous forecast: “Through the way it values—or does not—the finite resources of our planet, double entry has the potential to make or break life on the earth” (249).

Although Jane Gleeson-White overreaches in her attempt to elevate accounting history to global importance, the narrative is lively and captivating. Incongruent notions such as “accountants remodeled as eco-accountants” appear seamlessly in a chronology that stretches pleasantly across centuries (249). The scholarly value of the discussion is strongest in the first half of the book, which deals with Pacioli. In this, Gleeson-White draws on knowledge and contacts gained as an intern at the Peggy Guggenheim Collection in Venice to compile a helpful biography of Pacioli. However, in order to give value to this content, the importance of Pacioli in the development of double-entry bookkeeping is exaggerated. The important work by the medieval and Renaissance business historian Raymond de Roover [1904–1972] goes unnoticed. There is confusion in *Double Entry* between accounting as a tool of management and control and the actual form and procedure of double-entry bookkeeping. Building on contributions to accounting history in the first half of the twentieth century, de Roover [1954] and others demonstrated that Pacioli did not make seminal contributions in either of these aspects of accounting. Rather, Pacioli compiled a twenty-seven-page bookkeeping treatise, contained in the much larger *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, propotioni et proportionalità* [1494], from sources available at that time.

As accounting history, the second half of *Double Entry* is hypermodern, emphasizing the importance of accounting as a tool of management and control.

The leap from a famous fifteenth-century treatise on double-entry bookkeeping to the modern world sees the extension of “accounting” to include economics and the environment. Having already established the link between Keynesian economics, national accounts, and double-entry bookkeeping, the concluding chapter of *Double Entry* seeks to extend the national accounts methodology to include environmental accounting. In order to overcome the problems with widely used national accounting measures such as Gross Domestic Product, “environmental accounting is urgently needed at a national level not only for the survival of the environment itself, but also for its potential impact on poverty” (237). Such reforms “may be the one last hope for life on earth” (249). This point is reinforced in the last sentence of the epilogue: “unless we start accounting for our transactions with the earth, we will bankrupt it for all future human habitation” (254). This is a fitting ending for an ambitious book that seeks to answer the world’s problems in less than three hundred pages.

Simon Fraser University

Geoffrey Poitras

Macaulay and Son: Architects of Imperial Britain. By Catherine Hall. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012. Pp. xviii, 389. \$75.00.)

In this book, the author offers an engaging and well-researched portrait of the Macaulays—Zachary Macaulay [1768–1838], who served as a colonial governor and became an abolitionist, and Thomas Babington Macaulay [1800–1859], who was a politician but is most remembered as a leading “Whig” historian—and situates their significant, but quite different, lives into the context of British empire building.

Zachary’s development was shaped by “spiritual rebirth” and in Jamaica, where he encountered the horrors of slavery (2). As an Evangelical, he was committed to “remoralising the world” (19). Nonetheless, Catherine Hall shows that despite his revulsion for slavery, as governor of the Sierra Leone colony, he contributed to the “making of racial hierarchies” (92).

His son was quickly identified as a “remarkable child” who possessed a number of impressive verbal and intellectual gifts (193). Family relationships proved to be deep and critical; Thomas was unable to overcome the traumatic loss first of his mother and then his two sisters—one to death and the other to marriage. These family traumas produced a “retreat into himself and his books” (138). Writing history enabled him to avoid distress because it involved “imagining a safer world where things could be put in place” (138).

Thomas's career as a politician reflected assumptions about manliness. He valued family life, rational deliberation, and national stability. These values were played out in his public life in which his experience of manliness was "vigorous, assertive and competitive" (149). He was not "part of the mob, shouting, hissing and yelling" but instead conducted himself in a "frank and rational way" (143).

The author regards both the Indian penal code and Thomas's *Minute on Indian Education* as indicative of Macaulay's worldview: "Evangelical notions of a universal human family hierarchized in relation to stadial theory, together with assumptions about imperial responsibility to those unable to govern themselves, were firmly imprinted on Tom's mind" (201). Macaulay believed that while British rule would improve India through the rule of law and a trained class of collaborators, it would always require British governance because Indians would inevitably remain different and inferior.

Many of these themes were evident in Macaulay's history, which he wrote to define the English national story as progressive and universal because it provided a liberal path to a successful modernity. He sought to "cement national belonging through the knowledge of a shared history" remaking his reader's identities as "citizens or subjects" (271, 284). His England fit men such as he and Zachary because it was dominated by an "alliance of the landed, financial and commercial interests with new men . . . whose positions had been secured by their intellectual powers" and conveniently overlooked the roles of women, the realities of social class, and the exploitation inherent in imperialism (240).

In sum, *Macaulay and Son* may not persuade all its readers, but the Macaulays will probably never look the same way as they once did.

American University of Sharjah

Stephen Keck

The Elect Methodists: Calvinistic Methodism in England and Wales, 1735–1811. By David Ceri Jones, Boyd Stanley Schlenther, and Eryn Mant White. (Cardiff, Wales: University of Wales Press, 2012. Pp. xvii, 307. \$90.00.)

Whitefieldian Calvinistic Methodism predated the emergence of Wesleyan Arminian Methodism in England and ultimately became the dominant expression of Methodism in Wales and the strongest denomination in that region in the nineteenth century, eventually metamorphosing into the Presbyterian Church in Wales in 1928. However, despite its early rapid growth, it had begun to disintegrate by 1749 in England, where it became absorbed gradually into evangelical

Anglicanism and Dissent. This well-researched, illuminating study offers a sympathetic yet critical appraisal of the movement's origins, development, and impact in both England and Wales in the period from 1735 to 1811, when its first ordinations signified its denominational separation from the Anglican Church. The reasons for this early bifurcation of the Methodist movement are lucidly analyzed, and its origins and development are explored within the context of both European and transatlantic revivalism.

Both divergences and common features with Wesleyan Methodism are clearly explained. Divergences included "a yawning theological gap," with John Wesley pronouncing Calvinist predestination's preoccupation with the elect a "hellish infection" and George Whitefield concluding that he and the Wesleys "preached different gospels" (154, 34, 35). There were also profound ethical disagreements, with John Wesley fervently opposing slavery whilst both George Whitefield and Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, espoused slave ownership, the latter even requesting that "a woman-slave . . . be purchased and . . . that she may be called SELINA after me" (163).

Common attributes included sharing Anglican revivalist roots, a mutual emphasis on Biblical authority, conversion and new birth, group fellowship, open-air preaching, and a joint missionary perception of the world as their parish. They also recruited from similar constituencies, predominantly, though not exclusively, "from the middling orders, attracting merchants, shopkeepers, booksellers or craftsmen . . . small farmers and industrious labourers" with women members generally in the majority (48).

The success of the movement in Wales is explained partly in terms of more effective and sustained leadership and organization by a triumvirate comprising Daniel Rowland, the celebrated preacher; Howel Harris, the capable lay organizer whose structures survived his own expulsion from the movement following his ill-judged association with the prophetess Mrs. Sidney Griffith in 1750; and William Williams, the popular, inspirational hymn writer, together with others like Thomas Charles who extended Calvinist influence into the north utilizing the Sunday School movement. However, the movement's success was achieved principally because of its adoption of Welsh language and culture. Wesleyan Methodism, despite the intermittent evangelistic initiatives of the Wesley brothers, only really generated sustained growth after Brecon-born Thomas Coke campaigned for Welsh-language evangelism after 1800. His efforts were so successful that by 1851 the Wesleyans accounted for some 13 percent of total worshipers in the Census of Religious Worship. Ultimately the Elect Methodists, whose total number of worshipers in 1851 was almost double that of the Wesleyans, are

judged to have succeeded because they represented the first truly indigenous evangelical movement in Wales exhibiting a distinctively Welsh culture and identity. The movement suffered in England on account of Whitefield's frequent absences and Wesleyan Methodist success. This first full-length, single-volume, scholarly analytic narrative of Calvinistic Methodism in both England and Wales effectively redresses the previous historiographical focus on Wesleyan Methodism during this period.

University of Huddersfield

John A. Hargreaves

Incest and Influence. By Adam Kuper. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009. Pp. 296. \$27.50.)

Based on an in-depth study of a few English "haute bourgeois" families, Adam Kuper's study of marriage patterns asserts that among certain Victorians, cousin marriage and marriage to a deceased wife's sister were not only socially acceptable but in certain situations almost obligatory.

Kuper shows that first-cousin marriage was much discussed during the nineteenth century; many novels featured love matches between first cousins, for example. The discourse also extended to science as early statisticians collected information about such marriages, attempting to determine whether the offspring of such closely related couples were more likely to suffer from disease or debility. Charles Darwin, whose family was notorious for first-cousin marriages, speculated that natural selection preserved the incest taboo, but early studies provided few answers. People acted as though they were unconvinced of any problem; nearly 5 percent of upper-middle-class marriages were to first cousins until the demographic disaster of the Great War.

Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's seminal book *Family Fortunes* showed that the great family-owned firms of the nineteenth century largely benefited from cooperation among Dissenting co-religionists. Kuper adds detail to this picture, showing that even Quakers, who shunned first-cousin marriages until 1883, used marriage to unite sets of siblings across similarly disposed family lines. Less convincing is Kuper's argument—seemingly based only on the example of the Rothschild banking family—that cousin marriage was a popular practice among English Jews. In contrast with marriages to a deceased wife's sister, cousin marriages were never subject to legislative prohibition in the nineteenth century, a fact that calls into question Kuper's placement of first-cousin marriages into the category of incest.

Marriage to a deceased wife's sister was a completely different and much more controversial topic. In 1835, Lord Lyndhurst's Act delegitimized marriages between a man and his deceased wife's sister after heated debate. Law conflicted with social practice; given that childbirth still claimed so many mothers of young children, a doting aunt who might be a kind stepmother immediately became desirable marriage material. Many such couples of impeccable family backgrounds decamped to other countries, not only to marry, but also to live, since England did not recognize such marriages as legitimate even when contracted abroad. One stated reason for the legislative prohibition on marriages to a deceased wife's sister was the possible perversion of the sibling relationship that might be caused if sisters-in-law could be considered love interests. But as Kuper shows in the fascinating case of Thomas Babington Macaulay, even blood siblings sometimes were jealous of each other's wives and lives outside the family.

Kuper admits his study is not based on a random sample. Families notorious for marrying cousins, like the Darwins and the members of the Clapham Sect, figure overprominently, and an entire chapter is dedicated to the delightfully unconstrained and polyamorous Bloomsberries, who were representative of no one but themselves. The narrative occasionally bogs down in a morass of gossip and genealogical detail. Helpful family-tree diagrams cut through the storytelling, but Kuper's argument ultimately sinks under the weight of stories whose larger significance is unclear.

New Mexico State University

Jamie Bronstein

The Soviet Biological Weapons Program: A History. By Milton Leitenberg and Raymond A. Zilinskas with Jens H. Kuhn. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012. Pp. xvi, 921. \$55.00.)

This is a magisterial history of something that was not supposed to exist. The United States unilaterally began dismantling its own biological weapons (BW) program in 1969, and the use of bacteriological, viral, and other biological agents as weapons of warfare was prohibited by the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) of 1972, which went into effect in 1975. The Soviet Union signed, ratified, and repeatedly voiced its wholehearted support of this treaty. Over the course of hundreds of pages, Milton Leitenberg and Raymond A. Zilinskas document the cavernous gulf between those public statements and the scope of the Soviet BW program, which was easily "the largest and most sophisticated BW program the

world has ever seen” (3). The early chapters of the book narrate what we know about BW during the first fifty years of the Soviet Union, including circumstantial evidence that smallpox (*variola*) had been weaponized before 1970, yet over three-quarters of the book chronicle with astonishing texture the erection of the massive Soviet program, which ironically mostly happened *after* the signing of the BWC.

There are two reasons for the backloaded quality of this excellent study. First, it is simply irrefutable that the greatest investment in personnel and resources in BW came in the 1970s, so there is just more to describe. (One of the many interesting arguments that populate this book attributes some of this mobilization to bottom-up pressure from molecular biologists who sought to prove the utility of their discipline in the wake of the hegemony of Trofim Lysenko from 1948 to 1965, when Soviet scientists were largely locked out of the revolution in genetics.) The main organization, Biopreparat (consolidated in 1974), was so entrenched that it grew even as Mikhail Gorbachev dismantled much of the nuclear infrastructure after 1986. Definitive accounts of the 1979 Sverdlovsk anthrax outbreak and the open-air testing facility in the Aral Sea are also notable high points of this study. The emphasis of the book is on the last two decades of the Soviet Union, but the authors also survey the fate of BW in post-Soviet Russia, where the program has not been verifiably eradicated.

The second reason for the emphasis on the last Soviet decades usefully illustrates the most impressive quality of this volume: its careful, indeed exemplary, use of evidence. The authors had limited archival access, sporadic interviews (it is illegal in today’s Russia to disclose information about this program), classification barriers, disinformation, and fraught defector testimony. They always clearly explain how they weighed their findings, noting the very limited sources scholars have for anything that happened before 1972 or for the exclusively military (as opposed to military-civilian) features of the BW program. As a result, this decidedly nonsensationalist book not only provides the best available narrative of this important topic but functions as a guidebook to future scholars concerning the remaining gaps in our knowledge. The authors are to be lauded not for closing the book on Soviet BW but for properly opening scholarly inquiry into its history.

A Wild History: Life and Death on the Victoria River Frontier. By Darrell Lewis. (Clayton, Australia: Monash University Publishing, 2012. Pp. xxiii, 319. \$29.95.)

The author of this book, a historian and archaeologist who lived in Australia's vast Northern Territory for forty years, set out to recover the stories, encounters, groups, and figures that dramatically filled the Territory's rugged Victoria River District. "My aim," Darrell Lewis writes at the start, ". . . is to repopulate the land with some of the main characters and events of the past, and to replace current wild imaginings with a more soundly based 'wild history'" (xxiii). He succeeds in writing such a "wild history," a history seemingly filled with more death than life, or at least more than its share of death. Death by spear, death by drowning, death by gunshot, and death by other means fill these pages in which men, women, cattle, and the environment struggle for survival and, in the case of some, for wealth. It is a tale of Australian Aboriginals defending their lands and way of life, sometimes quite brutally, and white cattlemen, thieves, and government officers transforming those lands and the Aboriginal way of life, often quite brutally. "Each side came to see the other as the serpent in the garden that had to be banished"—by force and by guile (85).

A Wild History is not a story for the meek of heart or for those who read history as a pleasant bedtime story. It is also not a tale of "The Quiet Continent," as earlier nationalist mythology might have called the Australian story. Rather, this is a tale of a particularly "unquiet" continent, an echo of the significant scholarship of historians such as Henry Reynolds and Tom Griffiths. Lewis has kept pace with such fine historians by painstakingly reviewing land records; newspapers; oral tales from whites and Aboriginals; physical remains, including burial sites, tree markings, and rock inscriptions; six thousand photographs; police journals and government reports that chronicle the contacts and collisions in the district since the earliest explorers in the 1850s; and a land survey in the 1980s. It is nearly 140 years of a very "wild" history with figures and spaces that sometimes mirror the older sentiments about frontier life. Readers meet nearly legendary "wild" men who might have roamed a cattle station as large as twelve thousand square miles, or one with sixty thousand head of cattle, and geological formations and rivers that challenged surveyors as well as those wild men (118). The pages introduce and chronicle Aboriginals and managers, drivers, stockmen, police, and "rascals" colliding in this merciless ecology.

In doing so, Lewis contributes to our understanding of Australian social history, as he considers the formation of a local settler society without family dynasties, unlike in the first Australian colony of New South Wales and the struggles and successes of "ordinary working men" (xxii). He also contributes to

our understanding of Australian environmental history, a narrative in which the topography, vegetation, food sources, and waterways, or lack thereof, share and shape the stage with Aboriginal-white relations and white-white relations. Readers will note that brutality was not reserved for interactions between Aboriginals and settlers. Whites could just as easily cheat and lie to other whites in this area when whatever law there may have been was spread so thin that it hardly seemed to matter. “Cattle duffers” stole cattle from other whites as boldly as they stole Aboriginal land and women, although justice and revenge came in different forms: arrests and trials or a spear. These were truly “unquiet times” in a vast “unquiet” space, as noted by the Government Resident in the mid-1880s. The last white man was killed by bush Aboriginals as late as 1932 (122).

Lewis helps readers untangle Aboriginal behavior towards the whites and their resources, such as cattle, sheep, flour, metal tools, and horses. Among the author’s bolder claims is the attempt to explain spikes in Aboriginal attacks and the overlapping of multiple sources of Aboriginal identities. Students of indigenous histories, including those of Australian Aboriginals, will surely find such comments helpful, if not necessarily conclusive. The Victoria District revealed waves of contact and moments of peace between Aboriginals and whites; it also revealed the complex ways in which Aboriginals defined themselves and their social relations.

The “tyranny” of physical distance affected Aboriginals as it did whites, even when trucks and two-way radios were introduced in the first decades of the twentieth century. By that time, the district’s “wild history” had been told, although it waited until recently for its scribe.

University of Hawai‘i—Manoa

Peter H. Hoffenberg

Paper Memory: A Sixteenth-Century Townsman Writes His World. By Matthew Lundin. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012. Pp. 352. \$49.95.)

This book is an excellent example of microhistory. The author’s story is about Hermann Weinsberg [1518–1597], a Catholic lawyer and city councilor in Cologne who devoted fifty years of his life to compiling secretly a massive, three-volume *Memory Book* about everything he thought future family members would want to know about their forebears. The book is valuable for the insights it provides about everyday life in the sixteenth century. Indeed, Matthew Lundin states that “it would perhaps only be slightly hyperbolic to proclaim Hermann Weinsberg the Samuel Pepys of sixteenth-century Germany” (3). Lundin’s eight

chapters connect Weinsberg's experiences to the broader cultural, intellectual, and social history of the period: lay literacy, Renaissance family life, patriarchal ideas, bourgeois values, anticlericalism and religious uncertainty, anxieties about oblivion and memory, private writing and self-representation, and print and historical awareness. Yet Lundin refuses to allow Weinsberg to become submerged in the larger sixteenth-century phenomena. The idiosyncratic detail of Weinsberg's life appears throughout the work.

Weinsberg provided descriptions of his personal traits, bodily appearance, and daily habits. The self-revelations indicate that his father's expectations caused him immense inner conflict over the years. Weinsberg's childhood reminiscences "are among the most tender and homey that survive from the sixteenth century" (59). He also described the people, places, and things around him. Interspersed with these details are snippets about local and imperial politics, religious disputes, and much more. He engaged in a "fifty-year experiment with the possibilities of bourgeois writing and self-representation" (26). To a burgher like Weinsberg, the paper and words he used were potent means of acting in the world and forming a "paper memory" to pass on his legacy.

For Weinsberg, the fundamental problem was how to be remembered and thereby "avoid the dumb, nameless posterity that awaited the greater part of humankind" (256). Initially, Weinsberg used conventional forms of writing to achieve his goal: genealogies, testaments, and account books. As he worked to forge a legacy, Weinsberg's efforts became more abstract. He began to justify his plan by appealing to more-general claims about the inherent dignity of commoners, and he began to see his life against a much wider background of news, rumors, wars, and worldly politics. What distinguished Weinsberg's efforts from other burghers' writings is the "unusual self-consciousness and existential urgency with which he crafted his legacy" (257). Weinsberg discovered new possibilities for documenting the self and describing his world through writing.

Lundin notes that Weinsberg's *Memory Book* is "a minor miracle of historical survival" (6). His heirs did not appreciate the work, and it was eventually confiscated by the Cologne City Council and deposited in the civic archive. It was not until 1859 that the *Memory Book* was discovered by a Cologne archivist. The book was subsequently published in an abridged edition and is now available as well on the World Wide Web, "where it floats in the digital ether, mingling with blog posts and Twitter updates" (7).

A Storm of Spears: Understanding the Greek Hoplite in Action. By Christopher Matthew. (Philadelphia, PA: Casemate, 2012. Pp. 314. \$32.95.)

Because there are no ancient texts that comprehensively detail the movements employed by individual hoplite soldiers, there is also a lack of consensus among modern scholars on how to reconstruct the “hoplite drill.” Christopher Matthew jumps into this fray with a completely new approach to solving the problem. He believes that his results confirm that hoplite warfare was conducted in a manner vastly different than is described in all previous scholarship.

Matthew uses physical re-creation, experimental archaeology, and ballistics testing to examine both the previously and recently identified techniques for wielding the hoplite spear. In a series of tests, he examines such things as how the spear could be repositioned from one posture to the next within the confines of the mass formation of the phalanx, the strength and angle of impact of attacks made using these techniques, how long such an action could be maintained in combat, how well-protected a hoplite was in battle, and what the hoplite and his opponents would have aimed at during the course of an engagement. He then compares his results with the literary, artistic, and archaeological evidence to correlate, when possible, what the text results say with the ancient sources and the modern theories that have been based exclusively upon an interpretation of them. What he comes up with is nothing less than a dismissal of the last 1,250 years of scholarship into hoplite warfare.

Matthew belongs to the school that believes if one can re-create the hoplite and his environment, one can uncover the truth about hoplite warfare. Traditionalists will say this can only show what *might have been*, not what actually *was*. One can certainly admire his perseverance and eye for detail. He has used reenactors in full-battle kit and subjected them to battle drills and endurance tests while carefully photographing them with high-speed cameras and measuring their every move for empirical analysis. These empirical findings *do* call into question many of the claims made by modern and ancient historians about the battle performance of the hoplite soldier and his phalanx. Matthew finds it unlikely that the hoplite went into battle with only one combative technique, and based on his finding, he considers none of the modern reconstructions correct. Among other mysteries he claims to have solved is the illusive question of whether hoplites held their spears underhand or overhead. It was underhand.

Finally, Matthew takes his understanding of the functionality of the individual warrior of the Classical Age and uses it as a basis for a greater understanding of the mechanics of combat within the broader context of hoplite warfare, including the creation and maintenance of formations, strategy, and tactics. The ancient

sources rarely deal with the finer aspects of ancient combat and merely place vague details of engagements into their broader narratives. The precise nature of hoplite combat will never be comprehended from these alone. More-traditional scholars will say that only by using the traditional sources as evidence and the standard methodologies to interpret that can one say anything meaningful about what actually happened in the ancient world as opposed to creating a model of what one thinks happened in the ancient world; all else is speculation. But at least Matthew has attempted to fill in the gaps in a way that is both practical and thought provoking. Whether or not this will become the definitive disposition on Greek hoplite warfare (as promised in Richard Gabriel's introduction and on the dustjacket by Kurt Raaflaub) remains to be seen. But at least this attempt has given the uninitiated reader a well-argued, well-written, and well-illustrated chance to think about the problem anew.

Virginia Military Institute

Rosemary Sheldon

Victoria's Daughters: The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800–1900. By Jane McDermid. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2012. Pp. 216. \$125.00.)

In this comparative study, the author places the formal education of girls within the contexts of regional, religious, and economic differences as well as comprehensive shifts in legislation and attitudes pertaining to education. Jane McDermid argues that gender was a major factor influencing girls' education but that it was always mediated by social class, religion, politics, and family, while "national, regional and local conditions had more of an effect on working-class girls' schooling" (146).

McDermid finds broad national and local influences on the philosophies and institutional structures of Irish and British schools. Although England's dominant position "ensured that it influenced female education in other parts of the UK," differences in attitudes towards schooling and the status of teachers persisted (145). For example, state intervention in the schooling of working-class children was introduced in Ireland in 1831 but not until the 1870s in England, Wales, and Scotland. Regional variation in attitudes towards girls' schooling, which McDermid links to regional variation in women's employment opportunities, "confirms the importance of local factors" (66).

Underlying these variations, there was agreement on gender roles across the United Kingdom (144). Although McDermid finds sharp class divisions in the educations envisioned for middle- and working-class girls, the common denominator "was that they were to be educated for the good of others. Both . . . were

to ensure a virtuous society, but poor women were to do that in their own homes, while middle-class ladies had a much broader domestic sphere which encompassed public duties” (142). Teacher training programs reinforced this gendered and class-specific education. With few exceptions, working-class girls who aspired to teach were placed in pupil-teacher training programs that offered limited social mobility. A separate system to prepare middle-class women for jobs as schoolmistresses in schools for middle-class girls was in place by the 1860s. Reformers opined that few working-class women could cross that divide because they lacked the “real culture” and “moral thoughtfulness” necessary for educating middle-class girls (126).

Across the board, though, women teachers were not considered professionals. It is in that context that reformers asserted women’s “unique” capacity to teach “domestic” subjects. This “feminist strategy of championing gender differences in education” was “a means of providing middle-class women with career opportunities which men could not claim” (136). Rooted in class and gender, this female model of professionalization drew lines between the education of working- and middle-class girls and the training of their teachers. McDermid argues that although women’s very presence in formal education “subverted the patriarchal ideal, it did not overturn it” (31).

Drawing on an excellent bibliography, McDermid’s synthesis illuminates how the tremendous work done on the history of education over the last two decades has deepened our understanding of the British education system’s organization along lines of class and gender and differentiation by regional and national histories. Occasionally the reviewer wished for clearer connections between the politics of education reform and broader cultural and political shifts. But it is a tremendous feat to have drawn all of these strands into a clear, comprehensive narrative as McDermid has done.

Grand Valley State University

Gretchen Galbraith

Berlin At War. By Roger Moorhouse. (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2010. Pp. xviii, 432. \$29.95.)

This book examines the impact of World War II on Berliners, providing a much-needed and valuable addition to studies on war and the home front. A carefully researched study of the Berlin populace, it chronicles their degeneration at the capricious hands of the fortunes of war. It focuses on human responses to tragedy, neither glossing over nor romanticizing the behavior of German civilians

as it explores the wide gamut of civilian reactions to calamity, ranging from the saintly to the despicable as it charts their deterioration from arrogant jingoism in 1939–1940 to the utter desperation and degradation of total defeat in April 1945.

Although Roger Moorhouse sympathizes with the plight of Berliners, this sympathy does not impede his detached examination of their behaviors. He excels in illuminating the small details and nuances of ordinary existence that clearly reveal many Berliners to have been morally compromised humans. It offers a highly readable, gripping, and compelling narrative that allows readers better to understand Berliners: while some are shown to have resisted Nazism, most followed the party line, illuminating their instinctive tendency to adhere to the rule of law, however distorted that rule had become.

The work thus represents outstanding social and cultural history that makes a great addition to city-at-war studies. Throughout the book, the realities of war loom ever nearer, precipitating the tightening Nazi grip on both power and everyday life. Its exploration of the consequences of Allied strategic bombing on Berliners usefully balances studies of the strategic utility of bombing by illuminating the perspective of the victims of such bombing. It is a fascinating and evocative social history of a capital filled with many small-minded, self-centered, weak-willed individuals swept along by the uncontrollable tide of war, most of whom, Moorhouse illustrates, simply tried to escape the war as much, and for as long, as possible. Its well-researched re-creation of everyday life utilizes a variety of primary sources including memoirs, unpublished interviews, and diaries, which illuminate the searing experiences of Berliners.

There are relatively few books in English that examine the wartime experiences of ordinary Germans. Much can be gleaned about how war transforms humans from this study, and it presents a popular history of great scholarly value that neither presumes much prior knowledge nor engages in broad generalizations yet is nonetheless an absorbing read. It vividly portrays individuals seeking to maintain order and meaning amid an increasingly insane world. The final chapter on the last days of the war, in particular, offers a somber and horrific account of wholesale death and devastation that captures the complexities and contradictions of life in Hitler's capital: that Berliners were both perpetrators and victims. By advancing our understanding of the impact of war on German civilians, *Berlin at War* represents one of the best books published on World War II Germany in recent years. It is a "must" on the shelves of anyone interested in Second World War Germany, war and society, and the home front.

Acolytes of Nature: Defining Natural Science in Germany, 1770–1850. By Denise Phillips. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pp. viii, 356. \$45.00.)

Historians of science are commonly confronted with the problem that the semantic boundaries around their ostensible object of study have not been stable chronologically or geographically. Denise Phillips's assiduously researched study investigates a conspicuous example of this problem: the changing concepts of science in German-speaking lands in the decades around 1800. Conventionally, *Wissenschaft* in German has been understood to include organized scholarship broadly speaking, with the more specific term *Naturwissenschaft* (approximating what we usually mean by "science" in English) articulated by German scientific elites beginning in the late nineteenth century. Phillips revises this picture, noting both continuities and shifts previously neglected in the historical literature. In the mid-eighteenth century, according to Phillips, both German and English writers shared a broad concept of "science." It was in Germany, and earlier than heretofore appreciated, that a narrower notion of *Naturwissenschaft*—a unified science of nature—first appeared.

Phillips places responsibility for these shifts with a socially heterogeneous community of practitioners, including some "amateurs" by later standards, and thereby contributes to a fruitful historiographical trend towards a "bottom-up" rather than a "top-down" approach to the history of science. Phillips's theme is that the redefinition of "science" and "natural science" was preeminently a question of sociability (rather than methodological philosophy), specifically personal interaction, boundary keeping, and assertions of authority among various social groups.

After surveying the historiographical landscape in her introduction, Phillips examines in chapters 2 and 3 the expansion of the study of nature in a variety of professions, trades, and amateur pursuits in an eighteenth-century German society. A newly relevant distinction, according to Phillips, was between the "learned" and the "educated" classes; the latter might be appreciatively knowledgeable, but it was the former who actively generated real scholarship. However, this "learned world" was not limited to the elite figures still famous today. It was the efforts of more modest but still assiduous nature-researchers to confirm their cultural dignity, apart from mere utilitarian application, that generated a notion of "natural science" as an emotively inspiring slogan. In the middle chapters, Phillips details the importance of regional societies and local loyalties to this process, as well as attempts to expand the audience for learning—notably to women. By the early 1800s, as Phillips relates in the final three chapters, the concept of a unified natural science came to be squeezed between increasing

disciplinary specialization, on the one hand, and the rise of neohumanistic *Bildung* as the paramount goal of higher education on the other. Yet amidst a picture of apparently growing conflict, Phillips chooses to end with the story of a happy wedding between the son of a philologist and the daughter of a chemist—emblematic of the priority of sociability over discursive disputations.

Phillips relies on a wealth of empirical detail and careful interpretation. In a few instances, the careful nuances blur the overall picture. But overall the book persuasively expands our view of natural history and philosophy in a manner of potential interest to both historians of science and historians of German culture.

Portland State University

Richard H. Beyler

The Pursuit of the Nazi Mind: Hitler, Hess, and the Analysts. By Daniel Pick. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. x, 357. \$35.00.)

In this combination of the history of psychoanalysis and its application during World War II to Rudolf Hess and Adolf Hitler, a professor who combines the teaching of history with his position as a psychoanalyst reviews efforts made to uncover what made these strange but important men tick and why so many Germans were enthralled by them. The main focus is on the work of Henry Dicks, who was assigned by the British military to examine Hess after his flight to Scotland in May 1941, and on Walter Langer, who was tasked by William Donovan, the Head of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), with preparing an analysis of Hitler.

The author places the two projects into the context of both prior and then-current thinking in the field of psychoanalysis as well as general assumptions and beliefs about Italian fascism and German National Socialism. In researching this subject, Daniel Pick worked extensively in relevant archives and personal papers in the United Kingdom and the United States and also interviewed family members and other relevant witnesses. It is easy to understand how Pick missed this reviewer's analysis of the flight of Hess in his 1954 and 1972 study of German-Soviet relations, 1939–1941, but he might have utilized the 2011 biography of Donovan by Douglas Waller and should have consulted Norman Goda's 2006 book, *Tales from Spandau*, for his account of the fate of Hess after he was sentenced to life in prison at Nuremberg. Pick's review of the origins and nature of that trial is rather superficial, but his presentation of the controversies around the courtroom behavior of Hess is certainly complete.

Readers will be especially interested in the author's comments on *The Case of Rudolf Hess*, published in England in 1947 (in the United States in 1948), which was edited by J. R. Rees and contains material by seven physicians and psychiatrists who dealt with Hess during his four years of imprisonment in England and Wales and his trial at Nuremberg, and on the study *The Mind of Adolf Hitler*, prepared by Langer for the OSS during the war and published in 1972.

The book has an interesting discussion of how wartime analyses of the fascist and Nazi experiences animated postwar thinking both about those evils and about measures needed to avoid any repetition. In this presentation, the works of Karl Popper and Friedrich A. Von Hayek, often cited in recent decades, are placed into a context that deserves to be remembered.

The postwar careers of Dicks and Langer would differ greatly as Pick shows. Dicks continued his research into the horrors of the World War II era by interviewing convicted mass murderers, but Langer did not move beyond writing and speaking about his declassified wartime analysis of Hitler. For those interested in the way in which views and understanding of the Nazi experience have changed over time, this work is a helpful source from a perspective that is rare in current historiography.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Gerhard L. Weinberg

Constantine the Emperor. By David Potter. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. xiv, 360. \$34.95.)

This imaginative work is a fine contribution to scholarship on Emperor Constantine. Author David Potter consciously avoids the error of focusing too much on the emperor's conversion of his empire to Christianity. This element of his rule was "neither a primary goal nor a foreseeable outcome" (3). By addressing the emperor's religious policies as only one part of this broader historical study, Potter characterizes Constantine as not so much a revolutionary as many authors have suggested. Instead Constantine emerges as a pragmatist, one whose administrative policy showed "a desire to combine innovation with tradition" (177).

Potter comes to this assessment of Constantine based on "a particular reading of the sources" in conjunction with his analysis of the material evidence, including art, coinage, and buildings (3). He draws much of his information from panegyrics and the *Theodosian Code* as a means of offering character traits either omitted or

tainted by partisan authors like Eusebius. Potter ably negotiates the literary and nonliterary evidence to demonstrate a number of major elements of Constantine's life: the lessons he learned as a young man from his predecessors, particularly Diocletian; the strength he drew from his relationship with his mother, Helena; his complex relationships with his first wife, Minervina, his son, Crispus, and his second wife, Fausta; his uncanny military ability, including "the capacity to look into the mind of a potential opponent"; and, especially provoking, his founding of Constantinople, where he showed himself "fully aware and appreciative of the traditions of the past while seeking out to set those traditions in a fresh context" and where "the active participation of non-Christians in shaping the city was clearly welcomed" (139, 263, 265).

And although Potter is careful not to overemphasize Constantine's policies relating to Christianity, his understanding and explanation of the emperor's religious involvement are penetrating. First, he develops the important point that Constantine's conversion was a journey over time. It evolved out of his relationship with the gods of light that he came to equate with the Christian God who gave him victory over his opponents. Second, Constantine's version of Christianity accommodated much of what was still a largely pagan society, including the continuation of traditional ceremonies such as divination and the imperial cult. And third, Constantine held minimal regard for the doctrinal accuracy within the church but was much more concerned to create a common ground between rival parties.

The chapter "An Ordered Society" emphasizes Potter's point that Constantine perpetuated many of the values of a pre-Christian society, such as social status and harshness to slaves. He was "devoted to the notion that he ruled a well-regulated society where people knew their place, Christians included" (269). His moral principles descended not from his faith but from his office. Thus he emphasized honoring the values of the Roman world and believed "it was his job to nurture a moral climate in which his officials could govern" (274).

This book is best suited for an audience who has studied late Roman history and is familiar with its major scholarly questions. Readers should be sure to examine the appendix and the end notes, where Potter addresses the nature of Constantinian sources and current historiographical discussions.

Alix and Nicky: The Passion of the Last Tsar and Tsarina. By Virginia Rounding. (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 2011. Pp. xxvii, 368. \$29.99.)

It has been almost a century since the last Russian tsar and tsarina—Nicholas and Alexandra—were brutally murdered with their children in the Siberian city of Ekaterinburg. Yet so much continues to fascinate: How central was this most personal drama to the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917? Then there is Rasputin, the crazed Russian mystic whose own murder was as bizarre as the life he lived. Others are fascinated by how the Romanovs' remains disappeared for decades until they were rediscovered and interred in St. Petersburg's Peter and Paul Cathedral in 1998.

Now Virginia Rounding has written a new study that seeks to depict the "passion" of Nicholas and Alexandra, by which she means their love for each other as well as their suffering and death after Nicholas abdicated the throne. Though Rounding herself acknowledges that this subject is well-traveled ground, it must be said that her work measures up well in several respects.

Rounding has carefully mined the correspondence between Nicholas and Alexandra (she also uses the terms of endearment they had for each other, Alix and Nicky) as well as diaries and assorted other primary sources. The author integrates these works well into her narrative, nowhere more impressively than in the final chapter where diary accounts eerily anticipate the horrors that lie ahead in the days and hours before the couple is murdered. She is also determined to set a larger stage for this romance, and to that end Rounding has utilized key secondary sources.

Strengths aside, there are a few shortcomings. One wonders why Rounding decides to start her study in 1913—the Romanov tercentenary—and only thereafter return to the events of their youth and courtship. On other occasions, readers are overwhelmed with details as in the correspondences between Alexandra and her children (see page 157), while vital contextual matters—including the Revolution of 1905 and the origins of World War I—are thinly handled.

Rounding writes sympathetically about the tsarina, though more so with regard to the tsar himself. She persuasively suggests that Alexandra suffered from a painfully debilitating genetic disease called porphyria that left her vulnerable to the machinations of the wild Rasputin. His influence over the tsarina led to another debilitation: that of the imperial Russian state during World War I.

In the end, the empire seems to slip away from Nicholas in Rounding's account, a fact made all the more puzzling by her lack of larger detail on the Russian Empire in early 1917. Was its dramatic collapse the fault of a

weak-minded tsar who was no match for his strong-willed wife? Those looking for a fresh consideration of this question will be disappointed. What they will get, however, is a well-written and largely engaging overview of the life and times of a remarkable couple for whom the stage set by the mighty Russian Empire always seemed too vast. In the end, its demise would lead to theirs as well.

Wilfrid Laurier University

Leonard G. Friesen

Moscow, 1937. By Karl Schlögel. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012. Pp. xx, 652. \$35.00.)

Even though the number of Stalin-era studies in English is reaching vast proportions these days, this translation of Karl Schlögel's *Terror und Traum: Moskau, 1937*, which originally appeared in Germany in 2008, is a very welcome addition to the field. As a West German student in the 1970s, Schlögel flirted with communism but became disillusioned with it even before he visited the Soviet Union for the first time in the early 1980s. Schlögel channeled his youthful passion into an incessant scholarly endeavor to establish what had gone wrong in Russia in the pursuit of socialist utopia. Schlögel, currently professor of history at a university in Frankfurt on the Oder (a city once situated in the Eastern Bloc), has written more than ten books, primarily about Soviet history and the significance of communism and its collapse for Europe.

In terms of his approach, Schlögel can be seen as a cultural historian who investigates the history of places, especially of cities (in addition to this book about Moscow, he has written two books about St. Petersburg and one about Berlin). In the case of *Moscow, 1937*, he has chosen to focus not merely on one city but on one specific year, arguably the most tragic of the Russian and Soviet capital's history. Schlögel's book displays an encyclopedic knowledge about Soviet history based on exhaustive research. The book is reminiscent of the classic work about Stalin's bloody purges, Robert Conquest's *The Great Terror* [1968], the title of which became eponymous with the bloody reckoning with Stalin's alleged foes in the Soviet Union in 1937 and 1938 (in which almost seven hundred thousand people were executed and well-nigh a million more were arrested). Different from Conquest (another lapsed communist), Schlögel had access to the far greater documentary evidence that has become available to researchers since the end of the Cold War and therefore draws a much more precise and broader picture of what went on in Moscow in 1937. Indeed, Schlögel's account is

informed by a desire to sketch in almost Joycean style the lives of all who lived through that infamous year, whereas Conquest primarily concentrated on Stalin and his cronies as well as those who suffered on their orders. Far more than Conquest, Schlögel presents an often evocative picture of life in 1937 Moscow that includes those residents who were mere spectators of the Terror, rather than its victims or perpetrators.

Whereas this reviewer very much enjoyed reading *Moscow, 1937*, it might prove a difficult text for those who are not as familiar with Soviet or Russian history. Readers need a fairly solid grounding in the history of the complicated political system of the USSR (which underwent a major change after a new constitution was introduced in 1936), in which the Communist Party lorded it over the Soviet government, while the rule of law or democratic and citizen's rights were ignored for political expediency. Furthermore, the introduction especially is somewhat marred by rhetorical pathos that is a tad offputting. The book's first chapter ponders the reflection in Mikhail Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita* of the unfolding catastrophe that befell the Soviet capital in 1937. Bulgakov's book is a wonderful novel, but Schlögel in effect compels his readers to read that complex work before looking at *Moscow, 1937*. Subsequently, however, the book becomes an ever more gripping (and chilling) read. Anyone who has more than a passing interest in Soviet history will therefore benefit from perusing Schlögel's book, as it ultimately presents the most rounded picture that has yet appeared in English about the tragedy that unfolded in Moscow twenty years after the Bolshevik coup.

University of South Florida

Kees Boterbloem

Ancient Egyptian Technology and Innovation. By Ian Shaw. (London, England: Bristol Classical Press, 2012. Pp. 200. \$34.95.)

What separates this book from other works on ancient Egyptian technology is the "innovation" of the title. The author attempts to find reasons for the changes that took place in Egyptian technology over time, and in doing so he makes a valuable contribution to the debate over how such technologies occur.

The work requires no specialist knowledge of Egyptology and so can be read with profit by anyone interested in the history of technology and of ideas. The ten chapters are supported by three useful appendices (on the measurement of space, time, and astronomy and astrology), and there is an extensive bibliography. The

book is illustrated throughout its pages with black-and-white photographs and line drawings including several charts that draw on the author's work at Tell el-Amarna.

Several chapters focus on areas that are normally overlooked by writers on technology, including writing (chapter 3), medicine (chapter 4), and military hardware (chapter 8), all of which tend to be the focus of dedicated works rather than being used to illustrate aspects of innovation. The inclusion of writing in this list is particularly welcome because the ability to record aspects of innovation is clearly an important one and quite literally saves societies from "reinventing the wheel," even if those who actually manufactured the items in question might not themselves have been literate.

An interesting juxtaposition is provided by chapter 6, "Mummification and Glassworking." The author points out the difficulties inherent in defining what is meant by mummification and whether the intention was always to preserve the body or whether it was an aspect of ritual. He is rightly skeptical of the view that mummification was a source of medical knowledge. The case for glass is seemingly clearer; it seems to appear as a "new" technology around 1500 BC although the Egyptians already had a history of working with vitreous materials. So, given that glass was readily taken up by the Egyptians, why did they not develop it independently? The reason may be cultural; the need was not locally perceived but became apparent through cultural contact.

Throughout the book, extensive use is made of theoretical literature, which has become prevalent in archaeology. However, the conclusions that the author draws are not dependent upon these works but rather on a thorough knowledge of the Egyptian mindset. This is well demonstrated in chapter 8, "Military Hardware," in which the author writes,

Thus, in reality, there seem to have been many situations in which societies, ancient or modern, have chosen to reject or ignore new technologies not because they distrusted their novelty but because there were no obvious discernible problems with the existing techniques or artefacts. Just because an innovation is known to exist does not mean that it will be automatically embraced, and a failure to embrace it can stem as much from pragmatism as from "conservatism" (126).

This is a readable and thought-provoking volume from which students and professional Egyptologists will benefit. The use of theory is welcome, but the main impact of the book is its continuation of the theme of establishing an "Egyptological" theory of materials and technology.

The Invention of Greek Ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus. By Joseph E. Skinner. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xii, 343. \$85.00.)

In this work, Joseph E. Skinner examines the sources and motivations of Greeks writing about themselves (“cultural identity”) and about non-Greeks (ethnography). He analyzes the origins of Greek geographical descriptions and “overseas” ethnographies, and accounts of “barbarian” customs and their organic incorporation into historiography. He disputes recent explanations of how the Greeks came to write about others and objects to the application of modern disciplinary boundaries to authors working before academic disciplines developed. Hellenes bought, built, made, and sold stuff that provides material, inscriptional, and iconographic evidence supplementary to textualizations of their *periploi* (circumnavigations) recording peripheral (to the Greeks!) peoples. Multiple “discourses of difference” shaped creative literature, ethnography (Milesian Hecataeus), and history proper (e.g., Herodotus’s *Histories*).

“Ethnography before Ethnography” surveys ancient and modern discussions. It theorizes ancient awareness of “Hellenicity” and centripetal disunities permeating Hellenic identities (Homer, Pindar, Herodotus; vase-painters). “Nodes and networks” models problematize entrenched, simplistic (Greek) producers and (barbarian) consumer explanations.

What led the Greeks to think about Greekness, not just aggregated parochial *poleis*? Hellenes clearly regarded neighboring Spartans to be as exotic as any *barbaroi*. Skinner contests claims that Persian War victories catalyzed this awareness, claims that deny Greeks any significant earlier intellectual engagement with aliens. Skinner regards the material record of contacts (eighth century onward) as more pertinent than the Athenocentric “abstract *imaginaire*” (sixth century on) or too-tidy “Self” and “Other” structuralist polarities.

Skinner then explores accounts of twelve real, or imaginary, peoples, among them Scythians, Ethiopians, “prehistoric” Pelasgians, the sensational Cyclopes, Arimaspians, and Amazons. He rather too briskly reports Egyptian habits and contacts. Chapter 3 “maps” the larger known world by considering texts and surviving manufactures (e.g., coins, Florence’s François Vase). Perishable and imperishable commodities also exemplified, described, and sometimes stereotyped unfamiliar peoples on the (Hellenic) margins. Skinner argues that extensive economic exchanges produced fluid, bi-directional cultural borrowing, even “indigenization” of the Hellenes. He rejects one-way influences flowing from the impervious Greeks to “parochial tribesmen.”

Three case studies follow: Olbia on the Black Sea’s north coast; southern Calabria on Italy’s foot (Oinotria, where Skinner excavated); and, returning to the

“imagined centre,” Delphi and Olympia. Panhellenic athletic and spiritual venues (“nodes”) exhibited intercultural memorials (e.g., Etruscan votives) and spilled-out trade goods. Skinner describes local topographies and relatively obscure excavations. He speculates from the impressive range but skimpy material residues resulting from Hellenic contact with local populations and from puzzling finds that suggest evolving cultural hybridity (e.g., Pontic pit-dwelling “dugouts”). Surviving structures, artifacts, and ecofacts (e.g., roads, fortifications, foundations, utensils) deserve close “readings” comparable to those afforded fragmentary pre-Herodotean accounts and consonant with Skinner’s broad synthesis of “ethnographic activity.”

The last chapter surveys the eastern Mediterranean from the Archaic to the Early Classical era [750-450 BCE]. Skinner briefly considers, indeed minimizes, the fifth-century upsurge in ethnographic prose, while he urges historians to develop more holistic models of commercial and intellectual cross-fertilization. Increases in archaeological data from less glitzy digs justly demand historical reconceptualization. This sharp-elbowed, critical revisionist synthesis challenges linear, evolutionary narratives that still dominate modern historiography situating Greek anthropological thought.

Ohio Wesleyan University

Donald Lateiner

Sex Before the Sexual Revolution: Intimate Life in England 1918–1963. By Simon Szreter and Kate Fisher. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. vii, 456. \$32.99.)

This text opens up and, indeed, challenges assumptions about what is meant when one speaks of intimate life. It also expands the terrain of understandings of “sexuality.” The foundational idea of this research is important for two reasons: first, it addresses a hitherto largely neglected segment of Western sexual history and, second, because it does so through the voices of those who lived through multiple social changes that occurred during the first half of the twentieth century. This is an impressive undertaking in both depth and breadth and offers an invaluable resource for scholars of sexualities.

The text also epitomizes the methodological advantages and disadvantages of oral history. The advantages are immediately evident. The voices of the contributors appear largely unadulterated by editing, speaking with candor and clarity about what was, as they frequently acknowledged, a profoundly private dimen-

sion of their lives. The interviewers were evidently skilled interlocutors, drawing vivid and intimate accounts from the men and women who lived during this period.

The authors begin each chapter with a “scene-setting” summary of claims hitherto made about the preoccupations of this epoch: for example, birth control; bodies and nudity; ignorance and innocence; and prevailing sexual moralities. These introductory sections remind the reader of the orthodoxies associated with these topics in the “preliberation” era. However, the men and women who are extensively quoted in this text offer nuanced and fascinating evidence that raises questions over and adds complexity to these assumptions, a point that is frequently made by the authors. These accounts shed light not just on the hidden versions of sexual lives that coexist with the broader orthodoxies but also, more theoretically, on the vital significance of human subjectivity in any historical account of social lives. The impact of these voices is immediate and fascinating and carries the reader through what seems sometimes to be a very long book indeed.

Oral history of this sort also offers a stumbling block when a text is based solely on this method. Editing the extracts would be very difficult to contemplate because the essence of this data is spontaneity and intense subjectivity. The result is a rather data-heavy book, and sustaining interest in the very long extracts is sometimes quite challenging. Letting sources speak for themselves means achieving a balance between impact and coherence, which is never an easy task. Some chapters are better than others in this respect, such as those in which authors release the reader from direct engagement with the data to discuss the significance of these accounts. This is especially the case in relation to class and gender differences—not measured (as is usual) structurally, but through the self-identification of the contributors. Despite this caveat, this book is evidence of the richness of oral history accounts for an understanding not just of the past but also of the present.

Perhaps the most significant message from this book lies in the vivid and often moving descriptions of sexual explorations between mutually ignorant partners, giving a picture of the attainment of sexual fulfillment far beyond the pages of sex-instruction manuals. These voices thus offer an enticing alternative to the goal-directed physicality that remains dominant in narratives of sexual pleasure today. Overall, the text broadens the terrain of possible future research while offering voice to people who may otherwise never have been heard.

Commander: The Life and Exploits of Britain's Greatest Frigate Captain. By Stephen Taylor. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2012. Pp. xi, 354. \$28.95.)

In 1770, Spain seized a British fort in the Falkland Islands. As Britain prepared for a war to recover it, Captain John Stott recruited Edward Pellew, a penniless Cornish boy of thirteen, for the frigate he was fitting out. Half a century later, Stott's recruit retired as Viscount Exmouth, Admiral of the Blue, and a national hero.

Pellew's extraordinary abilities were perfectly suited to a naval career. The Falklands crisis gave him the chance to use them. Soon he outperformed most of his contemporaries. And as his career shows, he had another asset—luck.

He learned seamanship from Captain Stott and how to be an officer from the famous frigate captain Philemon Pownoll. The American Revolution provided his career's foundation. He succeeded to the command of a schooner in battle and became a lieutenant. Again he succeeded as a commander in battle and was promoted once more. As the war was ending, he became a captain.

Pellew coped well with ten years of peace. He married Susan Frowde—a wise choice—and then cultivated the patronage of Lord Falmouth—another wise choice. Through Lord Falmouth's efforts, he had ships to command for half of the peace years and was appointed to a frigate just as a new war was beginning.

Captain Pellew won the first naval battle of the French Revolutionary War, became a national hero, and was knighted. Then, after half a decade of warlike heroism, he saved the lives of nearly five hundred people on the transport vessel *Dutton*, which ran aground near Plymouth. He became a baronet and an even greater hero.

In 1804, he was promoted to rear admiral and given the East Indies command. When the Napoleonic War ended, he was Admiral of the Blue and Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. He became Baron Exmouth. In 1816, he was ordered to force the pirate state of Algiers to free its slaves and to eschew piracy and slave taking. Because he did this with spectacular efficiency, he became Viscount Exmouth and a “super hero.”

Stephen Taylor is able to tell Pellew's story in spite of a serious difficulty—the admiral and his wife burned all of their voluminous correspondence. Taylor unearthed virtually all remaining documents and uses them with critical discretion, creative insight, and scholarly precision to produce a rounded and reliable portrait. He also makes it very readable.

Taylor's predecessor Edward Osler, whose work was published in 1835, worked with very little solid data because Exmouth's widow refused to help him.

His other predecessor C. Northcote Parkinson, whose work was published in 1934, used as his major source the unorganized collection of Exmouth papers—newly donated to the National Maritime Museum. As he noted in his book, he filled a few gaps by speculation. Occasionally he guessed wrong.

Taylor's biography should appeal to a wide audience because Exmouth is one of a small group of military and naval officers whose efforts during the revolutionary wars of their time made Great Britain the ruler of the earth's oceans and of a quarter of its land mass for nearly a century.

California State University, Fullerton

Ernest W. Toy

Hitler's Plans for Global Domination: Nazi Architecture and Ultimate War Aims. By Jochen Thies. Translated by Ian Cooke and Mary-Beth Friedrich. (New York, NY: Berghahn Books, 2012. Pp. xiv, 202. \$39.95.)

Jochen Thies's classic [1967] book on Hitler's plans for world domination is available for the first time in English translation. Despite the huge and burgeoning literature on the Third Reich, the Holocaust, and the Second World War, there is relatively little written on Hitler's ultimate goals or about the counterfactual: What would have happened if the *Wehrmacht* had won the campaign against the Soviet Union in the early fall of 1941? It is sobering to recall not only that Hitler and his generals thought the war was as good as over in the first months after Barbarossa but that commentators all over the world were concerned that the Soviet Union could not hold out. What were Hitler's plans once Moscow fell and Stalin was defeated? How did he think about conquering England and the United States? Would he really share power in Europe with Italy and in Asia with Japan? What was the likely fate of the world's Jews? These questions and others regarding Hitler's plans cannot be answered definitively by Thies's book, but he has given historians a very sound place to start.

In his analysis, Thies gives central weight to Hitler's writings, speeches, and discussions with contemporaries. From this mixed trove of evidence, he focuses on a number of crucial themes. First of all, and in some ways most interesting, Thies emphasizes Hitler's architectural plans for building a new capital of the world in Berlin and transforming cities like Nuremberg, Munich, and Hamburg into imperial showcases. After the Nazis seized power in 1933, Hitler's megalomania for building architectural monuments to the Third Reich knew no limits. They would be constructed, on the model of the Roman Empire, to last forever. Hitler himself was involved in all the plans, encouraging a gigantomania that knew few limits of size or use of resources. In fact, as Thies points out,

Hitler's building program was at the core of his vision of a world that would be centered on Berlin and would reflect the new self-confident and vigorous German race. The construction of highways, airports, and seaports would complement the architectural monuments. Even during the war the collection of requisite materials and the clearing of building sites did not cease. Hitler hoped to see the completion of his plans by 1950. By that point too, he reckoned, the world would be at his feet.

Integral to Hitler's building program were his plans to seize territory in the east for German *Lebensraum*. Once Europe was firmly in Hitler's hands, "world supremacy" would follow, though, as Thies notes, it is unclear exactly what that would mean. But that his ranting about dominating the world was not simply rhetorical on his part is certain from the plans that the Third Reich undertook to construct a military force that would be able to exert Germany's power around the globe. There was, for example, "Plan Z," which was signed by Hitler in early 1939 to build an eight-hundred-ship fleet, with giant battleships that would dominate the world's sea lanes. Moreover, Hitler endorsed plans to build long-range bombers, the Messerschmitt 264, which would be able to reach the East Coast of the United States from proposed air bases in the Canary Islands and Azores.

Hitler was convinced that once Europe was secured, the British would capitulate to his wishes and be a willing junior partner in exchange for being able to hold on to most of its empire. As inferior racial stock, the Italians and Japanese would eventually be put in their place. Meanwhile, the power of the United States would be severely diminished, which meant that Washington would willingly serve the needs of the Third Reich or be subjected to punishing air raids. One could presume this would mean the end of the Jews and the subservience of the rest of the world to a form of German economic colonialism.

Berghahn Books has done a huge service for historians, students, and the historically minded public by translating a substantial number of fine German scholarly books into English. It has to be said, however, that the translation of this particular book is awkwardly done, very hard to read, and, in some places, incomprehensible. Those who can read German are strongly advised to find the original.

A Duel of Nations: Germany, France, and the Diplomacy of the War of 1870–1871.

By David Wetzel. (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012. Pp. xvi, 310. \$26.95.)

This book is a worthy sequel to the author's earlier study *A Duel of Giants: Bismarck, Napoleon III, and the Origins of the Franco-Prussian War*, which analyzed the maneuvering preceding the war that destroyed the Second French Empire in 1870 and led to the unification of Germany in early 1871. The "duel" of the present title refers not to the military combat (already well covered in English by Michael Howard and Geoffrey Wawro) but to the political and diplomatic combat as both sides sought the most advantageous peace after a series of disastrous French defeats culminating at Sedan on September 2, 1870.

David Wetzel's book stands out for its subtle analysis of the Franco-Prussian War's international context. This is diplomatic history as driven by the passions of individual men, so Bismarck, the craftiest *Menschenkenner* of them all, naturally takes center stage. The Prussian minister president sought above all to present the other European powers with a military *fait accompli* before they could intervene militarily. As the threat of intervention receded after the French defeat at Wörth, he worried that the other powers might intercede in the peace negotiations to France's advantage. Accordingly, he was especially concerned when, on October 31, 1870, the Russians repudiated the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris [1856], precipitating an international conference in London, where the war might be taken up. Bismarck's machinations to prevent French Minister of Foreign Affairs Jules Favre's trip to London on behalf of the infant republic illustrate Bismarck's extraordinary political savvy. At the same time that he was manipulating the French, Bismarck was outfoxing his rival, Chief of Staff von Moltke, who wished to keep the war going long enough to crush and humiliate France. As long as the French acknowledged defeat and accepted the loss of Alsace and at least parts of Lorraine, Bismarck was willing to negotiate with anyone who could claim authority, even flirting on occasion with shady characters who schemed to bring back the deposed emperor.

Wetzel's conclusions about the war's long-term effects break no new ground. He stresses, for example, that the creation of the German Empire also marked the loss of the buffer states south of the Main and that France's loss of Alsace-Lorraine was more a symptom than a cause of French insecurity after 1871 (a distinction without a practical difference).

No review of this book would be complete without a bow to its fifty-four-page bibliographic essay, a historiographical *tour de force* bursting with a wealth of primary and secondary sources not just from Germany and France but also from

Austria-Hungary, Russia, Great Britain, Italy, Denmark, Belgium, and the United States. Commenting on the secondary works, Wetzel eschews the usual dry and cautiously judicious judgments about fellow historians in favor of effusive praise (with only the occasional barb). He finds the scholarly contributions “magnificent,” “delightful,” and “charming”; of the very last work he writes that “every word is a peach” (304).

The book is obviously a labor of love. It has the feel of a series of masterful undergraduate lectures, complete with arresting character sketches and bizarre stories about crackpot minor players. There is much to be learned here—not just about the diplomacy of the Franco-Prussian War but about how to do history well.

Hamilton College

Alfred Kelly

GENERAL, COMPARATIVE, HISTORIOGRAPHICAL

A History of Opera. By Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker. (New York, NY: W. W. Norton, 2012. Pp. xvii, 603. \$39.95.)

The authors of this volume are both prominent scholars of music and music history and unabashed fans of the art form. Organized chronologically, Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker’s narrative frequently swoops back to previous eras and discussions or forward to present moments and dilemmas. They highlight the work of the composers whose operas are still most frequently in production, relying on discussions of the text and easily recognizable, dramatic moments. Elegantly free from specialized academic jargon, the result is a fascinating four-hundred-year history of a fundamentally weird yet utterly compelling art form: one in which people sing rather than converse and where most of the works performed today are well over a century old. As the authors put it, “Opera can change us: physically, emotionally intellectually. We want to explore why” (1).

Abbate and Parker immediately lay out one crucial dilemma to which they then return throughout the book: the so-called opera crisis. The debate revolves around the fact that opera performances tend to be of works that are old rather than new. Opera is a scene where the fanatical preservation of older repertory functions as a crushing hindrance to the creation of new works. Can opera continue to evolve if it is only refreshed by rediscovering old works rather than commissioning new ones? Today, even as opera is more widely available than ever before, the repertory resembles nothing so much as a “museum of past musical works” (547). As the authors point out, this is not a recent crisis; it has been discussed for over a

century itself. Abbate and Parker do not suggest a way out of this conundrum, but they do challenge the reader to imagine what possibilities might ensue for opera if the audience were to give up its antiquarian obsession and embrace the ephemeral attitude that was more prevalent in the eighteenth century, during which operas were swiftly performed and abandoned in the sure knowledge that the next work would be even better.

The reason to read this book is not to worry about untying this Gordian knot; it is for the sheer pleasure of following Abbate and Parker's perfectly blended authorial voice as it leads readers to seventeenth-century Italy, eighteenth-century Vienna, and beyond. Abundant with telling detail, the book successfully lays out the history of the genre and showcases some of the best-known operas and composers in a way that makes for compelling reading. The odd anecdotes related along the way show off both the scholarship and wit of the authors. One example will serve: It relates the fate of two horses named Almaviva and Figaro belonging to the composer Daniel Auber. One was eaten by the starving citizens of Paris during the 1871 siege, and the other only escaped this fate by being hidden away in a piano shop (325–326). In other words, enjoy this book but be warned: it may result in lost hours on YouTube hunting down opera videos. On the other hand, life could be worse.

Texas State University—San Marcos

Margaret Eleanor Menninger

Allies at Odds: America, Europe, and Vietnam, 1961–1968. By Eugenie M. Blang. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011. Pp. ix, 274. \$85.00.)

In this study, the author examines the failure of Great Britain, France, and the Federal Republic of Germany to influence American policy in Vietnam. Eugenie M. Blang argues that self-interest, rather than any antagonism or misjudgment between the Western powers and the United States, prevented America's allies from influencing American policy in Vietnam.

Once great powers, these three nations searched somewhat frantically for some relevant role befitting their now-bygone great-power status, while finding themselves dependent upon the United States for their very survival against a possible Soviet invasion of Western Europe. Blang suggests that the Vietnam crisis presented an excellent opportunity for these American allies to exercise their influence with the United States through a united front, even individually, but self-interest obstructed that opportunity. Not until the Nixon administration did Great Britain, France, and West Germany truly regain American attention but

only then because American self-interest dictated repairing the European relationship rather than the European powers having any sway over American decisions regarding peace negotiations and the war.

The book's organization lacks cohesion. It goes back and forth between chapters on the three countries in question and interjects interruptive overviews of American policy under presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson that are lengthy and repetitive. This well-trod territory distracts the author from her primary purpose, but Blang nevertheless ably works into this narrative the purgatorial circumstances of Great Britain, France, and Germany during the early Cold War decades.

Blang begins and ends the book by suggesting that Great Britain, France, and Germany found themselves in a similar situation in responding to the 2003 American war against Iraq. Self-interest once again played a primary role for each, guiding Great Britain to go with the conflict while steering France and Germany to take strong stands against it. None of the countries could exercise real influence on the United States, just as they had failed to do during the Vietnam War. This attempt at relevancy falls a bit flat and adds little to Blang's principal focus.

Although leaders in London, Paris, and Bonn had little influence on their counterparts in Washington, the Kennedy and Johnson administrations had no need to court Great Britain, France, and West Germany to support deepening American involvement in Southeast Asia. In the end, Blang sheds little light on the contentious relations between the United States and its allies. Although Vietnam was only one of several factors affecting American relations with Europe in the 1960s, it was nonetheless a major stumbling block that none seemed willing or able to overcome, at least not before 1969. Specialists will find little new or engaging in *Allies at Odds*. It serves well, however, as a fresh, graduate-level primer on the subject (although the price prohibits classroom use). In that regard, Blang has done a fine job.

*Georgia Southern University/
US Army War College*

William Thomas Allison

The Zimmermann Telegram: Intelligence, Diplomacy, and America's Entry into World War I. By Thomas Boghardt. (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2012. Pp. xiii, 342. \$36.95.)

The author of *Spies of the Kaiser* [2004], a study of Germany's ineffectual intelligence network in pre-1914 Britain, Thomas Boghardt has now turned to

dissect the story of the Zimmerman telegram, the disastrous German offer to the Mexican government in 1917 to reverse the territorial settlement imposed by the United States at the end of the Mexican War. Intercepted and passed to Washington by the British Admiralty's Room 40 code breakers, the telegram is usually seen as an essential step on the road to American entry into the Great War. Moreover, it thoroughly established the value of cryptanalysis. As Boghardt demonstrates through exhaustive research into American, British, and German archives, however, the story is considerably more complex. It is certainly more so than in the account provided by Barbara Tuchman in the only other full-length monograph on the subject in English back in 1958, which was reliant upon limited sources.

Like others, Tuchman was taken in by the many false trails laid by Room 40's William Reginald "Blinker" Hall. Hall concealed that, far from intercepting the telegram during transmission between Berlin and Washington via the Swedish Foreign Office, Room 40 was reading (and continued to read) the State Department's cable traffic between London and Washington, German diplomatic messages to its ambassador being relayed via US diplomatic cables as a courtesy. Boghardt also illuminates the casual way in which the telegram was sent without adequate consideration by German Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg or, indeed, Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann himself: the telegram was actually the work of Hans Arthur von Kemnitz, who ran the Wilhelmstrasse's South and Central America Department. What was intended as a convoluted means of detaching Japan from the Entente—the Japanese enjoyed good relations with Mexico—escaped due to oversight in the haste of the Wilhelmstrasse to prepare for the public announcement of the revival of undeclared submarine warfare. Unjustly, the blame for the leak fell on the hapless German ambassador in Washington, Johann von Bernstorff.

Having thoroughly revised the historiography on the origins and interception of the telegram, and on Hall's extraordinary machinations, Boghardt also contends that its publication in the United States on 1 March 1917 did not have the unifying effect upon Congressional and public opinion often suggested in the past. The Zimmerman telegram may have removed Woodrow Wilson's personal doubts about intervention, but it was unrestricted submarine warfare that brought the United States into the war. Boghardt suggests that, at best, the telegram accelerated US entry to the war by a few weeks.

Replete with deft pen portraits of the main protagonists such as Kemnitz—nicely characterized by Hollweg's secretary, Riezler, as a "fantastic idiot"—Boghardt has produced a highly readable, scholarly, and accomplished account

(66). It adds particularly to our understanding of the dysfunctional nature of German policy-making.

University of Kent

Ian F. W. Beckett

The Roots of Radicalism: Tradition, the Public Sphere, and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Movements. By Craig Calhoun. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pp. xii, 425. \$25.00.)

The author of this study examines the complex roots of early nineteenth-century radical movements in England, France, and the United States. Given the importance of his premise—that historians have traditionally treated such movements statically and narrowly—he has a huge challenge. Writing in the first person and with an honest sense of inquiry, Craig Calhoun devotes special attention to the stultification he imputes to Marx. Taking the path-breaking work of E. P. Thompson on class formation as exemplary, Calhoun insists that Marx acted to “reduce to variants of a basically economic conception of class consciousness the many different visions of alternative social orders,” including those that “drew on a variety of traditions” influenced by culture and community (x). “Class gained its definition in social and political conflicts, as well as in economic production and exchange,” yet historians have oversimplified class as a ready-made phenomenon (179). Classes are “composed of interpersonal relationships” and are “not things,” he writes (182).

Hoping such movements may lead to precisely what its historians politically desire, Marxist and liberal scholars write off a host of antecedent and accompanying experiences shaping social movements in favor of “the idea of a singular course of progress” (72). Marx saw the force of tradition as “mere epiphenomena,” a cobweb through which proper movements had to slice, rather than recognizing that “preexisting communal relations and attachments to tradition are essential to revolutionary mobilizations” (282, 88). Calhoun, however, esteems Marxist historians Christopher Hill and E. J. Hobsbawm who explored the layers of movements Calhoun believes Marx neglected. Perhaps one may see Marx’s premise as key, not lock, but Calhoun’s interpretation seems strict.

Nevertheless, “Marx’s hoped-for and predicted working-class movement” failed to materialize as anticipated (93). He did not see that movements unfold “in a process” (79). Viewing formation statically made his view of class “an abstract tool for categorization” and blinded Marx to both the “relatively low rate of participation of members of the modern proletariat in revolutionary mobilization” and the prominence of artisans in contemporary movements (183, 87). In

fact, a “threatened artisanate” spurred English labor struggles (94). Theirs were “smaller, more densely-knit” communities, which constituted “counter-publics” viewing policy-making as “a field of contestation” sometimes in the face of repression (118, 132). Calhoun nicely highlights the contributions of such advocates as Thomas Wooler, Richard Carlile, and Francis Place.

Calhoun gives French movements some due in perceiving the prominence of “artisans and employees in small workshops” in mid-nineteenth-century upheavals, demonstrating that “industrial workers” played much less of a role than Marx alleged (217). Again, “close-knit communities” and “craft organizations” propelled struggle (223). His treatment of France is less extensive than that of England, but his discussion of US social movements is skimpy. He mentions communities galvanized by and represented in nineteenth-century US reform movements. They reflected Republican-rooted traditions with overlapping interests and contacts. Calhoun swiftly indicates that “migration” and “massive killing”—the Civil War—transformed the bases of US movements (280). Overall, his attention to fundamental issues about American popular movements is too compressed.

Asides on China and the Soviet Union or Paris in 1968 weaken the book, not because they are incorrect but because each merits attention, which space does not permit. Calhoun’s historiography mirrors the varying depth of his investigation. Thus, readers expecting consideration of Herbert Gutman or George Rudé will be disappointed. Yet Calhoun’s grappling with valid historical questions is admirable. However unevenly he presents historical experiences, he does so with an energy and emphasis certain to invigorate debate.

Adelphi University

Daniel Rosenberg

Defiant Diplomat George Platt Waller: American Consul in Nazi-Occupied Luxembourg, 1939–1941. Edited by Willard Allen Fletcher and Joan Tucker Fletcher. (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2012. Pp. xxxii, 201. \$80.00.)

If George Platt Waller had published this eloquent memoir when he finished writing it in 1943, it might have become a gripping Hollywood film about the gallant citizens of Luxembourg suffering and resisting the Nazi occupation. Having served as consul and *chargé d'affaires* since 1931, this Southern-born career diplomat stayed in the Grand Duchy, officially charged with protecting the interests of France, Belgium, and Britain after the Germans invaded in May 1940 and the Luxembourg government (including the Grand Duchess Charlotte) fled into exile. When Berlin demanded the expulsion of all American diplomats from

occupied Europe that July, Waller reverted to his consular status, determined to “remain as a witness, the sole witness, until the last possible moment” (61). Until his own forced departure in July 1941, this revered representative of neutral America witnessed, recorded, negotiated for, comforted, and protected as best he could the Luxembourgers with whom he had come to identify. The original title of his memoir—“They Never Found a Quisling”—testifies to the steadfast loyalties of a “brave and defenseless people” for whom premature publication “might be fatal to the lives, liberty, or property of the persons named” (xxxix).

A devout Episcopalian, Waller was conspicuous in his efforts to succor Luxembourg’s Jewish population. The influx of refugees in the aftermath of *Kristallnacht* prompted him to cable the State Department: “To instruct me to refuse to receive Jewish refugees will not solve the problem . . . This is entirely impracticable” (xxiv). Although the Luxembourg legation had never issued visas, Waller procured a quarter-ton perforating-stamping-inking visa machine from Antwerp and personally trained the necessary clerks, and “despite all the forces of Hitler and hell, the vast majority of Luxembourg Jews received visas and finally reached the United States” (110).

As Waller reports, the initial occupation by the *Wehrmacht* authorities was relatively benign. However, following their arrival, the *Gestapo*, headed by Gauleiter Gustav Simon (a “fiend incarnate”), inflicted countless cruelties as the Nazis attempted to annex Luxembourg as a province of the Reich (117). Smashing sacred statues, tearing down flags, banning portraits of the Grand Duchess, forcing citizens to wear swastika pins, requiring schoolteachers to inculcate Nazi dogma, compelling children to join the Hitler Youth, executing defiant priests, and sending industrialists to forced labor camps, Simon cowed but could not convert. When Waller finally departed by train on 10 July 1941, his last sight was a “sea of waving handkerchiefs and the sound of ‘Vive U.S.A.’” (160). He also carried a bouquet of red and white roses and blue cornflowers, the same colors of both Luxembourg and the United States that were banned by the Nazi regime.

Waller has been well served by his editors, who have mined relevant archives in Belgium and Luxembourg, tracked down Waller’s original dispatches in State Department records, and meticulously annotated the memoir. Nearly thirty pages of photographs enhance the text. The editors’ afterword also recounts Waller’s triumphal return to Luxembourg in November 1944 and the many postwar honors that he received during his continued service as *chargé* until 1948. Publication of his memoirs fifty years after his death is most fitting.

Objectifying China, Imagining America: Chinese Commodities in Early America. By Caroline Frank. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012. Pp. xiii, 252. \$81.00.)

Much like Andre Gunder Frank's advocacy for the centrality of historical China in global trade, *Objectifying China, Imagining America* challenges readers to "ReOrient" their understanding of early American history in terms of its relation to the Far East. Rather than accepting the predominant Eurocentric perspective of the colonies as primarily British dominated and Atlantic focused, Caroline Frank contends that prerevolutionary Anglo-Americans were actively engaged in a sustained and lucrative trade in "East Indies" commodities. Moreover, she argues that these commodities played a substantial role not only in the early New England economy but also in northern colonial culture and ultimately in American revolutionary history.

Such a reorientation in historical interpretation requires convincing evidence for both the quantity and impact of Asian wares on the colonies. Frank notes, however, that in the case of early American trade, conventional primary sources such as shipping manifests and customs reports often underreported the true scope of trade. Due to restrictions on shipping under the Navigation Acts and the East India Company's trade monopoly, American merchant ships and privateers smuggled in much of the Asian goods found in the colonies. Consequently, the author relies heavily on estate inventories detailing household possession in New England to indicate the amount and extent of colonial accumulation of porcelains and lacquerware. She also considers a variety of sources ranging from newspapers, advertisements, and personal letters to portraits, pottery shards, and parlor murals to flesh out the cultural significance of these imports.

Based on these sources, Frank argues persuasively that seventeenth-century Red Sea men, or Anglo-American traders in Asian commodities, established a strong demand within the colonies for china and other Far Eastern imports. This demand and the high profits associated with the trade sustained New England shipping interest despite British legal restrictions and colonial campaigns to suppress the import and sale of such goods. In support of this premise, she examines the extensive trade between mid-eighteenth-century Salem and the Iberian peninsula (a rich source of Asian goods), New England commerce with Caribbean ports (depots for East Asian commodities), and hundreds of estate records to determine the quantity and extent of colonial accumulation of china and other Asian goods. She concludes that such commodities were highly valued and widely distributed staples of American colonial households and that the demand for these goods encouraged Americans to remain active, independent traders in Asian commodities.

In the final chapter, Frank reexamines the Boston Tea Party within the context she has established of this decades-long resistance to “English controls, laws and officials over the question of access to the Indian Ocean and East goods” (56). Here, she skillfully fuses the dominant theme of colonial acquisition of Asian commodities with a subtheme of genderized trade. She concludes that the patriots’ choice of destroying tea in 1773 was not only in protest of progressively stringent English control over colonial rights (particularly, the Asian trade) but also because tea represented to colonists a feminine subservience to British dominance.

Overall, *Objectifying China, Imagining America* is a thought-provoking study for historians across all fields.

Marquette University

Daniel J. Meissner

The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society. By Brad S. Gregory. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012. Pp. 574. \$39.95.)

In the introduction to this provocative book, the author considers the unintended consequences of the Protestant Reformation. He argues that these consequences were quite different from what the original reformers could have ever imagined—let alone desired—and that truly understanding them requires a broader view of the more distant past and its relationship to the present than tends to be typical in the profession. Because the less-than-subtle fracturing of medieval Christianity is still influential today, Brad S. Gregory argues, the long-term effects of this process deserve attention from early modernists, who ought not be afraid to explore related developments beyond their periods.

Gregory also frames his study as an extension of his concern about a growing climate of cultural and political polarization in the United States that is making it increasingly difficult to develop meaningful, collaborative responses to major problems such as global climate change. His goal is to draw attention to the circumstances through which “we” (for Gregory, “we” refers to people living in North America and Europe) have arrived in what he describes as the “kingdom of whatever”—a hyperpluralistic place where the individual consumer is king, where everyone is entitled to his or her own truth, and where (almost) anything goes. Along the way, he challenges widespread assumptions about the inherent incompatibility of science and religion, considers the impact of skepticism and its revival in Europe after the Reformation, and examines the role of emerging nation-states in implementing policies of religious tolerance, consumerism, capitalism, the

secularization of the Academy, and more. His hope is that by better understanding how it came about, we will reject the kingdom of whatever and resolve to work together to “unsecularize the Academy”—that is, to no longer accept the “*a priori* exclusion of religious truth claims from research universities” (386).

The kingdom of whatever certainly may have its drawbacks, and this reviewer agrees with Gregory that understanding its emergence requires going back beyond the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to a now seemingly distant past. However, the question remains as to the Reformation being *the* place to begin the conversation and whether it warrants being described as an “unintentional disaster” (160). Protestant reformers—like all historical actors—could not have foreseen the consequences of their actions or, in this case, their institutional critique; but this does not necessarily mean the world would be a better place had they not made it. Defining the Reformation and its aftermath as the primary cause of the “kingdom’s” emergence detracts from equal consideration of the impact of other key developments such as colonization and the steady intensification of global connections throughout the early modern period. Newer work in the history of science is showing that it was the reality of these new connections, knowledge transfers, and exchanges that contributed in major ways to the rise and consolidation of the natural sciences. And many of those involved in confronting these changes actively promoted “explicitly Christian claims about God in relationship to the natural world”; they did not reject or sideline them (40).

Sewanee: The University of the South

Kelly J. Whitmer

Darwin: Portrait of a Genius. By Paul Johnson. (New York, NY: Viking, 2012. Pp. 176. \$26.95.)

More than 130 years after his death, Charles Darwin remains one of the most influential and discussed scientists in history. His *Origin of Species* [1859] almost single-handedly convinced the international scientific community to accept evolution as a fact within twenty years. It is tempting to attribute Darwin’s success to some innate quality such as genius. But decades of increasingly sophisticated scholarship have made a more nuanced and contextual approach not only possible but essential. Unfortunately this vast secondary literature and mountain of archival riches is very difficult for a newcomer to the field to survey, let alone to master.

Paul Johnson retells the story of Darwin’s life in a book that is breezy and highly readable. But as a newcomer to the Darwin field, Johnson offers little, if

any, new information not available in earlier popular works. The possibility that Queen Victoria may have been sympathetic to *Origin of Species*, or at least that Prince Albert would have given it a fair hearing, has seldom been noticed.

Most of this book retells traditional legends. It is unfortunate to see them rearing their ugly heads yet again. These include the mistaken belief that Charles Lyell established the ancient age of the earth, the groundless story that the *Beagle's* captain wished for a companion on the voyage so as not to go mad, and most classic, and most incorrect, that Darwin was struck by the shape of the beaks of the finches while in the Galapagos Islands.

Johnson paints a Darwin full of fear and anguish about publishing his theory. This presumably leads Darwin to keep it a secret for many years. Fear of offending his religious wife is supposedly part of this. And this purported fear and worry is then assigned as the cause of Darwin's mysterious long-term ill health. But there is not a shred of documentary evidence for any of these popular tropes. The same is true for the legendary role of the death of Darwin's daughter, Annie, in killing off the last of Darwin's faith. Once again, there is no evidence for this. The reviewer has omitted mention of many other tales recounted in this work.

Johnson also manages to invent some new legends. First, that Darwin was frightened by the persecution of Joseph Priestly [1791]. The author is clearly on shaky ground whenever discussing Darwin's science. Johnson's favorite angle is that Darwin's focus on a struggle for existence was somehow an error (this would make the cover of *Nature* if it were true) and that Darwin "was a poor anthropologist." This allows Johnson to try to link Darwin's work with eugenicists and other undesirables after his death. "Darwin's writings led directly to the state of mind that promoted imperialism, the quest for colonies [and] the 'race for Africa,'" writes Johnson (127). This guilt-by-association argument is one normally made by creationists. Perhaps when one reads that Johnson is also the author of *A History of Christianity* and *Jesus: A Biography, from a Believer*, these unsympathetic allegations might make more sense.

National University of Singapore

John van Wyhe

Political Gastronomy: Food and Authority in the English Atlantic World. By Michael A. LaCombe. (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. Pp. 240. \$39.95.)

Every act of sharing food is a political act, whether within a household, within a larger community, or between complete strangers. It communicates a range of

messages—dependence and deference, solidarity, and equality—and it is a kind of negotiation with a script that is more or less understood by participants. The act of sharing might say “I provide for your sustenance and expect you to behave under my roof” or “we share a common cause, victory for our team, so help yourself to a burger from my tailgate grill” or “accept this generous aid to alleviate your famine and we expect you to remain our close political allies.” Participants understand the subtext, even if not explicitly. Of course the political negotiation may be rejected or misconstrued. In other words, sharing food at its most basic level is direct and uncomplicated, but the subtext is often complex and multivalent and might have nothing to do with food itself.

This basic premise underlies Michael A. LaCombe’s analysis of encounters between the English and Native Americans in the age of colonization. He posits that these people, who could not communicate well using language, used food as a political tool and, more importantly, understood the deeper subtext in these negotiations. The book opens with Arthur Barlowe’s account of the sharing of food at Roanoke in 1584 between the English and Algonquians, which is read as a successful political negotiation. When Native Americans met the English with food, this was a diplomatic offering communicating the intention to live peacefully side by side. The English in turn understood that they were welcome to stay and make free use of the bounty that the continent provided. They dutifully reciprocated, as was customary in England, and these acts were mutually comprehended by the parties involved.

As with all initial encounters, one must question not only if the participants did understand each other’s motives but more importantly whether the glowing English account is deeply biased, reading into the Indian’s actions exactly and only what they wanted to hear. Could this have been a case of complete misunderstanding? Perhaps the Indian leader Granganimeo intended to feed the English so they could leave as soon as possible. Maybe it was a lure, so he could attack them once he had gained their trust. Perhaps he expected to obtain goods he could trade, and the exchange was merely a customary deal-making gesture with no expectation that the English would attempt to settle. Given the limited, one-sided historical record, it is almost impossible to guess what the actors really meant. There may have been no good will whatsoever. LaCombe states that “basic similarities between English and Native American food customs yielded similar meanings for both groups; in others, widely different cultural association led to very different meanings” (9). Sometimes they understood, sometimes not, but is there any reliable way for historians to be sure which is which? Were there really so many similarities beyond the biological act of eating that imply these peoples

ever understood the other's intentions? The way this story unfolds seems to suggest otherwise.

This book covers much more than the initial encounters but throughout the text attempts to read into the cultural and political assumptions of communicants in the act of sharing food. In the end readers are left wondering if these peoples understood each other at all.

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The Cold War and After: History, Theory, and the Logic of International Politics. By Marc Trachtenberg. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012. Pp. xi, 317. \$27.95.)

Scholars have long viewed Marc Trachtenberg as one of the English-speaking world's leading authorities on the Cold War. In books such as *A Constructed Peace* [1999], he evinced a remarkable grasp of the theoretical side of the study of international treaties. Further, unlike many other scholars steeped in theory, Trachtenberg has also shown an impressive knowledge of the archival sources available to scholars. His new collection of essays, *The Cold War and After*, adds to this rich scholarly legacy.

The book consists of nine essays, which are organized into three sections. The first part, "Theory," is the shortest and the one that historians will find the weakest. The essays in this section deal with the "realist" approach and the "logic" of international relations respectively. The "realist school" of diplomatic history, to which Trachtenberg clearly belongs, tends to view foreign relations as taking place in a vacuum, with domestic politics having little or no effect upon international relations. Indeed, throughout the book, Trachtenberg has almost nothing to say about the domestic policies of the countries that he describes, and this is the greatest weakness of the book. Much the same can be said for the author's contention that there is a "logic" to international relations and that governments consistently pursue foreign policies in keeping with their own self-interest. Although political scientists might very well be sympathetic to Trachtenberg's approach to these issues, historians will be far less so. Indeed, there is a distinct danger that historians will conclude that the author's understanding of international relations is naïve and ahistorical.

Trachtenberg, however, redeems himself in the second, and by far the longest, section of the book, which is entitled simply "History." In five fascinating essays, he provides important insights into some of the major events of the Cold War.

These essays deal with US policy concerning postwar Eastern Europe, the issues surrounding German rearmament, and the United States' relations with its most troublesome European ally, France. In all of these articles, Trachtenberg breaks new ground, providing fascinating and convincing reinterpretations of important historical events.

Yet, it is in the final section of the book, "Policy," that Trachtenberg provides the greatest surprises for the reader. In the first of two essays, "Preventive War and U.S. Foreign Policy," Trachtenberg convincingly argues that the "Bush Doctrine" of preemptive war was nothing new. Indeed, it had a pedigree going back at least as far as Franklin Roosevelt's third administration. The final essay in the collection, which deals with the 2003 Iraq crisis, also provides a new interpretation, arguing that the Bush administration's decision to invade Iraq without the approval of the United Nations was completely consistent with international law as it has been understood since the Second World War. Although the arguments Trachtenberg makes are, at times, controversial, he presents them quite convincingly, using a logic that is often indisputable.

Trachtenberg's often provocative conclusions make *The Cold War and After*, in spite of its shortcomings, an important book. Any scholar interested in the latest approach to the history of the Cold War would do well to read it.

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