



BOOK REVIEWS

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AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST

Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1526–1850. By Paula Sutter Fichtner. (London, England: Reaktion Books, 2008. Pp. 205. \$45.00.)

As its slightly unfortunate title suggests, this author's overarching, but carefully grounded, scholarly account of the Habsburg encounter with the Ottoman Empire is moved very much by concerns of the present. She proceeds by means of three equally weighted chapters, sandwiched between a broad-brush introduction outlining the historiographical and contemporary political contexts and a short "coda" that looks forward into the second half of the nineteenth century.

In the first chapter, "An Enemy Real and Imagined," Paula Sutter Fichtner treats the violent enmity of the period between the high tide of early Ottoman expansion under Süleyman the Magnificent and the abortive siege of Vienna in 1683. In the second, "Conciliation, Coffee, and Comedy," she then considers the growth during the eighteenth century of a belittling and derisive set of attitudes towards "the Turk," originating as much in France and Italy as in the Austrian lands themselves, where trade and cultural circulation rather than merely adversarial propaganda were now proving important vectors of the relationship. The academic production of knowledge becomes the focus of the author in the final chapter, "Servants to Government and Learning," which is organized around valuable treatments of the Oriental Academy founded in 1754 and the activities of Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall in particular. Thus the arc of the study runs from the brutalizing stridency of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which figured the invading Ottomans as the Habsburgs' mortal enemy and the scourge of Christianity, to the caricaturing of "the Turk" during the eighteenth century into a derogatory figure of fun, and thence to the construction of a more completely orientalized "other" of the nineteenth century. In each case, Fichtner successfully locates the production of ideas in the pertinent institutional settings, adding opera and theater to the machineries of state and church propaganda, before concluding with an academic speciality of orientalist knowledge.

All this is handled with great depth and ease of learning. Fichtner shows persuasively how constructions of the Ottomans changed and developed over the broad sweep of the centuries, referring them to the respective "accommodations and turns in the mental and spiritual culture of the Habsburg empire" (18). The account is empirically rich and admirably lucid. Although appropriately highlighting the strength of the main theses, Fichtner also sees the complexities in each of the three phases, pointing along the way to the various outlying and more modulated voices.

There are some weaknesses though. The heavily structured materialist coordinates of the perceptual history emerge far more clearly in the first of the three chapters, when the military enmity of the two empires spelled an existential confrontation translating across the full generalities of social and cultural life. In the second chapter, for example, the growing intricacies of commercial circulation and cultural transfers might well have received much denser consideration. More damagingly, in practice Fichtner sometimes conflates the categories of “Ottomans,” “Turks,” and “Islam” together (as the title itself suggests), despite directly forefending against this danger in a careful “Note on Usage” at the very outset of the book (7–8). Finally, in some ways the hostilities to the East are made all too exorbitant, so that other fields of antagonism—against Protestants, against France, against Prussia, not to speak of the interior contradictions of class and estate, or the gathering ethnocultural conflicts of the nineteenth century—barely receive notice. Though Fichtner avoids the more simplified and overliteralized critiques of Edward Said, this fuller discussion of Habsburg and East-Central European social and cultural history would have allowed the full import of his ideas to be properly engaged.

University of Michigan

Geoff Eley

Beware of Small States: Lebanon, Battleground of the Middle East. By David Hirst. (New York, N.Y.: Nation Books, 2010. Pp. xiv, 480. \$29.95.)

Titled after a comment by the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin in 1870, *Beware of Small States* traces the history of Lebanon from the nineteenth century, with an emphasis on the period from 1982 to the present. As is to be expected from a journalist of David Hirst’s experience, the narrative is fluid and accessible; he also has a finely tuned ear for the amusing or incisive anecdote. Hirst posits that, as a small state, Lebanon has been the victim of both the ongoing instability in the Middle East and of wars fought on its territory by neighboring states, especially Israel and Syria.

From the onset of the Zionist project in Palestine, David Ben-Gurion and other Israeli leaders sought to foster division and conflict within the Arab world and the region as a whole. Hirst argues that “where diversity and division, rifts and rivalries, already existed in the putative whole, the Zionists sought to deepen them, and where they did not they sought to create them” (21). Toward that end, Israeli policy toward Lebanon focused on forging alliances with minority groups, especially the Maronites, who also feared a unified pan-Arab state. Hirst details

how the fragile and inherently unstable confessional system in Lebanon was used and manipulated by successive Israeli, and sometimes Syrian, regimes for their own national aims.

Much of the narrative is based on Hirst's vast personal knowledge of the Middle East, derived from decades of living in the region, as well as on a wide array of published sources; maps at the beginning of the narrative provide useful references as do fairly extensive endnotes.

In chapters 6 and 7, "Imperial Hubris: Israel Wages 'Chosen War' in Lebanon: 1977–1982" and "The Massacre of Sabra and Shatila: Israel's Imperial Nemesis: 1982–1985," Hirst provides detailed and solid overviews of Israeli policies and failures. Hirst stresses Ariel Sharon's ambitions to "solve" the Palestinian problem once and for all by destroying the Palestine Liberation Organization and creating what would be essentially a puppet Lebanese state dominated by Maronite allies. Although Hirst provides a finely detailed account of the complex and sometimes fraught alliance between Israel and Bashir Gemayel's Phalangist Lebanese forces, he is oddly reticent in assigning blame for Gemayel's assassination in the immediate aftermath of the 1982 war and his selection as the new president of the fragile and war-torn Lebanese state.

Those not well versed in the internal vagaries of Syrian politics may find subsequent chapters, particularly chapter 12, "Getting Syria Out of Lebanon, 2004–2006," difficult to follow, but Hirst is on sound ground in later sections when he describes the increased power of the Shi'i population and Hezbollah in Lebanon. Hirst pulls no punches in assessing blame for the numerous wars and massacres in recent Lebanese history and correctly asserts that Iran has been the major victor of U.S. wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as evinced by its increased influence and presence not only in Lebanon but elsewhere in the region.

In the rather woeful and bloodstained history of Lebanon, Hirst finds few heroes, but he bluntly names Israel and the Ba'athist regime in Syria as the principal villains in the nation's ongoing instability.

Eastern Michigan University

Janice J. Terry

THE AMERICAS

Clark Clifford: The Wise Man of Washington. By John Acacia. (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 2009. Pp. 440. \$35.00.)

The basic story of Clark Clifford's career is well known. As a young man, he worked his way up the staff of Harry Truman's White House by writing crucial

memos and becoming a close confidant and personal friend of the president. After leaving in 1950, he established a law firm that made him a Washington fixture, if not fixer, and a huge amount of money. After serving as an informal adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, he returned to government service as secretary of defense in Johnson's last year and, shedding his previous hawkish position on Vietnam, helped turn around American policy. Then, instead of enjoying his status as a pillar of the Washington establishment, he succumbed to the allure of greater prominence and income and so became president of a Washington bank, a choice that ended his career and squandered his reputation when it was revealed that the bank was illegally controlled by the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI). To Clifford's detractors, this was a just conclusion to a career built on connections and currying favor; to his supporters, it was simply a tragedy.

John Acacia amends this account in important ways and produces a fascinating story of personality and power. Clifford's initial fame came from the famous "Clifford Report" in the fall of 1946 that helped convince Truman to take a much harder line toward the Soviet Union and his memo on "the politics of 1948" that outlined the strategy that brought the president his upset victory. Acacia shows what is by now known to experts in this period—the former was written by Clifford's assistant, George Else, and the latter was largely written by the Democratic party strategist James Rowe. Indeed, throughout his service at the White House, Clifford shamelessly took credit that belonged to others and carefully cultivated his overblown reputation, which was the foundation on which he built his enormously successful career. This argument might set the stage for a debunking biography, but Acacia's treatment is more interesting.

On Vietnam, Clifford lived up to the reputation he had acquired by questionable means. Summoned by Johnson to the crucial meetings of 1965, he argued against sending ground troops, reiterating the view expressed in a May letter that "this could be a quagmire" (239). But when the president decided otherwise, he publicly supported the war, which was one reason why Johnson chose him as Robert McNamara's successor. As secretary of defense, he quickly turned against the war, and Acacia argues that this was not because he remained a secret dove after 1965, but because the Tet Offensive convinced him that the war could not be won at a cost the American people would tolerate. The heart of the book lies in chapters 9 and 10, in which Acacia fleshes out the familiar story of how Clifford helped bring Johnson around to the peace proposal of March 31, 1968, and documents Clifford's less well-known struggle to keep Johnson on the peace track against the strenuous efforts of most other leading members of the administration. This was a bruising battle for the heart and mind of a notoriously difficult and

vindictive president. Someone with lesser confidence, drive, and courage would have given up, and someone with lesser skill would not have prevailed. Here Clifford brought to bear all his formidable skills. Although never an originator of ideas or a deep thinker, he was able to synthesize and refine the arguments of others, just as he had done when he served Truman, and he presented them with a persuasive style that magnified their logic.

Years earlier, a member of Kennedy's staff said: "I am never certain whether Clifford is a genius in making the complex sound simple or in making the obvious sound profound, but either way he's a genius" (216). Acacia shows us how he convinced many people of this, and despite—or because of—his talent for self-deception, he served well not only himself but his country. After reading Acacia's account, I find myself wondering what Clifford would have told Barack Obama about Afghanistan.

Columbia University

Robert Jervis

Sovereignty at Sea: U.S. Merchant Ships and American Entry into World War I. By Rodney Carlisle. (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2010. Pp. xv, 232. \$69.95.)

The author of this study examines American maritime activities in the months preceding President Woodrow Wilson's April 1917 declaration of war against Germany that brought the United States into the First World War. Rodney Carlisle is specifically interested in the impact that the German U-boats had in the sinking of American merchant ships. He maintains that the loss of three ships between the time of Germany's announcement of unrestricted submarine warfare and Wilson's April 2 speech to Congress became the *casus belli* for America's entry into the war. Carlisle labels the three specific ships, the *Vigilancia*, *City of Memphis*, and *Illinois*, as the tipping ships that allowed Wilson to push for war. Although Carlisle acknowledges the other major events that occurred in the months preceding Wilson's speech, such as the sinking of the *Arabic*, *Sussex*, and *Lusitania* and events like the first Russian Revolution and the Zimmerman Telegram, he maintains that these events provided momentum toward a declaration of war but failed to serve as the *casus belli*.

Carlisle provides a detailed account of the loss of all the American merchant ships sunk between the commencement of unrestricted submarine warfare and the declaration of war, and he correctly demonstrates that the sinking of these three ships with a resulting loss of American lives constituted a change in German naval practices. The United States truly experienced the potential horrors of a war on

the seas as well as its need to protect its sovereignty at sea. His examination of the press, public opinion, and congressional debate, or lack thereof, surrounding the loss of the ships is noteworthy. Carlisle has compiled a significant history for this brief period in time that had been relegated to the back pages of America's road to war and the controversy surrounding Wilson's actions leading to that war.

The argument does have merit in that these ships fit into the chronology of the decision making process for American foreign policymakers. Whether the three ships served as the *casus belli*, however, is less certain. Carlisle does attempt to explain the lack of publicity regarding the sinking of these ships. He employs a class-analysis argument: because merchant men were less important to the public than the elite of American society, they were less newsworthy. Carlisle also cites Saint Augustine's just war principles from his *De Civitas Dei*: "the action should be in proportion to the offense," to justify why Wilson seemed to de-emphasize the sinking of the three ships and replace that offense with his greater idealistic goals, such as saving democracy. Carlisle concludes that the *Vigilancia*, *City of Memphis*, and *Illinois* escaped public attention at the time of their sinking, and historians failed to highlight their significance in World War I historiography; but they were the *casus belli* for American participation in World War I. Carlisle's argument will sway some, though many will still hold fast to the more traditional arguments for United States entry into the First World War.

Millersville University of Pennsylvania

Ronald Bruce Frankum Jr.

Fur, Fortune, and Empire: The Epic History of the Fur Trade in America. By Eric Jay Dolan. (New York, N.Y.: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010. Pp. 442. \$29.95.)

Given its economic importance, the fur trade in North America has not received a great deal of scholarly attention over the years. Historians of Canada have done better than historians of the U.S. in this regard, but there is still a good deal even about the Canadian dimensions of the trade that is unclear. A bit of reflection makes it easy to understand why this is the case. The trade spanned centuries and virtually the entire continent of North America. It involved nationals from a number of countries and scores of Indian nations. The "fur trade" was actually a congeries of distinct trades in the pelts and skins of a wide range of animals—including beavers, deer, sea otters, fur seals, bears, buffalo, skunk, raccoons, muskrats, and even nutria! Moreover, compounding the above considerations is the fact that many aspects of the "trade" took place in relatively isolated areas as well as the fact that the trade was conducted in large part by, shall we say, unlettered men and women—people who did not always leave the best records of

their deeds and misdeeds. For all of these reasons and others, Eric Jay Dolan's *Fur, Fortune, and Empire* is a welcome addition to the literature on the subject.

This said, as an academic, this reviewer always gets a bit uneasy when he sees the word "epic" in the title of a history book, and in this case such unease was somewhat justified. To cut to the chase, *Fur, Fortune, and Empire*, despite some real virtues, reads—by design, one assumes—like, well, an "epic," that is, a grand narrative about a majestic topic, replete with heroes and villains, and melodramatic twists and turns. Once one gets past—or at least accustomed to—Dolan's "m.o.," however, one can take away much of value from his book.

Dolan's epic starts in the early sixteenth century with the beginnings of a permanent European presence in North America. Over the course of fifteen chapters—plus an introduction and epilogue—the author covers a lot of ground (and water). Broadly speaking, the American fur trade can be divided into several eras: the beaver era (ca. 1600–1800); the sea otter era (ca. 1790s–1820s); the era of the "Mountain Men" (1825–1840) hunting and trapping beaver, buffalo, elk, antelope, and otters in the Mountain West; and the overlapping era of the buffalo (1815–1890s), mainly on the Great Plains, but in other parts of the West as well.

The author covers all four of these eras or phases, the first three in detail, and, in so doing, provides very insightful (and well-documented) discussions of topics ranging from imperial rivalries to the habits and habitats of the animals trapped and hunted and from the markets for furs and skins to the mechanics of the trades. He also provides good sketches of some of the principals involved, most notably John Jacob Astor, who built the greatest business empire in the history of the North American fur trade. At the end of the day, Dolan, who earned his Ph.D. from MIT in environmental policy and planning and is the author of a well-regarded general history of the whaling industry, deserves praise for a well-written and fair-minded general synthesis of a very important, if understudied, trade.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Peter A. Coclanis

Cultures of War: Pearl Harbor, Hiroshima, 9/11, Iraq. By John W. Dower. (New York, N.Y.: W. W. Norton/The New Press, 2010. Pp. xxxiii, 551. \$29.95.)

The author, the world-renowned authority on the Pacific War and Japanese occupation, has advanced his argument in this book to a higher level by comparing the American experience in the Pacific and the Japanese occupation with 9/11, the Iraq War, and the American occupation of Iraq.

John W. Dower brilliantly dissects how the cultures of war that the United States has engaged in since Pearl Harbor have resulted in the wrong “war of choice” and the disastrous occupation of Iraq. Weaving through the past and the present seamlessly, he mercilessly lays bare America’s historical amnesia, selective memory, denials and self-deceptions, and propensity to use brute military force rather than relying on diplomacy.

George W. Bush’s “war of choice” was strategically as “imbecile” as Japan’s Pearl Harbor attack. In initiating war, “neither the Japanese in 1941 nor the Americans after 9/11 gave serious attention to the long-term challenges that lay ahead” (122). He compares the U.S. intelligence failure to detect Japan’s Pearl Harbor attack with the Bush administration’s failure to respond to intelligence warnings about the impending al-Qaeda attack and observes that they were both caused by “racial arrogance and cultural condescension” about the enemy, but after the attack, this condescension was transformed into demonization of the enemy (58).

Osama bin Laden’s justification for killing civilians horrified Americans, who believed that his philosophy was totally repugnant and alien to our civilization, which values human lives. Dower points out that this is one example of historical amnesia. During the Pacific War, the Americans utilized strategic bombings targeting civilians, and the culmination of this strategy was the U.S. atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Despite the myth that the American use of the atomic bombs ended the war and saved millions of Americans—the myth repeated by Bush himself and the myth that was morphed into the strategy of “shock and awe” used for the Iraq War—the Truman administration did not exhaust other alternatives to end the war, and considerations other than saving American lives played an important part in Truman’s decision to use the atomic bombs. Fortified by this myth, however, most Americans refuse to see the inferno under the mushroom clouds at ground zero in 1945, thereby allowing the same denial, self-deception, and a sense of vengeance to resurface in the war against terror under Bush.

Despite the Bush administration’s reference to the experience of the U.S. occupation of Japan as a model for nation-building in Iraq, these two occupations could not be farther apart. The Japanese occupation had been carefully planned and implemented by relying on the indigenous institutions and personnel. The Iraq occupation was characterized by a shockingly appalling lack of preparations, inexperience, and ideologically driven “deep aversion to the concept of social engineering” (346). Above all, the United States enjoyed no moral legitimacy in Iraq, as it did in Japan (319).

This is a monumental work, rich in detail and provocative in thought. The reader is also presented with massive notes and an abundance of references for further readings.

University of California at Santa Barbara

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa

Clash of Extremes: The Economic Origins of the Civil War. By Marc Egnal. (New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 2009. Pp. xii, 416. \$30.00.)

Any student who has taken the U.S. history survey to 1877 from this reviewer over the past twenty years would nod along as they read the introduction to this book, thinking, “yes, that’s how Professor Gruenwald explained it.” Marc Egnal writes that he opposes scholars who offer an idealistic interpretation of the causes of the Civil War—that the North fought primarily to free the slaves. Slavery was not the cause of the Civil War, he argues. But such a characterization of his work seems designed primarily to stir up controversy, because of course slavery was the cause of the Civil War even, in his view, in the territories west of the Mississippi. Though there were fundamental differences between North and South, people of both regions shared a commercial orientation, the desire to increase their wealth and status, and a craving for new territory. In the end, they did battle over who would control it. Egnal is indeed doing battle with popular ideas about the causes of the Civil War but is not really challenging prevailing scholarly interpretations.

In part 1, “An Era of Compromise,” Egnal details the growing national economy of the 1820s and 1830s and the way it bound North, South, and West together. Sectionalism occasionally bedeviled the second party system of Democrats and emerging Whigs, but compromisers like Henry Clay always managed to broker deals. In part 2, “Roots of Conflict,” he describes the strengthening of bonds between North and West along the canals and Great Lakes, the emergence of the abolition movement in the North, and states’ rights rhetoric in the South, as well as changes within the border states. In part 3, “The Clash of Sections,” the author begins with civil war in Kansas and then traces the polarization between North and South that came about as a result. Part 4, “The War Years and Beyond,” would have been better titled “Republicans in Power,” which are the first words of the two chapter titles included there. Egnal analyzes the political goals and strategies of the North during and after the war and exposes the fundamental interests of the majority of national leaders for what they were. “Economics more than high moral concerns produced the Civil War,” Egnal concludes. Of course, one should not separate economic and moral concerns, for each side sincerely believed that their economic goals were morally correct. Still,

it is useful to put Northern myths of fighting the evils of slavery and Southern myths of fighting for liberty and states' rights under the same microscope, for neither is a completely satisfactory explanation for why the Union broke in two.

Egnal explicitly states that he believes that the evolution of the economy and its impact on politics were the most important factor that led to the Civil War. It was not the only factor, he writes; he just judges it to be the most important. This is an excellent book about the topic; it is engagingly written for popular audiences and for teachers. Egnal provides excellent anecdotes and examples for freshening up lectures.

Kent State University

Kim M. Gruenwald

Family Values in the Old South. Edited, with an introduction, by Craig Thompson Friend and Anya Jabour. (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2010. Pp. vii, 257. \$69.95.)

This book examines one of the most basic elements of the human experience: family. Editors Craig Thompson Friend and Anya Jabour assemble ten innovative essays that explore the complexities of nineteenth-century Southern households, and they do not stint on “the disturbing side of family values” (3). Indeed, they challenge readers to reevaluate their very definition of family, encouraging them to see families not merely as wellsprings of fondness (and dysfunction) but as cultural, economic, and social actors in their own right.

Beautifully written and persuasively argued, the collection is divided into three sections: “Defining (and Defying) Southern Family Values”; “Measuring Families’ Value”; and “Family Values and Social Order.”

No ten essays could describe every type of self-understood “family,” but the first section of the collection does a remarkably good job of presenting important exceptions to the traditional nuclear model. From cross-plantation slave marriages to same-sex female love, the authors offer crucial new perspectives on what family was and could be in the antebellum South. Nancy Zey’s essay on orphan asylums in the Lower Mississippi Valley, for example, analyzes the familial characteristics of child welfare within a matriarchal system of relief. In another thought-provoking essay, Craig Thompson Friend explores the powerful compound of guilt, frustration, and confusion that lies at the heart of the rituals by which Victorians mourned their children.

Moving into the second section of the book, the authors show that families varied not only in form but also in function. Three essays discuss the often stressful and traumatic situations families encountered as they worked to support

their financial needs. From running plantations to managing taverns, couples struggled to maintain the illusion of patriarchal authority while creating affectionate relationships (and workable bottom lines) in the cultural breach. Lynn Kennedy's essay, particularly, shows how the thankless task of sewing could wreak havoc on the familial institution. Money mattered and thus weighed heavily on the minds of Southern families.

In the collection's third section, the authors' focus shifts to the broader impact of families on Southern society. These essays are united by the familiar trope that public and private lives inevitably intersect. For example, Andrew K. Frank discusses how some Creek Indians manipulated their marriages in an attempt to assert legal sovereignty. Likewise, Christopher J. Olsen unravels the impact of kinship on political elections in Mississippi, while Kevin Noble Maillard dissects a Charleston legal battle involving miscegenation and inheritance. By exposing the artificial division between that which is public and private, this section further illustrates how the personal matters of a family could affect the community.

As a whole, this collection expertly probes the raw emotions that hide behind carefully crafted appearances. Both readable and entertaining, *Family Values in the Old South* not only adds unique perspectives to the concept of an antebellum family but is likely to reseed the field of family history, which bloomed and died too early.

University of Georgia

Angela Esco Elder

To Hell on a Fast Horse: Billy the Kid, Pat Garrett, and the Epic Chase to Justice in the Old West. By Mark Lee Gardner. (New York, N.Y.: William Morrow, 2010. Pp. 325. \$26.99.)

From the depths of a New Mexican midsummer's night more than 120 years ago, one man asks: "¿Quién es?" (Who is it?), and another answers him with the blast of a Colt revolver. Just a few paces divided Billy the Kid and Pat Garrett in 1881, a space then measured in footsteps but reckoned ever since in the distance separating the archetypical lawman and outlaw. In this new book, Mark Lee Gardner reexamines the events preceding that fatal confrontation in Fort Sumner. His parallel biography returns readers to a moment in American history when violence was the familiar vernacular and the roles of heroes and villains could be interchangeable.

Although *To Hell on a Fast Horse* is firmly situated within the landscape of the mythic American West, Gardner's narrative reveals new information about Billy the Kid (aka Henry McCarty, Henry Antrim, and William Bonney), Pat Garrett,

and their complicated relationship. Of course, no one portrayal can ever fully explain either the Kid or Garrett. But this volume gives it a try. Peering at us from the pages of this book are two men whose lives had been shaped by the culture of frontier criminality. This murderous milieu fostered unique and lasting bonds as well as ongoing enmity between the two men who knew each other and occasionally traveled in the same circles. The Kid was a strangely insouciant, boyish man who charmed women just as handily as he murdered men. Laconic and hard-headed, Garrett carefully managed the deadly cat-and-mouse game that he would ultimately, if somewhat accidentally, win. Gardner's account of the days leading up to their last shared moments discards some of the more legendary versions and in doing so purposefully blurs the sharp lines usually delineating his protagonists. Though the Kid and Garrett can hardly be called twin spirits, the recognition of their similarities adds a new dimension to this old story.

Like the lawman and the outlaw, all of the characters who come together in *To Hell on a Fast Horse* inhabited a world far removed from that of the twenty-first century. Gardner employs all of his considerable skills as a researcher and writer to close the gap between past and present, evoking the physical and cultural landscapes of territorial New Mexico. His vivid narrative invites readers into the lives of the men and women who knew, loved, hated, feared, dismissed, and respected both Pat Garrett and his menacing partner across time, Billy the Kid. It brings us into the dangerous space they shared that summer night in July 1881, close enough in the breathless dark to hear a desperate man's last words: "¿Quién es?" *To Hell on a Fast Horse* presents its readers with some surprising new answers to this deadly question.

California State University, Chico

Lisa E. Emmerich

Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life. By Lori D. Ginzberg. (New York, N.Y.: Hill and Wang, 2009. Pp. 272. \$25.00.)

With some regularity, students ask four questions about Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Why did she have so many babies? What kind of marriage did she and Henry have? Why did Susan B. Anthony get the coin? And was Stanton any more racist than any other white person in her generation? This reviewer has always felt she handled the last question clumsily, trying not to blame Stanton for the second wave's limitations while wincing at her insistence that the vote be restricted to native-born whites. Now, armed with Lori Ginzberg's delightful new biography, *Elizabeth Cady Stanton: An American Life*, one is ready to try

again. In just under two hundred pages, Ginzberg captures the spirit of an immensely complicated figure, a woman who produced mountains of words and left us with an enormous legacy.

Written in Ginzberg's brisk and lively style, full of humor and common sense, this book will attract many readers and should win awards. More than anything else, one hopes our students read this book because there is an important lesson in it. Like a good teacher, Ginzberg weaves it in throughout the book and hammers it home at the end, when she locates Stanton's most important legacy "in her intellectual momentum, her unwillingness to rest satisfied with the pace and nature of change" (196). We like students to come to that conclusion in our classes, where women's history is not only about what others have managed to achieve but even more about the work that remains.

Good history ought to teach us humility, and *An American Life* does that well too. Imagining what Elizabeth Cady Stanton might have become had she grown up with us—a politician, perhaps, or a Supreme Court justice—Ginzberg reminds us that any career a modern-day Stanton might have "followed would have offered her a narrower scope than the one she actually inhabited" (195). Rather than inspire nostalgia for the Victorian past, this should make us mindful of our complacency about the present. Today girls grow up believing that they might someday be a Supreme Court justice—as this review is being written, there are three—but far too many of them, and their mothers and brothers, grow up in poverty, many of them suffering the added burdens of racism, which continues to limit their dreams and narrow their choices. Feminism and racism are just two parts of Stanton's complicated legacy, which Ginzberg treats with unsparing honesty and with fairness, having argued "with the woman about one thing or another" for many years (4).

Being fair with Stanton begins by revising the record on Stanton's abolitionist credentials. Stanton was married to an abolitionist and nurtured her radicalism in a community of abolitionists, where she shared their conclusion that slavery was a great injustice even while she rejected their racial egalitarianism. Stanton's 1848 "Declaration of Sentiments" was notably silent on slavery's particular injustices to women. Her post-1865 pursuit of white-only suffrage, then, was not the result of a sudden change of heart but rather a consistent set of beliefs that separated Stanton from the activists she respected most—namely Frederick Douglass, Lucretia Mott, Angelina Grimké, and William Lloyd Garrison. Her friends and closest colleagues found Stanton's racism and xenophobia "intolerable" (120). So neither should we tolerate them or excuse them or explain them away as blemishes on an otherwise spotless record of human rights activism. Setting the record straight,

Ginzberg has not deprived of us an icon; she has given us a Stanton who we too can argue with for years to come.

Villanova University

Judith Giesberg

The William Howard Taft Presidency. By Lewis L. Gould. (Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Press, 2009. Pp. xviii, 269. \$34.95.)

Bookended by the progressive giants Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, William Howard Taft is most commonly remembered for his immense girth and for the large bathtub he installed in the White House. Textbooks tend to recall Taft's presidency as an odd interregnum of the Progressive Era, a conservative anomaly amid Roosevelt's and Wilson's reformism. In the election of 1912, Taft finished in third place behind both of them, failing to win a second term.

Lewis L. Gould, a leading historian of the modern presidency, adds considerable and welcome nuance to this common perception. This new entry to the American Presidency series benefits from Gould's decades of research in the papers of Taft and his contemporaries and provides fresh perspectives on the issues and controversies they encountered. Like other authors in the series, Gould places the administration in the context of a brief presidential biography. Throughout his life, Taft sought a judicial career, but his family's dedication to public service, and his wife Nellie's ambitions (as well as his own), led him to accept increasingly prominent bureaucratic positions. Roosevelt's patronage of Taft gained the latter the 1908 Republican presidential nomination.

Gould argues that, though Taft won the election against Democrat William Jennings Bryan on his own initiative, his relationship with Roosevelt also continued to loom large. Even before Taft's election the two men differed ideologically and did not cultivate a warm friendship. While former president Roosevelt traveled the world for a year, Taft—displaying a surprising independence, bordering on arrogance—failed to maintain a correspondence. TR's vanity and inability to overcome such slights contributed to his rift with Taft. Gould shows, though, that conflicts before 1912 such as the well-known Pinchot-Ballinger feud over conservation, as well as now-obscurer disputes concerning Taft's proposals for trade reciprocity with Canada and a court of international arbitration, were ambiguous enough to forestall a decisive break.

As president, though, Taft lacked the political skills to bridge the chasm between conservative and progressive Republicans. He instead rationalized that controversial legislation, such as the Payne-Aldrich Tariff, were "pretty good" compromises (170). A lack of sound political advice, cabinet secretaries of uneven

quality, insufficient staff, and Taft's tendency to procrastinate and take long trips harmed the administration. Numerous spoken gaffes created the perception of a bumbling leader. Gould characterizes Taft as a jurist-president who sought to arbitrate political differences by issuing controlling "opinions," an approach that failed utterly to quell the three-way war between traditionalist Democrats, Republicans, and progressives in both parties. The president is given high marks, though, for increasing the efficiency and systematic recordkeeping of the executive branch.

Gould's study disappoints in its coverage of Taft's enthusiastic trust-busting, which seems both out of character and in conflict with his economic conservatism, and it ignores his role in the momentous passage of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments (enabling the income tax and the direct election of senators, respectively). Otherwise, though, readers are in Gould's debt for this gracefully written and brilliantly researched account of the Taft presidency.

Western Connecticut State University

Burton W. Peretti

Converting Words: Maya in the Age of the Cross. By William F. Hanks. (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2010. Pp. xxiii, 439. \$29.95.)

This book represents an ambitious attempt at a *longue durée* history of the Yucatec Maya under Spanish rule. Following Antonio de Nebrija's maxim that "language was ever the companion of empire," Spaniards embarked on not just a physical colonization of conquered peoples but on a religious, cultural, and intellectual subjugation as well. William F. Hanks focuses on language as a tool of colonization. He meticulously traces the processes by which Yucatec Maya, written in the Latin alphabet, evolved into multiple genres that cover a wide gamut from religious texts to mundane documents. Hanks's fluency in Yucatec Maya allows him to trace subtle changes in the language brought on by the necessity to translate and incorporate introduced ways of thought, Christian dogma, and even entirely new ways of conceptualizing the landscape. Rather than a one-way process of imposition, Hanks convincingly argues for a constant negotiation between colonizer and colonized, which produced hybrid ideas that in time metamorphosed into truly autochthonous concepts.

Each core chapter makes important contributions, but chapters 6, "Commensuration: Maya as Matrix Language," and 9, "The Scripted Landscape," stand out for their innovative methodological approaches. Although other scholars have undertaken notable studies of colonial Yucatec Maya using indigenous language documents, Hanks, in chapter 6, discusses the largely unstudied production of colonial dictionaries. Hanks's painstaking analysis of the four colonial Yucatec

Maya dictionaries elucidates both differences and commonalities in how each dictionary glosses key words. By historicizing the authors and their dictionaries, Hanks demonstrates the difficulties encountered when attempting to translate essentially different worldviews encapsulated in quotidian language. In chapter 9, Hanks discusses the complicated manner in which Spanish genres of written documents, primarily notarial records, shaped how natives conceptualized the spatial and political elements of the physical landscape. Hanks argues that the need to conform to Spanish-style formats caused fundamental changes in how colonial Yucatec Maya described the physical world; they selected words that best glossed Spanish terms and not language that followed established patterns of geographic description.

Despite its extraordinary strengths, *Converting Words* does have some small faults that somewhat detract from its overall impressive accomplishments. The bibliography lacks fundamental works by historians Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, James Lockhart, and Peter Sahllins and art historians Elizabeth Hill Boone and Jeanette Favrot Peterson. The aforementioned essential scholars would have added a critical comparative perspective to the book. Nowhere does Hanks acknowledge or even mention the intellectual debt owed to the methodology of “new philology,” an important innovation to how scholars treat colonial era indigenous language documents. It might seem like a minor oversight save for the fact that Hanks relies on the methodology of “new philology” for many of his most original and important conclusions.

The book’s minor flaws hardly impact its significant contributions to colonial Latin American and Atlantic history, and ethnohistory in general. Hanks adds to the growing interest in Atlantic intellectual history. Following the path laid out by previous studies, but hewing hitherto unexplored paths in his own right, Hanks sets a considerably high standard for scholars of native peoples’ history.

Florida State University

Robinson A. Herrera

Ohio’s Kingmaker: Mark Hanna, Man and Myth. By William T. Horner. (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010. Pp. xi, 367. \$60.00.)

William McKinley and Marcus Alonzo Hanna first met when working in Ohio Republican politics. They made an odd couple. McKinley was calm, careful, and a national party leader, famous for a high tariff stance and for understanding the new classes of voters industrialization produced. Hanna was forthright and blunt, a masterful organizer of issues and people. The two men made one superb politician. By 1895, Hanna was ready to organize the drive for McKinley’s

presidential nomination and then to manage the complex and famous contest of 1896. Success seemed easy when the GOP nominated McKinley early in the summer of that year. Then came William Jennings Bryan. He appeared capable of uniting some Democrats with populists and other disaffected elements. The campaign was a free-for-all. McKinley's victory eliminated many large issues in national politics, such as free silver and tariff reform.

McKinley and Hanna were the objects of ridicule and controversy well beyond the usual turmoil of politics. William Randolph Hearst had recently appeared on the New York City stage of no-holds-barred journalism. The savage cartoons of Homer Davenport, published in the *New York Journal*, depicted McKinley as a child or puppet on Hanna's string. Hanna became "Dollar Mark," a bloated and sinister figure that supposedly represented business. These images were effective in smearing both McKinley and Hanna at the time and among later historians. The caricatures were incorrect. McKinley was probably the best-known politician of the time, and Hanna did not create his support. He used his war chest carefully for materials designed to spread the word of McKinley's abilities as a harmonizer and a steady hand in critical times.

Hanna's influence with McKinley declined as other voices spoke to and for the new administration. He did become a senator from Ohio, from 1897 to 1904. He died in the latter year, ending speculation that he might challenge Theodore Roosevelt for the GOP nomination in 1904. Hanna was never, in fact, interested in the presidency.

William Horner tells this familiar story in detail, with some shrewd insights into American politics. The book will appeal to students of the period, politics, and biography. It should end the stereotypes of the people involved.

The author analyzes an interesting and significant point about historical legacy. In 2000, Karl Rove presented George W. Bush as a reincarnation of the twenty-fifth president. He clearly saw himself as a manager and organizer like Hanna. Voters and party leaders alike could have profited from studying the campaign of 1896, but Rove was no Hanna, and Bush was no McKinley.

University of Oklahoma

H. Wayne Morgan

The American Liberal Tradition Reconsidered: The Contested Legacy of Louis Hartz.

Edited by Mark Hulliung. (Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Press, 2010. Pp. ix, 285. \$34.95.)

Most readers of *The Historian* are probably well acquainted with the famed political scientist and historian Louis Hartz. For over half a century, his seminal

text *The Liberal Tradition in America* has framed much of the debate over American political culture; in recent years, his broad synthesis has been an intellectual *pinata* for a generation of historians. In this volume, Mark Hulliung joins seven other noted scholars in recounting Hartz's theories and the wide-ranging debate they spawned. The volume, part historiographical and part case study, tests Hartz's thesis and, ultimately, leaves the reader with one overriding conclusion: Hartz will forever remain controversial with a consensus impossible to achieve.

Controversy was, perhaps, inevitable. America, Hartz famously argued, inherited a middle-class ideology that accepted the Lockean social contract. Without a feudal tradition and with ample resources, it rejected both the conservative values of deference to hierarchy and the radicalism at the opposite extreme. This liberal tradition, Hartz argued, explained much of American political history. Americans have continued to define their existence and their relation to the state in terms of rights. Smacking of both egalitarianism and American exceptionalism, and subject to the oversimplification attendant to all expansive generalizations, Hartz's theories quickly drew fire. Hartz, like all of us a product of his own age, largely ignored the countervailing evidence of race, ethnicity, and gender among the other issues so obvious to the New Left historians who followed. This volume begins by outlining Hartz's thesis and placing it into the necessary context—in "his day and ours," to quote Hulliung (11). This sets the stage for the core of the book, the remaining three sections that, in order, assess Hartz's thesis in its entirety; assess it in relation to specific events, including America's birth and the Progressive Era; and, finally, assess it in relation to current political realities. In adding a short final word on the subject, Hulliung probably summarizes the views of many historians today. Hartz, Hulliung writes, should be considered "as one tradition among others," neither completely debunked nor solely explanatory (270).

There is a lot to like in this book. Historians may enjoy the debate over Hartz's connection to Alexis de Tocqueville, while more general readers will probably appreciate the implications for current events. Here Richard Ellis's essay "The Liberal Tradition in an Age of Conservative Power and Partisan Polarization" is particularly noteworthy. Defining political labels is a tricky but necessary business, of course, and some readers may have fundamental disagreements with definitions. Nevertheless, most of the essays are relatively easy to read given their historiographical and theoretical underpinnings.

In the end, this book is interesting because the debate is interesting. Too often historians today delve into their specialities to the exclusion of the larger picture. They miss the forest for the trees. Studying the broad sweep of history may invite

controversy and engender criticism, but if the purpose of history is to learn from the past, the ambitions of people like Hartz and the subsequent analysis of people like Hullington and his colleagues are necessary ingredients.

Southeastern Oklahoma State University

J. Brooks Flippen

Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship in the Era of Plessy v. Ferguson. By Blair L. M. Kelley. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Pp. x, 256. \$21.95.)

Rosa Parks and the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955–1956 have achieved iconic status in American history. Far less well known are the African Americans across the South who challenged segregated trains and streetcars half a century earlier. Blair L. M. Kelley seeks to resurrect their stories in this engaging, well-researched work. Historians have customarily regarded the early twentieth century as the age of accommodation, an era in which segregation, lynching, and other brutal forms of racial oppression supposedly drove African Americans to hunker down for survival rather than press for social or legal equality. Kelley echoes other scholars of this era by painting a far more nuanced portrait of black life. African Americans across the region, she persuasively contends, resisted white supremacy through boycotts, lawsuits, the press, and on the streetcars themselves. “The fight for the right to ride,” she convincingly asserts, “demonstrates the depth of black anger and desire to be recognized as citizens even in the age of accommodation” (12).

Kelley begins her story in New York, where blacks in the antebellum era fought against segregation in public conveyances. These efforts inspired later generations in the South; some blacks who were involved in these protests brought their experience and understanding of citizenship to Dixie after the Civil War. Most of the work, however, centers on struggles in the South. Blacks across the region resisted segregated transportation despite the Supreme Court’s 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, but Kelley concentrates on battles in New Orleans, Richmond, and Savannah. In each city, she vividly recounts, African Americans collectively asserted their right to be treated equally. Churches, fraternal organizations, unions, and other groups provided the institutional base for boycotts and other forms of protest that often inflicted substantial financial harm on transportation companies. Kelley also rightly emphasizes the important role black women played in these efforts. In Richmond, Maggie Walker forcefully condemned segregation and powerfully affirmed the dignity of black women. Less well-known African American women there, and elsewhere, participated in the struggle by walking to work, often for months.

Right to Ride also deftly explores class tensions among African Americans. Boycotts inspired collective action, but they also revealed the fault lines of values and culture in the black community. Middle-class leaders often chided lower-class blacks for their behavior; John Mitchell Jr. advised Richmond blacks to “be as polite as possible to white people” (134). These divisions inhibited the success of the boycotts, but Kelley perceptively notes several other factors behind their ultimate failure. Some African Americans undercut the boycotts by working secretly for the transportation companies, but white power, whether political or extralegal, was the chief reason. “The nadir generation may have been forced to tolerate a segregated world,” she concludes, “but these protests remind us that toleration was not consent” (200).

Virginia Commonwealth University

Timothy Thurber

Ten Hills Farm: The Forgotten History of Slavery in the North. By C. S. Manegold. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010. Pp. xxiv, 317. \$29.95.)

In recent years, specialists and nonspecialists alike have turned their attention to the subject of race-based slavery in the northern colonies and states. From literary scholars, to race theorists, to historians, to journalists, to townspeople and genealogists, people have worked diligently to recover the oft-forgotten stories of enslaved persons who provided much of the labor for the American North. Still, the historical and cultural amnesia around slavery in the region persists. Much remains to be told. And this telling is one of the primary values of C. S. Manegold’s *Ten Hills Farm: The Forgotten History of Slavery in the North*. Manegold’s story, of course, is not a simple one. Tracing the history of the various owners of a piece of property outside of Boston throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, she demonstrates the extent to which the institution of race-based slavery was intertwined with the whole of life in the North. Despite a few significant and distracting weaknesses, *Ten Hills Farm*, in the end, ably aids in recovering at least a portion of this forgotten past.

Recounting the exchanges of a “six-hundred-acre farm just north of Boston,” Manegold emphasizes slavery’s significance in the North (xiv). The narrative she crafts of the land’s several owners and residents, whom she labels respectively the Puritan, the Immigrant, the Master, and the Petitioner, demonstrates clearly that, despite the relatively small numbers of enslaved Africans in this region, slavery mattered. As she shows, many of the northern colonies’ leading figures, such as John Winthrop, William Ryall, John Usher, and Isaac Royall, not only

often owned slaves personally but also participated in numerous ways in the institution of slavery. In short, they literally built their reputations on the backs of African men, women, and children. Her deftly written account joins the work of other recent scholars in drawing attention to the historical and cultural amnesia most Americans have on the importance of the institution to the North (83).

Although Manegold accomplishes her goal, *Ten Hills Farm* is not without a few weaknesses that either distract from the interesting narrative or potentially detract from its overall usefulness. First, Manegold often directs her reader away from her subject by mentioning Apple, Amtrak, Boys & Girls Clubs, MapQuest, I-93, L.L. Bean, TJ Maxx, and Facebook (38, 58, 60, 71–72, 117, and 134). This stylistic choice not only distracts, but at times it also possibly belittles the subject. Certainly, this was not the aim, but it seems that such a focus on present things is one reason that this amnesia persists. Two potentially more serious issues, though, are the author's treatment of slavery in a rather monolithic way and the lack of any critical discussion of the concept of "race." A more nuanced treatment of the ways in which both the institution of slavery and the construction of race developed during this period would serve to strengthen Manegold's argument.

In the end, though, the book's strengths outweigh its weaknesses. Written in a style that makes it accessible to a wide audience, *Ten Hills Farm* is an important addition to the growing literature on race and slavery in the American North. Adding the account of this property and the people who owned it, as well as lived and labored on it, moves us ever closer to regaining the complex history so casually erased over the last few hundred years (4).

Canisius College

Richard A. Bailey

A Country of Vast Designs: James K. Polk, the Mexican War and the Conquest of the American Continent. By Robert W. Merry. (New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 2009. Pp. xiv, 576. \$30.00.)

Mexican War historiography has undergone something of a revolution in the two and a half decades since Robert Johannsen's *To the Halls of the Montezumas* [1985]. Historians have largely abandoned political and diplomatic approaches to understanding the war in favor of social and cultural interpretations. A secondary development has been the general view that the war was at best the result of tragic misunderstandings or, at worst, outright American aggression. In this book,

Robert Merry seeks to recenter the historical debate over the war around national politics and argues passionately that the war and seizure of vast stretches of territory were fully justified.

The book is focused so tightly around James K. Polk that it may be considered a biography. Although the first several chapters deal with the rise of Andrew Jackson and significant events in his administrations, their primary purpose is to show the reader how Jackson shaped Polk's own political thought. From here, the narrative follows a linear path through Polk's early political career, then his setbacks in Tennessee politics during the early 1840s, and eventually to his unlikely rise to the presidency. Throughout the study, the author is able to explain many complex relationships and issues in ways that allow even those without any knowledge of the period to understand. As the subtitle makes clear, the book focuses on the Mexican War and territorial expansion. As a result, Polk's substantial domestic agenda receives relatively scant attention.

The author discusses the Mexican War almost entirely through the political battles fought in Washington. This unusual approach, perhaps stemming from his background in congressional journalism, reveals his substantial understanding of the era's politics. The book covers the political battles between Polk and Congress in greater detail than any in recent memory. Merry is very much at home when explaining the maneuvering among various factions in Congress.

More so than any other point, the author seeks to convince the reader that the Mexican War was justified. Breaking with recent historiography, Merry argues that Polk was justified in making war because of unpaid claims and Mexico's refusal to recognize the Rio Grande as the border of Texas (475). This argument is not new, but it has fallen out of favor in recent historiography.

Although nonspecialists will find much to appreciate about Merry's approach, those who are well versed in Mexican War literature will likely find the book wanting. The author himself makes no pretense about being a newcomer to the subject matter, and it occasionally shows (551). Beyond the *Congressional Globe* and the nation's most popular newspapers, there are few primary sources consulted. Tremendous reliance is placed on secondary sources that are well out-of-date, and Wikipedia is even cited at one point (147). Overall, the book would be a good start for the nonspecialist seeking to become familiar with the politics of the Mexican War.

Celebrating the Republic: Presidential Ceremony and Popular Sovereignty, from Washington to Monroe. By Sandra Moats. (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010. Pp. xii, 242. \$36.00.)

“This book,” writes the author, “tells the story of how our first presidents invented the American political culture that endures today by employing the symbols and rituals they believed best illustrated republican principles to an American citizenry who now possessed sovereign authority over this new national government” (3).

Not surprisingly, setting the guidelines for this process of civic engagement fell to our first president. It was George Washington who carefully navigated a course of action that balanced respect for the presidency with the responsibility of communicating directly with the people. Washington hoped to bond with the nation through well-publicized tours that brought him to all thirteen states between October of 1789 and June of 1791. Although generally well-received there was criticism from Thomas Jefferson and the Democratic-Republicans that the tours were too monarchical.

Perhaps in response, John Adams avoided much of a ceremonial presence during his embattled term as president. Jefferson did likewise. “During his two-term presidency,” writes Sandra Moats, “Jefferson deliberately employed an informal style to present himself as a truly republican leader in both word and deed” (84).

Jefferson’s informality did not mean that he was a recluse. In fact, he was an ardent and enthusiastic advocate of presidential communication through a free press. James Madison followed a version of the Jefferson plan with modifications coming in large part from his wife, Dolley, and her very popular levees.

James Monroe brought back presidential tours during his two terms in office. It was a deliberate effort to heal a partisan political tension that had been growing in the nation since the turn of the century. “Harmony,” wrote Monroe in his inaugural address, “will be the object of my zealous exertions” (92).

Try as he might, however, Monroe could not sustain a so-called “era of good feelings.” Moats provides an excellent analysis of how the “dream of partisan-free government quickly yielded to political reality in the aftermath of the inconclusive election of 1824” (133). Beginning in 1828, the civic engagement of our presidents with the American people has been filtered through a spectrum of partisan political activity.

Celebrating the Republic is an articulate study that resonates to the present day. In fact, the very concepts of ceremony and communication have been

fundamental elements of the presidency since Washington's first tour. So also, presidents since Jefferson's time have used the press—and now social media—to communicate directly to the people.

There have been changes over the past two hundred years, of course, the most notable being the rise in importance of political parties and the ebb and flow of partisanship in the communication process. Moats helps us understand how we got from 1789 to 2009 and beyond.

Herbert Hoover Presidential Library

Timothy Walch

Right Here On Our Stage Tonight! Ed Sullivan's America. By Gerald Nachman. (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2009. Pp. 455. \$29.95.)

For almost a quarter century, the *Ed Sullivan Show* was a Sunday-night ritual for millions of American television viewers. As such, a summary of what it provided offers a fascinating glimpse of the entertainment values and tastes of the general population in the decades following the Second World War. Gerald Nachman's comprehensive overview of the program, and in particular his attention to how it was viewed by both audience members and critics, demonstrates Sullivan's significance as a key figure in Cold War American culture, especially through his efforts to create a show that everyone could enjoy. Drawing primarily on a long list of interviews with surviving production staff, performers, and fans, Nachman constructs a portrait of Sullivan, the man and impresario, that fleshes him out beyond the video snippets and comic impressions that have kept his image alive in the forty years since the show ended.

Nachman also describes how Sullivan unconsciously subverted the 1950s consensus image of American society that he staunchly promoted. This occurred when he seized on the burgeoning celebrity of Elvis Presley and later the Beatles to fan inadvertently the flames of generational division that came to define American society in the 1960s. The irony of Sullivan's part in that process, given his devotion to more traditional notions of show business and its unifying role, is one of the strongest elements in Nachman's narrative.

Unfortunately, the book's flaws undermine its effectiveness as the definitive story of this important show. Nachman, a journalist as opposed to historian, offers little pointed analysis. Instead, he is satisfied to offer only broad interpretations with little effort at explanation, rarely delving into areas that might provide better context for understanding Sullivan's significance. It often seems that his primary goal is to prove that Sullivan and his show were both underrated and misunderstood, especially by critics. He relies on repetition to the point of

redundancy, leaves contradictions unaddressed, and occasionally engages in hyperbole, even referring to Sullivan at one point as a “quasi-religious figure” (301). His admiration for his subject perhaps accounts for his failure to say anything significant about an alleged act of sexual assault relayed by one source, essentially passing it off as an example of how Sullivan’s stiffness on camera was not indicative of his private life. More significant, given the music’s place in the cultural revolution that is central to the book’s second half, is Nachman’s palpable disdain for rock and roll. This is evident in several errors related to its history and the nuances of its development as, for example, when he identifies James Brown as a Motown artist (316).

In the final analysis, Nachman has done a great deal of spadework and laid out a reasonable thesis built on that research. But the shortcomings noted above ultimately lead one to conclude that he has failed to make a convincing case.

University of Montana Western

John C. Hajduk

Capital Punishment on Trial: Furman v. Georgia and the Death Penalty in Modern America. By David M. Oshinsky. (Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2010. Pp. ix, 135. \$14.95.)

In this compact volume aimed at a general and student audience, the author provides a masterful synthesis of the vast historiography on America’s modern death penalty, focused around the *Furman v. Georgia* decision, which in 1972 temporarily suspended the country’s ultimate punishment. Narratives about the crimes and biographies of the primary actors make this history live and breathe, while careful analysis of the legal strategies and opinions clearly tells the complex story of capital punishment in the United States. David Oshinsky points out change over time in these debates and the significance of particular events to the larger history of the death penalty and the nation. Particularly admirable is his ability to create a sense of suspense around the legal deliberations.

The opening chapter tells the story of William Furman’s murder of William Micke before turning to an examination of capital punishment from colonial times, which continues through chapter 3. In recounting this history, Oshinsky points out significant continuities in the practice of the death penalty in the United States, including who is executed (largely the poor and marginalized), the abolitionist argument’s critique of state power, the differences (primarily racially based) between the South and the rest of the country, the ways in which larger social conditions determine the popularity of the death penalty, and the general failure of opposition of various sorts to capital punishment to sway broader public

opinion. For example, Oshinsky illustrates how the declining popularity of the death penalty in the 1960s and the increased sensitivity to its racial inequities led the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund to challenge capital punishment successfully in *Furman*. But the resulting moratorium on executions prompted an uproar among states and much of the U.S. population in the midst of rising violent crime rates that led to new death penalty statutes and the 1976 *Gregg* decision, which upheld a new capital punishment standard.

The last three chapters of the book deal with the Supreme Court's subsequent attempts to fine-tune the nation's death penalty, including the exclusion of rape as a capital crime, the discarding of *McCleskey's* broad statistical arguments for racial bias in capital punishment, and the exclusion of the mentally retarded and juvenile offenders from the death penalty. Oshinsky concludes that the complexity and resultant expense of the current system increasingly seems to deter states and juries from imposing death. Nonetheless, the courts seem content with the overall constitutionality of capital punishment; majority public opinion supports it, and change is therefore unlikely to come from the other branches of government as this difficult moral issue carries heavy political baggage.

The reviewer's one lament about this volume is the purposeful lack of citations to the many law cases, direct quotations, and studies included in the narrative, which makes it less useful to historians, students, and anyone else who cares to check the sources or to conduct further research on this contentious issue. Nonetheless, its brevity and riveting style make the book ideal for general classroom use or as a short desk reference for any historian.

Middle Tennessee State University

Amy L. Sayward

Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895. By Theda Perdue. (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press. Pp. xiv, 182. \$26.95.)

The literature depicting late Victorian era world's fairs and trade expositions is a rapidly expanding field for American historians. Much of this literature is fixated on issues and portrayals of ethnicity and race in the guise of the omnipresent exhibits of Asian, African, and European peoples as well as racial or ethnic treatment of blacks or Native Americans at these events. Although the subject of Theda Perdue's new study was not a recognized world's fair, it belongs to the genre by pretense and aspiration. In fact, as she makes clear, the Expo was part of a larger exhibition culture that swept Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because the Atlanta event was not a recognized world's exposition, it suffered from sparse attendance and inattention

from most European exposition powers like Germany, Russia, and Great Britain. Nonetheless it shared many of the purposes of such events. Indeed many of the exhibits had already been seen elsewhere and would appear again. For the historian, these continuities far outweigh the lack of an official imprimatur.

Like other recent narratives of world's fairs, this one stresses the representation and performance of race around the fairgrounds. This was a constant feature of both European and American fairs in the period before World War I, and it provided a complex, ongoing discourse about imperialism, racial difference, ethnicity, sexuality, and social and physical evolution, over which the era clearly obsessed. This was not the only element of these fairs, or even the principal one perhaps, but for American historians it has proven an irresistible story, even if now twice-told.

The virtue of Perdue's book is that she sees the complexity and contradictions in the subject. She clearly understands the continuity between the fair and the racial turmoil in the surrounding society. (After all, this was the venue for Booker T. Washington's famous address on segregation.) Her approach invites a more descriptive tone, and if there is no real conclusion to the story (did the Exposition cause, symbolize, initiate, or just depict racial attitudes in Georgia?), that is because she is careful not to ascribe undue influence to such a brief event.

The most significant element of this book recounts and evaluates what was the *raison d'être* of the fair: Atlanta commerce. Mundane economics were, after all, the purpose of city and state sponsorship of expositions, whatever the complicated overlay of cultural tasks they were obliged to perform. Like many other fairs (that in St. Louis, for example) the payoff in terms of trade and economic activity was either long in coming or never appeared. Yet the story of Atlanta's business hopes for the fair to open world markets to the city is a fascinating one. Perdue soberly assesses the grandiose aspirations of this vision and notes the ways in which issues of race and ethnicity worked to complicate and compromise Atlanta's economic place in the world. In sum, this is a crisply written and interesting contribution to the developing literature on world expositions, as well as the revelation of a little-known but significant aspect of Atlanta's history.

University of Maryland

James Gilbert

Baring the Iron Hand: Discipline in the Union Army. By Steven J. Ramold. (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010. Pp. xii, 493. \$40.00.)

At the outbreak of the American Civil War, the United States Army numbered only 13,000 to 16,000 regulars. During the next four years, that force

mushroomed in size, with an estimated 2,100,000 men serving some time in its ranks. Most of these Billy Yanks belonged to the U.S. Volunteers—citizen-soldiers who cared little for the spit-and-polish niceties of military life. Although they proudly wore their country's uniform, they clung tightly to their rights as citizens and refused to accept restraints that would diminish their sense of manhood. Yet, while repeatedly challenging rules and regulations, this unruly and headstrong force exhibited enough discipline to absorb a 20 percent death rate and crush the Confederacy.

In *Baring the Iron Hand: Discipline in the Union Army*, Steven J. Ramold attempts to explain how this clumsy leviathan managed to hold together and achieve its mission in the midst of the searing trial that claimed more American lives than any other conflict either before or since then. Intensively researched and beautifully written, this book provides a persuasive portrait of an army that, as Ramold puts it, “seldom obeyed the rules but prevailed on the battlefield” (7).

In the eighty years preceding the Civil War, America's regular army established a strict disciplinary code that made military life anathema to most male citizens. The 71,000 to 73,000 volunteer troops and militiamen who served in the Mexican War balked at conforming to this system, but there were not enough of them to overturn or significantly modify the regular army mentality that dominated American military justice from 1846 to 1848.

Volunteers made up the vast majority of soldiers that the Union raised to fight the Civil War, however, and they constituted what Ramold called “an army that only grudgingly obeyed the rules” (44). Although these men exhibited incredible feats of bravery in combat, they repeatedly ignored, adapted, or changed the nature of military boundaries off the battlefield. Union officers had to learn to tolerate a certain amount of laxity and vice in the ranks to avoid alienating the men they led. Even in cases of blatant insubordination, desertion, theft, and violent crime, Union authorities tended to temper justice with mercy. In fact, punishments grew more lenient as the war continued. Ramold addresses the full range of transgressions committed by the Union soldier and the various means the officer corps employed to maintain a reasonable degree of order without driving their men to open mutiny.

Ramold concludes his study by arguing that the ethos of the citizen-soldier did not dissipate with the volunteers' discharge at the war's end. Rather, it became the behavioral model for the regular army, whose justice system grew kinder and gentler by following the example of civilian courts. Students of the Indian-fighting army of the 1870s and 1880s may find Ramold's depiction of that transformation to be simplistic, but that should not detract from a magnificent achievement that

provides a fresh perspective for analyzing the character and conduct of the Union soldier.

Temple University

Gregory J. W. Urwin

At the Edge of the Precipice: Henry Clay and the Compromise that Saved the Union.
By Robert V. Remini. (New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 2010. Pp. xi, 184. \$24.00.)

The Compromise of 1850 ushered in a decade of contention and controversy. Henry Clay, the flawed protagonist of this brief and lively history of the Compromise, usually receives credit for crafting the legislation that kept the country together for a few more years. Clay was an aged and frail man when he returned to Washington in 1849 once again to save the United States. The prospects before him were daunting: sectional differences over the institution of slavery had reached frightening levels, while the national political parties slowly fell apart. For several months, Clay worked tirelessly to convince his fellow congressmen to accept a meaningful compromise. When his Omnibus Bill failed, Clay left the Capitol and traveled north to tend to his health. Stephen Douglas quickly stepped in and introduced the various parts of Clay's bill individually to the Senate. A shifting coalition of senators passed each component in a matter of days, the House of Representatives fell in line, and President Fillmore signed the legislation into law on September 20, 1850. Clay had preserved the Union and cemented his role as "The Great Compromiser."

Robert V. Remini begins and ends his book with Clay. His portrayal of the Kentuckian is largely positive but not always convincing. Clay was the most famous American of the day and a genuine patriot. He correctly divined that only one issue could destroy his beloved country and "regarded slavery as an evil that betrayed American values of liberty and free government" (3). But the Constitution's guarantee of private property rights—including human chattel—trumped the evils of the peculiar institution in Clay's mind. Remini struggles to paint Clay as fully committed to ending slavery. He is more successful in convincing readers that noble intentions and not personal ambitions motivated Clay to secure passage of the Compromise.

The bulk of the book tells the story of the debate in the Senate over what became known as Clay's Omnibus Bill, with considerable attention given to the speeches that Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster gave in support of and opposition to the legislation. Remini relies heavily upon congressional records and Clay's personal correspondence. Readers interested in how the debate over the Compromise played out back home or in the nation's newspapers will be disappointed. So

will those eager to understand why Clay agreed to roll his separate bills together instead of securing passage of each part individually, as he had done earlier with the Missouri Compromise. Remini contends that the Omnibus Bill was both a “mistake” and “essential to the final passage of the Compromise of 1850 in the upper house” (141, 152). His explanation that Douglas’s success was predicated upon Clay’s failed “omnibus strategy” is not quite satisfactory (153).

Remini remains a master of narrative history; he employs a chronological approach and writes in a direct and entertaining style. The intended audience of undergraduate students and general readers will be well served by his engaging, although occasionally unconvincing, retelling of the Compromise of 1850.

West Texas A&M University

Wade Shaffer

The Great Industrial War: Framing Class Conflict in the Media, 1865–1950. By Troy Rondinone. (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2010. Pp. ix, 245. \$45.00.)

This study addresses a complex question: how did Americans perceive the evolution of capitalism and the disagreements it produced? For an answer, the author considers writings from the media, influential persons, and institutions generated between the early nineteenth century and the middle of the twentieth century. He concludes that for much of this period “war” was the “‘master frame’ for class conflict” in the United States (5). The nation’s media interpreted disputes between opposing economic forces as pitched battles, comparable to violent exchanges between opposing armies in the field.

The author’s analysis is informed by several theoretical conclusions. First, as Marx believed, class conflict is a “real, historical phenomenon” (2). Second, drawing on Antonio Gramsci’s ideas about the nature of hegemony, Troy Rondinone writes that in America “[t]he narrative of war trumped other possible narratives, and this terrifying plot line obscured any deeper criticism of the system that begat the violence in the first place” (4). Finally, utilizing framing theory, the author posits the media’s importance in developing narratives. Although media narratives did not convey objective truth, they offered compelling interpretations of events and had a substantial influence on public policy.

Most of the book presents evidence from the antebellum period to the 1940s that supports the war framing thesis. The sources of this evidence include major newspapers, magazines, journals, government reports, and books from contemporary writers. Before 1860, the industrial war narrative was not well developed. Strikes appeared as peripheral to more pressing concerns. By the late 1870s,

however, newspapers adopted a more threatening interpretation of labor unrest. The raging conflict appeared as a fight to the death between labor and capital. Industrialization as warfare meant casualties, new and more efficient weapons, and bold commanders of opposing troops. Above all, the battle narrative emphasized uncertainty and chaos. After 1900, experts and the media began to present an ill-defined “public” as both victim and potential mediator of the long-lasting war. This slowly changing narrative helped produce federal legislation in the 1930s and 1940s—the Wagner Act and its Taft-Hartley amendments—and imposed a sort of peace. Henceforth, the frame was not class violence but “industrial pluralism” (162).

The author should be commended for taking on such a broadly significant topic. Historians of labor, business, and the media will benefit from reading *The Great Industrial War*. It offers an original thesis and well-chosen evidence. Also, Rondinone’s suggestion that the war narrative aided capitalism, partly because it helped squash the effective use of strikes by labor, is an honest assessment. Readers ought to appreciate this directness, even if it makes one wonder if a book about framing narratives is inevitably another framing narrative itself. Perhaps ironically, Rondinone’s own narrative signals the usefulness of *The Great Industrial War* and advances its argument about the significance of perception and framing in American labor history.

Mercer University

James L. Hunt

Revolutionary Negotiations: Indians, Empires, and Diplomats in the Founding of America. By Leonard J. Sadosky. (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 2009. Pp. xii, 275. \$40.00.)

In 1730, the Cherokee nation sent diplomats to London to negotiate a treaty with King George II and the Board of Trade. In 1830, the Cherokee hired a lawyer to protect their interests before the Supreme Court of the United States. Leonard J. Sadosky’s fine new book is a bold attempt to explain the radically changed nature of polity relations in North America over this century that led to the deployment of such different strategies of negotiation. Along the way, he also adds an important new interpretive lens through which to view the events of the American Revolutionary era—a truly international history of early American statecraft.

The genius of Sadosky’s work lies in his fusion of several new important strands of historiography into one “extended interpretative essay,” as he modestly calls it (5). Acknowledging the creative insights of scholars working on early Native American history, a recent spate of work on the political culture of the Revolution-

ary era, and calls for the internationalization of American history, Sadosky deftly recounts a diplomatic history that weaves back and forth between the often fraught negotiations in the courts of Europe, the provincial assemblies, and around council fires to tell an important story of the emergence of a new nation.

Recapturing a moment when the colonies were weak and divided, Sadosky reminds the reader of their dependence on Britain and on maintaining good relations with at least some Native American powers. The act of declaring independence, then, was a particularly risky move given the relative weakness of the newly united states in the international arena even under the Articles of Confederation. European states, aspiring new American states, and sovereign Indian nations all jockeyed for position in the tumultuous years following independence. The revolutionary strategy adopted by leaders in the new states on the eastern seaboard was to assert their sovereignty and power simultaneously on two fronts, east and west.

Thus while American diplomats fought a long-running—and often unsuccessful—war for equality with the sovereign powers of Europe, they also waged war of a more bloody kind against Indian nations to their west that was premised on defining the Cherokee and others as something less than sovereign nations. In doing battle on two fronts, of course, many American elites in the diverse new states confronted the stark reality of their abject weakness in the new international order and began rethinking their relations with fellow states. Only through a stronger union could the twin goals of diplomats and politicians be achieved.

Yet even after the new federal Constitution was ratified, of course, it was a long, difficult, and contradictory road to full sovereignty. In the end, Sadosky reminds us that recognizing the inequalities inherent in the bloody origins of the American federal union, and its statecraft, might go a long way in explaining the very unequal ways in which American power has been asserted both within and outside its sovereign borders ever since.

University of Sydney, Australia

Michael A. McDonnell

The Fragile Fabric of Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War. By Brian Schoen. (Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. Pp. xiv, 369. \$55.00.)

Responding to the call of historians David Brion Davis, Daniel Walker Howe, and others that scholars broaden their approach to studying the Civil War and African American slavery, Brian Schoen examines the political economy of the lower

South, specifically the economic history of cotton, sectional politics, and the coming of the Civil War within the context of international trade. Mindful of the power of rhetoric and ideology on historical causation, Schoen focuses nonetheless on what he terms “exploring economic reality and its intersection with the ideas and political actions contemporary to the time” (351). He organizes his book chronologically, charting South Carolina and Georgia planters’ and politicians’ emerging economic and geopolitical worlds from the Constitutional Convention of 1787 through secession in 1860–1861.

Schoen complicates the traditional narrative of the growth of Southern economic nationalism. He carefully traces how over time the planter-politician elite juggled its determination to produce and market cotton with the degree to which the federal government would protect Southern regional economic concerns. Early in their history, Southerners looked to the federal government to guard their interests in slaves, land, and wider overseas markets. The emergence of the Anglo-American cotton trade in the late 1790s reinforced, yet subtly altered, Southerners’ commitment to the Union and Northern capitalists.

During the Jeffersonian era, planters balanced their lust for British markets with America’s Anglophobic foreign policy. Schoen notes correctly that after 1815 national debates over the tariff and other commercial policies intersected instrumentally with questions of major importance to Southerners, including the Missouri Compromise, land distribution, African colonization, South Carolina’s Negro Seamen’s Acts, and internal improvements. Henry Clay’s “American System” and the Whigs’ commitment to protectionism preoccupied Southerners wary of threats to their international cotton trade and the westward expansion of the Cotton South. For six decades, Southerners agonized over what Schoen considers “cotton’s precarious political place in the Union” (9).

Schoen underscores Southerners’ belief in the importance of cotton and the international cotton trade to their region’s well being. Overly confident in the power of “King Cotton,” in the 1850s disunionists “assumed that potential European allies and northern adversaries shared their conviction that cotton ruled global trade” (10). Secession, Schoen concludes, signified less a defensive action against Yankee assaults than “an offensive action eagerly embarked on by men and women seeking to advance their interests within a larger world” (269). “It is perhaps not too much of a stretch,” he argues, “to say that, without cotton and the international demand for it, there would not have been secession or a Civil War” (259). Ironically, the ineffectiveness of King Cotton diplomacy “hastened the demise of the slave system to which cotton had been bound for over a half century” (267).

Specialists will welcome Schoen's deeply researched, well-crafted, and sophisticated book. His disciplined attention to the value of cotton to Southerners and their obsession with international trade provides considerable insight into proslavery ideology as well as to the centrality of slavery and white supremacy in shaping the *Weltanschauung* of the planter class. Scholars at all levels will consider Schoen's "Essay on Sources" invaluable.

University of North Carolina at Charlotte

John David Smith

Emancipation's Diaspora: Race and Reconstruction in the Upper Midwest. By Leslie A. Schwalm. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. Pp. xii, 387. \$24.95.)

In 1836, Dred Scott accompanied his owner to the Wisconsin Territory, a tract that encompassed the modern-day states of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. Based on his residence in "free" territory, Scott would later sue for his freedom, resulting ultimately in Chief Justice Roger B. Taney's infamous opinion stating that African Americans "were not intended to be included under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution." Lest we think that Scott's presence in the free territories was anomalous, Leslie A. Schwalm's superb study of emancipation and its consequences in the upper Midwest reminds us that it was not. Though few in relative number, there were several thousand African Americans living in the upper Midwest prior to the Civil War, and they were joined by several thousand more who migrated to the region during and after the conflict. Like Scott, these men and women would make claims to citizenship, and their presence had important consequences for ideas about freedom, race, and gender in the region.

Certainly historians of the period have long recognized that a full rendering of Reconstruction requires a consideration of its political, economic, and social consequences in the North as well as the South. What sets Schwalm's study apart, however, is its focus on emancipation in a Northern context. Using newspaper accounts, private archives, and a thorough mining of the Civil War Pension Files, Schwalm guides the reader from the world of shadow slavery in the antebellum Midwest, to the wartime Army camps of the U.S. Colored Infantry, then into the lodges of Prince Hall Freemasons, and finally through the postwar courtrooms where black residents fought to become black citizens. In the process, she provides a convincing argument that emancipation was truly a national experience that had profound consequences on the day-to-day lives of all Americans, both North and South. In addition to the themes of gender and citizenship that Schwalm

highlights, her unique geographic focus also poses implicit challenges both to notions of Southern exceptionalism and to conventional periodizations of the era.

One striking aspect of Schwalm's study is how closely the experience of black migrants in the upper Midwest paralleled the better-known experiences of Southern freedpeople. The migrants who formed emancipation's diaspora encountered a population deeply committed to white supremacy; a labor market that relegated black workers to the least desirable positions; and a legal structure that denied them the full privileges of citizenship, even after emancipation. What was different was the fact that black Midwesterners did not enjoy the demographic majorities held by at least some of their Southern brethren. They also lacked the federal oversight provided, albeit briefly, in the former Confederacy.

But if Northern Reconstruction was not measured by federal oversight of elections, or by Republican control of state legislatures, then the removal of federal troops and the political ascendancy of Democratic "redeemers" provided a far less profound rupture than it did in the South. Thus, shifting our gaze northward might require historians to rethink traditional temporal constructs. This alternate chronology is but one of many important implications that arise from Schwalm's expansive study of the postemancipation Midwest, a study that scholars will find at times familiar, at times surprising, but always engaging.

University of South Carolina

Ehren K. Foley

Supreme Power: Franklin Roosevelt vs. The Supreme Court. By Jeff Shesol. (New York, N.Y.: W. W. Norton & Company, 2010. Pp. x, 644. \$27.95.)

This study joins an already crowded bookshelf of examinations of FDR's ill-fated court-packing plan. Over the last fifteen years, many monographs on this topic—some popular and some scholarly—have appeared. All of them tend to agree on the main points: Roosevelt's plan was ill conceived; the political fight was a necessary one; and the results of the fight reshaped the Supreme Court. As Roosevelt said himself, he lost the battle but won the war. Not only did he force a "switch in time to save nine," but his appointments to the highest court resulted in rulings that recast the United States.

Jeff Shesol adds to the historiography a nuanced, well-reasoned history of the court fight that emphasizes the political elite over the average citizen. This is not a social history of the court fight. Roosevelt, the few administration officials who helped draft the plan to transform the Supreme Court, his leading supporters, and his leading opponents appear in detail. In addition, Shesol clearly explains what the stakes were. Ultimately the fight that FDR picked with those nine old men

determined the outcome of early-twentieth-century political, legal, and economic movements that sought to refashion the American political economy and society. The plan's opponents and supporters rightly predicted that Roosevelt's pro-New Deal, liberal court would seek to adjust the contradictions, injustices, and inequalities at the heart of the American experience. Thus the racially charged and vocal fears of Southern Democrats in Congress were much more than hyperbole, as Shesol aptly demonstrates. The Supreme Court that Roosevelt made brought about tremendous and historic changes.

Supreme Power is a wonderful, informative, and insightful book. While providing a well-researched and well-written blow-by-blow account of the court fight, Shesol rescues many important figures from the fog of the past, such as Homer Cummings and Joe Robinson. He carefully weaves into his narrative complicated legal and political twists from the workings of Congressional committees to the machinations of the American Liberty League. This is also a timely and important book. Shesol reminds us that Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency was not a slow, steady march towards greatness. The New Deal had its ups and downs and its major setbacks amidst its advances. He also reveals just how intense Roosevelt's opposition was and how well-financed and how powerful the conservative movement was in the 1930s. In reading *Supreme Power*, it is hard not to draw parallels to our own times: the battles against the economic recession and a political milieu that has its deep divisions and vitriol. Because of this, it would be perfect for college classrooms, but its length probably precludes this. One hopes that a low-cost, abridged version would appear.

University of Wisconsin–Green Bay

Andrew E. Kersten

Hans Staden's True History: An Account of Cannibal Captivity in Brazil. By Hans Staden. Edited and translated by Neil L. Whitehead and Michael Harbsmeier. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008. Pp. civ, 206. \$23.95.)

Teachers and scholars of Brazilian history can rejoice that *Hans Staden's True History* is once again in print. This is one of only a handful of sixteenth-century chronicles written by Europeans about their encounters with indigenous Brazilians. Arguably, it is also the most reliable. Hans Staden, an Austrian gunner and mercenary, spent several years in the employ of the Spanish and Portuguese and was held captive for nearly a year by a Tupinambá tribe. His narrative was published in 1557, shortly following his return to Europe. Although numerous

sixteenth-century editions came out in Latin, German, and French, the *True History* was not translated into English until 1874. The most recent English-language edition dates from 1928.

This comparative neglect is surprising given the relatively greater availability of editions of the French clerics, André Thévet and Jean de Léry, both contemporaries of Staden. They spent far less time in Brazil, did not speak native languages, and neither lived with indigenous peoples for a significant length of time. Léry wrote his chronicle decades after the fact. Editor Neil Whitehead suggests persuasively that this scholarly preference might be due to the enduring French fascination with cannibalism first popularized by Michel de Montaigne in the sixteenth century.

Staden's account is a curious mixture of overt piety and dispassionate ethnographic observation. The work is divided into two parts. The first, prefaced by the words "The True History and Description of a Country Populated by a Wild, Naked, and Savage Man-munching People, Situated in the New World, America," tells how Staden ended up as a gunner at a Portuguese fort. He was then taken prisoner by the Tupinambá, who were allied with the French and hostile to the Portuguese. Typically prisoners of war were eaten as part of an elaborate ritual, and Staden spends much of the narrative trying to convince his captors that he is French, or a French ally, and not Portuguese. Staden then describes a series of narrow escapes that he attributes to divine deliverance. He also demonstrates some ability to predict or control the weather and to cause or cure disease. Although Staden steadfastly credits God with his ultimate escape and frames his experience as akin to Christ's suffering, his captors come to assign him the status of a powerful shaman and are increasingly reluctant to eat him. Eventually, Staden convinces some French sailors to pose as his "brothers," and they affect his release.

The second part, "A True and Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of Tupinambás, whose Captive I Was," differs markedly in tone. Here Staden describes the material culture of his captors, their subsistence practices, religious and cultural beliefs, gender norms, and cannibalistic rituals in a more neutral manner, relatively free of moral judgments or cultural bias.

Whitehead does an admirable job of contextualizing Staden's narrative in his substantial scholarly introduction to this new edition. He compares Staden to other contemporaneous sources: Vespucci's letters, the writings of early Jesuit missionaries Manuel de Nóbrega and José de Anchieta, and French observers like the aforementioned Léry and Thévet. He also addresses the extent to which Staden's account was filtered through his patron, Dr. Johannes Dryander, a

physician, anatomist, and family friend. Whitehead attributes the volume's overtly pious tone and emphasis on religious deliverance to Dryander's intervention, based in part on Staden's admission that he asked the doctor to "correct" and "improve" his stories where necessary.

Whitehead uses these sources to provide additional information about the culture of Tupi-speaking peoples of Brazil, thereby allowing the reader to interpret more fully Staden's experience. He highlights the importance of dreams and prophecies as a basis for social power and as a means to escape death by ritual cannibalism. Whitehead also includes an intellectual genealogy of literature on the cannibal other, most extensively developed among the French, but also present in more contemporary Brazilian circles as a symbolic form of anticolonial resistance.

Finally, Whitehead deserves commendation for his recovery and inclusion of the woodcuts original to the first 1557 edition. Subsequent printings included the now iconic engravings by Theodore de Bry with their overtly sensuous and sensationalist depictions of inappropriately voluptuous indigenous bodies and a seemingly casual attitude towards the consumption of human flesh. These images distort the content of Staden's text. The woodcuts commissioned for the first edition, in contrast, incorporate ethnographic details and nuances lost in de Bry's renderings. Whitehead convincingly makes the case that the text and illustrations function much as does a contemporary graphic novel; to eliminate these images or substitute others significantly alters the content of Staden's story. By uniting the woodcuts with a modern translation, Whitehead has provided a valuable resource for scholars and a highly readable and attractive text appropriate for undergraduate and graduate courses.

University of New Mexico

Judy Bieber

The Grand Design: Strategy and the U.S. Civil War. By Donald Stoker. (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xiii, 481. \$27.95.)

Single-volume and multivolume histories of the American Civil War and biographies of its senior generals deal in some ways with strategy and strategic implications, but the author of this study presents one of the few books taking strategy as its focus. Donald Stoker explains, describes, analyzes, and criticizes strategy in both the Union and the Confederacy and discusses civilian and military leaders who exercised influence on strategic thinking. Stoker effectively frames his chronological account by weaving in analytical points raised in *On War* [1831] by

German strategic analyst Carl von Clausewitz, though occasional efforts to bring in comments by Chinese thinker Sun Tzu seem less applicable.

Stoker argues that President Abraham Lincoln possessed an understanding of the “broad sweep of the war” far beyond that of his Confederate counterpart, President Jefferson Davis, and that the North’s strategy was better than that of the South (43). Indeed, the author contends that strategic deficiencies hampered the Confederacy throughout the war. On the other hand, Stoker reaches provocative conclusions about Lincoln as war leader, casting doubt on the notion that Lincoln was a natural strategist and concludes by questioning the president’s “inflated” role in formulating strategy (410). Furthermore, Stoker criticizes one of Lincoln’s most important strategic choices that emphasized gaining control of the Mississippi River. Stoker himself questions the river’s strategic significance, but, in what may seem like a contradiction, he indicates that federal control of the great river helped the Union by limiting Confederate east-west communications, isolating the western states, and reducing the flow of supplies from the Trans-Mississippi Department. He provides particularly good assessments of the Union naval blockade of the Confederate coast, General George B. McClellan’s plans in the war’s early months, and the Pennsylvania campaign culminating in the battle at Gettysburg in 1863.

In one of his most notable themes, Stoker sharpens the historical debate over the issue of Jefferson Davis’s “offensive-defensive strategy.” Declaring that the concept of an “offensive-defensive strategy” does not fit the Confederacy’s approach, Stoker dismisses the term, maintaining that Davis misapplied the phrase in his postwar memoirs. He also demonstrates that at various times during the war Davis switched from conducting a broad, cordon defense—trying to defend the entire Confederacy—to insisting that Confederate generals shift their armies to some form of an offensive. Some of Stoker’s most valuable discussions turn on how offensives can be understood in either tactical or operational context and how leaders’ choices, actions, and use of nineteenth-century terminology related to their strategy. Stoker raises thought-provoking questions about Confederate strategy and finds fault with some Confederate strategists, including General Joseph E. Johnston.

Supported by several good maps, Stoker’s book offers numerous insights and provocative evaluations likely to inspire debate. Students of the Civil War may either improve their knowledge or rethink their conclusions about the conflict’s strategy by reading *The Grand Design*.

National Security and Core Values in American History. By William O. Walker III. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. xiv, 351. \$24.99.)

Historians generally recognize the importance of “core values” in crafting American foreign policy, but they often leave unexamined how those values contributed to defining American national interests. William O. Walker III argues that too many historians suffer from the “debilitating liability” of viewing the Cold War as a sharp turning point in American history (xi). His engaging book counters the ahistorical tendency of viewing the Cold War as a period when American foreign policy was created “anew.” American core values, such as the right to self-determination, the appeal of universal democracy, and the ideal of human rights, did not suddenly appear at the end of World War II. On the contrary, these core values have informed policy makers’ definitions of what constituted the national interest (economic prosperity, territorial expansion, and national security) since before the American Revolution. Indeed, Walker maintains that American leaders, both sincere and hypocritical, struggled with these values to create what he describes as the “security ethos”—“the association of [American] security and prosperity through a global presence” (292).

These core values, however, did not go uncontested in America. Walker describes a debate between advocates of “civic virtue,” who tolerate diversity and dissent, against promoters of the “security ethos,” who demand prosperity, homogeneity, and safety. According to Walker, the security ethos has been ascendant since the 1890s, when “advocates of an international presence for the United States were hopeful of building their imperial dreams on the dynamic growth of capital and industry at home” (45). Although rooted in a careful study of American culture, this is not an argument sympathetic to critical theory. Walker examines the relationship between culture and power, but rejects the cultural turn in the study of America’s international relations. Not all “historical roads” lead to Rome, but, according to Walker, they do “pass through Philadelphia in 1787” (294). The cultural conflict described by the author is how, “over time, the nation’s core values would be diminished by fear and the security ethos that sustained it” (70).

Walker essentially divides the book into a historical essay and a critique of current events. Unabashedly influenced by the work of William Appleman Williams, Walker updates and relates the “Open Door” thesis directly to the “War on Terror.” Some readers will appreciate the author’s persistent invocation of Williams; others will be less sympathetic. Walker’s methodical examination of Americans’ core values raises questions about other nations’ core values, but some

might wish he had considered the dynamic of competing core values in international relations. The author's exclusive focus on American core values has the effect of recentering the Cold War on the United States (particularly curious, given Walker's approving mention of Odd Arne Westad's work). All readers, however, should welcome the smooth and seamless prose that sustains the book. Moreover, the book is splendidly organized and thoroughly researched. The author superbly identifies continuities across historical periods and deftly dispatches "present at the creation" thinking.

Carthage College

Eric D. Pullin

Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit: Plantation Management in the Colonial Chesapeake, 1607–1763. By Lorena S. Walsh. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Pp. xviii, 704. \$70.00.)

Few historians can hope to know their field as completely as this author knows the social and economic history of the colonial Chesapeake. The publication of this book marks a high point in her four-decades-long career and of the historiography of the colonial Chesapeake more generally. In this study, Lorena S. Walsh focuses on the plantation, the Chesapeake's central cultural and economic unit, and considers the plantation with an emphasis on its *raison d'être*: profitability. Not surprisingly, the work carries the usual hallmarks of the Chesapeake school: rigorous and careful research, quantification, methodological creativity in the face of limited sources, and an awareness of the material aspects of historical experiences. Some historians have been critical of Chesapeake scholars for the economic orientation and aesthetic limitations of their work, but few would deny their enormous contributions to our understanding of early America, and Walsh's work has always had implications that go beyond economic history.

The enormous scope of *Motives of Honor, Pleasure, and Profit* makes it difficult to summarize in a short review, but Walsh's focus on plantation management and economic performance anchors the book. Walsh devotes special attention to thirty-two planters who left particularly useful records, and Walsh is at her best piecing together accounts and other disparate sources to find meaningful measures of efficiency, profitability, and labor returns. Along those lines, she has constructed a more complete discussion of plantation management than we have for any other plantation region in the Americas before 1800.

At the same time, Walsh recognizes that "a narrow econometric study of plantation profitability . . . abstracted from moral issues would be incomplete and unsatisfactory" (20). For example, decisions related to plantation management

had a profound influence on the experience of bound laborers. Walsh's research makes it possible to see when, where, and why planters chose to invest their resources in different forms of labor. Although this means that Walsh often finds that enslaved labor could provide planters with substantial profits, she also considers the experience of the slaves. In fact, Walsh makes a major contribution to scholarship about the origins and development of slavery in the Chesapeake.

Walsh also makes a strong case for the significance of regional variations within the Chesapeake. The tobacco economy that played such a central role in the growth and character of Chesapeake plantations functioned differently in different places. Two different strains of tobacco, oronoco and sweet-scented, accounted for some variations, while large areas of the Chesapeake remained on the periphery of the tobacco economy altogether. Walsh's attention to these alternative plantation strategies suggests that scholars need to pay much more attention to separate places within the tobacco colonies or risk misunderstanding the Chesapeake as a whole.

Eastern Kentucky University

Bradford J. Wood

Realigning America: McKinley, Bryan, and the Remarkable Election of 1896. By R. Hal Williams. (Lawrence, Kans.: University Press of Kansas, 2010. Pp. xiv, 250. \$29.95.)

Although political historians argue that every major election in United States history has been important, some consensus exists that a few elections are more important than others. For example, only some political historians would disagree that the election of 1800—the Revolution of 1800—which saw the first peaceful transfer of political power from one political faction to another political faction, constituted an important turning point. The election of 1860 and the political and constitutional crisis of the secession winter of 1860–1861 represent another major political decision. The election of 1932 and the origins of the administrative state mark a key change in public policy as do the 1980 election and the growing skepticism with and about that same administrative state.

Less appreciated by the general reading public, but understood by political historians as of equal significance to these other important political turning points, the election of 1896 stands out as a cultural and economic watershed in United States political history. In an era of high voter engagement and turnout, when the emotional political symbols of gold and silver resonated among voters and the candidates, the election of 1896 signaled both an end to the politics of the nineteenth century and the beginning of “modern,” mass, educational

politics. Historians have spilled a good deal of ink on the background to 1896, the various candidates, the platforms and the symbolism of the campaigns (silver-ites, gold-bugs, and William McKinley's "front-porch" campaign), the fall campaign itself, its political outcome, and its larger meaning as a vote for stability, urbanism, and economic development and a vote against the narrow, rural, and single-issue platform of the Democrats/Populists and Nebraskan William Jennings Bryan.

In *Realigning America*, R. Hal Williams has crafted an accessible and generally even-handed account of this controversial election (then and since). Synthesizing the wealth of primary and secondary sources on the election, Williams tracks the origins of the building political turning point from the administration of President Grover Cleveland through the 1896 election and its aftermath. For the intervening period, Williams provides solid descriptions of the major personalities and analyzes the issues and symbols of that era in a way that will be accessible for the modern reader. His audience is the general reader and undergraduate students unfamiliar with the election and its significance. As such, specialists may not find much new in this work, but even they will appreciate Williams's succinctness and packaging of this crucial election. The author's own political opinion is held in check until the third paragraph from the end when he cannot resist taking a cheap political shot at the modern Republican Party. This blemish on an otherwise good book aside, this work will engage college and university students, and it will provide a starting point for more specialized works on the crucial election of 1896 and the important era of the United States' multiple transformations during the 1890s and 1900s.

University of Louisville

Thomas C. Mackey

Lincoln's Political Generals. By David Work. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2009. Pp. 320. \$34.95.)

This study is a collective biography of sixteen political generals. Many of them—such as Benjamin Butler, Carl Schurz, and Nathaniel Banks—are well known, but others are more obscure. David Work's aim is to rescue political generals from the dustbin of history, offering revisionary treatment like that given to other Civil War era pejoratives such as "carpetbagger" and "scalawag," but, despite this ambition, he more often than not concludes that most of his subjects were ill suited to a battlefield command.

Though the bulk of the book is a conventional military narrative, more illuminating are the sections of the book that go further than the theater of war. In the

opening chapter, Work observes that the category “political general” was a fluid one. At the beginning of the war, the author notes, all officers were elected, and political considerations also shaped the career of professionally trained West Point graduates. So, in effect, the line between the “political” and “professional” military was hardly clear. Work also, thoughtfully, places the issue of political generalship into context. The small number of professionally trained soldiers and the massive scale of the war compelled Lincoln to use civilian officers, and, moreover, the practice was hardly original to the Civil War.

The most enlightening and original portion of the book is its last third. There, like much of the most original academic scholarship on the Civil War, *Lincoln's Political Generals* looks beyond the battlefield; or, rather, it probes the border between the battlefield and the civilian home front. In particular, Work highlights the role of political generals as administrators and occupiers. For long stretches of the war, large parts of the South were occupied by Union forces. During that time, military leaders exercised civil authority, and political generals were able to apply their skills and experience in novel ways. They even engaged, as in the case of New Orleans, in a kind of primitive nation building. In this neglected realm, the political generals excelled.

Though *Lincoln's Political Generals* is ably written and well researched, it has some weaknesses. Lincoln, for one, is curiously absent. His motivations are rarely explicit in either his own words or those of his contemporaries. The book also struggles to document the impact of the appointments. Lincoln's vulnerabilities as a minority president are well known, as are his political inclinations as a consensus-building centrist. But did his appointments actually build consensus?

Lincoln's Political Generals might also have been strengthened by some comparison with the South and by grappling more broadly with American political culture. Throughout the nineteenth century, Americans debated the proper relationship between government service and partisanship, which magnified the debate surrounding political generals. This debate, though, never took hold in the South in precisely the same way. Even though Southern generals were thoroughly political figures, its political culture was much less vibrant ideologically and ethnically and rejected the very notion of reasoned debate—the idea of opposition politics. The South's geographic and racial divisions simply could not be assuaged by patronage. In contrast, Lincoln's adept feel for the North's political fault lines—his flexibility of mind and his ability to transcend the limits of his own point of view—were in their way representative of a certain thread of Northern, Whiggish political culture and gave rise not only to his iconic

rhetoric but also to the pragmatic way that he mobilized the support of a diverse public for a politically polarizing war.

University of Southern Maine

Adam-Max Tuchinsky

Digging in the City of Brotherly Love: Stories from Philadelphia Archaeology. By Rebecca Yamin. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008. Pp. 209. \$35.00.)

Historians have benefitted greatly from the archaeology that has taken us beneath numerous surfaces to a richer interpretation of early America. New England and Virginia digs conducted by James Deetz and Ivor Noel Hume, and more recently William Kelso's landmark discovery of Jamestown's buried story, have enriched our interpretation of historical periods, giving us a richer understanding of the past.

Rebecca Yamin's *Digging in the City of Brotherly Love* adds to this literature of early American archaeology and material culture. Yamin, who has served as a contract archaeologist for some of the most important urban digs into the early American past, enlivens readers' understanding of what lies beneath the soil (or pavement, or buildings, or water) of modern America. Indeed, Yamin's study is the first book to take us into the long-buried history of some of the most important archaeological sites dug in recent years.

One of these digs, Philadelphia's President's House site, became a national controversy. The National Park Service (NPS) planned a new, appropriately splendid home for the Liberty Bell in the 1990s. Amateur and professional historians pointed out that the front door of the new Bell Center would sit just feet from the site of the back of the house where George Washington and John Adams had lived during the ten years that the federal government was in Philadelphia. No plans to interpret the President's House were included in the Liberty Bell Center plans.

The controversy exploded when historians and community leaders raised their voices to protest a "whitewashing" of history: the NPS's plans also avoided the story of the Washingtons' nine enslaved persons, using a loophole in Pennsylvania's abolition law. Two of those people had run away, and Washington used—or abused—his power to try to recapture one of them. NPS officials viewed including that story with that of the Liberty Bell as "confusing," but the attempt to avoid confusion soon led to widespread misunderstandings. NPS officials underestimated the symbolic importance of this space and this story. When the dig was finally carried out, in the summer of 2007, its obser-

vation platform became one of the most popular historic sites in Philadelphia, welcoming as many as 3,000 visitors on many days.

Indeed, it is those thousands of visitors, seeking to see and touch that past, who are Yamin's imagined readership. Yamin crafts a narrative drawn from both the items found buried in Philadelphia and extensive archival research that reveals who used them, what meaning they held, and what they can tell us about the broader history of the past.

Yamin's book obviously keeps this popular interest in mind as she leads her readers through the buried past of early Philadelphia. Yamin's narratives rely heavily on the documentary record as well as the material objects. "We take the fragments—from the ground and from the documents—and weave them into stories of what might have been. It isn't fiction, but it isn't quite science either" (3).

Yamin's science, her careful study and interpretation of the sites and the objects they held, is the greatest strength of the book. Less convincing are the fictional narratives she creates to add to that meaning. "To put what we know in a fictional narrative is one way to at least imagine . . . reality," she writes (29). Perhaps the problem with these imaginary conversations is that they create possible dialogues about locations rich in the historical record. We have many, many conversations that survive in print from Philadelphia's past. These fictitious narratives distract from the otherwise rich record that Yamin presents. *Digging in the City of Brotherly Love* is strongest when it sticks to those digs, to exploring the spaces and objects of the early city and the stories they relate.

Penn State Capital College

George W. Boudreau

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Indochina: An Ambiguous Colonization, 1858–1954. By Pierre Brocheux and Daniel Hémery. Translated by Ly Lan Dill-Klein. (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2009. Pp. xv, 490. \$60.00.)

Pierre Brocheux and Daniel Hémery, Vietnam specialists at the University of Paris, embarked on this study of the French Empire in Southeast Asia as a corrective to works by Western and Vietnamese historians that have, in the authors' opinion, suffered from a dichotomous approach that viewed French Indochina externally through the lens of "benign imperialism" or internally through that of a "nationalist struggle." Historical reality is more "ambiguous,"

the authors assert, and the study of French Indochina should thus “transcend memory” as it considers the colonial space integrated into global structures of constantly competing forces at multiple levels (xiv).

Synthesizing the older literature and integrating newer approaches, the authors present the Indochinese “enterprise” as a phenomenon that followed a multistage development that includes the prelude to the colonial takeover in the nineteenth century at a critical moment for Dai Nam, Cambodia, and Laos. The authors analyze “the structures of domination” that made possible the introduction of “colonial capitalism” and the development of “colonial society” from the perspective of the colonizers but also of the colonized, showing how both were mutually affected, leading the former to reassess themselves continuously and the latter to refuse and reject but also to collaborate. The authors challenge stereotypical opinions that each side had of the other by demonstrating that the reality was more nuanced. For example, contrary to Vietnamese nationalists’ refrain that “France built more prisons than schools,” French authorities overhauled the Confucian system, introducing the Roman alphabet-based *quoc ngu* to undermine Chinese influence and maintain control over the population by affording mass access to basic studies while restricting higher education to a minority, building in the process, indeed, more schools than prisons (219).

The authors, who devote six chapters to the colonial enterprise, show how “Resistance, Nationalism, and Social Movements” evolved out of the colonial enterprise, preferring to speak of multiple revolutions rather than uprisings but not stressing one as has been done with the August Revolution of 1945. They demonstrate that these were “the most precocious, the most diversified, and the most radical” movements within the French Empire, taking place not only among the lowlanders of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam but also among highlanders and assuming traditional as well as modern expressions of nationalism, the latter influenced by Western ideologies (281).

Although the different phases and angles of French colonialism in Indochina are familiar to specialists, the authors have gathered numerous recent studies and presented them within the background of older scholarship, within a *longue durée* approach that provides specific numbers, charts, and maps that contribute to a deeper, more detailed, and, yes, nuanced understanding of the ambiguities of French colonialism.

The translation presents a crystal-clear text, no longer obscured by the nuances and ambiguities of the French language, providing perhaps a more clear-cut interpretation than the authors of *Indochina: An Ambiguous Colonization* had

intended. This caveat aside, students of imperialism, colonialism, nationalism, and of Indochinese history generally will find this work invaluable.

Temple University

Nguyen Thi Dieu

Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism: How the Qing Frontier and its Indigenes Became Chinese. By James Leibold. (New York, N.Y.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. Pp. xi, 271. \$74.95.)

In this book, the author has confronted head-on one of the more perplexing aspects of twentieth-century China: How was it that the state- and nation-builders of the Republican period [1912–1949] were able to mold from the ashes of the polyethnic Qing Empire [1636–1912] a homogeneous Chinese nation-state whose geopolitical boundaries were roughly equal to that of the Qing Empire? Why is this important? Because the two other foremost nineteenth-century agrarian empires of equal size, the Ottoman and Russian, failed on both counts—to remain intact geopolitically and to forge homogenous nationalities from the polyethnic landscape. James Leibold’s explanation for how this occurred takes us down a conceptual path that historians working on such questions have been hesitant to venture; Leibold goes to the periphery of China, or more precisely, to the Mongols, Tibetans, Manchus, and Muslims who populated China’s periphery. His analysis places the frontier and its indigenous inhabitants at the center of the state- and nation-building process in modern China in order to show how China’s political and intellectual elites crafted “political strategies and discursive narratives aimed at domesticating the ethnic Other and its territory” in order to fold these narratives into the larger national imaginary unity (3).

Leibold’s conceptual framework entrusts certain analytical binaries—the frontier question and the national question, national space (geography) and national time (history), political intervention and cultural innovation, Han and non-Han, for example—to inform his analysis of how China’s political and intellectual elites incorporated frontier territory and non-Chinese peoples into the Republican state (chapters 2 and 3). He also extends his analysis in chapters 4 and 5 to show how intellectuals of differing political opinions proclaimed the historical unity of the Chinese nation/race. What this reviewer found most interesting was Leibold’s assertion that, even though the Kuomintang (KMT) and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) were bitter rivals for control of China, on issues concerning territorial integrity and unity/diversity of the Chinese nation/race, the two shared very similar views. This conclusion is intriguing because students of modern China have been led to believe that the CCP was far more willing to accommodate the

Mongols, Tibetans, Muslims, etc., than was the KMT. It was the CCP that advocated the right to self-determination for the non-Chinese peoples of the border-regions of China, or so we have been led to believe. Leibold's careful examination shatters this myth.

Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism provides students of modern history with a valuable comparative framework from which to examine differences in nation-state formation; it offers a place at the table for those on the periphery who have been marginalized from the "center" of the history of nation-state formation; and finally, it prods students of twentieth-century China to rethink the role of political and intellectual elites in shaping modern China. *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism* is an insightful, well-argued analysis that historians and social scientists of early-twentieth-century China will find indispensable.

Virginia Commonwealth University

John Herman

Echoes of Chongqing: Women in Wartime China. By Danke Li. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2010. Pp. x, 215. \$25.00.)

Newly available archives and fundamental ideological shifts in the post-Cold War era are two key factors fueling recent historical research on China's experience of World War II or what is more commonly known in China as the War of Resistance Against Japan [1931–1945]. Yet despite burgeoning scholarship on the topic, few studies have taken the experience of ordinary women as the central focus of analysis. *Echoes of Chongqing*, an absorbing collection of contemporary personal accounts of female survivors from the Chongqing region, thus marks a significant contribution to new scholarship on the period. Prefaced with thoughtful analysis and commentary by the author, transcripts of interviews with twenty subjects feature a range of voices that together weave a multilayered and gendered narrative of China's wartime history, while offering refreshing insights into the nature of suffering, survival, and resistance during times of war and national crisis. Danke Li's book will appeal to students and scholars of Chinese history, World War II in East Asia, and modern gender roles, as well as to a general audience with interests in oral history.

The volume is divided into three main sections documenting, respectively, the gendered impact of war on the social, economic, and political lives of women in the GMD-held wartime capital of Chongqing. Given its association with the Nationalists, Chongqing has until now largely been neglected in studies of the war—with the bulk of scholarship focused on the Communist stronghold at Yan'an and other so-called liberated zones controlled by the Chinese Communist

Party (CCP) or, alternatively, on territory under Japanese occupation. As the author rightfully asserts, beginning in 1938, Chongqing “became the symbol of the nation and the center of national politics, economics, the military, culture, education, and diplomacy and, as such, has much to offer to our understanding of this eventful period in Chinese history” (9). Joining other recent efforts to examine the war in terms of its particular geographical and regional dimensions—most notably *China at War: Regions of China, 1937–1945*, edited by Stephen MacKinnon, Diana Lary, and Ezra Vogel [2007], and MacKinnon’s *Wuhan, 1938: War, Refugees, and the Making of China* [2008]—the study brings to life the specificity of place in shaping wartime experience. A frequent theme in the first-person accounts, for example, is the complex ways in which the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees—political, cultural, and intellectual luminaries but also ordinary citizens displaced from homes outside of Sichuan province—altered the dynamics of daily life, contributing to everything from worsening food and housing shortages to new fashion styles and culinary practices. Another is how the unique blend of political forces operating in wartime Chongqing offered unprecedented opportunities for ordinary women to participate in the political arena at the grassroots level.

Li concludes, in section 4, by touching on some of the more theoretical implications of the study with respect to “the gender politics of memory” (177). Given the extent to which the volume as a whole foregrounds voice, a more extended examination of issues of language and discourse would have been welcome—especially insofar as the lives of her informants coincide with the unprecedented reinvention of a public rhetoric of gender. Readers interested in better understanding the broader context(s) shaping *how* the Chongqing women featured here have come to construct the private meaning and memories of their past would benefit from an overview of postwar developments, including, for example, the wide circulation by the CCP after 1949 of overtly gendered mythologies of national survival. Still, the personal accounts assembled here present a treasure trove of empirical detail and private reflection and as such lay important groundwork for future research.

Connecticut College

Amy Dooling

The Last Empress: Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the Birth of Modern China. By Hannah Pakula. (New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 2009. Pp. xix, 787. \$35.00.)

Sometimes the copiousness of a book is justified by the length and fullness of the life story that it purveys. Such is certainly the case with Hannah Pakula’s

The Last Empress, which presents us, in unprecedented detail, with the life of May-ling Soong [1898–2003], far better known to the world as Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Although her actual power was accrued in the customary Chinese manner by dint of her marriage, May-ling Soong, through her sheer visibility, exerted a uniquely compelling influence on the world's perception of China's viability in decisive times of war that arguably surpassed that of her warrior husband.

May-ling Soong is incontestably the starring figure of the story that Pakula tells, but she is hardly the real-life drama's only key player. Pakula begins her account with the generation before May-ling was born, with the travails and eventual triumph of her father, Charlie Soong. The background here provided is vital because it underscores just how improbable the rise to national icon of the youngest daughter of a man who began life as a marginalized overseas itinerant really was. The context provided by the struggles of Charlie Soong is also important because it establishes, from the first, the inextricable link between the Soong family and the United States. Especially throughout the carnage that unfolded in China during World War II, of all the powerful family's scions, none would exploit this connection to America more adroitly or exhaustively than May-ling. However, May-ling's actions elicit unresolved questions with which Pakula deals only in passing: How pure were her motives? Were they directed wholly on behalf of her homeland, or focused exclusively on propping up her husband's fantastically corrupt and inept regime? To what degree did she see these two aims as inseparable?

Like all good biographies, *The Last Empress* incorporates and explicates subject matter substantially larger than Madame Chiang herself. Pakula does an admirable job of explaining aspects of Chinese cultural heritage that are often truly opaque for most Western readers. Her explanations embrace subjects that have oftentimes been heretofore addressed in the literature, such as the civil service examinations and arranged marriages (May-ling's own was orchestrated by her eldest sister, Ai-ling), and also those that have seldom before been broached. Witness Pakula's objective and reasonably dispassionate description of the "creation" of eunuchs.

However, perhaps more important than anything else is the complexity that Pakula's intimate treatment has lent to Madame Chiang. May-ling Soong appeals to us always as a highly politically conscious woman who had no particular need to be. Pakula relies on the evidence of May-ling's direct testimony to illustrate her seamless transformation, for better or worse, into coguardian of her country's fate. We are apprised of how thoroughly May-ling's

politicization, along with natural guile and charm, contributed to her becoming the “last empress” of China that she was.

Middlebury College

Don J. Wyatt

Making a Moral Society: Ethics and the State in Meiji Japan. By Richard M. Reitan. (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press, 2010. Pp. xvi, 229. \$48.00.)

In this innovative and challenging work, the author presents a historical study of the discipline of ethics (*rinrigaku*) in modern Japan along with a strong argument against universalism in moral philosophy. The key figure is Inoue Tetsujiro [1855–1944], professor at Tokyo Imperial University, who coined the term “*rinrigaku*” as a translation for the English word “ethics” and created the academic field of ethics in Japan. *Rinrigaku* emerged between 1881, when Inoue began lecturing and writing on the field of ethics, and 1893, when Tokyo Imperial University established the first chair in ethics in Japan. As an intellectual historian, Richard M. Reitan locates the philosophical underpinnings of this new academic discipline in earlier moments in Japanese history, emphasizes its particular position as a Meiji period [1868–1912] discursive practice and its contestation by other moral visions, and offers brief explanations of its subsequent history, including its role during World War II and in contemporary efforts to reinforce public morality in Japan.

In the opening chapter, Reitan outlines late nineteenth-century Japanese efforts to create new ways of thinking about ethical behavior in response to the demands of “civilization.” What made Inoue’s *rinrigaku* distinctive from earlier Japanese moral philosophies was “the epistemology of representation [that marked] . . . a fundamental break with Buddhist and Confucian conceptions of the good, the person, and nature prior to the Meiji period” (55). In the second chapter, “The Epistemology of *Rinrigaku*,” Reitan unpacks this “epistemology of representation” as a modern philosophical development that posited an objectification of nature and a belief that each object “is endowed with an essence or ‘truth,’ an inherent, fixed feature of the object” (55). This new field of ethics, the reader learns, is not really about distinguishing what is moral from what is not but rather is an effort to establish itself as the authoritative moral philosophy for all Japanese through its association with the state. The state and *rinrigaku* together would enforce proper behavior on the Japanese people so as to distinguish them from their own prior foolish (“unenlightened”) selves and from other Asians who continued to reject civilization. *Rinrigaku*, Reitan argues, was designed to empower the new Japanese state.

In the subsequent three chapters, Reitan's originality becomes evident as he moves to the heart of the matter. The third chapter, "*Rinrigaku* and Religion: The Formation and Fluidity of Moral Subjectivity," explores one of the best-known aspects of Inoue's career: his role as Japan's leading anti-Christian polemicist. Reitan notes that Inoue's enmity for Christianity stemmed from his belief that Christianity was both irrational and socially useless, but Reitan reaches a surprising conclusion:

it would be inaccurate to represent . . . Christian thinkers as champions of moral diversity . . . while [Christian] religious apologists contested these efforts by *rinrigaku* and the state, they too called for a 'controlling moral principle.' They merely lacked the power to impose one. (79)

In contrast to previous studies on Inoue, Reitan does not see the Christians as victims of intolerance so much as co-inhabitants of a shared moral space transformed by the epistemology of representation.

The reason for this more positive take on Inoue becomes apparent in the next chapter, "Resisting Civilizational Hierarchies," in which Inoue becomes the champion of the "spirit of the people." In this context, Reitan argues that "the moral thought of Inoue Tetsujiro was instrumental in producing alternatives to the civilizational hierarchies associated with the discourse on *kaika* [Enlightenment]" (92). The crux of this resistance against the West lay in Inoue's shift during the 1890s from the epistemology of representation to a "hylomorphic epistemology" in which "dualisms such as the opposition between subject and object, self and other, are collapsed" (108). This hylomorphic epistemology not only erased self and other but somehow enabled a national spirit that "displaced the universalizing claims of occidental civilization . . . through the particular national form" (112). It is not clear how Inoue was able to do that while not relying on an opposition between self (Japan) and other (the West).

The final chapter traces Inoue's ethics into the tumultuous years of the early twentieth century when it met resistance from other moral positions like anarchism, socialism, individualism, and literary naturalism. Here, again, the real dangers ultimately come not from the state or its police, but from their underlying ethical thought that Reitan calls "the dangers of the moral ideal" (150). What were these dangers?

National morality was itself a form of destructive and dangerous thought that worked to legitimize the open, physical violence the state used against its enemies. Moreover, its efforts to reduce various other normative orien-

tations to a single homogeneous moral space must be viewed as a form of violence as well—the violence of the suppression of otherness. (151)

In the conclusion, Reitan traces this violence through the wartime years and even ascribes it to contemporary efforts to speak to problems of ethics and public morality.

This book will challenge those who do not accept the Manichaeian notion of the co-determination of good and evil or a Kantian subjectivism that abandons any effort to determine the moral content of ethical claims. It can be recommended for graduate courses in ethics, politics, religion, and of course Japanese history and cultural studies.

Georgetown University

Kevin M. Doak

China's Last Empire: The Great Qing. By William T. Rowe. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009. Pp. 360. \$35.00.)

This author is an accomplished researcher and a fine writer who has written numerous studies taking new approaches, which have made significant contributions to the field. In this study, William Rowe has taken a step in a different direction. Rather than break new ground, the author, drawing on a career's worth of reading, researching, and teaching, has successfully brought together the latest research and findings across the field to present a nuanced and balanced overview and analysis of the Qing dynasty [1644–1911], the last dynasty to rule in China. True to his previous work, however, Rowe seeks to place numerous trends and issues that appeared during the Qing period within a larger global context. In fact, Rowe argues that the history of the Qing “was intimately intertwined with global historical processes in diverse ways that we are just beginning to comprehend” (287).

The author opens with a brief historiographical essay covering major trends in, and approaches to, “Qing history” over the past half century or so. Rowe, from time to time, provides further, more detailed historiographies of particular major issues upon which historians have either disagreed or on which further studies have shed new light that has led to new understandings and interpretations. His presentation of these conflicting viewpoints is judicious and balanced. Although the book is structured as a roughly chronological narrative of the Qing dynasty from its founding to its demise, Rowe includes chapters that focus on particular aspects of the Qing, such as governance, commerce, and society.

The difficulties an author faces in writing a book such as this are many. The writer must avoid both going too deep and bogging the general reader down in detail and not going deep enough, whereby the book could lose its value of incorporating the nuances of important historiographical developments in the field. The writer must supply sufficient detail to make the work useful for specialists while not overwhelming the nonspecialist with names, terms, and too much detail. Rowe has done an admirable job of avoiding these dangers and has written a book that should bring current knowledge of the Qing dynasty to a wider audience. It will be particularly useful to those historians who are not specialists within the field but are interested in learning more about the Qing, whether it be for their own knowledge or for comparative purposes. Also, this book will be valuable to teachers who have not stayed current with the field and are looking for a vehicle to help them catch up. It is not difficult to imagine that a few lectures will need to be rewritten after this book has been read.

Carthage College

Stephen P. Udry

The Early Medieval in South India. By Kesavan Veluthat. (New Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. xii, 356. \$60.00.)

The author, in the preface to his book, rightly states that the reader need not look for a continuous uniformity of themes in his latest work. The fifteen articles, grouped in three parts (Tamilakam, medieval Kerala, and early medieval Karnataka), were published over two decades and written at different times to answer different academic needs. Readers will be grateful that the fruit of that research is now all available in one book form.

Why the importance of this work? The articles seek to explain how we can legitimately speak about the early medieval in south India and give it the necessary importance as was given to the similar period for north Indian history. We learn in the writings about the various growth phases of the early medieval economy, the development of urbanism leading to the catechization of the peasants, the acceptance of organized religion, and the eventual formation of the state.

Kesavan Veluthat does well by stating in the introduction the inner details of these important developments in early medieval south Indian history. He discusses the inadequacy of holding on to the traditional tripartite periodization of Indian history handed down by colonial historiography. He sets aside this model, well served for many years, and delineates the various phases of agricultural development, leading eventually to the institution of the state, as essential features of early medieval south India.

One is always fascinated by the role temples and cults played in historical developments in India. The temple in south India helped in the extension of agriculture in the tribal areas and the consolidation of the landlord domination. Tribal society disintegrated as a result, and the temple served as an integrating factor, linking the high and low castes in its service. Sadly, it also acted as the agent for developing, consolidating, transmitting, and conserving the legacy of Brahmana-inspired ideology alone.

Veluthat clearly shows how all these developments did not fit into neat categories of one succeeding the other effortlessly and analyzes cogently the forces behind the transition from one domination to another. He makes a pitch for the state of Kerala, showing that within south India it almost marks itself out as distinct from the rest of the region. Some have wrongly believed that there was no tradition of historical writing in that state.

An interesting feature of the author's research is the connectedness he shows on issues of the growth of landlordism and the state within Kerala, Tami Nadu, and Karnataka. Regarding the phenomenon of *velevalis* (soldiers taking an oath of unswerving loyalty to their chiefs) in Karnataka, for example, Veluthat believes, as Marc Bloch did for another area of research, that feudalism subsisted in one form or the other in three-quarters of the hemisphere, and *velevali* is one expression of that.

The book makes a fascinating and informative reading. The author, with his skill in Malayalam, Tamil, and Sanskrit epigraphy, links well earlier research in the field and breaks new ground with thought-provoking conclusions that are hard to ignore. Scholars will continue to use his insights while studying other regions in early medieval India.

Loyola University Maryland

Charles J. Borges

The Blacks of Premodern China. By Don J. Wyatt. (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. Pp. 240. \$65.00.)

Despite its modest length, this study offers a very rich discussion on an old subject, one that fascinated Sinologists such as Paul Pelliot, J. J. L. Duyvendak, and Edward Schafer. Since the comprehensive compilation by Chinese historian Zhang Xinglang of accounts of blacks from various Chinese sources in his *Assembled Reports of Historical Data on Chinese-Western Relations*, we can rarely claim new primary sources on this subject. Don J. Wyatt, however, successfully casts new light on our understanding of the blacks in premodern China. First, he introduces a new cultural historical approach to analyze how

the Chinese in ancient times constructed “blackness” as a quality and “blacks” as a category of people. He focuses on the consciousness and mentality of the Chinese in the theoretical framework of ethnic identity theory. Second, he attempts to contextualize the blacks in premodern China in terms of world history and transnational history. Wyatt is concerned with how the blacks in premodern China could be understood in the context of long-distance trade between China and other parts of the world. He explores how the blacks in premodern China might be woven into the broader context of the slave trade in modern world history.

The whole book is generally organized chronologically. In chapter 1, the author discusses some key concepts about the blacks in ancient China and their historical and anthropological implications. In analyzing the changes of the meaning of a key term about the blacks—“*Kunlun*,” in numerous Chinese sources—the author argues that, though it commonly indicated the people from the southern seas, such as Malays and Khamers, at times it became more ambiguous since the precise ethnic groups identified with this label cannot be verified. He also suggests that the blacks were perceived as being culturally deficient in Sino-centric Chinese narratives. Wyatt, in chapter 2, moves to examine the sources from middle-period China, especially the eleventh-century work titled *Pingzhou Chats on Things Worthwhile* (*Pingzhou ketan*) by Zhu Yu [1075?-after 1119], which narrates the lives of African blacks in Guangzhou, one of the most important port cities in medieval China.

In offering a close reading of this text, the author addresses the issue of slavery and the black community in eleventh-century China. He argues that black slaves in Guangzhou lived in a closed system. These blacks did not engage much in the social and cultural life in China, and therefore they did not have much impact on Chinese society. Through readings of accounts by Chinese travelers, in chapter 3, Wyatt moves to discuss the direct contacts between China and Africa in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As the author shows, these new accounts based on a better Chinese understanding of the blacks in Africa have dramatically changed the Chinese vision on the blacks.

Since the author offers a new framework in discussing the trade of the blacks in the maritime era, it might be more interesting to look at Persian and Arabic materials in contrast to their counterparts on the Chinese side. Nevertheless, this concise and clearly written book deserves attention from all scholars who work on premodern Chinese history and Asian history in general.

EUROPE

England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion. By Joseph Cope. (Woodbridge, England: The Boydell Press, 2009. Pp. xi, 190. \$90.00.)

The rising of 1641 has cast a long shadow across the historiography of early modern Ireland. Only recently have historians begun again to dissect the dynamics of that moment to reveal why it proved to be such a pivotal event in shaping modern Ireland. Attempts to count the numbers massacred have been replaced by studies of the contemporary perceptions and emotional impact of massacre stories. The brooding presence of Sir John Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion*, first published in 1646 and republished at times of crisis up to 1912, reveals much about the Irish Protestant mentality shaped in the wake of the 1641 rising. A second trend, perhaps most associated with Conrad Russell, has integrated the story of the outbreak of the Irish rising into the wider historiography of the "three kingdoms" in the turbulent years of 1641 and 1642, charting the impact of the Irish rising on English events.

This book brings together these two historiographical trends by linking Irish violence and its impact, both real and perceived, in England in the 1640s. The book falls broadly into two parts. The first, comprising four chapters, deals with the problem of violence in Ireland, and the second—the remaining four chapters—charts the problems that this gave rise to in England. The first part focuses not on violence *per se* but on narratives of survival. A close reading of these texts, both printed and manuscript, exposes the problems with a simplistic narrative of the rising and creates a complex and contingent world in which Catholics and Protestants lived in uneasy juxtaposition, a rough tolerance that was destabilized by the events of the late 1630s. As such, Joseph Cope has produced a systematic exposition of a reality that holds violence and accommodation in tension. Although this has been suggested from a number of local studies, it is here articulated into a well-argued thesis that will become the starting point for future work on relations between the various groups in early modern Ulster.

It is the question of survival, and the fate of the survivors, that forms the focus of the second part of the book. Cope charts how many of these survivors fled to England and reveals the problems of local order that they created. In a forensic analysis of the tax records for Wiltshire, he highlights how contemporaries responded to the plight of the refugees, showing that although the benevolent might support the cry for revenge in Ireland they were much more reluctant to relieve the survivors of that violence who appeared in their own parishes. As with the literature of survival, the tensions between image and reality were real.

This is a valuable book that makes a significant contribution not only to Irish history but to the broader problem of the management of violence in the wider British Isles in the seventeenth century. In particular, Cope highlights the problems of distinguishing reality from the carefully crafted artifice that contemporaries such as Nehemiah Wallington or Henry Jones have left in their narratives of survival. For that alone, this is a book worth reading.

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Raymond Gillespie

Parents of Poor Children in England, 1580–1800. By Patricia Crawford. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xiii, 361. \$32.00.)

In this new study, the author examines the impact of poverty on poor parents' ability to parent their children. Although she focuses significant attention on illegitimate children, she argues that poverty, more than legitimacy or illegitimacy, shaped the parental experiences of poor men and women. Central to Patricia Crawford's work is a discussion of the links between poverty and interference, by those who administered poor laws and charitable agencies, into the lives (and parental rights) of poor parents. Crawford suggests that her approach is unique in that she rejects traditional chronologies in favor of a longer-term view that is more attuned to the life cycles of poor families: "Historians' periodizations—Tudor, Stuart, Hanoverian—are rarely determined by the lives of ordinary women and men. We do not know enough about mothers and fathers to decide when glacial changes occurred for the poor" (5). Throughout the book, Crawford highlights what she regards as significant points of change in attitude and practice.

Some readers may conclude that *Parents of Poor Children* should have been written twenty years ago, when the field of family and childhood history was less developed. There seems to be little that is new or fresh in Crawford's argument or analysis, and the sources she uses—petitions for admission to London's Foundling Hospital, bastardy declarations, and Old Bailey records—have been used by other historians. Crawford demonstrates that unmarried mothers had a difficult time raising their children due to poverty, rejection, and social censure. She also shows that poor parents generally had a more difficult time than wealthy parents in raising their children in the ways they saw fit. These are fairly basic arguments that others have convincingly made before her.

Where Crawford offers interesting and unique insights is in the area of fatherhood. Most studies in family and childhood history focus on mothers and

children; fathers often are ignored entirely or referred to only as marginal figures. This oversight is in part a function of assumptions about the role fathers were supposed to play in families or to the supposed absence of fathers' voices from the historical record. Crawford corrects this oversight by reevaluating how fatherhood was defined and by examining how poverty shaped fathers' perceptions of themselves and their roles within families. Crawford's effort to extend definitions of fatherhood into the public arena is particularly compelling. Crawford identifies "civic fathers" as equally important in the lives of children as biological fathers. Civic fathers were the poor law authorities and the guardians of philanthropic and charitable agencies who assumed that they were better equipped than poor fathers to raise poor children to be productive, upstanding, useful citizens. Although many historians have examined the way state intervention and economic realities disadvantaged poor mothers, few have suggested that poor fathers suffered similar disadvantages, and this is one of the real values of Crawford's work. Such an analysis broadens the possibilities for future research in the area of family and childhood history by placing fathers at the center of the discussion rather than at the margins.

University of Arkansas, Little Rock

Moira Maguire

Aristocracy and its Enemies in the Age of Revolution. By William Doyle. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. viii, 371. \$60.00.)

This author has added to his impressive publications on the French Revolution and its origins with this thoughtful book on aristocracy. He initially conceived this work as a study of the Society of the Cincinnati, former officers who had fought in the American Revolution, but it morphed into a larger study on the revolutionaries' ambitious attempt to abolish nobility. Many, including Jefferson, opposed the heredity society on the grounds that it would create an American nobility that would "end in tyranny" (103). That opposition triggered "the first overt and direct attack on the nobility" in France, although the vitriol it generated seems, in author William Doyle's words, "wild and alarmist" (137).

This book is sophisticated, clever, and remarkably free from the jargon that bedevils academia. For example, in discussing Jean Baptiste du Val-de-Grace, Baron de Cloots's speech, Doyle describes it as "[A]t worst an absurd pantomime, at best an unfortunate embarrassment, . . . chiefly remembered as an extreme of the Revolution's utopian posturing" (3). Doyle has the gift for

finding the apposite quote, such as Jefferson on Lafayette: “His foible is a canine appetite for popularity” (108). He underscores the antagonisms that divided the aristocracy, the litigious infighting, the bitter jockeying for power and position, and its vulnerability, emphasizing how discussions about property as a basis for representation threatened traditional distinctions. He then shifts to a learned discussion of the ideologies of inequality, including the emphasis on virtue and merit and the emergent idea of a nobility of reward. The poor performance of the nobility in their definitional field of warfare undermined their position as surely as did their ineffectual attempts to defend the constitutional fabric of the old regime. The author’s focus on public attacks on nobility allows him to rely on printed primary and a number of secondary sources.

The rest of the narrative sets the attacks against the nobility within the larger framework of the Revolution and casts new light on the so-called noble revolt. He chronicles the nobles’ loss of wealth and privilege and the escalating onslaught on the nobility. Both specialists and nonspecialists will benefit from this nuanced discussion. To give but one example, he notes that the decision to convoke the Estates General as it had been in 1614 was an attempt to use precedent to check ministerial manipulation and not “to establish the permanent hegemony of the clergy and nobility” (169). He chronicles the ominous acceleration of attacks against the nobility, the vindictive violence, and the draconian laws enacted in the venomous atmosphere of the Revolution. The ambiguous aftermaths are analyzed, including the restoration of *Monsieur* and *Madame* as forms of address, the establishment of entailed fiefs in certain conquered territories, and the creation of a privileged elite, in effect a “titled aristocracy of service” (321). Ironies abound. For example, Emmanuel Joseph Sièyes, known for his hatred of the nobility, became an imperial count and even adopted a coat of arms.

University of Montana
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Linda Frey
Marsha Frey

When London Was Capital of America. By Julie Flavell. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010. Pp. xii, 287. \$32.50.)

The author of this study is an experienced scholar, and this work is a well-written jaunt over familiar territory. Her subject in *When London Was Capital of America* is, as the title implies, Americans living in London in the decades prior to the War for Independence. She has previously written, with Gordon Hay, on the use of capture-recapture methods to estimate the total number of Americans resident in

London during this time, and she uses this methodology again here. Julie Flavell has also published extensively not only on this community but on Benjamin Franklin and John Laurens, whose correspondence she effectively mined for the American names that populated not only eighteenth-century London but also her own capture-recapture database.

Unfortunately, Flavell's reliance on her previous studies and methodology is partially to blame for this volume's disappointment. What suggests itself as a study of London as experienced by colonial Americans is in fact a study of three individuals and, incidentally, of their associates. Laurens and Franklin are illustrative of their regions and "types," but their treatment here is largely a restatement of Flavell's discussion of them in previous works. The study is completed by a look at Stephen Sayre, a roguish New Yorker who ran with John Wilkes and who is admittedly not adequately studied. The most original character in Flavell's London is Laurens's slave, Robert, whose existence on the peripheries of white society obscures but does not detract from his opportunistic and rather successful attempt to remake himself in Britain.

Flavell follows these individuals, their friends, and relations as they pursue business and pleasure across the London landscape. Her twofold thesis is that white Americans were indistinguishable from their English counterparts and that their practice of bringing black slaves with them to London led to a steady increase in the diversity of that city's population. Although this argument is interesting, the author demonstrates it admirably in a few dozen pages and is then challenged to justify the remainder of the work. As a result, her otherwise elegant prose becomes leaden and repetitive as each new episode leads to the same conclusions as previous ones.

If traversing familiar ground in a repetitive manner were the only faults burdening this work, one would still recommend it. Casual readers might benefit from a retelling of these stories and would neither be aware of, nor bothered by, recycling previously published research. However, in a misguided attempt to help readers visualize London's eighteenth-century streets and landmarks, Flavell repeatedly segues, with no warning, into discussions of late eighteenth- and even nineteenth-century novels. The unwary reader is suddenly plunged into Austen or Dickens and is asked to recall characters and situations from books last read in high school, if at all. Although undoubtedly well-intended, the technique renders the work frustrating and confusing and makes it an unlikely fit for either specialists or general readers.

The Strange Survival of Liberal England: Political Leaders, Moral Values and the Reception of Economic Debate. Edited by E. H. H. Green and D. M. Tanner. (New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. xvii, 313. \$99.00.)

This volume is a celebration of the work of British political historian Peter Clarke. Its title inverts that of George Dangerfield's famous "death" of Liberalism in the early twentieth century, and the various contributors make the case that even if the Liberal Party died, its ideas, in different form, survived and gave life to a "new Liberal" set of ideas deeply embedded in the moderate middle sensibility of British political life. With the exception of Boyd Hilton's interesting but somewhat misplaced essay on Robert Lowy, the chapters here focus on the twentieth century and the complex web of liberal ideas, personalities, and public opinion, as well as party and political institutional constituencies.

The late E. H. H. Green and D. M. Tanner are well suited as coeditors of this volume. The former developed a distinguished reputation as a groundbreaking historian of the Conservative Party, and Tanner has published widely on the Liberals. Their approach to the various authors is no slave to theory but grounded in an empirical methodology, the greatest strength of which could be in its focus on relationships between Liberals (politicians and intellectuals), policymakers, institutions, and economic forces. Clarke's work has added a new depth of interpretation to political biography at the same time by challenging the hoary old truth that British political life was pragmatic and nonideological.

The introduction covers the essential issues in detail and is a model of historiographical exposition. Keynesianism looms large in this scenario and comes to influence not only Liberals but those on the right and the left. Perhaps the strongest piece in this collection is James Thomson's essay. It expands the discussion to show how thinkers such as H. N. Brailsford and J. A. Hobson helped to shape not only the domestic horizon but that of American progressives. Out of this transatlantic interchange over the state and its economic role grew a moral determination to secure American neutrality in the 1930s. This "special relationship" continued for at least two more generations after the war and was built on more than just common strategic interest. Green's suggestive discussion of the Conservative Party demonstrates how pervasive was the Keynesian influence from Harold MacMillan all the way down and through Margaret Thatcher's government and reiterates Green's earlier work, which showed how the Tories were willing and able to adapt ideas on the left for their purposes.

Thus, long after 1911, Liberal ideas helped determine the nature of twentieth-century British politics. Richard Toyes demonstrates how the Labour Party

embraced Keynes in its postwar economic policies as socialists adopted the Keynesian framework to attack financial orthodoxy and used it as a platform for their planned economy. Stefan Collini provides an interesting tale of how Keynesian ideas played with liberals as well as fascists in the 1930s and were a major force in Christian Democratic politics after the war.

In both the Conservative and Labour case, the use of Keynes was not just a cynical grasp of the popular mood. All of these essays elucidate how economic policy is a creation of a process as well as a set of very real circumstances on the political landscape. Barry Supple ends the volume with an analysis of the increasing wealth of the British people in the twentieth century and its effect on political discussion. Central and unavoidable were the moral issues in any debate about the redistribution of wealth and its structural effects on the economy. His work makes clear that policy choices are made within an environment where moral issues, intellectual persuasion, political exigencies, and even the force of history all come to play a role.

If this is the “new political history,” it is to be welcomed for its clarity and expansion of the subjects at play—they are a credit to Clarke’s influence. In this light it is also a history that goes beyond abstractions to show us that “ideas” continue to have power and endurance within a larger political culture—even in Britain.

Oakland University

Seán Farrell Moran

Of Victorians and Vegetarians: The Vegetarian Movement in Nineteenth-Century Britain. By James Gregory. (London, England: I. B. Tauris, 2007. Pp. xii, 313. \$79.95.)

Vegetarians in Victorian Britain were a small minority, but they demanded to be noticed. Adherents included such notable personalities as George Bernard Shaw and the children’s author E. Nesbit. Critics of the movement, such as Charles Dickens and H. G. Wells, ensured by their writings that it remained in the public eye, while vegetarians figured in novels such as Mary Ward’s best-selling *The History of David Grieve* [1892] and George Gissing’s *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* [1903]. James Gregory’s achievement in *Of Victorians and Vegetarians* is to place the vegetarians in their full context: on one side, the enthusiasts and obsessives, the weekly magazines, the associations that grew and split and faded away; on the other, the public discourse of nineteenth-century British society with its new-found concerns for healthy living, sensible eating, and the relief of urban poverty. The crossover is exemplified by the vegetarian restaurants, which

drew a wide clientele far beyond members of societies and subscribers to magazines: many patrons were attracted by the reliable cheapness of vegetarian meals.

The book started life as a dissertation. This is evident from its seventy-five pages of notes and its rich bibliography, including useful lists of “Journals, serials and newspapers”; “Vegetarian books”; “Vegetarians in fiction”; and other special categories alongside modern scholarly literature. The introduction is typical of the dissertation genre, meticulously situating vegetarianism in its research context and carefully analyzing previous studies, none of which, luckily, succeeded in stealing a march on Gregory himself; any student of nineteenth-century Britain will find new ideas and fresh perspectives in these first pages. The appetite is whetted. Next comes a narrative history, “The vegetarian movement, c. 1838–1901.” This is particularly interesting for its emphasis on the links between British and American vegetarianism. Gregory also traces cross-fertilization between the vegetarians and other radical reform movements. An early association aimed to disseminate “correct principles of universal peace, health of soul and body, and . . . the prolongation of human life”; reform of English spelling was another shared enthusiasm; Bible Christians (Cowherdites) were prominent among the founders in 1847 of the Vegetarian Society (24).

Subsequent chapters are thematic: “Physical Puritanism and Medical Orthodoxy”; “Beasts and Saints: Zoophilia and Religion in the Movement” (though “zoophilia” in the *Wikipedia* sense of the word is absent); “Radicalism and Fadicalism”; “Feeding the Vegetarian Mind and Body”; “Class, Gender and the Vegetarians”; and “Representing the Vegetarian,” which considers fictional portraits of the movement and its members. The chapter on gender issues, referring to Carol Adams’s *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-vegetarian Critical Theory* [1990], hints at opportunities for future work as it explores the prominence of women in the general vegetarian movement and traces the brief heyday of the Women’s Vegetarian Union, led by Alexandrine and Adrienne Veigélé. In this section as in others, the interweaving of biography and social history offers an engaging approach to an unfamiliar aspect of Victorian society.

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Andrew Dalby

Stalin’s Police: Public Order and Mass Repression in the USSR, 1926–1941. By Paul Hagenloh. (Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Md.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009. Pp. xx, 460. \$45.00.)

This is the second work to appear recently on the police under Stalin; the other is David R. Shearer’s *Policing Stalin’s Socialism: Repression and Social Order in the*

Soviet Union, 1924–1953. The author's treatment of the topic fits with other new studies that improve our understanding of Stalinism yet leave puzzling issues in their wake. This difficulty emerges in the opening pages, in which Paul Hagenloh outlines the mass arrests of 1937–1938, marking them as extraordinary, then suggests that they were an unsurprising outcome of Soviet policies dating from 1917.

“Gardening,” Zygmunt Bauman's metaphor for state social improvement schemes, provides Hagenloh's dominant theme. He maintains that the Soviet civil police (*militsiia*) and the political police (OGPU, NKVD, and other abbreviations) worked together for the same ends, attempting to establish public order and to form an ideal society. Hagenloh describes Stalinism as totalitarian and “inherently modern” (331, 333). That is, Soviet repression partly matched the urge of modern states to control and/or cleanse society of undesirables. Developing rapidly in Europe and the U.S. during World War I, some recent scholarship argues, such repression continued in high gear in Soviet Russia, while other states largely discarded it. The totalitarian component of Stalinism, Hagenloh finds, was the continuous drive to “eliminate all anti-Soviet cohorts” and achieve “one unitary cohort of Soviet citizens” (331).

In arguing that the Terror of August 1937–November 1938 stemmed logically from Soviet ideas and practices, Hagenloh smooths over important evidence. For example, he omits figures for executions before and after the Terror. We never learn that 1,118 people were shot in 1936 and 2,552 in 1939, as compared to some 683,000 put to death in 1937–1938. Thus *Stalin's Police* does not show how stunningly unusual the Great Terror's toll was. Hagenloh dismisses the changes of late 1938 as “brief and half-hearted,” yet a wide range of sources indicates a successful effort to end “mass operations” and to adopt much higher standards of evidence for conviction as an enemy of society (16).

“Gardening” seems inappropriate to describe Soviet police policy. As the titles of both Hagenloh's and Shearer's books indicate, the Communist Party leadership was interested, above all, in establishing order in a perpetually chaotic situation. Definitions of and concerns about “crime” shifted often, and wild disorder characterized much police work. In July 1937, the NKVD received instructions to find certain numbers of enemies in each district, leading inevitably to the arrest of loyal, productive people who were then tortured into confessing to sabotage. Hagenloh does not refer, for example, to the many accounts of young engineers accused of wrecking in 1937–1938 after accidents in their factories. This practice, halted in November 1938, was not “gardening.” Hagenloh writes the history of Soviet policing on the basis of police documents, never allowing stories or voices

from the people to intrude. The effect is to categorize Soviet citizens under Stalin, outside of the police and the party leadership, as a nullity.

Hagenloh's work nevertheless provides valuable material and insights. He rightly emphasizes the leadership's quest for order, documenting it extensively. He also details the failure of the police to achieve much order, and he discusses more fully than other works the debates on repression and crime among high Soviet officials into early 1937, then again by late 1938. *Stalin's Police* takes us further than before into the constantly changing and uncertain heart of Stalinist governance.

Miami University

Robert W. Thurston

Consumed by War: European Conflict in the 20th Century. By Richard C. Hall. (Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 2010. Pp. 286. \$30.00.)

In the late nineteenth century, Otto von Bismarck proclaimed one of the more famous quotes in European diplomatic history, predicting it would be "some damned thing in the Balkans" that would set off a larger European war. Bismarck was prescient in recognizing the volatile combination of the region's growing nationalism, nationalistic rivalries, and the meddling of the great powers. Indeed, conflict in the Balkans, starting with the 1912–1913 Balkan Wars and ending with the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, serve as bookends in the "Long War" thesis taken up by Richard C. Hall in this book.

Hall provides a narrative overview of European conflict in the twentieth century. His underlying argument finds the culmination of nationalism or nationalism's aspirations as the root cause of the conflicts, with Eastern Europe and the southeast as the geographical epicenter of the action. The author's geographical choice is not surprising given his previous scholarly works in diplomatic and military history on Bulgaria and the Balkans. In playing up the role of nationalism, the author concedes he must also recognize ideology's role in twentieth-century conflict. In particular, between 1917 and 1989, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia both pushed conflict in the name of ideology. Even here, however, Hall argues nationalism played an instrumental role.

Hall divides his "Long War" thesis into three parts. Part 1 dates from the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 through 1921. Part 2 begins with the German and Soviet invasion of Poland in 1939. Ushering in World War II, this era was the shortest yet cost Europe the most in lives and monetary losses. Part 3 covers the Cold War, dating from 1945 to 1989. Though potentially the deadliest, this was an era that witnessed the fewest casualties in Europe through conflict. The

penultimate chapter, a description of the breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, supports and challenges the author's organizational themes. Here, Hall is adept at succinctly describing the impact of another round of nationalism in the Balkans, thus providing a convenient bookend piece to his "Long War" thesis. With ethnic cleansing of horrific proportions, however, the collapse of the former communist state sits as an uneasy interlude between what Hall describes as a relatively destruction-free Cold War and its relatively smooth postcommunist transition, leading to a new century with the European Union, an infrastructure that Hall sees as equipped to quell nationalist conflicts.

The author impressively commands a seemingly endless parade of diplomats, diplomatic disputes, changing borders, and, ultimately, conflicts. He rarely uses primary source material but instead relies on secondary source material, often the so-called chestnuts of diplomatic history, to build his narrative. The organization of the book, however, can and does become monotonous, though Hall is economical in style. One additional quibble of this reviewer involves the scarcity of maps. Though there are nine scattered throughout, readers stand to benefit most from the geographic emphasis of the book, and if there is one thing this reviewer gained from his mentor in Eastern European history, it is that borders, no matter how fluid, do matter. Hall alludes to as much when describing Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia in the 1990s, writing, "The complexities of the issue are summed up by this question: 'Why should I be a minority in your country when you could be a minority in mine?'" (235). Readers looking for an overview of European conflict in a broad-scope approach will benefit from this book.

Winona State University

Matthew Lindaman

Slavery, Diplomacy, and Empire: Britain and the Suppression of the Slave Trade, 1807–1975. Edited by Keith Hamilton and Patrick Salmon. (Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2009. Pp. xii, 229. \$75.00.)

Historians have long recounted the broad outlines of Britain's attempts to suppress the slave trade with both heartfelt praise and sneaking suspicion. W. E. B. Du Bois's famous Harvard dissertation from 1896 was only one in a long line of monographs to trace both the noble and ulterior motives behind these interventions that both ended suffering and extended empire. Nevertheless, the devilish details and widening foci of these campaigns still remained in dusty official archives until now. In their *Slavery, Diplomacy, and Empire: Britain and the Suppression of the Slave Trade, 1807–1975*, Keith Hamilton and Patrick Salmon have edited a remarkable anthology of nine articles from a number of top-notch

scholars that extend the analysis of these suppressions all the way from Senegambia to the Mideast and into the twentieth century.

Earlier incarnations of these articles had been given as papers at a commemorative event during the recent bicentennial of the parliamentary end to Britain's slave trade, and the first four articles delve into the good, bad, and ugly aspects of making that transatlantic abolition an international reality. Here most revealing are the bureaucratic growing pains of suppression; then as now, governments never seem to put their money where their mouths are. Despite bipartisan commitment to policing the seas, the Slave Trade Department of the Foreign Office featured some of the poorest paid and least accomplished clerks in Whitehall; the department's staff members were considered temporary workers because the conventional wisdom of the time held that worldwide abolition was just around the corner.

The machinations of colorful rogues such as James Bandinel, the department's first manager, come alive in Hamilton's own first chapter. The roster of those serving on mixed commission courts, as diplomat Farida Shaikh relates in her chapter 2, was just as notoriously uneven as their metropolitan colleagues were, with many judges succumbing to disease or violence in diverse places such as Havana, Rio de Janeiro, Luanda, and eventually New York. Only when official attention moved from the Atlantic to the Near East and Africa after 1870 did the professional support, stature, and success of those charged with ending the slave trade improve greatly. As the enforcers became more established, they, like their late Georgian predecessors, were always grappling to find that right balance of idealism and pragmatism that would enhance perfidious Albion's image and influence globally. That balance obviously changed with respect to time and space. In dealing with weaker sisters such as Spain, Portugal, and Brazil in the Atlantic, the full force of the British Navy was deployed to catch slavers and to free their cargoes, but dealing with the land-based Ottoman and Persian Empires, among others, in Asia later in the nineteenth century required much more quiet diplomacy and, most interesting, moral persuasion respecting Islamic beliefs and precepts, as chapters 5 and 6 discern. The closing article by noted historian Suzanne Miers provides a timely update, reminding all of us that chattel slavery, like the British Empire itself, has been greatly reduced yet not completely eradicated from the face of the earth. Accordingly, this reviewer recommends this comprehensive collection for research libraries that support experts in modern British and world history.

Douglas Haig and the First World War. By J. P. Harris. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. 652. \$39.00.)

The generalship of Sir Douglas Haig was controversial even before World War I ended. Not surprisingly, considering the bloodshed on the Western Front, it became more so. Initially the picture of Haig, despite some efforts by himself and a few colleagues, was not good. German General Erich Ludendorff supposedly said the British army was made up of “lions led by donkeys,” and Haig emerged as “donkey-in-chief.” This image was prominent in the works of historians like Basil Liddell Hart, in *The Real War* [1930]. Winston Churchill, in *The World Crisis* [1931] and other works, also spoke eloquently of the generation lost in Flanders’ fields. For about forty years after the war, Haig was commonly portrayed as conventional, slow to adapt to new ideas and to learn from mistakes, out of touch with the men and conditions at the front—a château general—and foolishly focused on a breakthrough to be exploited with cavalry. This image began to change significantly with the 1963 publication of John Terraine’s *Douglas Haig: The Educated Soldier*. Following Terraine’s line, scholars began to wonder, given flanks anchored by the North Sea and Switzerland and the reality that the war would have to be won on the Western Front (not always accepted by their predecessors), what strategic choice Haig had other than bloody frontal assaults. A war of movement simply was not possible, and the key enemy, Germany, could only be fought in France. Since a war with modern technology and no flank to turn had never been fought before, it was inevitable that things would go wrong for a while. By 1918, Haig and his subordinates had learned the new warfare and won decisively.

J. P. Harris has stepped into this debate with a synthesis of the evidence on both sides. He looks briefly at Haig’s early life for influences that may have affected his generalship and then traces British operations in detail through the war. He looks carefully at each battle in which Haig was involved. His descriptions are detailed and clear, though the maps provided are sometimes overcrowded. Having followed Haig’s actions, Harris offers an assessment of his performance in each engagement. This proves a very effective technique, particularly because he includes an analysis of the “spin” put on events by Haig and General Headquarters as well as other military and political leaders. Harris does an excellent job of separating contemporary commentary from the actual events. He also works to sort out Haig’s ideas from the fog the general and others created. For example, he often notes discrepancies between the manuscript and typescript of Haig’s diary because the latter seems to have been revised to improve the general’s image. Haig made some other efforts to improve the picture that history might have of him as well.

Harris's picture of Haig suggests that the general was clearly open to the use of new technology—gas, tanks, and airplanes—but he was slow to understand the evolution of artillery. He was frequently overeager and planned for much more extensive gains than experience indicated were realistic. Worse, any early success in an attack convinced him that the dreamed-about breakthrough was happening, and he pushed offensives even when his own generals were convinced that no further good could be accomplished. This characteristic lasted virtually to the end, though Harris points out that in the summer and fall of 1918, Haig misread the difficulty of the Germans and believed the war would continue for at least a year. This, Harris argues, simply confirms how completely Haig misunderstood the situation. Harris also repeatedly points out how more realistic tactical approaches, mostly “bite and hold” (making and holding a small gain), could have produced the same gains as Haig's more grandiose plans at much lower costs. Such realistic tactics were advocated by many generals before the end of 1915 and by most by mid-1916. That Harris comes down in the middle, though he leans to the earlier, more critical view of Haig, seems almost a letdown. The conclusion is well founded, however, and his clear and careful marshaling of the evidence will make his book a major influence for some time to come. It will also be of much value to anyone seeking a systematic look at the operational history of the British army on the Western Front.

There are a few flaws. Those interested in the historiographical debate over Haig and the war will regret that Harris leaves those issues almost entirely untouched. It would be hard to imagine that the immense labor that obviously underlies this volume did not leave the author with some opinions about the historical literature. Those hoping to continue the argument in Haig's favor may take a little comfort from the occasional points at which Harris asserts that some element in an argument is likely or makes sense but cannot produce evidence. These are, in reality, minor issues that do not detract significantly from the great value of this work of superior historical scholarship.

Fort Valley State University

Fred R. van Hartesveldt

In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680–1783. By Michael J. Jarvis. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. Pp. 684. \$65.00.)

As the excellent, west-oriented map on page 3 of this book shows, Bermuda was indeed, for a time, “in the eye of all trade” at the center of the Atlantic arc of British possessions. It differed sharply from the islands of the Antilles in that its

climate was healthful for Europeans, and there were no indigenous people. After the first phase of British settlement in 1616, the new colonists thrived for a while on tobacco, but they soon saw that their true calling lay on the sea, which they sailed in their fast, racy sloops.

The sloops proved suitable not only for conventional trade but also for privateering, for which there was ample opportunity during the time of the Atlantic wars between 1689 and 1763. Bermudians also became expert whalers, establishing works like those whose ruins may still be seen on Smith's Island (248). Whaling, like shipping in general, depended to some degree on the labor of slaves, who were of necessity treated more humanely than those of the plantation islands to the south.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Bermuda was closely tied to the British North American colonies, and when they came out in rebellion, the islanders' sympathies were at first with them. As time went by, though, it became clear that Bermuda's central interests lay in an alliance with Great Britain: "throughout 1781 and 1782, hundreds of American prizes flowed into Bermuda" (433). However, this period of prosperity was illusory, and after 1783, the Bermudians no longer enjoyed the relations with North America that had powerfully contributed to their wealth. Indeed, Michael J. Jarvis goes so far as to write that "the American Revolution was a watershed for more than the United States; the same war that gained independence for the thirteen colonies ended it for the Bermudians" (450).

So Bermuda had to reinvent itself in the nineteenth century. It became the site of a massive British naval base, protected by very extensive fortifications, which still stand. Its own maritime activity went into a slow decline. Jarvis does not follow this line of thought, but the process of adjustment had gone on, so that after the decline of British naval power, Bermuda remained a colony and became a prosperous tax haven. Small islands like this have to be quick on their feet to adapt to the changing world around them, and Jarvis shows how skillfully the Bermudians have made these adjustments.

The Newberry Library, Chicago

David Buisseret

New Heroes in Antiquity: From Achilles to Antinoos. By Christopher P. Jones. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010. Pp. 123. \$29.95.)

This book's strength is its sheer amount of information. More comprehensive than analytic, it is more an annotated list than "a study"; Christopher P. Jones's

command of epigraphical, literary, and iconographic sources will teach specialists and stimulate both students and general readers (1).

The chapters are loosely tied by theme, not argument. Each can stand on its own. “Poetic Heroes” (chapter 1) treats traditional heroes in Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar. Thrice we learn that Homeric and Hesiodic poetry “adumbrate” heroic cult without clearly naming it. Here Jones introduces the vexed question of a pre-Hellenistic reluctance (with some notable exceptions), especially among the Athenians, to use the term “hero” when it is obviously the right word. He points out this conundrum repeatedly but never solves it. The closest he comes to answering it is the description of Cleomedes, the fifth-century Olympic victor who miraculously escaped from a closed chest: “It is perhaps because of the exceptional nature of Cleomedes’ disappearance that he is the only one of these fabled athletes to be unambiguously called a hero” (41).

Chapters 2 through 4, “Local Heroes”; “Warriors and Patriots”; and “Athletes, Poets, Philosophers,” catalog heroized men in those categories and discuss the characteristics of heroic cult (sacrifice, altars, etc.). “Private Heroes” and “Greek Heroes in a Roman World” (chapters 5 and 6) present Jones’s contention (*contra* Wilamowitz *et al.*) that the postclassical use of the word “hero” is more than simply a way of saying “the departed”; otherwise, why would some inscriptions present the word alone and centered in its own line (69)? Particularly strong are the discussion of banquet scene iconography as “memory pictures” and the explanation of snake and horse symbolism (54–59).

Chapter 7, “Antinoos,” presents “the most far-reaching of all heroizations of antiquity” and considers evidence and political motivations for its dissemination (75). Antinoos, a “handsome nobody,” is “a perfect blank”—we know nothing about his life (82). “Heroes and Saints” (chapter 8) points out that Christians worried about the pernicious influence of pagan gods more than their heroes, and, most remarkably, “The only real heroes that truly survived the advent of Christianity are the earliest ones of Greek literature, especially those of the Homeric poems” (85).

The faults are few in this volume. One would like more clarity on whether or not sources acutally term someone a “hero” (Harmodius/Aristogeiton 23, Timoleon 31, Xanthippos 32, Aratus 33, Philopoemen 34, Glycon 82). Several dates are lacking (Julia 7, Chrysapha 15, Attic reliefs 20, Attalus III 34, Alexandrian War 35, Euthycles 39). Jones mentions rhetorical handbooks that counsel the orator to discuss the dead in heroic terms—but instead of treating Herodes’ and Aelius Aristides’ excessive effusions of grief as the rhetorical commonplaces that they are, he takes them seriously as showing “actual belief” because they are

parallel with lower-class sentiments (62). Further, Jones ignores Herodes' possible guilty motive for commissioning the heroizing poem for his wife Regilla, whom, as Sarah Pomeroy points out, he probably murdered [*The Murder of Regilla*, 2007].

Overall, the impressive amount of evidence here outweighs the minor faults. This is a good book to own.

University of Arkansas

Daniel B. Levine

Master of the House: Stalin and His Inner Circle. By Oleg V. Khlevniuk. Translated by Nora Seligman Favorov. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008. Pp. xxv, 302. \$38.00.)

This book offers an almost encyclopedic account of high politics in the Stalin era. Starting with the first Five-Year Plan, Oleg V. Khlevniuk pieces together a truly comprehensive story of high politics, one based on the careful evaluation of an impressive array of sources, including correspondence between leading party figures, Politburo stenograms, memoirs, party directives, congress resolutions, and more. Viewing all the major events of the Stalin period through the prism of Stalin's consolidation and management of power, the book offers a convincing explanation of how Stalin crushed the party tradition of collective rule, establishing a dictatorship.

Master of the House represents the culmination of years of historical and archival research. This English edition adds new information. Khlevniuk has produced a book that is as much a guide to archival sources as a narrative on Stalinism. Often, as part of his analysis, Khlevniuk discusses the availability and location of documents, weaving archival cataloguing into his analysis of the Soviet power structure. The absence of archival documents on a particular event might be used as evidence of the growing personalization of decision making or perhaps to indicate that the matter discussed at a particular gathering was highly sensitive, requiring the highest classification of the resultant stenogram.

Despite its scholarly rigor, the book will draw criticism for its strongly totalitarian interpretation of the Stalin period. Khlevniuk denies that popular initiative and historical accident shaped Stalin's course of action. Although firmly discrediting several of the sources used by Robert Conquest to indict Stalin for the murder of Sergei Kirov, Khlevniuk validates Conquest's view of Stalin as a puppet master and schemer. And so, after absolving Stalin of responsibility for Kirov's death, Khlevniuk proceeds to attribute the purges to Stalin's ambition. Further, the author attacks J. Arch Getty's claim that Stalin's purge policies were at least

partially reactive—a response to unforeseen crises in the party and society—including lower-level resistance to party supervision and Nicholai Ezhov’s warnings that the party in 1936 had been lax in purging enemies, even at the scale of destruction wrought by the purges.

Khlevniuk’s dismissal of revisionist arguments does not derive from new evidence but rather from his interpretation of evidence already incorporated into revisionist accounts. For example, Khlevniuk attacks the notion that party interest groups may have influenced the course of Soviet policy. Although he does not deny that individual party leaders became proponents of particular policy courses, depending on their post in government, he debunks the notion that such institutional interest groups had any influence on Stalin’s decision making. In this, he misconstrues what Western historians have meant by “interest groups.” Western revisionists have never denied that party platforms reflected the interests of leaders’ institutional posts or that Stalin ultimately made all decisions for party and state. Nevertheless, they have assumed that Stalin’s policy choices depended on the nature of the information that he received from his peers and/or subordinates, who had a vested interest in particular policy outcomes. Similarly, in the case of the Great Purges, Khlevniuk documents the way in which local officials petitioned for higher purge quotas. Although revisionists have suggested that local purges escalated in unforeseen ways, Khlevniuk dismisses the notion of unforeseen excess, justly noting that officials in Moscow approved the higher quotas. This does not rule out the possibility that Stalin may have ended the terror and purged Ezhov because of worries about unintended consequences—the ever expanding network of possible enemies, the disruption to the state apparatus, and the possibility of undermining his own party’s credibility. Even the decision to carry out those purges can be interpreted as a response to Ezhov’s warnings, something that Khlevniuk does not seriously consider.

Despite its dismissive treatment of social and revisionist history, Khlevniuk’s book offers unparalleled detail and breadth. For all historians of the former Soviet Union, *Master of the House* will become a welcome and highly valuable source of information on central politics in the Stalin period.

State University of New York at Binghamton

Heather D. DeHaan

Saint Louis. By Jacques Le Goff. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009. Pp. xxxii, 948. \$75.00.)

In 1981, Jacques Le Goff posed the question, “Did St. Louis actually exist?” He has spent the intervening twenty-eight years attempting to resolve it. The question,

as Le Goff's sprawling biography argues, is not a simple one. In exploring it, he has gone far beyond the mere biography of a canonized king; his history of St. Louis unfolds as the biography of France.

The author breaks the work into three parts. The first follows the life of St. Louis from birth to canonization in a more or less conventional fashion. The second, in homage to Marc Bloch, looks at the life of St. Louis through the lens of contemporary records, ranging from the prosaic (official documents) to biographies, such as those of the mendicant Guillaume de Nangis, stories (*exempla*), and chronicles, such as that of Matthew Paris. Taking pride of place is the first-person account of Joinville, Seneschal of France, crusader, vassal, and personal friend. The third, in the spirit of Peter Brown's *Cult of the Saints* (although the work is not mentioned in the bibliography), locates Louis in both the spiritual and secular world of the day-to-day. This last section represents not a chronological journey but rather one that traverses what Le Goff calls the "Outside and the Inside" (420). As Louis strove to fulfill the functions entrusted to a Christian prince, he came to manage the external world, manifested in residences and itineraries; medieval concepts of Orientalism; time and space; and mediated by images, words, and gestures. Analysis of these outside responsibilities folds into an exploration of the more intimate concerns of King Louis, the person: his relationship with his family and ultimately of the interior life of his personal religion. Having established the world—global, mental, and personal—that Louis inhabited, Le Goff reveals St. Louis as the particularly French liaison between heaven and earth, as saint and as a Christ-like prince.

It is testimony to Le Goff's art as both "historian as social scientist" and historian as storyteller that Louis emerges both as a bit of a prig as well as a charismatic, a man of sensibility.

The length of the enterprise does produce the occasional irritants. Certain phrasings, for example, recur too often, but perhaps the most annoying problems lie with the translation. The prose is frequently interrupted with the French version of a word or phrase interpolated within brackets. Although this is sometimes appropriate, it is more frequently intrusive. Equally frustrating are infelicitous translations of words or phrases, e.g., "remarry with" as opposed to simply "remarry" and "Gand" for "Ghent."

These aside, what Le Goff has accomplished is more than what will undoubtedly be considered the definitive biography of St. Louis; he has established a standard against which other biographies will be measured. *Saint Louis* will be read and reread not only as a monograph (or perhaps three-in-one, a monographi-

cal trinity) but also as an indispensable reference book. And no, Le Goff never does answer the question of whether “St. Louis actually existed.”

University of Idaho

Ellen E. Kittell

The Medieval March of Wales: The Creation and Perception of a Frontier, 1066–1283.

By Max Lieberman. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. xv, 292. \$95.00.)

One of the most complex fields in medieval Welsh and English history is the history of the March of Wales, usually defined by modern scholars as the English-held lordships in south Wales. Occasionally, however, modern scholars also include those English-held lordships on the Shropshire-Powys border. It is the history of these border lordships that Max Lieberman takes as his focus. In particular, Lieberman argues that the lordships of the Shropshire-Powys border were among those earliest defined as belonging to the March of Wales, and, as such, a study of the character of the Shropshire-Powys border lordships will reveal the original meaning of the term March of Wales and how that meaning was eventually extended to all areas later identified as belonging to the March of Wales. Above all, however, Lieberman argues that although the modern historiography tends to describe the March of Wales as a “well-defined phenomenon,” the medieval concept of it was “a malleable one” that changed markedly over time (5).

In order to track the development of the medieval concept of the March of Wales, Lieberman divides the chapters into studies of different factors that contributed to the making of the concept of the March as they pertained to the Shropshire-Powys border lordships, including the geographical, economic, militaristic, diplomatic, administrative, and genealogical character of these lordships. Throughout the work, Lieberman demonstrates that the concept of the March of Wales, with regard to the Shropshire-Powys border lordships, was created after 1066 but that it grew slowly over time and that the different aristocratic families who held honors in that area participated in the formation and shaping of that concept to different degrees. He also demonstrates that it was the claims that these border lords made to exemptions from royal control, particularly fiscal and judicial control, that decisively shaped the medieval concept of these lords as barons of the March and their honors as belonging to the March of Wales. Even so, it was only by the fourteenth century that “the category *Marchia Wallie* routinely included” both the lordships of south Wales and those on the Shropshire-Powys border (246).

Although Lieberman is successful in describing the many factors that contributed to the concept of the March of Wales as regards the lordships of the Shropshire-Powys border, his work is more likely to attract scholars in the field of Welsh or Marcher history than the average reader because his chapters often sacrifice analysis for the weight of sheer detail. In addition, Lieberman's secondary aim with the work is to contribute to frontier studies, particularly with regard to how a medieval frontier might be created and understood by those who created and lived in it, but he only rarely points to similarities between the March of Wales and other frontier areas in medieval society, such as Normandy and Brandenburg. In all, though Lieberman's work is a valuable addition to the historiography of medieval Welsh-English relations, it does not succeed in placing the March of Wales in a greater medieval context.

South Dakota State University

Lizabeth Johnson

The Poison King: The Life and Legend of Mithridates, Rome's Deadliest Enemy. By Adrienne Mayor. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010. Pp. 448. \$29.95.)

This book has three functions. First, it is a biography of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus in Asia Minor [120–63 BC]. Second, this is a study of the myth-creating process whereby a life of particular distinction can become a legend in future generations. Third, it is an extravagantly colorful tale, which a reader with no knowledge of the period can consume as pure entertainment.

There is some tension between these three functions. First, with the myths surrounding Mithridates, the reader sometimes has difficulty distinguishing between what the author is giving as folklore and what is offered as known fact. Second, there are substantial portions of the life of Mithridates for which no certain record exists, and the author's approach means that these lacunae must be filled.

The author employs several strategies that tackle these issues. There are detailed footnotes by which a diligent researcher can check the origins of much of the information. Thus a comment describing the complexion of Mithridates as "luminous, translucent" is apparently the opinion of a nineteenth-century classicist-novelist and clearly speculative (96). On the other hand, a discussion of Mithridates' children references McGing and Strabo, a combination of modern expert and ancient writer, which carries considerable authority (114). A caveat here is that a footnote on the previous page gives Adrian Goldsworthy as the

reference for a description of the Roman army that a military historian certainly would not endorse. (An error that the author has recognized.)

For the likelihood, or otherwise, of some of the legends surrounding Mithridates, the argument is offered that the “theory of probability” only applies to events that may happen and so is not germane for the discussion of events in the past—a relevant point for million-to-one events, which demonstrably occurred, but a flawed technique for uncertain events in the past that have the possibility (or probability) of being disproven by future research.

In the introduction, the author explains that the lacunae in the biography are approached with “scientific imagination.” By this, the gaps are filled with extrapolation from known facts so long as this extrapolation is consistent with the character of the protagonist, does not contradict anything in the historical record, and is clearly signposted as such for the reader. The whole of chapter 4 is basically such an excursus, a *tour de force* invented from a melange of Xenophon, Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and the author’s imagination.

There are some errors in the text. The chronology of events not central to the main story is occasionally confused, and the author implies, for example, that Marius campaigned in Germany and that Crassus was killed with molten gold in 53 BC. These flaws should have been picked out by careful proofreading but do not undermine what the author herself has called “a rollicking good tale.”

This book is heartily recommended for the general reader, but students of the period should read the text with caution.

University of Cambridge
Institute of Continuing Education

Philip Matyszak

The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain, 1700–1850. By Joel Mokyr. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009. Pp. x, 564. \$45.00.)

Between 1700 and 1850, Britain’s economy underwent dramatic, sustained change, and the island nation emerged as Europe’s most industrialized country. On this much all can agree, but beyond that bare outline, historians have long fought over the causes, nature, and meaning of Britain’s economic transformation. Joel Mokyr, a leading economic historian for the past several decades, sheds new light on the Industrial Revolution by emphasizing the importance of the intellectual context for British economic change. *The Enlightened Economy* combines this original approach to the topic with a lucid synthesis of the massive historical literature on industrialization. This book is a milestone in the field.

Mokyr gives a compelling account of the ways in which Enlightenment ideals—especially the belief that “social progress could be attained through the ‘useful arts’” of science and technology—worked synergistically with Britain’s flexible political and economic institutions to promote technological change and sustain economic growth (41). Because “the Enlightenment changed the outlook of people in key positions on the way the economy (and society at large) functioned,” the British government and “civil society” generally embraced and facilitated new industrial production and free market policies (399). Mokyr’s scope for discussing these changes is astonishingly broad as he works across virtually every sector of the British economy to trace both the motivations behind and the nature of change. Mixing his original analysis of numerous eighteenth-century publications with the many available biographies of inventors, manufacturers, skilled artisans, and scientists of the age, the author convincingly demonstrates the penetration and force of the ideas and ideals of the Scientific Revolution and the Enlightenment, especially amongst Britain’s emerging middle classes. In Mokyr’s account, this age truly does deserve the moniker “Industrial Revolution,” even though the changes he tracks often occurred gradually and with considerable regional disparities.

Mokyr is at his most elegant and effective in the early chapters of the book where he outlines his thesis, and in those chapters (especially chapter 9, on agricultural change, and chapter 18, on the changing standard of living) in which he synthesizes existing knowledge and clearly and comprehensively sums up evidence related to heated historiographical disputes. Advanced scholars will appreciate the balance and authority he brings to these debates; the educated public will enjoy his accessible prose, and indeed, the chapter on the standard of living debate should be mandatory reading even for undergraduates.

This is a work of tremendous erudition, but it does downplay the relationship of Britain’s colonial, imperial, and foreign policies to changes in both its economy and political ideology. The East India Company is given short shrift here, and the Atlantic slave trade is barely mentioned, with no sustained analysis of its role in economic development. Mokyr not only ignores important recent work by historians (e.g. Seymour Drescher and Christopher Brown) on the role of Atlantic slavery and abolitionism in the economic, political, and intellectual world of industrializing Britain, but also he elides the Enlightenment’s profound ambivalence regarding issues of race and human bondage. To take but one example, David Hume, praised by Mokyr as one of the “more sophisticated later Enlightenment writers,” famously found “Negroes . . . naturally inferior to the whites” in his 1748 essay “Of National Characters” (36). Such statements suggest that we

view the idea of Britain's "Enlightened Economy" with some irony. Still, Mokyr's relatively narrow conception of the Enlightenment (cf. recent work on the "Radical Enlightenment" by Jonathan Israel) may irritate intellectual historians, but it is unlikely to bother the book's primary audience of economic historians, who will surely be appreciating this comprehensive account of Britain's Industrial Revolution for decades to come.

Carleton College

Susannah Ottaway

Charlemagne and Louis the Pious: Lives by Einhard, Notker, Ermoldus, Thegan, and the Astronomer. Translated, with introductions and annotations, by Thomas F. X. Noble. (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. Pp. 307. \$84.00.)

The ninth century witnessed the rebirth of the secular biography, as five such Latin *vitae* were produced, albeit for two rather extraordinary figures, two for Charlemagne and three for his son, Louis the Pious, which are essential to our understanding of Carolingian history from the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth centuries. Thomas F. X. Noble, a leading Carolingian specialist, has done a great service to scholarship by bringing these works into one volume in new translations. Four of them have had previous English translations (for Charlemagne, Einhard, who has been blessed with multiple English translations, as well as Notker, and Thegan, and the anonymous "Astronomer" for Louis the Pious) but are scattered in separate volumes or sections of source books. Of particular value here is the first published English translation of Ermoldus Niger's poetic life of Louis the Pious, *In Honorem Hludowici*, which wisely has been rendered into prose.

After a very short introduction to the book, Noble follows the same format for each life. Preceding the translations are brief, but excellent, introductions to each writer and his text, followed by a short listing of "Essential Readings" consisting of previous translations, collateral sources, and works of current scholarship on the text and author. The annotations are generally confined to helpful chronological references and explanations of the figures mentioned in the texts.

The translation style is in very accessible English but tends to obscure the Latin that stands behind the translation. For example, *legati*, *missi*, *missi legati*, and *nuntii* are all rendered as "envoys," among other words. Likewise, *civitas*, *urbs*, *ecclesia*, and even *castrum* are all translated as "city," while *civitas* and *urbs* are also rendered as "town," as is *oppidum*. *Castrum*, *castellum*, and *munitio* all become "fort," "fortification," or "fortress" rather interchangeably. *Auctoritas*, *potestas*, *dominatus*, and *dicio* are all translated as "authority." Four different

Latin expressions are translated as “general assembly,” while five different words and expressions become “assembly.” At the same time, individual words and phrases receive inconsistent translations, as when *servi* sometimes appears as “slaves” and at other times as “servants,” making it difficult to know if the distinction, if justified, is due to the author or the translator. Much of Niger’s classicizing language is also hidden in the text, as when *Tonans*, a Roman euphemism for Jupiter, is literally translated as “the Thunderer” once but otherwise is given simply as “God” (and *Altitonens* becomes “Lord Almighty”). Likewise, at times Mars is translated as “war” and *templum* as “church.” Moreover, there are numerous words and phrases that appear in the Latin texts that are not translated, although the omissions rarely affect the essential meaning of the texts. The work would benefit from more proofreading, and numbered subdivisions or line numbers within the books of Niger would also be of great help.

The new translations of these five lives and their very useful introductions and notes make this work a prodigious achievement and an extremely valuable and most welcome contribution to Carolingian studies.

University of Illinois at Chicago

Steven Fanning

The Ghosts of Cannae: Hannibal and the Darkest Hour of the Roman Republic. By Robert L. O’Connell. (New York, N.Y.: Random House, 2010. Pp. xvii, 336. \$26.00.)

Shoppers at Barnes & Noble may encounter “this brilliant, long-overdue, and beautifully written” tome (according to the publisher’s blurb) detailing Hannibal’s annihilation of a Roman army at Cannae in southeast Italy on 2 August 216 BC during the Second Punic War [218-201 BC], the classic example of tactical double envelopment. The work belongs to a Random House series of “Battle Books” recruited by Robert Cowley, a founding father of the popular magazine *Military History Quarterly*. Thus the target audience for this book is Lawrence and Florence Chardonay and not Joe and Mary Sixpack, oblivious to Roman history for twenty years and stranded in an airport. Unbeknownst to the Chardonays, this book is the third semipopular Anglophone treatment of Cannae since 2002 and the fourth if a recent (semipopular) biography of Scipio Africanus is included. A claim of “long-overdue” cannot be justified.

Robert O’Connell, a retired intelligence officer with other semipopular works of military history and a novel to his credit, spins the epic tale of Rome vs. Carthage and Hannibal vs. Fabius Maximus and Scipio Africanus over ten chapters, of which only one, chapter 7, treats the battle. In the first chapter, O’Connell

introduces the chief sources before digressing on the origins and development of warfare from prehistory to the third century BC, with comments on the book's relevance to contemporary situations. An "Epilogue," which is not without errors, briefly recounts Cannae's limited legacy in military thought and practice down to Operation Desert Storm [1991]. Two chapters, surveying Roman and Carthaginian history to 218 BC, preface a whirlwind account of the Second Punic War and beyond it to the death of Hannibal in 183 BC. A unifying and overly dramatized theme becomes the fate of the survivors of Cannae, who were retained in Roman service but relegated to Sicily and subsequently became the core of Scipio's army for the victorious African campaign of 204–202 BC. An attempt to trace their history after 200 BC misrepresents the evidence.

Neither ancient nor military historians will find much new in this book. It reflects the currently popular face-of-battle approach with its assumptions about war's dominant role in antiquity and novelesque emphasis on methods of killing. Indeed the work largely relies on other semipopular Anglophone works; Adrian Goldsworthy, the current king of popularizers of Roman military history, is cited at least once in 103 of 805 footnotes. A Saidian orientaling of Carthaginians is evident as is a stereotyping of non-Romans. An insensitivity to ancient religious practices and numerous errors or exaggerations about ancient armies (characteristic of the face-of-battle genre) reveal O'Connell's lack of expertise in ancient history. The work's colloquial style, slang, and occasionally questionable grammar may reflect a decline in Random House's prose standards. Bennett Cerf would roll over in his grave. The "advance uncorrected proofs," which were the basis of this review, reveal *many* errors—typographical and otherwise. A bibliography is lacking. The Chardonnays may enjoy this book, but undergraduates would be better served by J. F. Lazenby's *Hannibal's War* [1998] or even the face-of-battle views of Gregory Daly's *Cannae* [2002].

Duke University

Everett L. Wheeler

The Bloody White Baron: The Extraordinary Story of the Russian Nobleman Who Became the Last Khan of Mongolia. By James Palmer. (New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 2009. Pp. xiii, 274. \$26.95.)

One of the Russian Civil War's most intriguing figures was the White leader Baron Roman von Ungern-Sternberg [1885–1921]. A Baltic German nobleman who unleashed a reign of terror in Siberia and Mongolia, von Ungern-Sternberg espoused fanatical anti-Communism and anti-Semitism, while believing himself to

be a spiritual heir of Genghis Khan and a defender of Buddhism. In *The Bloody White Baron*, British travel writer James Palmer provides an intriguing account of von Ungern-Sternberg's life and beliefs.

Born into an aristocratic family descended from medieval German crusaders, von Ungern-Sternberg spent his youth in Estonia; early on, he displayed a "violent and impulsive" nature (19). Service in the Russo-Japanese War introduced him to the Far East, and the 1905 Revolution forged his highly conservative monarchist views. While attending St. Petersburg's Pavlovskoe Military Academy, he absorbed the occultism and Buddhist-tinged mysticism then fashionable in the capital, along with the anti-Semitism of the right-wing "Black Hundreds." Driven from the Transbaikal and Amur Cossack regiments for dueling and drunkenness, he took up a post in Mongolia (a Russian protectorate), where he gained a knowledge of Mongolia's language and religion. Combat duty in the First World War introduced von Ungern-Sternberg to the half-Buryat Cossack officer Grigorii Semenov; it also "refined and affirmed his tendencies to violence [and] even legitimised them as heroic" (73).

Von Ungern-Sternberg vehemently opposed the October Revolution: "Anti-religious, anti-monarchist, riddled, in Ungern's view, with Jews, extolling the peasants and seizing land from the aristocracy: [the Bolsheviks] were the antithesis of everything Ungern held dear" (81). He joined Semenov in eastern Siberia, where they forged Buryats, Cossacks, Russians, and Mongols into a motley White force that drove the Reds from Transbaikalia in the fall of 1918. Then, von Ungern-Sternberg established a stronghold in Dauria near the Manchurian border, where he earned a reputation for brutal military discipline, the plundering of railway travelers, and the torture and slaughter of Red partisans, suspected traitors, deserters, and—especially—Jews: he declared his intention to "exterminate Jews, so that neither men nor women, nor even the seed of this people remain" (98).

In the fall of 1920, the Red advance forced von Ungern-Sternberg to relocate to the Mongolian capital, Urga, then occupied by Chinese troops. The following February, he ejected the Chinese and freed the Eighth Bogd Khan—Mongolia's chief Buddhist cleric and titular political leader—from captivity, leading the latter to grant him the title of *khan*. Palmer concludes that von Ungern-Sternberg's victory ultimately helped to preserve Mongolia's independence.

Thenceforth, von Ungern-Sternberg acted as a virtual dictator. He unleashed his wrath against Urga's "impure elements: . . . revolutionaries, traitors, and Bolshevik infiltrators" and the city's few Jews, slaughtering 10 percent of the expatriate community; even Whites deemed potential threats to his authority suffered

his murderous suspicion (171). To feed and staff his troops, he requisitioned the Mongols' herds and press-ganged their sons, but this merely led them to migrate further from his reach, exacerbating the food situation. In the spring of 1921, he set off for Red-ruled Transbaikalia, hoping to seize foodstuffs and raise his troops' spirits through purposeful action, but the campaign ended in disaster: pro-Communist Mongols routed his forces at Kiakhta on June 11–12, and two weeks later, the Red Army entered Urga. Von Ungern-Sternberg himself was captured by Red troops near the Mongolian border in August; his execution the next month brought his brutal saga to an end.

Palmer has presented readers with a gripping account of his subject's stormy life and perplexing ideology. Especially noteworthy is his analysis of the role of Buddhist mythology and religion in shaping von Ungern-Sternberg's ideas and actions: for example, the legend of Shambhala—a hidden kingdom whence a warlike ruler would emerge to purify the earth—gave religious sanction to his anti-Communist and anti-Semitic crusade, and the depictions of hell in Buddhist temple art inspired the specific tortures he inflicted upon his victims.

Alongside these merits are four weak points. First is Palmer's description of early-twentieth-century Mongolia, which sensationally stresses Mongol "backwardness": readers are told that "the first thing von Ungern-Sternberg would have noticed about Urga, Mongolia's most populous settlement, was the smell. Sewers were "as unknown as electricity"; Buddhist offerings are deemed "payoffs to various malevolent spirits in a divine protection racket" (44, 60). Second are the long narrative passages lacking dates, which make the narrative hard to follow. Third are occasional dubious generalizations: for example, the reviewer is not at all sure that "the majority [of Buryats] were committed reactionaries" during the Civil War (83). Fourth are occasional typographical errors, e.g., Tsar 'Nikolas II' (26 ff.); "Urgen" for "Ungern" (211); and "*khutukhu*" for "*khutukhtu*" (reincarnated lama) (144).

These infelicities aside, Palmer is to be commended for bringing to light a little-studied chapter in Russian and Asian history. It is to be hoped that this work will stimulate further research on the Civil War in Siberia and Mongolia.

Baldwin-Wallace College

Robert W. Montgomery

Conspirator: Lenin in Exile. By Helen Rappaport. (New York, N.Y.: Basic Books, 2010. Pp. 384. \$27.95.)

The literature on the life and work of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin is enormous. To write a book about him now requires either dedicating a lifetime to study all the

conflicting evaluations of his activities or else finding a niche of his experiences that others have not illuminated. Helen Rappaport chose to study his years living outside of European Russia; his years in Siberia and in other parts of Europe. She examines the conditions of his daily life and his personal relations with others, particularly his dependence on the stoic support of Nadezhda Krupskaya. The author makes clear Lenin's intense determination to revolutionize Russia, but her account is rather short on developing a number of standard issues and problems in tracking Lenin's political program.

From Rappaport's account, Lenin emerges as a man of great contrasts. Some memoirists considered him captivating, others barely noticed him at first glance. He could be remarkably calm in one situation and very angry in another. At times he seemed to have strong support, and at other times he seemed to be reduced to a handful of followers. His personal determination to bring revolution to Russia is the constant around which these other judgments revolve.

Nowadays, any biography of Lenin must consider his relationship with Inessa Armand. Rappaport handles this question carefully, observing what can be proven and what can be inferred. At first the reviewer was surprised to find her conclusion that Lenin suffered from syphilis only at the end of the book, but on reconsideration he concluded that she handled this well (306). The author apparently did not believe this affected his revolutionary determination. This is in contrast to the thought that it was "impotence" that made Lenin a raging revolutionary.

The title of the book is misleading. The tsarist regime sent Lenin into exile in Shushenskoe, but it never sent him abroad. He emigrated of his own will. He left Russia legally the first time he traveled abroad, and after that he was a "political émigré," not an exile. Rappaport notes that Trotsky "escaped exile" in Siberia and came to Lenin in London (82). On the other hand, she notes, "Lenin was terrified of being arrested" (137). Was that a factor in his prolonged stay abroad? During World War I, he resented suggestions by others that he could be so outspoken only because he was living in neutral Switzerland.

There are a few errors: Lenin resigned from the editorship of *Iskra* after fifty-one issues; the Kienthal conference took place in 1916. There are also a number of topics that the author might have better developed: comparison with other psychological interpretations of Lenin; Lenin's struggles with the International; his personal rivalry with the Swiss socialist Robert Grimm; and perhaps the character of the *Verein Eintracht* in Zurich (270 and does not appear in the index). Nevertheless, the book is an interesting read.

Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World. By Youval Rotman. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. xii, 307. \$35.00.)

Although many Byzantine scholars have examined aspects of the question of Byzantine slavery, the last full study of the topic was that of Anne Hadjinicolaou-Marava in 1950. Hence this work comes as a welcome synthesis of modern research on this topic during the period from the sixth century to the end of the eleventh century while also providing interpretations that challenge many of the common assumptions regarding slavery in this era. The author is particularly effective in destroying the suggestion that slavery was disappearing or insignificant in the Byzantine Empire, and he is also successful in demonstrating that slavery was no static institution but rather underwent significant evolution in the six centuries that are the focus of this work.

Youval Rotman's first chapter is a discussion of theoretical approaches to the question of slavery in general in which he argues somewhat unconvincingly that the traditional dichotomy between slave and free makes sense only in a republican democracy and is not helpful in understanding slavery in an aristocratic society like that of Byzantium. He prefers to see slavery not in its degree of separation from freedom but rather as one form of dependency among many, which is indeed a useful distinction for understanding the society of the Roman Empire, including its Byzantine continuation.

The last three chapters are a virtual primer on Byzantine slavery, whose full value cannot be covered in a brief review. Rotman explicates the alteration of the nature of slavery in the Mediterranean world as a result of piracy and the near perpetual Byzantine-Muslim warfare, especially with the phenomenon of the exchange of captives, while giving great attention to the Mediterranean slave trade. Meanwhile, the Christianization of the Byzantine Empire, especially allowing slaves to have Christian marriages, brought about significant internal changes to the practices of slavery. During this period, Byzantine sources also illustrate a changing view of slaves, who progress from being mere objects to being the central focus of literary attention, especially in hagiography. It is clear that Byzantine slaves were not mere field hands but also played significant roles as artisans and as shop foremen in urban settings. Rotman also argues that the emancipation of slaves often led to the freedmen remaining economically dependent on their former masters.

The author is very effective in illustrating the active role that the Byzantine government played in affecting the development of slavery within the empire, particularly the law of asylum, which allowed ecclesiastical institutions to accept

fugitive slaves, thus forcing slave owners to respond with better conditions for their slaves, and promoted emancipations. Of great value is Rotman's carefully nuanced discussion of the vocabulary of slavery, explaining the evolution of the terms and how they came to be used in the general sense of subjection.

The often rather sparse Byzantine sources make interpretations of this complicated institution rather tentative, yet this work is an invaluable addition to scholarship on both slavery and the Byzantine Empire.

University of Illinois at Chicago

Steven Fanning

Trotsky: A Biography. By Robert Service. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009. Pp. xxii, 600. \$35.00.)

The stated aim of this author is to exhume Leon Trotsky's "buried life," an approach that illuminates, for example, Trotsky's efforts to conceal embarrassing details of his career such as his disagreements with Lenin before 1917 and his role in the suppression of the Kronstadt sailors in 1921 (4). But Robert Service's larger objective—for which he relies chiefly on Soviet Communist Party records, memoirs, and Trotsky's own writings—is clearly to dispose of the legend, conceived by Trotskyists and Trotsky himself, of the great revolutionary prophet, "a man and a leader who bore only an erratic kinship" to the actual person (498).

The core of the legend is unassailable: Trotsky's fearlessness, superb literary and oratorical skills, and administrative gifts enabled him to become the "greatest all-round activist" of the Russian Revolution and, as Commissar of War, the architect of the Communists' victory in the subsequent civil war (186). At issue are the reasons for Trotsky's defeat in the Communist Party conflicts of the 1920s, its consequences for later Soviet history, and the efficacy of his opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy during his exile from 1928 to 1940.

Although Trotsky's admirers attributed his defeat and exile primarily to Stalin's treachery, Service stresses that Trotsky's imperiousness and aloofness provoked disdain and trepidation among his fellow party leaders, who, cognizant of the history of the French Revolution, viewed him as a potential Bonaparte. Yet, unlike Stalin, whose political skills he underestimated, Trotsky refused to be a full-time politician, which would have impeded his literary pursuits. Service concludes that Trotsky, who worried that the prominence of Jews in the government apparatus might incite anti-Semitism, had no strong desire to become the new leader after Lenin's death in 1924 but preferred being a member of a collective leadership.

Service also dismisses the contention of Trotskyists that Trotsky would have represented a humane alternative to Stalin. Trotsky lacked humanity and “revelled in terror” (497). If he had become the supreme leader, he would have responded ruthlessly to social discontent arising from Soviet policies. Even worse, his fanatical commitment to international revolution might have instigated a European “bloodbath” (3).

But would a Soviet leadership that included Trotsky have countenanced a war on the peasantry, as transpired in the early 1930s during collectivization? Without a Stalinist dictatorship, would a Great Terror have been even imaginable? And given Trotsky’s early recognition of the Nazi menace, would he have pursued international revolution? Besides, two bloodbaths did begin without Trotsky’s assistance: the Spanish Civil War and World War II.

Though Trotsky strove to remain politically relevant in exile, Service argues that he suffered from “self-deception on a grand scale” regarding the influence of the tiny anti-Stalinist opposition he mustered and the prospects for a proletarian uprising against Stalin and his *apparatchiks* (459). He was also woefully lax about security precautions, so Soviet agents easily penetrated his political organization and, eventually, his household in Mexico, culminating in his assassination.

Service concludes that Trotsky was a “perpetual revolutionary” who “was easily his own worst enemy” and “lacked the talent to manage his talent” (498, 228). Ultimately a failure at politics, he was also a wretched parent, an unfaithful husband, and even lacked “seriousness as an intellectual” (356).

Service displays just enough appreciation of Trotsky’s exceptional gifts to create a semblance of objectivity. Yet, *Trotsky* is hardly an example of disinterested scholarship. Although it provides an alternative to Isaac Deutscher’s classic, partisan trilogy [1954–1963] on Trotsky, and Service’s colloquial literary style (e.g., “dish the dirt,” “shot his bolt”) may attract many readers, persons with a serious interest in the subject are advised to read Deutscher’s still unsurpassed work (325, 407).

University of Louisiana at Lafayette

Chester M. Rzadkiewicz

The Hundred Years War, Volume III: Divided Houses. By Jonathan Sumption. (Philadelphia, Pa.: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. Pp. xviii, 1006. \$45.00.)

It is difficult to know where to begin a short review of such a big book; big not only in length but also in range and scope of coverage. As he did in two earlier magisterial volumes, Jonathan Sumption continues to redefine our understanding of the Hundred Years’ War. In the current volume, *Divided Houses*, Sumption

covers the period 1369–1399, an epoch that is generally overlooked in both textbooks and syllabi as it is not an era of famous set-piece battles and chivalric posturing but rather one of brutal, seemingly inchoate, low-level conflict.

One of the great strengths of Sumption's earlier volumes has been his ability to provide a French perspective on the war. All too often general histories of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries treat the Hundred Years' War as an English foreign war, in which the French, at best, play a reactive role, and at worst a passive role. This accounts for the tendency to skip straight from Edward III to Henry V, but, as Sumption demonstrates here, that does not reflect the reality of war as contemporaries knew it. A fine example of Sumption's ability to weave together the English and French narrative is found in chapter 13, "War and Peace, 1387–1389." Sumption begins with the story of Olivier de Clisson and the complex political landscape of Brittany, through which he is able to address the equally complex politics of the royal court and the uncles of Charles VI. From here he turns to the well-known events of Richard II and the Appellants but is able to relate events in France directly to those in England. Specifically, one of the charges made against the king and his ministers was that Richard II's favorite, Robert de Vere, had recently ransomed John of Blois (rival of John de Montfort for the duchy of Brittany) to the French against the English national interest. As Sumption clearly demonstrates, war and diplomacy at both the macro and micro levels on either side of the channel reverberated with both domestic and international repercussions.

The organization of Sumption's book, as with the earlier volumes, is essentially a chronological narrative. He begins with a review of the state of play at the resumption of armed conflict in 1369, followed by detailed accounts of the campaigns of Pontvallain and Limoges [1370–1371], then Poitou [1372], leading into John of Gaunt's *chevauchée* of 1373–1374. Diplomacy is a major theme of this volume and a lengthy chapter is devoted to the Congress of Bruges [1374–1377]. In several chapters, he then details the war in the north, in Brittany and Flanders, and also addresses the war at sea. This is followed by a thorough account of English involvement in Iberia [1385–1388]. The Gascon front is discussed in a sweeping narrative covering 1381 to 1393, followed by a particularly interesting and insightful chapter on "Men-at-Arms" that highlights the widening gap between professional and occasional soldiers. For all of the grandeur of Jean Froissart's chronicles or the lives of Bertrand du Guesclin and the Black Prince, written by Cuvelier and Chandos Herald, respectively, this "historical narcissism" increasingly did not reflect the reality of war (726). Sumption discusses the changing nature of armies from recruitment to deployment, the

composition of these armies, the nature and scale of their compensation, and the logistical difficulties faced by their commanders. The command structure itself is also considered, and the tensions that arose between traditional aristocratic commanders and their common, but highly experienced, colleagues who increasingly eclipsed them in ability but not in authority. The case of Marshal Boucicaut is cited on the French side, that of Sir Robert Knolles on the English.

In another long chapter on diplomacy, the author details the stages by which the Truce of Leulinghem was reached. This is followed by an epilogue in which he covers the final three years of the reign of Richard II, 1396–1399, his so-called tyranny followed by his deposition by Henry Bolingbroke. Sumption neatly rounds things off here by pointing to the French response to the deposition, a mixture of shock and outrage, fueled by the belief that Richard's overthrow was a direct result of his policy of peace with France rather than a matter of domestic policy failures. The Hundred Years' War would inevitably resume, and even in the moment the Duke of Berry clearly saw this.

Both students new to the subject and specialists in the history of the fourteenth century will find much to absorb them in this massive tome. Historians of medieval Europe will await the fourth volume of this landmark work with great anticipation.

Baylor University

J. S. Hamilton

The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfillment in Early Modern England. By Keith Thomas. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp. xi, 384. \$34.95.)

This book, which is an expanded version of the Ford Lectures the author gave at Oxford University in 2000, investigates how the English from the Reformation to the Enlightenment sought to lead fulfilling lives. To explain their deep-seated values, Keith Thomas looks at how their notions of fulfillment differed from ours. Modern individuals acknowledge the existence of myriad ways of living and accept no one norm of behavior; however, early modern people were admonished to heed social mores concerning their daily lives. Writers emphasized that happiness could be found only in the afterlife. To attain heavenly felicity, they advised people to perform the duties allotted them, according to their gender and rank, in their hierarchical society that discouraged mobility. Prescriptive literature privileged the social order's needs over personal claims.

Even so, when looking at how people lived, Thomas finds they often disregarded the prescriptive demands and, although lacking the range of choices now available, they did have agency and were sometimes able to manipulate social

constraints to their advantages. Real life often did not correspond to the advice of theologians and other writers. In fact, during this period an ideology legitimizing personal advancement, which was based on medieval origins, developed. Although many people continued to conform to social pressures, others seized opportunities to make choices. For example, movement up and down the social order can be documented, and some children, rejecting social demands, did gain personal input into decisions about their futures.

Following this general discussion of fulfillment, Thomas looks at six specific ends of life: military prowess, work and vocation, wealth and possession, honor and reputation, friendship and fame, and the afterlife. In these, he traces over time dramatic changes in social attitudes. From the medieval glorification of just war, attacked by early modern humanists, he finds English people rejecting martial values. Fueling this development were warfare's technological changes and its emerging status as a specialized occupation. At the same time, work, once attacked as drudgery, came to be seen as a source of fulfillment for many who began to disparage idleness. Meanwhile, their quest for wealth and possessions, once viewed as suspicious, was also gaining respectability. Rather than conforming to social strictures about honor, individuals increasingly preferred developing their own personal capacities. Even the praise of civic humanists for public and political values lost out to the personal longing for friendship and domesticity. Finally, despite the Christian promotion of the ends of life as heavenly felicity, more and more people sought fulfillment in their daily lives.

This book is a substantial research achievement in which this greatly accomplished historian displays his mastery of a wide range of primary and secondary sources. He alerts his readers, however, that he has no method for quantifying his evidence and has relied on his own impressions, realizing other scholars might have interpreted them differently. It is, nonetheless, a substantial contribution to the social history of early modern England, clearly written, occasionally witty, and interesting to scholars as well as college-educated readers.

Arizona State University

Retha M. Warnicke

Vengeance in the Middle Ages: Emotion, Religion, and Feud. Edited by Susanna A. Throop and Paul R. Hyams. (Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010. Pp. ix, 232. \$99.95.)

At least as a topic of study, vengeance attracts historians these days, mainly because it combines a number of scholarly approaches and interests: the history of "emotional communities"; the role of feud in maintaining social order; the

“performative efficacy of discourse”; and engaging narratives reconstructed from unexpected sources, to name just four (138).

Vengeance in the Middle Ages arose from an overflow session of the same title at the 2005 International Medieval Congress at Leeds. Despite Paul Hyams’s afterword that this “variety of able and engaging studies” does not require “an awkward and closed synthesis,” some organization is useful, and Susanna Throop’s introduction describes three emphases: regional “concepts and practices,” authorial influence on “the presentation of vengeance,” and present-day scholarly language on the subject (2,3). These categories are certainly essential ones, but, as the afterword emphasizes, such matters as the differentiation of vengeance from punishment and the comparison of human and nonhuman animal behaviors remain to be researched.

Among the most interesting essays, the three on particular regional forms of vengeance reconstruct conditions from varied archival sources to tell engaging stories. Máire Johnson analyzes the types of vengeance present in early medieval Irish saints’ lives—prayer, fasting, malediction, prophecy, and passive judgment—to characterize a particular form of Celtic sanctity. Jackson Armstrong describes the interplay between a local fifteenth-century feud in southeast Scotland and national political conflicts in the emerging state. François Soyer uses royal licenses for Muslims to bear arms in fifteenth-century Portugal to reconstruct a feud within this minority community.

The essays by Dominique Barthélemy and Thomas Roche are close parsings of central medieval chronicles, the former of Flodoard’s *Annals* and Richer’s *Histories*, the latter of Orderic Vitalis’s *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Barthélemy’s contrast suggests that “one can find substantial evidence for vengeance in Flodoard, and that Richer did not invent anything simply to please himself” (107). Roche claims that “Orderic’s tales show the extent of medieval vengeance ideology. They provide patterns for relations between lords and for the depiction of God’s attitude or baronial relations with the king” (135). Both writers suggest a rich thought-world complementing the depictions in the first group of essays.

Finally, Marina Brownlee and the two editors use popular, postmodern approaches to suggest new insights about medieval experiences of vengeance. Brownlee applies discourse theory to the sixteenth-century *Historie of Aurelio and Isabell* to suggest the “performative complexity” of language and “its horrific potential for vengeance” (150). Hyams appeals to concrete practices of vengeance to determine “behavioral patterns followed . . . by some people . . . in order to avenge perceived wrongs done to the shame of themselves and their friends”

(163). Throop analyzes the term *zelus* (zeal) to suggest relations between vengeance and motives for crusading.

This combination of insightful essays represents a vital new direction for students of medieval history and literature. It deserves a broad readership, despite the volume's relatively high cost.

Oklahoma Baptist University

Glenn E. Sanders

Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England. By Amanda Vickery. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009. Pp. xviii, 382. \$45.00.)

In lively, vivid prose, this book depicts in exquisite detail the domestic world of Georgian England, both in terms of gender roles and in terms of the material and spatial environments. Amanda Vickery enters the historiographical fray regarding the former and argues convincingly that though Georgian England was clearly a self-consciously patriarchal world, women had a significant and growing role in the home. Vickery does not identify exact dates, as some are wont to do; rather, she emphasizes that women always had a significant part to play, and over the eighteenth century that role manifestly grew. She documents how often women had control of household expenses; how they had marked influence, if not dominance, over decorations, refurbishments, and even the plans for new building projects; and how they were largely responsible for the growth of the ritual of visiting, particularly since the advent of tea-drinking made it easier even for middling women to be hostesses. Indeed, manufacturers even started directing their advertisements to women towards the end of the century. At best, men and women could be genuine partners in shaping their lives by working together on choosing their material surroundings.

However, it was true that dependence could make the lives of women onerous and suffocating. Neither men nor women, though, fared well alone. Bachelors lived barren and incomplete lives, while they yearned for a fulfilling marriage (or at least hoped for someone to take care of their household). Spinsters were even worse off; they lacked status and respect, were often relegated to the least favorable spaces and roles in households, and were, not infrequently, shunted from place to place. Widows could fare well, but much depended on their particular circumstances.

In terms of the environment, Vickery makes a number of astute observations and key points. She shows how important individual space was, how it was allocated, and how much it meant to people. She clearly demarcates the material realm of males from that of females and shows that many material things became

more and more associated with gender as the century went on. Material purchases reflected concern about social obligations—what one had and how one decorated was scrutinized by visitors, and it was expected that people of substantial standing would entertain. Vickery tries to get at the meaning of the Georgian concept of “taste,” and though she struggles to define it precisely, she illustrates it ingeniously in a chapter on wallpaper. As with much of the rest of the book, chapter 4 is a case study based on a limited number of courses, but Vickery is extremely accomplished in teasing meaning out of those few cases and fashioning constructs which she supports with an impressive array of fecund quotes.

Vickery is a master of evocation. She draws readers in immediately in the introduction to chapter 1, in which she paints a composite picture of a London household at night and holds their attention throughout with her trenchant analysis. Her writing is so evocative and her illustrations so vivid that it is hard not to be emotionally affected by the stories of the individuals about whom she writes. Furthermore, the book makes excellent use of period novels and is lavishly illustrated with apposite images.

As with any book, though, this one has its imperfections. When the author describes material culture, she often takes it for granted that readers will be familiar with technical terms (dimity, taffeta, cambrick, tippet, nankeen, etc.). Even some scholars may want to read these sections with the *Oxford English Dictionary* or another quick reference source at the ready. There are times when Vickery either does not cite sources for the historiography to which she is referring, or she takes it for granted that her own work has become the standard. Even though she squeezes more from her sources than we have any right to expect, she is still limited by them and ends up focusing much more on the world of the elites than intended. She also only brings up the regional disparities in the conclusion.

But these are minor blemishes; the book is fascinating and profound. In drawing such a rich portrait of homelife in the long eighteenth century, Vickery has evoked human “senses and sensibilities” with which we can all identify and has contextualized them with precision and grace.

Grand Valley State University

Jeff Chamberlain

Churchill's Children: The Evacuee Experience in Wartime Britain. By John Welshman. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. ix, 354. \$32.95.)

This author's earlier studies on the children's evacuation from town to country in Britain during World War II were scholarly analyses appearing in *Twentieth*

Century British History [1998] and *The Historical Journal* [1999]. His book is more popular in approach. Most of the volume draws upon considerable anecdotal evidence from evacuees and their families as well as the host families in the reception areas. John Welshman also includes the experiences of evacuation officials such as billeting officers who matched children with host families; schoolteachers and administrators who were responsible for their schooling; and civil servants in London who had devised the program. In choosing thirteen adults and children for an extended analysis, Welshman further deepens the narrative. Overall, he provides an extensive and engrossing account of a remarkable wartime social program.

In assiduously tracking down numerous and hitherto unpublished eyewitness accounts, Welshman has demonstrated admirable industry and ingenuity. It must be said, however, that there are few surprises in his lengthy account of the initial reception of evacuees. Previous studies have shown that host families received their evacuees with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Some were reluctant, driven only by a sense of duty. Others, however, rose admirably to the challenge of doing their part for the war effort. The evacuees themselves responded variously. Most, it seemed, adjusted reasonably well to their host families and new surroundings. But a substantial number of evacuees never outgrew their homesickness for parents and community. Rather more surprising and even shocking were the descriptions—mercifully few—that Welshman provides of direct abuse (sometimes physical) of evacuees by their host families.

Most striking to host families was the personal appearance of many evacuees. Head lice and skin disease were common. Some wore inadequate clothing and were poorly shod. Added to these outward signs of poverty were clear indications of deficient schooling. In response, medical officers and the Ministry of Health examined closely those urban areas from which most evacuees came. Investigations revealed extensive evidence of overcrowding, inadequate housing, and unemployment among the urban working class. These revelations, widely publicized, created a broadly based mood for social reform. Only state intervention could effectively address such serious social problems.

For Welshman, the evidence is indisputable. The evacuation experience “did much” to shape the social policies of mid-twentieth-century Britain in reforming the welfare services and extending their effectiveness in the postwar era (315). Thus he directly challenges those revisionist historians who have claimed that the evacuation did not raise the nation’s conscience about the disadvantaged poor. Revisionists argue that the evacuation increased the conflicts between middle-class hosts and their uninvited guests. Thus class differences hardened. A consensus on

the significance of the evacuation to the expansion of the welfare state in postwar Britain may be elusive. But Welshman's detailed account carries conviction.

Wheaton College, Massachusetts

Travis L. Crosby

GENERAL, COMPARATIVE, HISTORIOGRAPHICAL

Weighing The World: The Quest to Measure the Earth. By Edwin Danson. (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. x, 289. \$19.95.)

In an age of easily available geographical positioning systems (GPS), it is perhaps difficult to think of a time when that information was not so accurate or so readily accessible. Edwin Danson takes readers back to such a time in the eighteenth century; his endpoints are the English Revolution of 1688 and the French Revolution beginning in 1789. There were advances prior to this period, especially in the method of mapping known as triangulation, which involves measuring a very accurate baseline and, using Euclidean geometry, calculating angles to ascertain the distances to a third point. Although triangulation gave a solid and tested system of mapping, it assumes a Euclidean space of perfectly straight lines on a perfect sphere. The story that Danson tells is how a more accurate picture of the earth emerged from numerous surveys undertaken throughout the world over this period. In 1669–1670, the Frenchman Jean Picard was able accurately to measure the size of the earth by extrapolating from the distance of one degree of latitude measured in the French countryside. However, similar surveys of a degree of latitude undertaken in Peru and Scandinavia had different values. The earth is not a perfect sphere but flattened at the poles. A degree of latitude is shorter closer to the equator than the poles. The earth is more of an oblate than a sphere.

In 1768 the English surveyor Charles Mason, one half of the Mason-Dixon partnership, compared his measurements with those done in Scandinavia and came to the conclusion that the contrasting calculations were the result of the difference in the earth's density. A series of careful measurements were made by British surveyors of a hill in Scotland, Schiehallion. In 1775 Nevil Maskelyne read the results to the Royal Society to confirm the effect of mountain mass. Scientists were thus able to work out the differential density of the earth's core through surface mapping, a genuinely impressive achievement before deep core probes or sonic measurements.

Danson covers a great deal of information. In this period, surveys were undertaken throughout Europe, in North and South America, as well as in India and Asia. The author covers many surveyors, from Jean-Baptiste Biot to Henry Wade,

as the action moves from the hills of Scotland and the mountains of Peru to the plains of India and the Maryland tidewater. The project was marked by personal jealousies as well as international collaborations, the confirmation of ideas as well as disappointing results. Names, dates, and surveys litter the page, and it is sometimes difficult to follow the thread of the argument. But it is clearly the work of an enthusiast. Despite its repetition and textual density, this is an interesting tale that reveals much about how we came to a better understanding of a less than perfect sphere in all its misshapen complexity.

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John Rennie Short

Conquest: How Societies Overwhelm Others. By David Day. (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. ix, 288. \$24.95.)

This volume has a simple and seductive theme: that the history of the world can best be understood as “the history of peoples on the move, as they occupy new lands and establish their particular claims of proprietorship over them.” David Day suggests that this presumably universal process consists of three main steps: 1) the assertion of “a legal or de jure claim to the land, which in modern times has often been signaled by the raising of a flag or some other such symbolic act”; 2) the establishment of “a claim of effective or de facto proprietorship over territory that it wants to have as its own”; and 3) “a claim of moral proprietorship over the territory.”

Day goes on to offer a great many colorful case studies of this general process, ranging from a number of well-known instances of European colonization in various parts of the world to a few less familiar expansionist efforts, such as the attempts by the Japanese to absorb Korea in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and those by the Chinese to “occupy” Tibet after the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949. As a historian of Asia (China in particular), this reviewer was not overly impressed by Day’s treatment of events in this particular part of the world, and one suspects that other area specialists may feel the same sense of discomfort for similar reasons; it is, after all, impossible to give adequate attention to the complexities of historical processes when the scope of a book is as wide as this one is. So rather than quibble with the author over specific cases, the focus in this review will be on a few broad issues.

The most important of these is whether it is productive to generalize about the process by which, in all parts of the world, for all time, groups of people have “supplanted” one another. Certainly “conquest” has been a major historical theme everywhere on earth, but this is hardly a revelation. Nor is it surprising that

conquerors often try to justify their actions in various ways. The question readers need to ask is whether in its particulars there is greater variety in the process of conquest and consolidation than Day suggests. The answer is assuredly yes. Although the examples the author adduces are interesting and illuminating, they are for the most part quite predictable, and in any event they leave little room for discussions of “culture” as a variable in the historical events he so vividly describes. Perhaps more attention to the theme of conquest in the non-Western world would have given the author’s comparisons greater cultural depth.

Also, there is a distinctly “modernist” thrust to this book, which causes the reader to wonder how well the author’s interpretive framework and general conclusions might apply to periods before, say, 1500 CE. Where are examples from, or at least revealing references to, the great ancient civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China—not to mention Greece and Rome? One has to draw lines, of course, but Day’s chronological and interpretive parameters seem to have been chosen primarily because they are familiar to him. One gets the distinct sense that this book was not in any sense a “stretch.” Thus, as broad-ranging as the book is, its breadth is not sufficient to sustain, in a conclusive way, the author’s basic argument.

One also wonders whether, despite certain basic common denominators in the case studies presented, it makes sense to treat all “conquests” as essentially the same. Although Day understandably deplores the violence and destruction that so often attends the process by which one group “supplants” another, the examples he uses seem to vary widely in terms of motivation, scale, and outcome. Readers might therefore ask: Beyond certain superficial similarities, is British policy toward the aboriginal peoples of Australia truly comparable to Hitler’s “Final Solution”?

This interpretive problem seems especially acute in the final chapter, titled “The Never-Ending Journey,” in which the author provides a number of recent instances in which formerly dominated peoples have exacted what might be described as a form of demographic revenge. It is not at all clear to this reviewer, however, that the three steps that he outlines for understanding the processes of conquest apply very well to the growth of Hispanic American, African American, and Asian American populations in the United States. There may be a certain irony in the fact that after four hundred years of supplanting the original inhabitants of North America “white Americans . . . face the possibility of being at least partially supplanted in their turn,” but Day’s conceptual framework is not very helpful as a means of analyzing the process.

Finally, one might mention the lack of any sort of analytical or explanatory device by which Day’s book helps readers to understand why some of the “con-

querors” he describes succeed (at least for long periods of time) and others fail—even though they all employ, in one way or another, the three basic strategies that lie at the heart of his “global” interpretation of human experience: a “legal” claim to the land, a claim of effective or de facto proprietorship, and a claim of moral proprietorship. To say, for example, that in order to be successful, a claim of moral proprietorship “must outweigh the claim that any other society, including the previous inhabitants, has the potential to assert,” has a somewhat tautological ring to it.

The most interesting sections of Day’s well-written and absorbing book are those that deal with the rhetoric used by various groups to justify their dominion over others (not least by creatively constructed stories of origins and pedigrees), and how such “conquerors,” in turn, anxiously look over their shoulders for the unwelcome appearance of other possible contenders for moral authority. A particularly fascinating feature of this process is the length of time it sometimes takes for moral authority to prevail—for interlopers to be considered a legitimate part of a given historical heritage in a given location.

Despite such questions concerning the utility and universal applicability of Day’s conceptual framework, his effort to engage in a serious way the causes and often tragic consequences of conquest is commendable. His sobering morality tale is a tale told well.

Rice University

Richard J. Smith

Sophistication: A Literary and Cultural History. By Faye Hammill. (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2010. Pp. viii, 222. \$39.95.)

If you are much taken with etymology, the connection between sophistication and sophistry might not come as a surprise. This reviewer was amazed and delighted to see Faye Hammill make the case for the relationship between those things considered sophisticated (and thus desirable) and those things that are the result of sophistry (and are thus suspicious). In *Sophistication: A Literary and Cultural History*, Hammill takes as a given that we now exist in a historical moment obsessed with fame, celebrity, and glamour, and thus we are at ease with the idea of sophistication. Although the reviewer takes some gentle exception to this idea, Hammill makes good use of the notion that we used to despise artifice and now love it, or at least we are attracted to the studied layers of artifice that mark one as sophisticated.

Sophistication is a fascinating cultural history, which examines the various valences in what it means to be cultivated, glamorous, and refined, as well as

specious, adulterated, and affected. Hammill elects to make her case through an archive comprised primarily of written narrative, rather than images, and she notes that an alternate cultural history of sophistication could well be structured through pictures. Relying on multiple genres of texts starting in the eighteenth century and moving into the twentieth and referencing those authors who are familiar (Austen, Burney, James, Fitzgerald, Nabokov) as well as those who deserve to be remembered (Daisy Ashford, Max Beerbohm, Françoise Sagan, Winifred Watson), Hammill persuasively argues for the manner in which “sophistication connects unexpected groups of texts together, and can form the basis for a reading practice which transcends categories of genre, nation, and language, and crosses boundaries between high and low, literary and commercial, serious and frivolous” (22). This in itself is no small objective, and Hammill skillfully takes the reader on an edifying tour of materials, each working to support her thesis that the cultural manufacture of—and societal attitude toward—sophistication in turn offers a telling corollary text about class, gender, sexuality, nation, and norms of taste.

Hammill lets her argument unfold in chronological order, each chapter devoted to a different period: the Romantics, the Victorians and Edwardians, the early twentieth century, and post-World War II. Each chapter is rich with fresh observations that make this book a pleasure to read. At every moment, the reader feels in the hands of a trusted guide whose well-written prose offers a helpful template for sorting through a mass of diverse literature.

The reviewer’s only critique is that Hammill limited herself to primarily British and American materials. Since the concept of sophistication filters through the lens of Western modernity, it would have been interesting to see her look outside of a transatlantic frame for further evaluation of sophistication’s reach. Perhaps we can look forward to such analysis in future work.

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Brenda R. Weber

Power over Peoples: Technology, Environments, and Western Imperialism, 1400 to the Present. By Daniel R. Headrick. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010. Pp. xii, 400. \$35.00.)

As Edward Said has pointed out, Western imperialism was possible because Europeans and Americans “could be there” in Asia and Africa and the latter could do little to resist it. The author’s fascinating book is about how technology made “being there” possible. But he also notes how much the effectiveness of technology—defined broadly as anything that allows humans to manipulate nature, including medical advances and the harnessing of animal as well as machine

power—is dependent on the environment in which it has to work and how even the most powerful technologies can be stymied by local resistance in some cases.

Broadly speaking, the speed of movement of the Western imperial frontier and cost-cutting technologies are closely correlated. In the late nineteenth century, for example, the elimination of Native American power between the Rockies and the Appalachians was a consequence of new military technology, including the repeating rifle and the machine gun; and that, plus the armed steamboat and quinine, also helped to swing the balance of power heavily in favor of the invaders in tropical Africa after 1880. Air technology in the 1920s also improved imperialists' control, as with the British in Iraq. Spanish imperialism in Mexico in the sixteenth century succeeded so swiftly because technology and environment both worked in the Spaniards' favor. Steel weapons and the use of horses as offensive instruments overwhelmed Aztec forces; the unintended introduction of Western diseases, especially smallpox, into the Americas by the invaders devastated local populations and reduced their resistance drastically.

However, if new technologies confer immediate advantages, their effects can be reduced by environmental constraints or because the victims find ways of resisting them. Spanish technologies worked quickly because they surprised the Aztecs and because the latter was a settled civilization. Small, loosely structured, more mobile societies occupying difficult terrain were far more resistant. They soon learned to adapt parts of Spanish technology, including horses, to their own uses and to develop guerrilla tactics to foil the enemy. Disease also spread less quickly amongst them because their populations were scattered. In this way the Araucanian Indians of Chile survived as an independent force until the late nineteenth century, and Native Americans controlled a large part of the U.S. land mass, adapting their lifestyles in the process, until around 1850. Similarly, despite the enormous speed of technological change in Europe and in North America in the twentieth century, sophisticated ways of resisting imperialism have evolved in countries where the environment favors the victims, as in modern Vietnam where French and U.S. attempts at control both floundered. Some environments seem to be permanently forbidding to modern technology however advanced: Britain twice failed to overcome Afghan geography in the nineteenth century as did the Russians in the 1980s, and it is an open question whether the current Anglo-American assault will succeed. Daniel R. Headrick is right to think that insufficient attention has been paid to how technological change and environment shape imperialism, and his work is an excellent attempt to remedy that deficiency.