In sharp contrast to the spate of recent publications on modern Kurdish politics and history that largely covers only events in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, this work is an accessible presentation of earlier Kurdish history. “The purpose of this book,” writes the author, “is to examine Kurdish distinctiveness and identity from the rise of Islam to the first development of the modern Kurdish national movement after World War I” (3). As such, Michael Eppel presents readers with a background that will enable them to know the earlier historical basics and understand how present realities came to be. As the author notes,

because the Kurds had no state of their own that could promote the writing of a national history, and because the prevailing conditions in Kurdistan and Kurdish society hindered the development of a modern educated class, the history of the Kurds has not in fact really been written—a deficiency that this book hopes in some small measure to redress. (13)

The relatively short text is based on a large variety of sources dating from such ancient Greek authors such as Xenophon; Arabic ones such as al-Baladhuri and al-Tabari, the famous Sharafnama or History of the Kurdish Nation, published by the Kurdish scholar Sharaf Khan al-Bitlisi in 1595; the Seyahatname, or Book of Travels, published by the Ottoman traveler Evliya Chelebi; to more modern ones, all capably listed in the thorough notes and bibliography. Wadie Jwaideh and David McDowall are two recent authors who cover similar ground.

In his wide-ranging introduction, the author tells readers that “in the histories written by the surrounding states and cultures, the Kurds have been perceived as peripheral, tribal, anarchical, and possessed of a savage culture” and problematically that “the word kurd, or kord, originally meant ‘shepherd,’ so that it had a social significance as well as a vague socioethnic connotation” (1, 7). However, “eventually the signifier kurd acquired the connotation of ‘robber’” (20). Heuristically, he adds that “the absence of a Kurdish alphabet appropriate to the sounds of the Kurdish language limited the possibilities for a cohesive literary Kurdish language” (17). Despite the Kurdish national epic Mem u Zin written in Kurdish in 1695 by Ahmad-i Khani, “the absence of a written high Kurdish
language ... as well as the dominance of the Arabic-speaking state, relegated local Kurdish dialects to a position of inferiority” (44).

Michael Eppel then quickly surveys Kurdish distinctiveness under Arab, Persian, and Turkish dominance in the early Muslim centuries; the era of Ottoman and Iranian rule; the demise in the nineteenth century of the Kurdish emirates or principalities, which possessed many of the characteristics of a state; the seeds of Kurdish nationalism in the declining Ottoman Empire; the beginnings of modern Kurdish politics; the Kurds and Kurdistan during World War I; and the Kurds and the new Middle East after the Ottomans. Russia and Great Britain began to play a large role in the nineteenth century, although the rise of Kurdish nationalism was largely a reaction to Turkish and Iranian nationalism. He observes, “It was the emphasis placed by the Young Turks on the Turkish identity of the Ottoman state in 1912–1913 that accelerated the consciousness of Kurdish distinctiveness, in contrast to Turkish nationalism” (92). There is, of course, a lot more that space does not permit mention.

Eppel’s short volume concludes with two medieval maps, another map of the main Kurdish emirates from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and a fourth map of Kurdistan according to the Treaty of Sevres in 1920. The notes, bibliography, and index are thorough, accurate, and thus very useful. This is a good, readable analysis that will be valuable for scholars, practitioners, and the intelligent lay public.

Tennessee Technological University

Michael M. Gunter


This colonial-era political and social history of Kenya’s second largest ethnic community represents an enlightening narrative of ethnogenesis, geographic imagination, and mapping strategies. The author sets a daunting task for herself in seeking to examine the emergence of a discrete ethnic grouping with the name Luyia despite the absence of a common language, political system, or shared precolonial traditions. The result is a book marked by strengths and weaknesses that presents readers with brilliant insights mixed with significant challenges.

The spatial focus of the book is that portion of western Kenya included in the North Kavirondo (after 1948 North Nyanza) district. Bantu-speakers, the
focus of the book, made up a majority of the population. The initial chapters take the reader through these peoples’ Luyia identity formation. Here the author rightly emphasizes the importance of the political struggles to end Wanga subimperialism in the district and the Kakamega gold rush of the early 1930s as key factors in pushing “local political thinkers to imagine, for the first time, an enlarged ethnic polity in western Kenya” (5). Those thinkers, dubbed ethnic patriots, are a main concern of the narrative. This reader found chapters 4 and 5 on linguistic work/mapping language (the ill-fated attempt to create a standard Luyia) and mapping gender to be valuable additions to knowledge.

Postwar politics in the Mau Mau era are treated within the theme of loyalism and dissent and marked by an excellent analysis of the Dini ya Mwambwa movement that rocked a portion of the region. From there, however, the quality of scholarship and analysis proceeds precipitously downhill reaching its nadir in chapter 7 with a discussion that is ruined by more errors and dubious conclusions than this reviewer has seen in a scholarly book on Kenya for many decades. This emerges in the discourse relating to the majimbo (federalist) policies advocated by the Kenya African Democratic Union. This, the author wrongly claims, became the party’s central platform after the constitutional conference of 1960 and dominated the 1961 election campaign (202). Both claims are false as archival evidence indicates a different timing. Similar inaccurate statements mark other portions of this chapter.

This weakness involves a failure to utilize fully the primary sources available (e.g., records of the cabinet meeting that launched the Kitale controversy) and an unwillingness to utilize a corpus of published work relevant to the subject of the book. Another weakness apparent throughout the book is ignoring the importance of the economic underpinning of colonial North Nyanza. To judge from this book, Luyia ethnic patriots had no concerns regarding the material conditions of their existence; yet for almost all identified in the text a main motive of their political work was to improve their economic status. A final serious shortcoming must be noted in the complete lack of attention to the significant changes to boundaries within the district that occurred in 1920. These had a significant impact on the ethnic character of North Nyanza and have led to protests and unrest down to 2016 in the form of Luyia-Luo disputes over the boundaries in the Maseno area. That issue is mentioned briefly, but its origins not at all.

Despite its strengths, such weaknesses mean that the book must be used with care, particularly by readers not familiar with the history of western Kenya.

West Virginia University

Robert M. Maxon

The author of this book successfully historicizes the racializing dimension of Iranian nationalism by investigating the works and reception of Mirza Fath’ali Akhundzadeh and Mirza Aqa Khan Kermani as indigenizations of anti-Semitic European Orientalism. The book contains extensive textual and contextual examinations—mainly from the eighteenth through twentieth centuries, from Europe and Iran—of the nationalism and dislocation in the book’s title: the modern discursive, intellectual, and ideological vision of Iranians as racially distinct from Arabs and as related to Europeans.

In the book’s first chapter, the author maps out popular national histories of Iran in the wake of contact with modern Europe; in the second chapter, he presents concise and informative critical biographies of Akhundzadeh and Kermani. The chapter particularly demonstrates their favoring of ancient Persia along with their anti-Arabic and anti-Islamic ideologies. In the third chapter, Reza Zia-Ebrahimi discusses the lack of Persian antiquarianism in medieval Iran and touches upon anti-Semitic European Orientalist literature. In the fourth chapter, the author offers counter-Iranocentric readings of Shahnameh and the shu’ubiyah, revealing their appropriations in the Iranian nation-building. Zia-Ebrahimi also presents illuminating comparative readings of European Orientalist literature vis-à-vis its nationalist adaptations in Iran in the form of aversion to miscegenation and the purification of the Persian language.

In the fifth chapter, the author further examines Akhundzadeh’s and Kermani’s anachronistic historiography; however, one may also wish that Zia-Ebrahimi had further discussed the simultaneous admiration and awe (in this chapter’s title) in Iranians’ encounters with modern Europe. The sixth chapter contains a thorough study of Aryanism, through European Orientalist scholarship to its racializing use by Iranian nationalists. In the final chapters, Zia-Ebrahimi traces the evolution of Akhundzadeh’s and Kermani’s Iranocentrism in literature, music, and ideological writing, and the official uses of their ideas during the Pahlavi regime and afterward.

The choice of Akhundzadeh and Kermani—versus their influential contemporaries—as nationalizers and promoters of anti-Arab otherizing, and as integral to the main questions in the study, is gradually and effectively justified throughout the book. Nonetheless, the book assumes, partly following Benedict Anderson, a cohesive image of modern Iranian nationhood, and lacks, for
example, a discussion of Iran’s Arabic-speaking residents (6–7). More important, the author’s downplaying of nineteenth-century Iran’s print culture as “embryonic” seems reductive (12, 42). In fact, given the increasing development of Persian print culture in Iran and across the region at the time and afterwards, examining the productions and circulation in print of the ideas and materials reinforcing the development of Iranian nationhood could strengthen the author’s argument. Related to this, the book strongly suggests the desirability of future transregional comparative studies with a focus on the production and circulation of ideas and materials of nationalism across Arabian and Persianate areas.

All in all, Zia-Ebrahimi’s study is daring, innovative, and meticulous and is an essential discussion—for both public and academic readers—of what can be called domestic Iranian anti-Semitic Orientalism. A Persian translation would be most valuable.

University of Alberta

Rasoul Aliakbari

THE AMERICAS


This author’s important study of fire in the burgeoning nineteenth-century metropolis of Mexico City offers a fascinating, interdisciplinary perspective on issues relating to environment, geography, economics, politics, medicine, and culture. Covering a time when capitalinos both shaped and experienced one of the most intense periods of social change in the nation’s history, City on Fire brings to light the many ways a key social concern was confronted at a critical time in history.

Anna Rose Alexander’s book is compact (weighing in at around 150 pages before notes, bibliography, and index). A brief introduction and conclusion frame seven short chapters detailing the rise of what environmental historian Stephen Pyne has termed an “industrial fire regime” in modern Mexico.

Chapter 1 discusses a rising fear about fire among Mexico City residents as population and industry expanded during the second half of the nineteenth century. Different than other modernizing centers in Europe and the US, a continuing dependence on biomass fuels (wood and charcoal as contrasted with coal) at this time added to fire frequency. So too did the introduction of an assortment of flammable materials to the built environment (gas lamps, wooden
sidewalks, Mansard roofs, etc.), as well as the establishment of streetcar and railroad lines. Near daily fires—as well as larger fires that could not easily be remedied by a bucket brigade—soon sounded a citywide alarm. As Alexander notes, in the face of this “infrastructure of flammability” citizens wrote petitions to local government. Others produced newspaper reports and broadsheet images (including José Guadalupe Posada), as well as a number of songs and urban tales testifying to the rising danger. As one would expect, “changes spurred by increased fires often intensified already severe inequalities, as access to fire safety was distributed unevenly along existing lines of privilege” (5).

Alexander’s chapter 2 considers early attempts to combat the emerging crisis through various types of regulation including the creation of basic fire codes. Chapter 3 historicizes the establishment of the Mexico City fire brigade. Further rationalizing the capital, chapter 4 details the development of new techniques taken up by inspectors, architects, engineers, and others aimed at preventing urban conflagrations. In this, Alexander argues elites concerned with fire protection argued that—somewhat against the prevailing status quo—both rich and poor were vulnerable and that preventative measures should cover the entire city, not just the more wealthy constructions and districts. Chapter 5 tells how retailers marketed a wide range of safety products around the turn of the century aimed at cashing in on changing attitudes towards fire. In chapter 6, Alexander details how a new generation of insurance salespeople appealed to middle-class residents’ sense of “individual responsibility” in guarding against disaster. The book’s final chapter turns to examine evolving professional medical responses to fire and the trauma that burn victims experienced. Making effective use of the existing scholarship and primary sources, City on Fire presents a compelling and fresh perspective on the history of Mexico City. Readers will find the book highly accessible and thought provoking.

University of Tulsa

Andrew Grant Wood


The American South is often viewed as a bastion of states’ rights, and protecting states’ rights is sometimes offered as a cause of the Civil War. Michael Brem Bonner presents a picture of Confederate political economy that is anything but a depiction of states’ rights. Confederate Political Economy clearly
describes how the nascent Confederacy had to come to grips with quickly mobilizing an industrial base in an economy that was predominantly agricultural. The concept of the corporatist state, a state in which government and private businesses work to influence each other to further their own ends, ties the story together. Though heavily documented, this study is accessible to anyone interested in Confederate political economy.

The book can be divided into three parts. In the first of these, the author carefully sets out the creation of the central government, making a case that a strong administrative branch and president was foremost in the minds of Southern leadership. By not establishing a supreme court as in the North, Southern leadership further consolidated power in the administration and congress. Without obvious political parties, these two branches could act monolithically. The comparison of the Confederate Constitution to the Federal Constitution from which it emerged is also enlightening.

The second part describes the Confederate government’s relationship to private businesses engaged in production for the war effort. Chapters 2 and 3 provide detailed descriptions of the workings of the private Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, Virginia, the Shelby Iron Company near Birmingham, Alabama, and the state-owned Augusta Powder Works and Selma Foundry. These chapters provide detailed and interesting histories of these important firms. Bonner expertly presents the struggle on the parts of Tredegar and Shelby to maintain their private interests and customers while working with the Confederate government. The unwillingness of these firms to throw themselves completely behind the war effort is surprising. The third part examines how the Confederacy tried to control the railroads and personal mobility.

The concept of what a corporatist nation is becomes somewhat liquid at times. It is made clear that private interests never lose their identity and maintain business interests apart from the government. The reviewer kept hoping for more comparison with Federal policies during the war to help flesh out this concept. A few comparisons with US policies towards businesses during World War II would have helped establish this. How much of the Confederacy’s political and economic policies were the result of deliberate planning versus expediency is also not clear. The author, however, clearly acknowledges that the Confederacy was saddled with having to fight a serious war while also trying to set up the institutions of a new nation in a short period of time. In the end, the new Confederate government turned out to be more authoritarian than the states’ rights stereotype suggests. Would it have stayed that way had the Confederacy won?

University of Mississippi

Jon Moen

By J. Justin Castro. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016. Pp. 288. $70.00.)

In *Radio in Revolution*, the author uncovers the essential role of radio technologies in the consolidation of state power in Mexico between the late 1890s and the 1930s. This study uses radio to explore a wide range of themes from the technical aspects of acquiring new wireless technology to the use of radio broadcasting as a state-formation tool. Although the Mexican Revolution is very much at the center of this story, the chronological scope of the book places it in the company of other studies that seek to demonstrate the revolution was not so much a break with the past as it was a moment of transition. Indeed, part of J. Justin Castro’s argument is that early revolutionary governments relied on radio operators and technicians recruited and trained by Porfirio Díaz’s regime.

Castro begins with the Díaz administration’s recognition of the potential of radio technologies to help consolidate control over peripheral regions, especially the Baja peninsula and Quintana Roo. In the first chapter, the author illuminates the international aspects of this story, exploring how Mexican diplomats sought out access to new technologies, particularly in Europe. Though Mexico relied upon foreign companies and technicians during these early years, Castro demonstrates how Mexican officials used competition between manufacturers in different countries to their advantage. Moreover, the author reveals in later chapters how the Mexican government viewed radio as a way to influence Central American nations and to assert its sovereignty against American encroachments.

The book’s most important contribution is its attention to how technology changed the Mexican Revolution and how the revolution sped technological innovations. Castro draws readers back to the battlefields, arguing that efforts to monopolize control over radio technologies were central to the war between the factions. The Constitutionalists’ ability to do this, he maintains, helps readers understand how they eventually emerged triumphant.

The sections on broadcasting during the 1920s and 1930s are weaker, in part because of advances in private commercial radio broadcasting and the ephemeral nature of radio; we simply do not have enough records of what was communicated or how it was received. Castro does recover some of this history, but the reviewer wishes he would have lingered a little longer over some of the tantalizing anecdotes that provide readers with a glimpse of the
hopes, fears, concerns, and amazement that radio conjured up among the broader Mexican population as well as the cultural debate that he argues was “unleashed” by radio broadcasting (118). In short, this book gives a much better sense of the government view of radio technology as a tool for governance than it does of how the broader public responded to, embraced, or resisted that tool.

Nonetheless, it is a critical contribution to the field. This book is clearly written and accessible to nonspecialists. The reviewer can easily envision assigning this book to undergraduates in courses about technology and warfare as well as courses about Mexican history. Castro compels readers to remember the importance of the technology behind state power, something as consequential in our own times as it was during the early twentieth century.

College of Charleston

Lisa Pinley Covert


During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Moriscos—traditionally defined as Iberian Muslim converts to Catholicism—were banned from migrating to Spanish America. Migration was limited to families who could prove their status as Old Christians. Building on recent studies of Moriscos in Spain and former Jewish conversos in the New World, Karoline P. Cook argues that Moriscos circumvented legal restrictions to make new lives overseas.

Since to admit to being a Morisco in Spanish America meant deportation or the confiscation of property, Moriscos who did cross the Atlantic kept their identities hidden. Morisco identity usually appears in colonial (and particularly Inquisition) archives in the negative: those accused of being Morisco testify to deny it. As a result, despite its subtitle, Forbidden Passages deals primarily with “suspected Moriscos” (3). Cook uses the evidentiary ambiguities caused by such illegality to explore how individuals labeled as Moriscos negotiated their public identities and how, in turn, ‘Morisco-ness’ took on new meanings and uses in the colonies.

The first half of the book delineates the political and legal contexts in which Morisco migration took place. Ecclesiastical and secular definitions of ‘Morisco’ laid the foundations for the legal restrictions that would-be migrants needed to circumvent, whether through false testimony, illegal purchases of
certificates of *limpieza de sangre* (‘purity of [Old Christian] blood’), or jumping ship in colonial ports. However, life in the New World presented new dilemmas for Morisco émigrés, whom authorities feared would undermine their agenda of “spreading Catholicism and regulating indigenous religiosity” (101). With so much at stake, settlers accused of being Moriscos used ecclesiastical courts to clear their names and maintain their status.

In the second half of the book, Cook tries to read inquisitorial records against the grain to reveal the religious lives of Morisco émigrés as more than heresy and sorcery. Here, then, the book implicitly tries to transition from being a study of suspected Moriscos to actual Moriscos. The sources afford no estimates of quantitative or spatial distribution of Morisco colonists, but two chapters argue for Morisco roles in providing medical and magical services to a cross-section of colonial society. Whether through healing rituals or paper talismans, Cook concludes that “in the realm of daily exchanges, remedies and cures did indeed cross the boundaries of class and caste, and of the vast ocean” (137). Two final chapters return to the discursive arena of accusations and imagery.

The illegality of Morisco emigration has bequeathed to historians a legacy of invisibility or, at best, ambiguity. There are no known equivalents to the Aljamiado texts of postconquest Iberia with which to avoid the inquisitorial evidentiary lens. *Forbidden Passages* never fully resolves this dilemma of whether its subjects were actual Moriscos or merely suspected Moriscos, a problem compounded by Cook’s decision to use “Morisco” to mean both New Christian descendants of converts and Old Christians falsely maligned as having Moorish blood. Nonetheless, this is a pioneering study that explores the limits of what is historically knowable about migration, conversion, and cultural transmission in the early modern Atlantic world.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

Nile Green


Shedding light on the previously overlooked experiences of American soldiers under the age of sixteen during the American Revolution, the late Caroline Cox has produced a carefully researched study that provides fresh insight into the social, cultural, and military history of the founding era. Although previous historians have assumed that insufficient sources existed to document the
experiences of the Revolutionary War’s boy soldiers, Cox accepted that challenge and closely examined such sources as letters, memoirs, diaries, pension records, local histories, newspapers, regimental records, and genealogical records to reconstruct boys’ wartime experiences as completely as possible. Despite the lack of scholarly attention previously devoted to boy soldiers, Cox argues convincingly that, “Their accounts still provide a window into the varied experience of childhood, work, and war in Revolutionary America” (3).

The service of boys in Western armies was a relatively new phenomenon during the eighteenth century. Technological changes such as the invention of lighter weight, more user-friendly muskets and the widespread introduction of the fife and snare drum as instruments of military communication created new opportunities for boys to enter military service. This service included combat as well as noncombat support roles such as waiting on officers, guarding army camps, transporting supplies, caring for the wounded, building barracks and fortifications, relaying messages, and performing as musicians. The enlistment motivations of boys varied widely and included the desire to experience excitement and adventure, to prove one’s manhood, to escape an unhappy home life, to demonstrate patriotism and devotion to revolutionary political ideals, and to earn a steady income. Social and cultural forces such as their family’s ideals, their church, the political culture, and the books they read all influenced a boy’s decision to enlist.

This book has many strengths. Each chapter begins with a quotation from an actual pension application from a former boy soldier, giving the reader an understanding of the kind of sources that formed the basis of Cox’s research. Each chapter also includes an imagined vignette that provides the reader with a glimpse into a specific boy soldier’s life. Based on a variety of sources and some educated assumptions, these reconstructions serve as a way to recover parts of a boy’s life for which there is insufficient documentation. The book’s main weakness, which the author readily acknowledges and which cannot be avoided given the relative lack of sources available, is its reliance on pension records. Although such sources can provide a great deal of valuable information, they also pose problems since reminiscences are always clouded by the passage of time, the less-than-exact nature of human memory, the influence of experiences later in life, changing cultural and political attitudes, and a tendency to exaggerate one’s youthful exploits.

Cox has produced a thoroughly researched and well-written account not only of the wartime experiences of the boys who served in the Revolutionary War but also how those experiences further our understanding of soldier
motivations, generational relationships, family life, the work lives of young people, and the maturation process from boyhood to manhood.

Salve Regina University

William P. Leeman


The Hudson River was the epicenter of the American War of Independence and is thus rightly a subject for historical study. General George Washington wrote in 1783 that Garrison West Point on the Hudson was “the key of America.” In a book entitled Revolution on the Hudson, one would expect that New York City and the Hudson River valley would be the central focus of the narrative. Alas, George C. Daughan has instead disguised a competent review of the American Revolution for the general reader in a study purportedly centered on the Hudson; straying from New York, he, for example, covers the war in Rhode Island, the South, and the Caribbean. Instead of fleshing out the major events in the Hudson River valley, from the battles of White Plains, Saratoga, and Stony Point to the building of Fortress West Point in the context of the larger war, Daughan chose to touch on them as incidental to the overall story of the Revolution itself. He thus passed up the opportunity to illuminate the political and military milestones in New York that contributed to the ultimate American victory against the British Empire. Nevertheless, even as he explores other campaigns, New York and the Hudson continue to pop up as the central seat of the war.

Using printed sources, Daughan argues a provocative thesis: “the Hudson-Champlain fantasy made a major contribution to frustrating His Majesty’s quest to keep the American colonies within the empire” and “thus became, instead, his undoing” (6, 348). The truth is that the king’s generals and admirals did not prove as dogged in gaining control of the Hudson as he would have wished. Other military objectives drew political will and resources away from the Hudson River valley so that Daughan’s hypothesis about its ultimate undoing of the British remains unproven.

In the campaigns for Rhode Island, the Caribbean, and Yorktown, Virginia, Daughan shows his mastery of naval affairs as British and French admirals made their marks on history for good or ill. Unfortunately, as he follows the chronology of the war, he speculates on outcomes that are historically
unprovable—for example, had General William Howe marched on Washington’s camp at Morristown, “that would have been the end of the Continental army” (126). There are errors that reinforce the notion that the author did not do his homework about the war on the Hudson; for example, the two New York frigates were built in Poughkeepsie, not Peekskill, and General Rochambeau’s French army camped at Philipsburg, not Dobbs Ferry. Although the Hudson River valley may have been a strategic fantasy for King George III, its priority as an operational reality always drew Washington to it; and, from New York City, General Guy Carleton’s British army would complete its withdrawal on 25 November 1783. From the turning point of the Saratoga campaign to the evacuation of New York, as the title of Daughan’s book suggests, the Revolution was truly on the Hudson.

*The Hudson River Valley Institute, Marist College*

James M. Johnson


History in the age of the internet is, perhaps unsurprisingly, concerned with the effects of networking. This book uses the network paradigm to make an admirable contribution to the new Indian studies. It is grounded neither in the perspective of European colonizing projects nor in the Indian experience of the encounter. Instead Alejandra Dubcovsky unfolds these two histories together, by focusing upon what they shared: the communications that traveled along the Indian pathways of the North American Southeast. Europeans arriving in the New World quickly realized that it was only by working through Indian pathways of communication that they could come to know and benefit from the backcountry. Between the early Spanish settlements of San Augustin in 1565 and the year 1740, Indians continued to enjoy primary influence upon what information could pass along their pathways and networks. To do this kind of history, the author uses “a deep chronology” and “a multilingual source base” to tell a narrative “without homogenizing or flattening the experience of Indians, Africans, and Europeans” (100).

Dubcovsky’s account brings into view the challenges, opportunities, and periodic violence that resulted from the protracted exchanges between, on the one hand, the numerous Indian nations of the region (the Timucua, the Apalachee, the Guale, the Yamasee, the Upper and Lower Creek, and the Cherokees), and, on the other, the competing imperial projects of three nations: of the Spanish (in
La Florida), of the French (along the Mississippi), and of the English (in South Carolina and then Georgia). The author’s thesis is implied by her title: Efforts to achieve “informed power” obliged these actors to use the communication networks developed and maintained by the Indian tribes of the Southeast. The author develops her argument by analyzing some of the violent episodes of this history: the Timucua Rebellion against the Spanish [1656]; the violent raids on Spanish Indian towns that resulted from the English trading and slaving alliance with various Indian tribes (the Westos, the Savannahs, and the Yamasees), which ended by destroying the Franciscan mission system [1670–1700]; and finally, the Yamasee War [1714–1717] between the Yamasee and their allies and the English of South Carolina.

Several related themes emerge from this narrative. First, through a nuanced use of European archives, Dubcovsky shows where European accounts are biased and limited in scope and must be supplemented by Indian sources. What emerges is the rich variety of Indian agency. For example, she shows that the Timucua Rebellion cannot be explained by the governor, who blamed Franciscan suppression of Timucua dancing, games, and ritual, or by the Franciscans, who blamed the governor’s exorbitant demands for Timucua food and labor. Instead, she develops an informed and canny reconstruction of what motivated one Timucua chief, Lucas, to initiate the rebellion. As an Indian chief who had grown up in the mission town and could write in two languages, Lucas was able to discover the duplicity of the communications of the Spanish Governor de Rebolledo (89–95). By mapping Indian networks, the author shows that the communication network that the governor imagined as a star topology around himself was actually a subset of a larger inter-Timucua network, with “several important nodes, far more connections, and no clear center” (figure 3.1, figure 3.2). The author’s reconstruction of both the rebellion and the networks that made it possible offers a compelling new way to reinterpret this history.

Although the networking paradigm is productive in this history, there are some liabilities as well. Amidst her many examples of networking, Dubcovsky does not develop a clear working definition of networks. She does not distinguish between network as an object (i.e., the paths that link and separate Indian tribes from each other and European settlers) and network as a mode of analysis that allows her to trace the communication links between actors (c.f., Bruno Latour and his followers). The reviewer was also puzzled by the tripart organization of her study. The author shows how, in every communication exchange there is a ‘what’ that is exchanged, a ‘who’ that acquired and spread information, as well as a ‘how’ Indians, Europeans and Africans “used
networks to move information” (7). But given the interrelation of the what, the who, and the how of communication, the reviewer found it puzzling that she used three aspects of an information exchange to organize her study into three parts (6–8). However, these quibbles do not vitiate the rigor, richness, and informed power of this book.

University of California, Santa Barbara

William Warner


In 1982, in his The Modern American Vice Presidency: The Transformation of a Political Institution, the author of this book explored the importance of the vice presidency of Walter Mondale and posited that what he came to call the “Mondale Model” would lead to a sea-change in both the power and the structure of the nation’s second-highest office. Now the nation’s leading scholar on the vice presidency, Joel K. Goldstein offers a book that fleshes out that claim—a belief that the vice presidency has, since 1977, become removed from the congressional orbit to which it was constitutionally assigned, and has become permanently placed—both de facto and de jure—in the realm of the executive branch. The author makes a compelling argument for the emergence of this “White House Vice Presidency” as being one of the most important political developments of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

Goldstein begins with a survey of the development of the vice presidency from its constitutional roots through to the modern function of the office. There is little new here, short of one of the first serious treatments of the vice presidency of Nelson A. Rockefeller. There is also little new in his treatment of the genesis of Walter Mondale’s dream of a true executive partnership, as set out in his July 1976 job interview as Jimmy Carter’s running mate, and his historic 9 December 1976 memorandum to the president-elect, in which he singlehandedly recast the purpose and the power of the vice presidency into that of a “general advisor” to the president. This story is told well in Goldstein’s earlier book, as well as in the writings of Paul Light, but here it is fleshed out with new archival material. Where Goldstein breaks new ground is with his tale of how the “Mondale Model” was adopted with gusto by his successors. Goldstein’s story of the vice presidency from George H. W. Bush to Joseph Biden is new, fresh, and provocative. Goldstein gives Dan Quayle his due as a worthy vice president, and challenges head-
on the prevailing theory of a “co-presidency” between George W. Bush and Dick Cheney. It is also utterly convincing. The author cements his argument with a series of thematic chapters, which explore how the vice presidency as an institution has changed since Mondale. Covering such issues as the vice-presidential selection process, the new political role of the running mate in the campaign, and the expanded constitutional and political role of the succession, Goldstein argues that the office is now fully a part of the executive branch.

Goldstein has written a graceful, impeccably researched, and accessible book. It is a good read with a powerful thesis, a thesis that will make this book the gold standard on the vice presidency for the foreseeable future. If nothing else, The White House Vice Presidency makes it absolutely clear that Mondale’s request for an office in the West Wing, a request that was granted by Carter, was only the beginning.

Cazenovia College

John Robert Greene


The press secretary for the Republican presidential candidate handed out gold pins to reporters that read, “Eastern Liberal Press” (162). The year was 1964, and the candidate was Senator Barry Goldwater, who carried only six states, losing to Lyndon Johnson.

That episode highlights the strength of this fine book by Nicole Hemmer. It is a valuable reminder that so many of the themes that echoed through the campaign of 2016 were hardly new. Donald Trump defied old conventions and deployed new technologies, but many of the messages he spread on Twitter and Facebook to millions of dedicated followers can be traced back to the conservative media activists who first emerged in the 1950s.

Those activists used old-fashioned platforms—magazines like National Review, radio shows like the Manion Forum, books published by Henry Regnery—but they were inspired by the same core belief espoused by Trump’s campaign. The “Eastern Liberal Press” was the enemy, and therefore “conservatives had to create new institutions, new conduits, new networks to get their message out” (71).

These “new institutions” were shaped by an even deeper criticism of the dominant media: “objectivity” was a myth. Conservative activists, writes
Hemmer, “were arguing that there was no such thing as nonideological media” (xiii). Another harbinger of 2016, when “post-truth” was named “word of the year” by Oxford Dictionaries and media stars like Sean Hannity openly advised Trump.

In the early days, however, conservative purists wrestled with the compromises required to win elections. William Rusher, the publisher of National Review, worried during the 1964 campaign that “party politics would inevitably do violence to conservative ideas” (157). Goldwater’s defeat saved the purists from making the hard choices that come with winning and actually governing.

By 1968 the right-wing media mavens had grown more powerful and more pragmatic. “Electability was the name of the game,” writes Hemmer, and they swallowed their doubts about Richard Nixon’s moderate heresies until his outreach to China in 1971 (207). For devout anti-Communists this was “the gravest of capitulations, the worst of treasons,” and they quickly and happily reverted to the roles that suited them best—critics and outsiders (213). Then came the Reagan Revolution during which conservatives were in not out and kingmakers rather than guerilla warriors. They have never returned to the jungle.

The reviewer has one criticism of this compelling narrative. Hemmer fails to describe thoroughly enough how the “fixation on liberal bias” pushed these media activists into some dark and even shameful corners (226). She barely mentions “the Watergate-as-liberal conspiracy angle” that dominated their commentaries or the “overt racism” and virulent defense of McCarthyism that tinged some of their early books and broadcasts (226, 136).

Still, this readable and well-researched volume does what history is supposed to do: help us understand the present. The pins handed out by the Goldwater campaign in 1964 could easily have been distributed by Team Trump fifty-two years later.

George Washington University

Steven V. Roberts


In this smart and slim volume, the author makes a convincing argument that scholars need to pay greater mind to Rutgers v. Waddington, a complex and
twisting legal case decided in New York City in 1784, in order to understand the origins of judicial review and the evolving sense of national identity in the United States. Peter Charles Hoffer begins his story in revolutionary-era Gotham, a city captured by the British in 1776, which remained their base of operations throughout the war. Although the British did not treat New York like conquered territory, they did encourage merchant Joshua Waddington and other Loyalist supporters to confiscate and operate businesses like the Rutgers brewhouse as the conflict raged on. Not surprisingly, Loyalists garnered little sympathy from their patriotic neighbors when the Revolution turned in favor of the Americans. Beginning in the late 1770s, state lawmakers passed legislation to punish British sympathizers. One of these provisions was the 1783 Trespass Act, which gave Patriots the right to sue Loyalists for damages related to property confiscated during the war. This new law soon sparked a heated legal debate when the Rutgers tavern mysteriously went up in flames in November of 1783.

Enter Alexander Hamilton, a talented young attorney deeply concerned about the survival of his young nation. In his mind, reintegrating former Loyalists was an important step in securing the United States. But he also believed something else that had perhaps deeper implications for the nation’s future: The Trespass Act’s effort to punish Loyalists violated the 1783 treaty that had brought the war to a close and included a promise that Americans would protect the property rights of British subjects. For Hamilton, asserting the primacy of treaties would be a big step towards enhancing Confederate power and stabilizing the country. With this end in mind, he constructed a nimble defense of Waddington based on the idea that his client had occupied the tavern during a time of war and, as a result, could not be harshly punished under the established law of nations. Presiding Judge James Duane agreed. In a nuanced opinion, Duane ruled that the Trespass Act violated New York’s constitution and handed Hamilton’s client a victory. The end results, according to Hoffer, were the rebirth of New York as a thriving city, the rise of a much stronger national union, and an example of judicial review nearly twenty years before the more celebrated case of *Marbury v. Madison* asserted this right for federal courts.

Although the book ends with a half-hearted and not entirely convincing attempt to link the issues at the core of Waddington with the legal treatment of Confederates in the aftermath of the Civil War, Hoffer has a real knack for unpacking the legal complexities of the case. Under his sure hand, readers learn a great deal about the intellectual origins and underpinnings of Hamilton’s legal position, the twists and turns of early American legal procedure, and the
political realities that shaped how Duane crafted his ultimate decision. The book also sheds important light on the origins of Hamilton’s ideas about such issues as judicial review and separation of powers well before he raised them in the Federalist Papers. All told, the book will appeal to anyone fascinated by early American legal culture and how individual court cases can help us tell larger tales about the American experience.

Skidmore College
Eric J. Morser


One often sees what one has been conditioned to see, regardless of what is actually there. The reviewer assumed the title of this book was “Admiral Bull Halsey” and actually had read quite a bit of it before paying enough attention to the dust jacket to realize that the title was “Admiral Bill Halsey.” This is precisely the author’s point.

Much of the “Bull” persona—the hard-hitting, less-than-politically-correct warrior—was then, and is now, a social construction; to be sure, one that was often encouraged by the admiral himself. History has come to think of him simply as “Bull.” With this biography, though, Thomas Alexander Hughes purports to get past the way readers have been conditioned to think about the admiral and examine the naval life of Bill Halsey.

It was a life that was intimately connected to that of his father, a naval officer and alcoholic whose career spanned the latter half of the nineteenth century. Hughes argues that the pressures of the “New Steel Navy” drove the senior Halsey to drink and ultimately to an early retirement. This difficulty in adapting to modernity becomes a theme throughout the narrative.

Bill Halsey graduated from Annapolis in 1904 and spent much of his early career in destroyers. By 1941 Halsey had become a believer in naval aviation, earned his pilot’s wings, and risen to command the USS Enterprise task force. Halsey and his carriers held the line during the dark early days of WWII, during which his reputation for aggressive action eventually netted him command of the South Pacific subtheater in October 1942. Hughes’s previous monograph on the development of tactical air power in the European theater dealt with questions of command and control and interservice coordination. His current effort is at its best when unpacking the often-bizarre command relationships between Chester Nimitz’s Pacific Ocean Area and MacArthur’s South West
Pacific Area. Hughes’s clear and understandable descriptions of the organizational structures are a strength of this book.

Success in the South Pacific led to command of Third Fleet late in the war. Any biography of Halsey has to deal with the Battle of Leyte Gulf, the whereabouts of TF34, and Third Fleet’s subsequent deadly run-ins with bad weather. Hughes knows the extensive historiography of these controversies, and narrates the circumstances surrounding each with a well-researched and mostly even-handed treatment.

In the end, Hughes is hard on the Halseys. He argues that Bill, like his father before him, was eventually overcome by the scale of modern naval warfare. Hughes blames this for Halsey’s various “blunders” while in command of Third Fleet, and goes on to assert that the navy today keeps Halsey’s memory at arm’s length as a result. This reviewer thinks the argument is a bit overstated, but perhaps that is just as well. Hagiography does not make for good biography, and this is a good biography. Admiral Bill Halsey: A Naval Life is a welcome addition to the literature.

United States Naval Academy

James C. Rentfrow


Several books have been written on the Battle of Monmouth, the 28 June 1778 engagement between the American and British armies in New Jersey. However, none of these volumes provides such a thorough and well-contextualized account of the battle as does Mark Edward Lender and Garry Wheeler Stone’s new study. Basing their work on a thorough examination of primary documents as well as the latest battlefield archaeology, the authors provide a highly detailed description of the movements of the armies, the battle, and the issues at stake for both sides, which extended far beyond the actual combat.

Lender and Stone begin by assessing the military situation prior to the battle, particularly the difficulties facing General George Washington. In the wake of his defeats in the 1777 campaign and amid the struggles of the Continental Army at Valley Forge, some members of Congress and army officers began to doubt Washington’s capabilities as commander in chief and considered replacing him. As the authors indicate, whether or not this constituted an actual plot, Washington and his supporters believed that there was a conspiracy to remove him. Although Washington astutely managed the political situation, he also
realized that a military victory was necessary to demonstrate his leadership abilities. When the British army withdrew from Philadelphia, Washington sought battle to prove himself to his detractors.

In their effort to provide a balanced account, the authors also examine the difficult position of the newly appointed British commander, Sir Henry Clinton. Having received orders to evacuate Philadelphia, Clinton, too, sought a battle in hopes that a victory would reinvigorate his demoralized army and weaken his opponent.

Both generals got the battle they sought, but the Continental Army’s situation was complicated by the role of Major General Charles Lee. As commander of the American vanguard, Lee soon found himself facing a British counterattack. Lee ordered a withdrawal to more favorable terrain, during which Washington arrived on the field. The authors demolish the myth of an angry confrontation between the two generals, noting that Lee, acting on Washington’s orders, conducted an effective delaying action while the main army deployed.

After a detailed account of the battle, Lender and Stone assess its consequences for both sides. They argue that although the engagement ended in a tactical draw, Washington’s supporters succeeded in portraying Monmouth as an American victory, thereby restoring Washington’s reputation and insuring his retention of command, which they assert was the most important result of the battle. For Clinton, whose army suffered significant casualties but failed to defeat the Continentals, the result was a further blow to British morale.

Well written and convincingly argued, Fatal Sunday’s breadth of coverage and the authors’ objective assessment of the longstanding controversy surrounding Lee’s actions enrich the volume. It will appeal to general readers as well as to scholars with an interest in the American Revolution and Washington’s role as Continental Army commander and merits recognition as the definitive account of the Battle of Monmouth.

Kennesaw State University
Jim Piecuch


This work is a fascinating account of a devastating, Category 3 hurricane that hit New England in 1938. Though the event only lasted a few hours, the author has turned the catastrophe into a well-crafted study that is examined from a multiplicity of angles ranging from forestry and ecology to history and climatology. Tying all of these perspectives together in a coherent fashion
would be daunting for any writer, but not for Stephen Long, whose book is nothing short of a masterpiece.

At its core, *Thirty-Eight* is environmental history with a focus on New England. The author takes his readers on a historical journey through the forests that predated the 1938 hurricane, highlighting how human-driven changes to nature occurred over time. Until the last half of the nineteenth century, agriculture characterized the region’s land use. With the abandonment of agriculture, white pines colonized the old fields. By the turn of the twentieth century, the pines matured and spawned a lucrative timber industry focused on wood for crates and boxes, at least until the Great Depression, when it declined. Then, the hurricane struck, destroying an estimated 2.6 billion board feet of standing timber. New Deal agencies, like the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Works Progress Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, Federal Writer’s Project, in addition to the US Forest Service, were employed to clean up the damage. Their efforts helped revive the region’s sagging forest economy in the years that followed.

The broader focus of this book is evident when Long incorporates forest ecology into his story. In his discussion on forest succession and regeneration, he delves into concepts such as “climax forests” and “initial floristics.” He concludes that forests are always in a state of flux due to human impacts or natural disturbances and that there is no “balance of nature” or “steady state” that they return to as they mature through succession (188). Thus, forest disturbance, without any human intervention at all, is the natural order of things and they restore themselves over time, often governing their “new normal” (228). The new normal in the wake of ’38 was a hardwood forest, which sprang up from seeds, sprouts, shoots, and young saplings.

Overall, the study blends history and nature together in a superbly written narrative that is stimulating, informative, and eye-opening. It is an important contribution to the field of environmental history and even nature writing that everyone can enjoy and appreciate. It should be a model for any regional study of forest evolution and land use in the wake of natural catastrophic events. It is evident that the author loves the forests. “We are a part of nature,” he observed. “We have changed nature profoundly, but still our forests sustain us economically, ecologically, and spiritually” (ix). This work has certainly impacted the way this reviewer interprets forests, and he now sees trees from an entirely different perspective.

*University of North Georgia*  
Clay Ouzts
The editors introduce this volume with a bold, instructive claim: “It should no longer be possible to write a history of the early republic of the United States without mentioning Haiti, or St. Domingue” (1). Their proposal is buttressed by sixteen engaging essays, grouped within three sections, that illuminate the historical and literary importance—to understanding the United States—of revolutionary enslaved people of African descent in Saint-Domingue creating self-freedom and establishing an independent nation-state between 1789 and 1804. Michel-Rolph Trouillot’s *Silencing the Past* is the guiding spirit of the book, which examines, in distinct ways, how “Americans, black and white, slave and free, negotiated the mixed legacy of the Haitian Revolution” (170). The collection underscores connectedness in an effort to advance the US view of Haiti and the United States beyond “one of a continued relation sustained under the guise of antithesis” (14).

The volume’s commitment to interdisciplinary analyses is one of its greatest strengths. Diverse, well-honed writing styles of historians and literary scholars take the reader on an intellectual excursion through the theaters of eighteenth-century Philadelphia, to a funeral in Port-au-Prince for abolitionist John Brown, and into the prison hold of French frigates just off Charleston harbor to explore the diplomacy, commerce, racial struggles, and legacies of slavery shared by two Atlantic nations born of revolution. The contributors wade prudently into familiar historiographical debates, but employ the bulk of their talents crafting innovative ways to refashion the historical and literary landscape of Haitian and American studies.

A second, and perhaps greater, strength of the work is the focus on Haitians as historical actors and the faculty of African American writers to shape US views of Haiti. As the Haitian people made “an effort to practice freedom” in a hostile Atlantic world, Americans followed events closely and read the oeuvre of Haitian authors reprinted in US newspapers (324). Essays by Duncan Faherty and Edlie Wong discuss a tyranny of fear that gripped white Americans in the southern states who “found themselves anxiously awaiting an incursion” by “wretched blacks” (60). Marlene Daut, conversely, describes the popularity of Haitian writer Baron de Vastey with northern white Americans, though Laurent Dubois reviews the influence on US foreign policy of Haitian intellectual Anténor Firmin. Michael Drexler and Ed White highlight the literary
significance of Toussaint Louverture’s Constitution of 1801, “the most widely read piece of literature authored by an African American” prior to Frederick Douglass’s autobiography (213).

Scholars and graduate studies of Haiti and/or the United States prior to 1900 will find parts of the book indispensable, depending upon their research interests. Taken as a whole, the work will inform and inspire future avenues of cross-cultural, transracial analysis beyond the “too U.S.-centric” views of current Haitian-US studies (292). It remains for each reader to decide whether the book successfully demonstrates the inextricable nature of histories and literary traditions between Haiti and the United States. For this reviewer, the editors and contributors have done so brilliantly.

Texas State University

Ronald Angelo Johnson


This new book on Bill Clinton is both illuminating and frustrating. Beautifully written, it mines multiple sources to describe Clinton’s policies on deficit reduction, free trade, welfare reform, health care, economic policy, and foreign affairs. Yet, the author underplays key issues and ignores people that helped shape the Clinton administration. Moreover, it offers no overarching thesis to help readers understand the often contradictory events of the Clinton years.

Patrick Maney’s chapter on the years leading up to the presidency effectively encapsulates the critical turning points for Clinton during the late 1970s and 1980s, particularly his role in becoming leader of the Democratic Leadership Council, the new centrist rallying point for the party. Similarly, Maney’s description of key appointees to the administration—Robert Rubin, Lawrence Summers, Robert Reich, Leon Panetta, Laura Tyson—gives the reader a clear sense of the age, temperament, and character of those who came to play a critical role in domestic policy. Maney devotes more space to economic policy than any other major subtopic and helps make comprehensible otherwise difficult-to-penetrate issues like bank reform, antitrust policy, hedge funds, and derivatives.

Yet the book lacks an overarching thesis about Clinton’s politics overall. Although in one paragraph Maney calls Clinton one of the most “conservative” Democratic presidents of the twentieth century, that does not constitute a framework for the entire book. It would have been far more effective to describe Clinton, throughout its pages, as an “Eisenhower Republican,” who—with the
exception of health care reform—pursued policies (NAFTA and free trade, welfare reform, deficit reduction, a tough crime bill, one hundred thousand more police on the streets) that were much more associated with Republicans than with liberal Democrats.

But of greater concern is what is left out, or considered only minimally. Hillary’s role is consistently understated. There is no mention of Bill talking about her as his copresident. Nor is any attention paid to her pivotal role in the decisions that made the first months of the administration a disaster—closing off the White House to the press corps, replacing the White House travel staff, and taking control of the Vince Foster papers after his suicide.

Most disturbing is the failure to even mention what staff member George Stephanopoulos called the “one decision” that the Clintons would like to have back—whether or not to share the Whitewater papers with the Washington Post. Distraught by the criticism his administration was receiving, Clinton recruited Republican David Gergen to his staff. Gergen proceeded to negotiate a deal with the Washington Post to give them all the papers on the Whitewater real estate scandal in Arkansas. In return, the Post promised to assess impartially the evidence and state publicly whether any evidence existed of criminal wrongdoing. Bill Clinton said yes. So did all his staff. Yet Hillary vetoed the deal.

The response was an irresistible clamor for appointing an independent special prosecutor to investigate, a clamor to which Bill finally had to concede. That special prosecutor eventually became Kenneth Starr—with all that followed. As Stephanopoulos has noted, there would have been no impeachment without the special prosecutor. Yet the episode is not even mentioned in the Maney volume.

So yes, we learn a great deal from this book. But too much of importance is not even covered.

_Duke University_  
William H. Chafe

_Apostle of Union: A Political Biography of Edward Everett._ By Matthew Mason.  

If Edward Everett is remembered at all today, it is most likely in connection with his two-hour address in Gettysburg on 19 November 1863, preceding Abraham Lincoln’s two-minute masterpiece. Matthew Mason seeks to resuscitate Everett
and give him his due as a leading Whig statesman and a formidable advocate of Union. Everett was also important as an articulate representative of what he perceived was the sensible center in American politics from the end of the War of 1812 to the Civil War, notably relating to slavery related questions.

Few Americans of his time lived as charmed a life as Everett. Born in 1794, he grew up in a “middling” household, his father a Massachusetts preacher. Everett had the remarkable fortune to attend a secondary school headed briefly by Daniel Webster, then went on to Harvard at age thirteen, graduating as valedictorian. From there it was success built on success: a professorship at Harvard in his early twenties, editor of the *North American Review* by age twenty-six, and easy election to Congress by his thirtieth birthday. Everett would serve a decade in the House, where he was a strong advocate of the American System and justice for Native Americans. In later years, he served as governor of Massachusetts, ambassador to the United Kingdom, and briefly secretary of state. Everett even wedged in several unsatisfying years as president of Harvard College.

Oratory was his specialty. For half a century spanning the War of 1812 through the Civil War, Everett enthralled thousands of listeners with his “emotional nationalism” embedded in vividly rendered tales of Pilgrims, Revolutionary Era patriots, and George Washington as the nation’s godlike patriarch (85). His wildly popular address, “The Character of Washington,” proved an essential impetus for Mount Vernon’s restoration as a shrine to the nation’s first president.

In 1860, fearful of chaos he saw stemming from disunion and hostile to Republicans’ free soil ideology, Everett took second place on the (losing) Constitutional Union ticket. Once South Carolina fired on Ft. Sumter in April 1861, however, Everett transformed from an anxious Unionist to a fervent nationalist. His speeches resonated with moderates throughout the northern states who joined him in vigorous support of Abraham Lincoln’s war aims, eventually including emancipation of slaves and arming black troops. Mason asserts that the Civil War years were Everett’s finest hour as a public figure.

Mason’s meticulous discussion of Everett’s absurdly benign views of slavery prior to 1861 is one of the strong suits of this exhaustively researched biography. Everett’s preternatural conservatism undergirded his “anti-anti-slavery” views for many years, making him a frequent abolitionist target. By documenting in detail Everett’s tortuous arguments about slavery and his late in life change of heart, Mason performs a real service.
In his own day, Everett was viewed as strong on resume, weak on character. As his contemporary Charles Francis Adams observed, Everett was “stuff not good enough to wear in rainy weather, though bright enough in sunshine.” *Apostle of Union* has the virtue of making its readers think anew about Edward Everett and his contributions to the American republic.

Gettysburg College

Michael J. Birkner


This book describes the colorful life of Irish immigrant, champion prizefighter, and sporting entrepreneur John Morrissey. The author aims to show that Morrissey, though well known for his prizefighting career, has not been properly recognized for the broader role he played in the development of American sport. Before Morrissey, he claims, “no one had done more to develop the commodification and commercialization of sports in America”(147).

Relying largely on newspaper accounts, James C. Nicholson shows how Morrissey’s fighting prowess and entrepreneurial skill spurred his meteoric rise. The young Irish immigrant built his reputation as a tough brawler in early 1850s New York City, and Nicholson vividly details his association with the Irish “Dead Rabbits” gang and his rivalry with nativist ruffian “Bill the Butcher” Poole. In the midst of this violent scene, Morrissey rapidly rose through the ranks of professional pugilists and eventually became champion by defeating fellow Irish immigrant Yankee Sullivan in 1853.

Even before retiring from the ring, Morrissey was a player in the New York gambling scene and had proved himself as skilled a gambler and entrepreneur as he was a boxer. His greatest success, however, was in Saratoga, where he revived an antebellum racecourse and audaciously staged a horse race during the Civil War. Morrissey and his partners subsequently built a quiet spa resort into a thriving leisure destination, which catered to crowds of urbanites looking to holiday in the countryside after the war. Nicholson contends that the controversial ex-boxer was the mastermind behind these innovations and shows how his skillful cultivation of connections and recruitment of talented associates was central to their success. Morrissey’s wealth and fame propelled him to political office, first as a controversial Tammany Hall Democrat in the US House of Representatives, and later as a state legislator. His sporting and gambling
interests remained paramount, however, and it was in these realms that he had his most enduring influence. Two wildly popular rowing regattas he staged in 1873 and 1874, Nicholson argues, were critical moments in the development of intercollegiate athletics. Despite his accomplishments, Morrissey’s unseemly life and his untimely death in 1878 led revisionists and reformers to erase his important role in early American sport.

Nicholson’s biography is a lively account of a unique nineteenth-century Irish-American life. It will be of interest to a wide range of readers interested in topics such as the culture of antebellum New York, the history of Saratoga, and the revival of American horse racing after the Civil War. Nicholson’s claims for Morrissey’s importance are difficult to evaluate, however, because he does not engage with the wider body of scholarship on the nineteenth-century transformation of sport. In particular, the argument that the Saratoga regattas marked “the birth of intercollegiate sports on the modern scale” (in the words of journalist Edward Hotaling, quoted approvingly by Nicholson) cannot be sustained without reference to this literature (124). Nonetheless The Notorious John Morrissey adds to our understanding of this important chapter in the history of American sport and leisure culture.

Castleton University

Adam Chill


The author of this book uses family and household relations across racial lines as analytical tools to examine the role that intimacy played during slavery in the French Antilles, with specific reference to Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) and France, mainly La Rochelle, which had active, transatlantic commercial relations. The emphasis on intimacy places race and racial slavery—the objects of emphasis in Caribbean historiography thus far—in the background. For Jennifer Palmer, “race and enslaved status were not firm, inevitable categories, but fluid constructs open to interpretation and reinvention” (5). The history of empire and slavery in the French Atlantic can be better understood by probing “intimacies across racial lines” (5). Indeed, “intimacy shaped the institution of slavery” (3).

Based on primary and secondary sources, *Intimate Bonds* is divided into an introduction, six chapters, and an epilogue. Three chapters deal with how
racial hierarchies played out in France and Saint-Domingue. The other three, which constitute the heart of Palmer’s study, are carefully reconstructed case studies of individual families, thanks to her masterful use of family papers, business correspondence, personal letters, marriage contracts, and wills. The epilogue centers on the politicization of race and its effects on the Haitian Revolution.

The case of the planter Jean-Severin Regnaud de Beaumont, who left a wife and children in La Rochelle and ended up creating a second family—a woman of color and their two daughters—in Saint-Domingue, provides evidence of intimacy across racial lines. In his will, he deliberately disinherited his legal family in favor of providing for his second family. When the wealthy Rochalais merchant Aimé-Benjamin Fleuriau returned from Saint-Domingue in 1775, he was accompanied by five mixed-race adolescents whom he never acknowledged as his own, but whose deceased mother, Jeanne Guimbelot, had been his slave. Palmer does a good job showing the steps that Fleuriau took to shield them from indignity and assure their future wellbeing.

Magdeleine Rossignol’s will provides evidence of how household relations transcended race. A slaveowner and childless widow in Saint-Domingue, Rossignol freed nine slaves, whom she described in a manner that “implied their status as close familiars” (104). Household relations may also explain why slaves like Deday continued to serve his owner, Mesnard de Saint Michel of La Rochelle, for fourteen years after he was freed in 1760. Similarly, Mercier remained with her former owner in La Rochelle until his death in 1777—twenty years after her emancipation.

Intimacy across racial lines was not gender-specific. In Saint-Domingue, the Rochelais planter Paul Belin des Marais and his slavedriver, Alexis, had a long and enduring trustworthy relationship which allowed the latter to lodge complaints in writing against the white overseer, Prunier, which led to a call for his dismissal.

Palmer’s well-written and well-researched study forces us to look at dimensions of slavery hitherto neglected in French Antillean historiography. Its major shortcoming is the select number of cases it highlights. Did the vast number of blacks who labored under the whip experience intimacy across racial lines? Shortcomings notwithstanding, Intimate Bonds is an important addition to the historiography.

Virginia Commonwealth University

Bernard Moitt

Disease has been the constant, if blindly erratic, companion of armies throughout history. Sickness curtailed the conquests of Alexander the Great, undercut the strength of the Spanish Armada, and wrecked Napoleon’s Russian invasion. Disease factored in all of America’s wars, often limiting what commanders accomplished and dooming Native American independence. Of the first six US secretaries of war, three were physicians.

David Richard Petriello does not claim that his book is definitive, but offers a solid survey, integrating medical with military history. He thus makes a valuable contribution, as the two fields are usually viewed in relative isolation, in which mainstream historians pay lip service only to the huge role of disease in past wars. Petriello joins a growing number of historians who see military history in a larger societal context, integrating it with environmental, economic, and broad cultural factors. The book is well researched and written. At $32.95, it may not be used extensively in the classroom, but a paperback edition would almost certainly do well.

Inevitably, as disease played its most dominant role from colonial beginnings up through the Progressive period of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the author devotes the bulk of his attention to the conflicts prior to the world wars. As late as the Civil War and the Spanish American War, the medical community was largely in ignorance of the sources of major diseases, and their treatments remained close to medieval. It is only in the twentieth century that scientific advances in understanding of the nature of bacteria, improvements in sanitation and sterilization, disease-combating drugs, and superior hospital facilities allowed the military’s medical arm to invert the ratio of more personnel dying from disease than from wounds.

The book is most graphic in showing how disease ruined both Native American and French attempts to stem the British tide in North America. Disease remained a negative factor for the tribes who gathered at Wounded Knee in 1890 to exorcise the evil spirits devastating their numbers. The book’s treatment of the Civil War may seem a little sparse, but this is a quibble given the large amount of material that war has generated.

Starting in World War I and gaining momentum in the second global struggle, old killers such as smallpox and dysentery were brought under control, if not eradicated. But the fight was not over. Generals and physicians continued to agonize over the high incidence of venereal disease on the part of men who
did not use prophylactics, as well as malaria, which spread when sanitation warnings were ignored and unpleasant preventative medications were thrown away. Adding to modern anxieties, the threat of germ warfare has been a constant anxiety since the Great War, and remains so in the era of terror.

Northern Kentucky University  Michael C. C. Adams


This well-researched study examines the efforts of the Spanish crown to settle more than 1,900 Spanish peasants from Galicia, Asturias, and northern Castile to the remote frontier zone of Patagonia in the Río de la Plata region between 1778 and 1784. The ill-fated settlements struggled from the outset, and they ultimately failed, forcing the settlers to move to new towns near Montevideo and Buenos Aires. Allyson Poska has chosen to focus on the gendered experiences of the settlers, a fascinating tale in its own right, but her story would have benefited from placing this failed project within the larger context of late-Bourbon efforts to stimulate the development of the frontiers of its massive Atlantic empire, stretching from northern New Spain to Patagonia.

The Spanish crown was particularly eager to have whole families from poor, overpopulated regions of northern Spain move to Patagonia to avoid the problems of settling the frontier with unruly soldiers. Bourbon planners were particularly anxious to have peninsular women take part in the expedition, given their familial authority, moral example, and reproductive potential. The Spanish settlers who volunteered for the project had to wait unexpectedly long periods in La Caruña, however, where the Spanish intendant, Jorge Astraudi, provided food and shelter before they set sail for the Río de la Plata. On board ship, the families endured the difficult, unhealthy confinement, dangerous Atlantic storms, and even an encounter with hostile English corsairs before arriving in Montevideo. The settlers were then relocated to the Patagonian outposts of Fuerte del Carmen and Floridablanca, where they suffered harsh weather, disease, internal discord, financial problems, and uncertain relations with local indigenous populations. Jurisdictional conflicts between the viceroy and the officials entrusted with supervising the project also hindered the development of the Patagonian communities. The crown finally abandoned the struggling settlements in 1784 and relocated the peasant settlers to frontier
towns surrounding Buenos Aires and Montevideo, where they fought against indigenous raiders, established farms and ranches, and became integrated into the local colonial society. Over time, some even participated in the independence movements and later became prominent citizens in republican Argentina.

Allyson Poska provides much useful detail on the Iberian customs and attitudes of the settlers of Patagonia and how their experiences in America changed their lives. She is also very effective in connecting the settlement plan to “Enlightened” Bourbon efforts to strengthen the security of the Río de la Plata region by establishing new communities in Patagonia. The Patagonia project, however, was part of a larger set of reforms aimed at strengthening and developing the imperial peripheries. From the establishment of the Bourbon militia system in America, to militarizing northern New Spain and Franciscan missions on the eastern slopes of the Peruvian Andes, crown policymakers aimed to integrate the unstable frontier zones into a more integrated imperial system. Even the declaration of imperial free trade in 1778 was, in part, an attempt to bolster the economies of peripheral regions. This caveat aside, this well-researched, carefully written book deserves a wide readership among specialists of the Atlantic world, Latin America, and Spain.

*Southern Methodist University*  

Kenneth J. Andrien


The author defines a race whisperer as “one who is seamlessly and agilely able to employ racial language and tropes by using personal experiences or common historical themes to engage and mobilize diverse racial constituencies” (1). She argues that Barack Obama’s use of racial narratives treats conversations, ideations, and other sentiments toward race as fluid, malleable, and highly susceptible to context rather than static. This dynamic and contextual use of race is radically different than earlier generations of black politicians like Jesse Jackson and the black mayors of the 1960s and 1970s. It also differs from the deracialization strategy that helped elect some black candidates with predominantly white constituencies in the 1980s and 1990s. However, Obama’s unprecedented electoral success comes with a cost.

Melanye T. Price believes that Obama’s “carefully moderated version of Blackness” that found acceptance from a majority of the electorate prohibited him from advancing public policies targeted at improving black lives.
Moreover, he was limited to talking about race in one particular way—as black pathology.

By examining Obama’s speeches dealing with race as well as the infamous “Beer Summit,” Price concludes that rather than advancing postracism, Obama may have deepened white beliefs in black pathology. His consistent references to black behavior and personal responsibility when addressing African American audiences, while not unusual among black leaders, opened up a traditional, oppositional black public space to scrutiny by outsiders and reinforced their beliefs. Like Booker T. Washington, Obama shifts the burden of black advancement to their shoulders alone.

Obama, says Price, also exhibited a tendency in his speeches to view racial injustices as ancient history running counter to American exceptionalism. He also tended to equate black and white prejudice as he did in his “A More Perfect Union” speech comparing the views of his grandmother with those of Rev. Jeremiah Wright. In addition, stories of the struggles of his mother as a single parent or the service of his grandfather in Patton’s army ignore their racial privilege when compared to black single mothers and black GIs.

Price is not the first to highlight Obama’s use of race and the fact that blacks were generally willing to give him a pass in order to see him elected. However, her analysis shines new light on the price paid for black silence. Rather than using the “Beer Summit” as a teachable moment about racial profiling, for example, Obama retracted his earlier criticism of the police and remained silent on the issue for the next four years. If Obama is the model for black politicians going forward, how can they deliver more than symbolic benefits to black voters? In the end, she concludes that what links Obama to Henry Louis Gates, Trayvon Martin, and Mike Brown is the issue of “belonging.” They were all in places where they did not belong.

University of California, Berkeley

Charles P. Henry

Eighty-Eight Years: The Long Death of Slavery in the United States, 1777–1865.


That slavery was fully entrenched in the economic, political, and social fabric of the United States is well accepted. So too is the fact that it took a bloody civil war to end the institution throughout the nation. This study is a comprehensive look at the abolition of slavery. The author’s central, albeit sweeping,
The question is why did it take so long to abolish slavery in the United States? His premise is that the protracted nature of the death of slavery in the United States was due to the disproportionate political, social, and economic influence of Southern slave power. The uniqueness of slavery and abolition in this country, Patrick Rael contends, rests on the fact that the slave power within the United States was not geographically confined to the South but was a national power based on the authority and control given to it by the Constitution.

Rael takes a broad chronological and geographic approach to emancipation. He begins his analysis with the end of slavery in Vermont’s 1777 state constitution. He then carries the story of that struggle over nine decades to the abolishment of slavery nationwide with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in late 1865. *Eighty-Eight Years* tracks and compares the abolition movement in the United States to developments in other parts of the New World to understand better why the demise of slavery took longer and was more difficult in the United States than elsewhere. Recognizing the conflict as a world event, Rael successfully places US abolition of slavery in the broader Atlantic context. To appreciate more fully this transnational experience of ending slavery, Rael discusses the wide differences in slavery throughout the New World and how those differences affected slavery’s death.

The author does not put forth entirely new arguments but rather synthesizes and broadens more traditional arguments of abolition into a larger context. When dealing with the familiar conflict of the Founding Fathers between their ideology of liberty and freedom and the recognition and acceptance of slavery in the Constitution, for example, the author advocates the concept of property rights as the connecting link. Likewise, he presents what in many respects is the classic narrative of the abolition movement but encompasses a broader understanding of emancipation by significantly incorporating the influence of African American actions into that narrative.

Although bringing the perspective of a social historian to the topic, Rael appropriately acknowledges politics and power. He accounts for the wide range of factors—social, political, geographic, and economic—that shaped the process of emancipation in the United States and successfully conveys to the reader how they interconnect. As such, the author places the familiar elements of abolition—namely, the rise of abolition during the 1830s—in the broader context of their origins in the revolutionary ideology.

In this extensive study of the process of emancipation, Rael successfully brings together various threads of scholarship dealing with the slave power, disunion, and African American contributions. Despite its breadth of content,
Eighty-Eight Years is not an overwhelming tome. Rael has adeptly taken a complicated subject matter and made it accessible for those not as familiar to the topic without sacrificing the detail and sophistication that make it edifying for those more conversant on the subject.

Sharon A. Roger Hepburn


In March 1818, General Andrew Jackson entered Spanish Florida with an attack force of approximately three thousand soldiers. In his three-month rampage through the territory (from the Suwannee River to Pensacola), Jackson commandeered the Spanish garrison at Fort St. Marks, destroyed Indian and black maroon settlements, and summarily executed their inhabitants. Before driving Spanish officials out of Pensacola, Jackson captured, tried, and executed two British subjects he charged with plotting offenses against the United States.

The US confrontations with Creeks, Seminoles, Africans, and Britons in the early national period in contested Spanish borderlands have been the subjects of several other fine works. The military, political, and diplomatic aspects of the conflict known as the First Seminole War have been ably documented by other historians. But Deborah A. Rosen’s goal in this thesis-driven study is more ambitious. Her aim is to demonstrate how the incident set the pattern for US “extraterritorial activity in pursuit of geographic expansion” (7). The event, she also argues, shaped the American legal system, defined citizenship based on race, established a rationale for relations with its neighbors, and set the US course toward an expansionist foreign policy. She asserts this thesis by a careful reading of the speeches, letters, and public pronouncements, contrasting them with early modern jurists and theologians who developed a European universalist view of the law—which she claims Americans repudiated in their drive toward nation-building and expansion.

The Florida campaign, Rosen asserts, was crucial in shaping the US vision of itself as one of the “civilized” nations on earth. Thus “savages” (Indians and peoples of African heritage) were outside the purview of the law and as such were not accorded the same respect as European-descended people. Jackson, therefore, while in Florida, had killed Indians and Africans whenever he confronted them without compunction while offering captured Britons
Arbuthnot and Ambrister at least some semblance of a trial before their execution. A “civilized” and “savage” view of peoples and nations (and how to govern relations with them) began to take hold. Although the above applied to actions taken against “savages” outside US borders, in “parallel fashion” the Seminole War discourse also helped shape American “internal lines of law. . . As the nation increasingly emphasized popular sovereignty,” Rosen asserts,

it reframed domestic natural law discourse. The United States rejected the notion that law applied equally to all groups within the nation. Derived from the will of the people expressed through their representatives, rather than from God or nature, law was particular, not universal. U.S. law fully protected only European-descended people, not people of other ancestries, yet all inhabitants of the United States were subject to American law. (7)

The legal and future foreign policy implications of these debates were obvious, Rosen maintains, because “they lay the groundwork for the Monroe Doctrine, the Dred Scott decision, U.S. westward expansion, and late nineteenth-century interpretations of international law and overseas imperialism” (219). The author’s conclusions mirror those of other scholars who argue that race was the decisive component in America’s Manifest Destiny. She sometimes pushes her thesis too hard and is repetitive at times. Even so, Rosen marshals extensive evidence toward a racially determinist view of American foreign policy.

*Florida Southern College*  
James M. Denham


According to 2013’s multipart PBS series *The Abolitionists*, militant antislavery evidently sprang to life in 1831 when William Lloyd Garrison began to publish *The Liberator*. As much as on-camera commentator Manisha Sinha tried to explain the larger context, she and the other analysts ultimately could not counteract the producers’ vision of the movement as largely white, largely northeastern, and one that existed only during the final three decades of the antebellum era.

If only the producers had waited for Manisha Sinha to publish this magisterial work. At six hundred pages of text, together with more than one hundred
pages of discursive notes, Sinha forever demolishes the old narrative of abolitionism as a short-lived, pacifist crusade guided by white evangelicals in New England. *The Slave’s Cause* instead demonstrates that antislavery in the Americas was the work of centuries, and that what Sinha calls “the first wave” crested during the age of revolution and led to either gradual manumission or court-ordered emancipations across the North.

Not until two hundred pages into her narrative does the author reach “the second wave,” and then not with Garrison but rather with former slave Denmark Vesey and North Carolina-born David Walker, who most likely knew Vesey from his Charleston days. With his 1829 *Appeal*, Walker helped to publicize the “holy cause” in northern black communities (195). Sinha’s placement of black activists at the heart of this text is conceivably the volume’s greatest strength, but critical also to her argument is her refusal to segregate northern black activists from southern rebels such as Vesey and Nat Turner. Slave rebellions, Sinha sensibly insists, lay at the heart of the abolitionist movement and forced moderate whites to abandon gradualism for immediatism. And far more than their white allies, black abolitionists denounced racism and theories of black inferiority, which were then prevalent around the Atlantic world.

A review of this size cannot do justice to such a lengthy, nuanced volume. To this reviewer, Sinha occasionally appears to gloss over crippling divisions within the broad antislavery movement, although she does not flinch from Garrison’s shameful attack on the Douglass marriage or his attempt to drag an unwilling Anna Douglass into the limelight after Frederick embraced political abolition and abandoned Garrisonian pacifism (494). Perhaps also, Sinha’s tendency to grant nearly every abolitionist two or three pages gives her story a biographical, encyclopedic feel at the cost of her largely analytical thrust.

These are minor complaints about a volume that will stand for years as the standard work on organized antislavery. Her impressive notes reveal a mastery of the vast secondary literature; her sources also include roughly twenty antislavery newspapers and an uncountable number of pamphlets—many of them obscure—unearthed in libraries and archives. This will be the one book that professors, high school teachers, and graduate students will turn to again and again, and even specialists in antislavery will find much here to ponder. Despite its heft, lay readers should also enjoy Sinha’s clear, elegant prose and compelling argument.

*Le Moyne College*  
Douglas R. Egerton

This author’s influential survey of early American history, American Colonies [2002], was continental in scope, privileging the cultures and experiences of the peoples of North America over explications of the colonial origins of the American republic. Alan Taylor describes American Revolutions as a sequel to this earlier book, and he succeeds admirably in conveying the “multiple and clashing visions of revolution pursued by the diverse American peoples of the continent” that both antedated and outlasted the war between Britain and its colonies in North America (8).

Taylor’s fundamental contention is that the peoples of North America were diverse and divided and that their revolutionary struggle amounted to “our first civil war, rife with divisions, violence and destruction” (2). In British colonial America and then later in the United States, race was often the key source of hostility and the crucial determinant of allegiances and social hierarchies. Taylor argues persuasively that racial solidarity—inflamed by whites’ desire to exterminate and dispossess native peoples and to keep blacks subservient and mostly enslaved—made possible the patriot coalition for independence that included a majority of white Americans of all social ranks. At the same time, he debunks the myth of a revolution waged by a united citizenry, showing how those who remained loyal to king and empire after 1776 suffered hardship and even terror, losing their property and sometimes their lives.

Taylor’s unusually lucid narrative of the War of Independence emphasizes both internal divisions within North America and the continental, and eventually global, scope of the military conflict. This conflict began with brutal frontier clashes between Indians and colonists more than a decade before Lexington and Concord; it became a world war after France’s alliance with the United States in 1778 (and Spain’s subsequent alliance with France) opened up new military theaters in the Caribbean, India, and the American West. Hostilities continued in these venues after Cornwallis’s surrender at Yorktown, effectively securing American independence. So, too, did the war’s political and economic consequences extend beyond the borders of the new republic.

Taylor’s continental scope fades somewhat in his later chapters, which cover the postwar era, ending more or less with some highlights of Jefferson’s presidency. For example, the Haitian Revolution is featured here less as part of an era of Atlantic revolutions than as a source of anxiety and political discord.
in an increasingly partisan United States, where racism remained entrenched and slavery expanded westward in the postrevolutionary era.

*American Revolutions* is a smart and well-informed synthesis written in an accessible and engaging style. Taylor’s emphasis on the ethnic and racial diversity of early America, the inapplicability of jurisdictional boundaries to cultural phenomena, and his insistence that the republic’s Founders abhorred democracy (and thus may not be ideal modern role models) are all valuable ideas to communicate to nonacademic readers. Taylor’s approach is not so-called political correctness but rather a correct representation of often forgotten (or purposely suppressed) aspects of the true history of a revolutionary era.

George Mason University

Cynthia A. Kierner


Over the past two decades, the ongoing fascination with the life and career of John Quincy Adams, sixth US President, has yielded about a half-dozen excellent political biographies by journalists and historians. Adams is variously portrayed as the architect of the principles enshrined in the Monroe Doctrine, the most experienced diplomat of his generation, and the visionary statesman who knew the politics and diplomacy of Europe and Russia better than any other American of his day. In addition he was the professor of rhetoric and oratory at Harvard; the champion of a modern economy based upon a far-reaching program of education, science, and internal improvements; and the leading opponent of slavery in Congress from 1835 until his death in 1848. James Traub’s excellent new biography has as its principal theme Adams’s “militant spirit” shaping both his intellect and his political temperament. Traub succeeds in bringing Adams to life and delves into the extraordinary psychological complexity of his relationships with his parents, his wife, and his political opponents.

This six-hundred-page volume is organized into five chronological periods. In the first section, Traub analyzes the political and religious education of the younger Adams as well as his diplomatic apprenticeship in European capitals during the Washington and Adams administrations. As Traub explains: “Adams … studied history as a record of eternal truths and above all of moral truths, whether about the nature of justice, personal honor, or patriotism” (xvii). In the second section, the author chronicles Adams’s estrangement from
the Federalists, his ministerial appointments to Russia and the Court of St. James in London, and his role in negotiating the Treaty of Ghent, ending the War of 1812. In the third section, Traub covers Adams’s tenure as secretary of state during the Monroe administration, with special attention given to his defending Andrew Jackson’s lawless invasion of Spanish territory in 1818, his negotiating the Convention of 1818 and the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819, his arguing against “going abroad in search of monsters to destroy” (in his often quoted 4 July 1821, address), and in his outlining the “two spheres” policy in the Monroe Doctrine (258). Adams’s “persistent argument for husbanding US diplomatic and military power is his single most lasting contribution to the corpus of the nation’s governing principles” (xiii).

The final two sections of the book form the conceptual cornerstone of Traub’s insight into Adams’s militant spirit and “inflexible adherence to principle” (538). Moral rectitude can exact a huge price in the power-driven world of politics. Adams’s one-term presidency was racked by internal dissension and cabinet gridlock. If Adams was a profile in courage, as John F. Kennedy wrote, it was due partly to his unwillingness to reward friends, punish enemies, or toe a party line. Yet Adams was rescued from martyrdom by serving seventeen of the last years of his life in Congress, championing the right to petition to end slavery and fending off the “Gag Rule.” Adams’s militant spirit could not live without politics, even if he recoiled from campaigning and conciliating, for politics to him was the sphere within which the great issues of justice and liberty were worked out. He could not live without fighting for human dignity and freedom.

University of Oklahoma

Greg Russell


Only rarely did Abraham Lincoln tear himself away from his White House office, and usually it was only for quick visits to the army front-lines in Virginia. The major exception to this workaholic rule was the sixteen-day journey he made to City Point and Petersburg in March and April of 1865, just as Petersburg (and the Confederate capital of Richmond) were about to fall into the hands of the Union Army. Ostensibly, the trip had been suggested by Lt. Gen. Ulysses Grant as a vacation for the president. But Lincoln’s sense that
the end was nearing for the Confederacy was just as much a motivator for a president who longed to witness the Civil War brought to an end.

Noah Andre Trudeau’s account of those fast-moving two weeks in Lincoln’s life has been a work-in-progress for over twenty-five years. But it has been worth the wait. The only existing account of Lincoln’s City Point sojourn, Donald C. Pfanz’s *The Petersburg Campaign: Abraham Lincoln at City Point, March 20-April 9, 1865*, was a model of detailed research when it appeared in 1989 in H. E. Howard’s rough and gritty Civil War history series, and at first it might be thought that Pfanz could hardly be surpassed for clocking Lincoln’s hour-by-hour movements. But *Lincoln’s Greatest Journey* reaches even beyond Pfanz in its sheer archival persistence. Trudeau has unearthed private memoirs by Lt. Cdr. John Sanford Barnes, who piloted the President and Mrs. Lincoln from Washington to City Point on board USS *Bat*, and the logbooks of the *Bat* and USS *Malvern* to confirm Lincoln’s comings and goings, along with soldier diaries and letters. Pfanz was critical of the reminiscences of Lincoln’s bodyguard, William H. Crook; Trudeau is convinced Crook was never even part of the president’s entourage for the trip. The author is equally dismissive of the memoirs of Adam Badeau and Horace Porter, who were notorious for their animus toward Mary Lincoln (although Trudeau finds more than enough good testimony from others on this journey to paint Mary Lincoln in bleak colors anyway). Trudeau is, in fact, a skeptic about nearly everything concerning Lincoln’s City Point expedition, apart from what can be demonstrated from contemporaneous notes and comments, including the famous story of Lincoln sitting in Jefferson Davis’s chair in the Confederate White House.

Still, Trudeau’s account falls somewhere short of demonstrating that this was Lincoln’s *greatest* journey, or that its sixteen days somehow *changed* Lincoln’s presidency. And the narrative is marred by several easy-to-spot errors. Lincoln was not seeking a few days “away from the Oval Office,” because the Oval Office did not exist in 1865; the Emancipation Proclamation did not exclude “African-Americans from combat roles”; he substitutes Stanton when he clearly means Seward and misidentifies William T. Otto as the Secretary of the Interior (he was the assistant secretary, 1863 to 1871); and it was not Mrs. Lincoln but Elwin Page who claimed that Lincoln recited parts of Longfellow’s mawkish 1850 poem “Resignation” on the voyage back to Washington (xi, 118). Trudeau could also have profited from better proofreading, to exclude such “slangy” expressions as “put his dibs in,” and other grammatical missteps—(*principle for principal, “to essentially drop”).
But even after sniffling over these “pen-pricks,” it has to be said that Trudeau has given us a work of immense scholarly value to Lincolnites of all stripes, as well as to students of the siege of Petersburg and the closing days of the Civil War. Energetically written, it offers a marvelous tribute to a wartime president whose greatest desire was to see war’s end.

Gettysburg College


As if Henry Clay lacked cheerleaders among his legion of biographers, yet another has entered the echo chamber of admirers. Harlow Giles Unger, a prolific profiler of American political leaders, portrays Clay as man of the hour in practically every crisis between the election of Jefferson and the emergence of Lincoln. Drawn mostly from the published Clay papers and little influenced by recent works listed in the bibliography, Unger’s sprightly prose offers nothing new besides careless and significant factual errors.

The Missouri Compromise line extended only through the Louisiana Purchase and not “westward to the Pacific Ocean,” and it did not “make slavery illegal in any new states established north of the line”; Southern demands for a stricter fugitive slave law sought not “to discourage the flight of slaves into the new western territories,” which were already subject to the Constitution’s fugitive slave clause, but to strengthen enforcement in free states; and the territorial bills of the Compromise of 1850 implemented the Southern version of popular sovereignty and not Northern “squatter or popular sovereignty,” as Clay well knew (91–92, 244, 266). Unger leaves readers to believe that Clay’s final speech in July 1850 on behalf of his Compromise package (which included protections for the interstate slave trade, which Unger ignores) led directly to its passage, when actually he fled the Senate upon its defeat, two months before Stephen Douglas and his allies began steering its altered remains through both chambers in his absence, and at no time could Daniel Webster be considered a “fierce abolitionist,” and so on (192). Meanwhile, Unger is silent on Clay’s opinions about slavery expansion and fugitives. Wasn’t that what all the fuss was about? The idea that Thurlow Weed, William Seward, and John Tyler “saw disunion and separation of North and South [sic] as a peaceful solution to the national conflict over slavery and state sovereignty” at any time before Fort Sumter is ludicrous (209).
Lincoln surely admired Clay, as Unger tirelessly reminds readers, but they never learn that Clay opposed the Wilmot Proviso and in his last public utterance denounced any attempt to turn his Whigs into a “contemptible Abolition party.” The book concludes with the weird assertion that “Henry Clay’s Union survived the carnage” of a civil war that killed 650,000 (not 750,000), abolished slavery, and devastated half the country (264). Lincoln’s state papers traced a departure from, not preservation of, the Madisonian “Union as it was” that Clay tried to save. Would the Henry Clay of 1862 have issued an Emancipation Proclamation that invited slaves to join the army? All of his political heirs opposed it to the bitter end. These issues should have been avoided by a knowledgeable field editor and peer reviewers, all absent from acknowledgements that profusely thank Da Capo’s marketing and production team and the curator at Ashland. “Harry of the West” deserves better than this.

Michigan State University

Peter B. Knupfer


The Euro-American conquest of North America involved a radical remaking not only of the continent’s human communities but of its animal populations as well. Prior to 1492, half a million wolves roamed North America. After the United States government launched what its critics termed “the largest organized attempt at destruction of wild life ever undertaken anywhere,” however, the number of wolves and other predators (with the lone exception of the coyote) plummeted (104). In 1924, the high-water mark for what Frank Van Nuys aptly labels the “golden age for predatory animal control” in this well-crafted study, agents of the US Bureau of Biological Survey scattered 3.5 million strychnine baits across 284,000 square miles of the rural landscape (87). Imagined as a better alternative to the earlier bounty system, strychnine not only inflicted an excruciating death on its targets (convulsions followed by asphyxiation), it poisoned unintended victims as well: eagles, dogs, foxes, badgers, skunks, and ravens. For most at the time, though, this collateral damage was a small price to pay for protecting stock growers from the economic threat posed by wild predators—“four footed plagues” in the language of the day (31).

Van Nuys narrows the analysis in Varmints and Victims to four predators: wolves, mountain lions, grizzly bears, and coyotes. Although he adopts a longue durée perspective that dips into the native and colonial periods, the
heart of his narrative is the federal effort to eliminate predators in the twentieth
century. Unlike most works on this subject, Van Nuys evinces little concern for
metaphysics or cultural interpretations. Readers hoping to understand, say, the
extraordinary cruelty directed towards coyotes or the rich folklore surrounding
the wolf might prefer Dan Flores’s *Coyote America: A Natural and Supernatura
History* or Jon Coleman’s *Vicious: Wolves and Men in America*. But
those seeking a clear, concise administrative history of the Bureau of Biological
Survey and successors such as the Fish and Wildlife Service will find
Van Nuys’s narrative a compelling and useful one.

Van Nuys’s early chapters are not especially surprising. Federal officials
began in the early 1900s with the assumption that the extermination of preda-
tors was both achievable and beneficial. Over time, however, economic
changes, along with the emerging new science of ecology, caused some to ques-
tion the wisdom of investing millions of taxpayer dollars in destroying wild
predators. Yet, the transition to a new way of conceptualizing predators—
especially that archvillain, the wolf—is never complete. The result is our cur-
rent divisive, contradictory moment. Though the Fish and Wildlife Service and
the National Park Service invest considerable resources in restoring predators,
the Department of Agriculture has continued to pursue a policy of destroying
potential threats to sheep and cattle ranchers. In 2013, as Van Nuys notes, the
Department of Agriculture killed more than seventy-five thousand coyotes and
319 wolves—“numbers that seem to substantiate skepticism about whether
federal predator control has truly changed its ways” (255).

*Columbia University*

Karl Jacoby

*Crossroads for Liberty: Recovering the Anti-Federalist Values of America’s First
Constitution.* By William J. Watkins Jr. (Oakland, CA: Independent Institute,
2016. Pp. xx, 315. $32.95.)

*Crossroads for Liberty* revisits the Progressive interpretation of the Constitution
as a counter revolution against the democratic principles and institutions
fostered by the American Revolution. The author adds a new twist by ardently
advocating that the Revolutionary principles embodied in the Articles of
Confederation and espoused by the anti-Federalists—who opposed the new
Constitution of 1787—should be re-embraced in twenty-first-century America;
and thus save the country from career politicians, bankruptcy, and the tyranny
of an overly intrusive federal behemoth.
Six of the book’s nineteen chapters are straightforward historical narratives detailing the movement toward independence and the drafting and adoption of the Articles of Confederation, the new Constitution of 1787, and the Bill of Rights. These chapters are well written with only a few errors such as putting James Madison’s congressional veto power over all state laws into the Virginia Plan, exaggerating John Hancock’s role in the Massachusetts ratification of the Constitution, and totally ignoring John Jay’s role in New York’s ratification. In eleven chapters William Watkins details the genesis of a variety of principles and institutions of government embodied in the 1787 Constitution and then cites instances of how these principles or institutions were enlarged over the years. Topics include the size of government; the general welfare; the necessary and proper, and the commerce clauses; a standing army; the judiciary; the commander in chief; voter qualifications; rights; and amendments. Finally, the last two chapters suggest changes in the federal government that would re-establish a correct balance in American federalism.

Watkins believes that federal spending must be limited, congressional representation must become meaningful, and the federal intrusion in state and local affairs must end. Citing an amendment proposed by the New York ratifying convention in 1788, Watkins advocates a mandatory two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress for any measure that cannot be funded immediately by current federal revenue. He advocates the enlargement of the US House of Representatives from 435 members (a number adopted by law in 1910) to 750 members by 2020 and to 1,000 members by 2030. This increase in the size of the House of Representatives would encourage third party candidates and limit the influence of lobbyists and special interests. If this enlargement fails to restrain congressional power, perhaps, Watkins suggests, we need to divide the country complying with Montesquieu’s “small-republic thesis” adhered to by anti-Federalists in 1787–1788. Finally, Watkins advocates the passage of a constitutional amendment establishing term limits that would help to abolish “political careerism [which] is imimical to a national government of few and defined powers” (225). Representatives should be limited to three two-year terms and Senators should be limited to two six-year terms.

Throughout the book, Watkins repeatedly alludes favorably to Thomas Jefferson as a staunch advocate for states’ rights. Thus, it is surprising that Watkins ignores Jefferson’s 1825 “Declaration and Protest” against federally sponsored internal improvements, which is totally in sync with Watkins’s thesis. Readers can only assume that Watkins was simply unaware of the existence of Jefferson’s important manifesto.

University of Wisconsin-Madison

John P. Kaminski
The Taming of Free Speech: America’s Civil Liberties Compromise. By Laura Weinrib. (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016. Pp. 480. $45.00.)

This excellent book chronicles the shift in the American Civil Liberties Union’s conception of free speech from a natural right of labor to “agitare” against capital through coercive tactics like aggressive picketing and strikes, to a “tamer,” value-neutral vision of free speech that ultimately included the right of the Ford Motor Company to speak directly to its employees in opposition to union organization. Laura Weinrib begins her tale in 1919 with the ACLU’s early support for the Industrial Workers of the World’s (IWW) “free speech actions,” exercises in civil disobedience designed to flood the local jails; and ends it two decades later with the ACLU’s purge of labor radicals from its leadership, including its longtime chair, Harry Ward, and one of its founders, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

The early ACLU is described as an uneasy amalgam of Progressive intellectuals, brimming with trust in enlightened government technocrats; and radical labor leaders, convinced that direct action by workers’ organizations would ameliorate the injustices of a capitalist society. Weinrib perceptively notes that the glue holding both factions together was a deep mistrust of the courts, especially the federal courts. To the ACLU’s founders, law was a tool to crush strikes and invalidate progressive social legislation. The ACLU’s deep aversion to courts began to ease in 1923 and 1925 with two substantive due process decisions by the Supreme Court in Pierce v. Society of Sisters, and Meyers v. Nebraska, protecting what we would view today as First Amendment rights—the right to educate your children in a religious private school and the right to teach and study German, respectively. According to the author, though, the case that altered the ACLU’s view of the relationship between courts and free speech never reached the Supreme Court. She describes Robert Baldwin’s 1924 arrest for giving a supportive speech during the Patterson lace workers’ strike. Instead of a hopeless show-trial designed to gain public support, ACLU lawyers cut Baldwin’s speech loose from the underlying labor issues, and presented it to the courts as an individual’s right to comment peacefully on the Patterson strike; not a right to support it. Arthur Vanderbilt, future chief justice of New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals, ruled for Baldwin. Weinrib meticulously draws a line from the 1928 value-neutral decision to the ACLU’s eventual support in 1938 of the Ford Motor Company’s First Amendment right to oppose union organization.

Missing from this thoughtful and informative book is an assessment of the consequences of the ACLU’s conversion to value-free First Amendment
legalism. Decoupling the idea of free speech from underlying ideology permitted the Supreme Court to turn the First Amendment into an extremely powerful protection of autonomy. The Lochner era teaches, though, that excessive deference to autonomy can block efforts to achieve a modicum of equality. The jury is still out on whether the ACLU’s embrace of value-neutral free speech will morph into the new Lochner.

New York University Law School

Burt Neuborne

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC


For historians of the People’s Republic of China, the last decade has been characterized by an unprecedented (and probably only temporary) abundance of previously unavailable new sources on state functioning, social relationships, personal lives, and daily practices. Frank Dikötter’s last volume in his trilogy on the history of Maoist China claims to make use of these new materials in order to create a picture of people’s lives during the Cultural Revolution that challenges the established narrative. Unfortunately the book does not fulfill this claim.

There is almost nothing new in the description Dikötter concocts. His interpretation harkens back to the trite refrains and patterns of explanation of the Cold War era. Though recent contributions to the history of the PRC have striven to move beyond chronologies and narratives strictly connected to the party-state and its leadership, The Cultural Revolution remains very much Mao-centered and Chinese Communist Party-centered. Much of the volume is devoted to inner party struggle among badly caricaturized leaders whose only aims appear to be power for power’s sake and the settling of old scores. In Dikötter’s depiction, there is no true political stake in these struggles, and no real difference among the various positions. Campaigns follow one another senselessly, and they have no meaning outside the chess game of party bosses vying for control. A lecherous, cynical, and cunning Mao Zedong dominates this game.

The book’s subtitle is “A People’s History” and Dikötter presents this work as challenging “the picture of complete conformity that is often supposed to have characterized the last decade of the Mao era” (xvii). But because the author does not seem to have any interest in the historical or political understanding of mass movements and mass participation, he ends up actually
reinforcing the stereotypical view of people’s lives and choices under Maoism. In the book, grassroots activists (workers, students) who joined the mass movements do not really count as “people,” as their motives and actions are subsumed under the brainwashing of propaganda. People appear as people only when they are victimized by events, or, finally, when they act against the party as self-serving (capitalist) individuals, reopening black markets or breaking down communal land into family plots. Otherwise, in Dikötter’s portrayal, people during the Cultural Revolution do not really act; at best, they react to commands from the top.

Throughout the volume, Dikötter repeatedly makes controversial statements while providing very little evidence for them (for example, about Mao’s views of Stalin) and peppers his description of events with salacious—if very dubious—details. This volume does not add anything to our understanding of the Cultural Revolution. Rather, as a mass-marketed assessment of the period, it goes against a long-standing effort in the field of PRC history to produce nuanced, well-sourced, complex, historically rich, and truly innovative analyses. Any reader not familiar with the historiography of Maoist China would be better served by not starting with this book.

University of Arizona

Fabio Lanza

Accidental State: Chiang Kai-shek, the United States, and the Making of Taiwan.


This is a finely researched, clearly argued study of a complex time in the history of East Asia. Accidental State falls under the categories of diplomatic, political, and geostrategic history. With access to important archival sources in Taiwan, the United States, Great Britain, and China, Hsiao-ting Lin outlines and illustrates this study’s main thesis. The losing side of the 1949 Chinese Civil War—the Chinese Nationalist Party led by Chiang Kai-shek—fled to Taiwan and eventually reconstituted itself as “The Republic of China,” “Nationalist China,” or most ironically, “Free China.” This process came as a result of a series of contingencies, unintended consequences, and hence, was “accidental.” The book covers the period from 1945 to the 1950s, with Chiang Kai-shek playing a central role. The “Making of Taiwan” in the title is largely geographical—inhabitants of Taiwan, their aspirations, and their historical experiences during this time period are not the focus of this book.
Out of the many findings of this study, two important issues stand out. First is the post-World War II US geostrategic approach to the region and how it still resonates today. American policymakers cared little for the formal, institutional roles played by anyone in the failing Chinese Nationalist government and sought to maintain the greatest leverage and freedom of access to key strategic military, economic, and diplomatic interests in the region. Therefore, within US policymaking circles, Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party were variously abandoned and courted. Intriguingly, the option to engineer a “regime change” within the Nationalist Government once it fled to Taiwan was contemplated. For students of US engagement with the world, this utilitarianism is not a revelation. It is interesting, though, how the case of China serves as an early example of how unabashed the United States was in seeing the world as a chess board, piercing through the formal niceties of sovereignty and the right to self-determination.

The second prominent revelation from this study, which coheres to a growing collection of new studies on Chiang, casts him as a remarkable survivor. He was not the most brilliant military strategist or tactician. As a politician, he was disastrous for state and party institutions. That he managed to lose the Chinese Civil War to the Chinese Communists in near record time, even with all of the military and political advantages at his disposal, speaks volumes to his regime’s incompetence and corruption. Nevertheless, as this book makes clear, Chiang was ultimately the consummate survivor. Throughout this book, he was willing to consider various alternatives to Taiwan; accept advice and aid from retired, recently enemy Japanese military leaders; elevate and then dispose of Chinese Nationalist military and political leaders favored by the United States; and pursue a bloody crackdown against dissidents in Taiwan. Chiang was improvisational and flexible. With luck and guile, he managed to live out his remaining years ruling over a semifictional “Republic of China” on the island of Taiwan. No matter the formal, outer ideological veneer, ultimately, Chiang was all about Chiang. It was a brutal and remarkable feat of survival indeed.

College of St. Scholastica

Hong-Ming Liang


This new book is an elegant and gripping evocation of the war’s transformative effects on Indian society, braiding together the stories of soldiers, activists, and
citizens as they navigated a conflicting morass of political and social expectations. Crafted with great clarity and sympathy from interviews, published accounts, and archival work in the United Kingdom, India, and the United States, Yasmin Khan’s lucid narrative complicates received nationalist accounts of the war, which situate moments like the Bengal Famine and the Quit India movement as stepping-stones on the road to freedom. In focusing instead upon the lived experience of Indian individuals, Khan hints productively at the ways in which war laid bare the contradictions of empire for all to see, and deepened the social and political fissures that would hang heavily over the independent nations of India and Pakistan.

This book’s most gripping and original material concerns the gendered experience of war, which is made clear by the two women in saris and gas masks who adorn the book’s British imprint as *The Raj at War*, and obscured by the marching Indian soldiers festooning its American counterpart. The letters exchanged between men on the front in Europe and North and East Africa and women in Indian villages illuminate the intimate fears and larger political worlds of Indian citizens wrestling with a war waged in the name of freedom, but offering them scant evidence of it. Khan takes on the difficult historiographic task of probing the medical and social challenges posed by sex work and venereal disease in Indian cities as British and American soldiers arrived on the home front. She casts the radical Congress activist Aruna Asaf Ali as an unlikely but compelling heroine, contrasting her revolutionary spirit with the more staid Asaf Ali, her cautious and elder Muslim husband, jailed with the rest of the party leadership at Ahmednagar Fort.

A second, deeply productive strain in *India at War* is Khan’s exploration of the tension between seasoned British administrators, younger British “tommies,” and the white and black American soldiers streaming into Bombay, Delhi, and Calcutta. For Khan, it is the arrival of this latter group that highlights the tensions of late empire most clearly: The US Army brought with it a more vigorous promise of political freedom, a taste of cheap consumer goods in the form of radios and refrigerators, and—through the jarring optics of segregation—a new locus for conceptualizing the shared plight of the world’s colored peoples. Khan’s productive use of the US National Archives in College Park allows her a keen vantage that complements more traditional repositories in New Delhi and London.

It is gratifying to see the author sideline the freedom movement’s usual suspects. Subhas Chandra Bose, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mohandas Gandhi, and others make appearances in this text but are secondary to the citizens and soldiers who populate this book so colorfully. Accordingly, *India at War* offers
no radical reinterpretation of the politics of the struggle for independence. Rather, it takes inspiration from works like Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper’s *Forgotten Wars* and *Forgotten Armies*, as well as Indivar Kamtekar’s unpublished but highly influential 1988 PhD thesis, “The End of the Colonial State in India, 1942–1947,” and offers sharp insight into the social transformations wrought by a devastating war. Global historians have in recent years internationalized accounts of the Second World War, looking to its effects far away from Europe. Historians of South Asia are now examining the ways in which the war laid the foundation for new solidarities, fissures, and expectations in the decades after independence. As these historians seek to understand the circulation of ideas, goods, peoples, and armies in these harrowing and electric years, Yasmin Khan’s *India at War* will serve as an invaluable primer.

*Boston University*  
Benjamin Siegel


The idea of capturing the long history of India, which as a nation-state is all of seventy years old but as a civilization has gone through many incarnations in the course of the last four thousand years, through fifty lives is a bold one and executed with much flair by Sunil Khilnani. The colonial officials who held sway in India for around two hundred years before the country achieved independence in 1947 took it as axiomatic that the individual as an atom of being did not exist in India; there were only collectivities, defined by religion, caste, kinship networks, or ancestral professions. In peopling India with individuals and steering the narrative away from empires, dynasties, and the familiar stories around communities, Khilnani furnishes a comparatively new window into the contours of the Indian past.

Thirty of the fifty individuals who come under Khilnani’s gaze graced the last two centuries, commencing with Rammohan Roy, commonly described as the initiator of the “Bengal Renaissance.” This accent on the modern is perhaps understandable: The archive is richer and public attention has been riveted on those figures who forged resistance to colonial rule, animated the public sphere, gave expression to concerns about the cultural and religious inheritance of Indian civilization, and helped craft a new nation. Yet, even when Khilnani writes about men (and occasionally women) whose lives have been scrutinized in countless biographies, he seldom does so without some genuine insights. For
example, he says apropos of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, whose eventual insistence on a Muslim-majority state would lead to the vivisection of India and the creation of Pakistan, that every dream of homogeneity must face up to the fact that “identity is prone to be secessionist” (308).

The cast of characters in *Incarnations* is, however, not wholly predictable. The hoodlums on India’s streets who have recently been beating up African students and are wholly unaware of the rich history of linkages between India and Africa might perhaps be reminded of Malik Ambar [1548–1626], an Abyssinian slave who became a formidable military commander and administrator in south India and the pioneer of guerrilla warfare (127–128). Similarly, Khilnani reminds us of some of the forgotten histories of Indian entrepreneurship in adverse circumstances. The Tamilian lawyer Chidambaram Pillai [1872–1936] emerges as a major force in the long struggle for self-reliance. For all their rhetoric of adherence to “fair play,” the British found the pretext to shut down his Swadeshi Team Navigation Company and remove him from the political scene (224–226).

A procrustean conception of women’s lives guides Khilnani’s treatment of gender and readers will doubtless find other reasons to quibble with his choices. However, as is also true of anthologies, one cannot begrudge Khilnani his choices, and he is unequivocally clear that there are other lives that are equally deserving. The exclusion of Jawaharlal Nehru, the dominant figure in postindependence India until his death in 1964, will perhaps surprise many readers; and, yet, Nehru is everywhere present, since the sensibility with which Khilnani writes has been overwhelmingly shaped by the secular and liberal bent of Nehruvian thinking. Khilnani’s *Incarnations* is unlikely to alter anyone’s conception of India, but it remains nevertheless an engaging read.

University of Southern California

Vinay Lal

*Forgery and Impersonation in Imperial China: Popular Deceptions and the High Qing State*. By Mark McNicholas. (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2016. Pp. xiv, 265. $50.00.)

This book considers the significance of forgery and impersonation in Imperial China between 1700 and 1820, a time span commonly referred to as the “High Qing.” Drawing on archival records, dynastic histories, and the codified law, Mark McNicholas examines the crime and punishment of individuals who forged government documents or posed as agents of the state. Such acts were taken very seriously by the Qing state because, in McNicholas’s words, they
involved “misappropriation of official authority by those who were not entitled to wield it” (6). Situating these crimes within the social and political environment of eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century China, the author analyzes who engaged in forgery and impersonation, what they hoped to achieve, and why the government treated them so harshly if they were caught.

The book is a valuable resource for specialists in Chinese history and law, as well as for those who are new to these fields. The introduction provides background about the principles and practice of Qing law, describes the types and nature of the archival documents used for the study, and evaluates the challenges of using crime narratives as historical evidence. The remainder of the book consists of case studies involving fraud and impersonation and supporting analysis of the historical and legal framework for the cases.

Drawing on archival records from the First Historical Archives in Beijing, the National Palace Museum in Taipei, and the Institute of History and Philology at Academia Sinica, also in Taipei, McNicholas evaluates the causes and consequences of fraud and impersonation within the social and political context of the High Qing. In chapter 2, for example, the author examines a number of “high-level impostures,” in which the perpetrators claimed to have been sent on a special mission, either by a prince or the emperor himself. McNicholas posits that the relatively high frequency of such cases during the Kangxi [1622–1723] and Yongzheng [1723–1736] reigns resulted from the Manchu’s relatively tenuous hold on power during the time of dynastic consolidation (26). He further suggests that the drop in the number of cases during the Qianlong [1736–1796] reign may have reflected the increase in political stability and the regularization of administrative practices in the early to middle eighteenth century (36).

Given the spotty nature of the archival evidence, this interpretation, and some of McNicholas’s other observations concerning the relationship between fraud, impersonation, and the inner workings of the Qing state, may be overreaching. As the author himself notes, “[t]hese cases are too few, and the archival base too imperfect, to allow for firm conclusions” (37). Nonetheless, his analysis of these questions, like so much else in the book, is engaging, sensitive, and thought provoking. The case studies are engrossing and are accompanied by provocative insights into the law and society of late Imperial China. The book is accessible to students, who will be intrigued by the crime narratives but also will appeal to specialists, because of its valuable contribution to the legal historiography of the Qing dynasty.

California State University, East Bay  
Nancy Park
The Charge of the Light Brigade [1854] at the Battle of Balaclava during the Crimean War; the British defeat at Isandlwana [1879] during the Anglo-Zulu War; General George Gordon’s death [1884] at Khartoum at the hands of the Mahdi; the life and death [1873] of the Scottish missionary and explorer David Livingstone; the failure of the British expedition to the South Pole and the death of Captain Robert Scott [1912]—what do all these have in common? They are all—according to Stephanie Barczewski in this lively, engaging, and handsomely illustrated book—examples of “heroic failure.” They tell of individuals showing incredible bravery and fortitude in the face of terrible odds—overwhelming numbers in battle, African jungles, icy polar regions. Individuals fail, but in their failure they offer shining examples of the sort of qualities that go to make a great nation and a great empire.

Heroic failure, says Barczewski, reveals something important about the British national character: The British like failure more than success. She calls upon figures as diverse as the comedians John Cleese and Tim Brooke-Taylor and the writer George Orwell in support of the view that the British prefer a gallant loser to an all-out victor. The public acclaim for the constantly losing ski-jumper “Eddie the Eagle” at the Winter Olympics in 1988 shows this to be a persisting feature of British life. George Orwell remarked that though there are no popular poems about British victories at Trafalgar or Waterloo, there were plenty to celebrate Sir John Moore’s retreat to Corunna during the Peninsular War, and his death there. It certainly seems to be true that, as John Cleese says, “Lord Nelson’s and General Wolfe’s heroism may have lost a little of the sparkle by the close association with two all-important victories,” at Quebec and Trafalgar (quoted 5).

But Barczewski wants to suggest that this celebration of heroic failure is not something permanent or timeless in British culture. It is particularly associated with the rise of the British Empire, and its most important examples—the one with the greatest resonance—come from the nineteenth century when the British built up the greatest empire the world has ever known. Her argument is that in stressing failure, and the noble qualities of stoicism and suffering that went with it, the British were in some sense compensating for the fact—obvious to themselves as well as to the rest of the world—that the British were actually the richest and most powerful nation in the world in the nineteenth century. The cultivation of heroic failure, in other words, was an expression of guilt at
British success, and an attempt—perhaps unconscious—to gloss over the fact that empire involved many acts of brutality and oppression.

It is an ingenious idea, by no means implausible, though like many such suggestions difficult to prove with hard evidence. More serious, though, is the assertion that the British are peculiar in celebrating heroic failure, that others do it less or not at all. This claim needs comparisons, and apart from a passing mention of the Alamo and Little Big Horn in the American case, there are almost no comparisons in this book. One can readily think of similar examples from the French Empire, for example. But this should not seriously disturb one’s pleasure in reading so informative, entertaining, and thought-provoking a book.

University of Virginia

Krishan Kumar

The Murder of King James I. By Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xxxvi, 618. $65.00.)

Many historians downplay the importance of events and instead emphasize social, economic, and cultural structures. Reacting to such approaches in 1964, Roland Mousnier wrote a book on the assassination of Henri IV of France [1610], contending that this event explains a great deal about what later happened in France. Alastair Bellany and Thomas Cogswell’s book similarly centers on a single event—or, more accurately, an alleged but probably nonexistent event—namely the poisoning of the British King James I on the orders of his favorite, the Duke of Buckingham, in 1625.

The claim that Buckingham murdered the king (and others) first gained wide currency in 1626 when a pamphlet by the Scottish physician George Eglisham appeared with a Frankfurt imprint. It was published in Latin as Prodomus Vindictae in Ducem Buckinghamiae, and in English as The Forerunner of Revenge upon the Duke of Buckingham for poisoning the most potent James. In 1626 the English Parliament brought impeachment proceedings against Buckingham (who many regarded as corrupt, tyrannical, and incompetent), and the pamphlet proved useful in the attack on the duke. Later, the story that the king’s son and successor Charles I was also complicit in the murder began to spread, and the tale of James’s assassination was pressed into service by parliamentarians and republicans who opposed Charles and royalism in and after the English Civil War. This book documents the uses of the tale in the decades after James’s death. It does not claim that the story caused the Civil War, but it does show that it long provided critics of the Stuarts with useful propaganda.
An irony is that many of those critics were rabidly anti-Catholic, but that Eglisham was a Catholic and that his pamphlet (which was really published at Brussels) was pro-Spanish and pro-Catholic propaganda, intended to show that whereas by 1625 Charles and Buckingham had abandoned their earlier pro-Spanish foreign policy, James wanted to restore good relations with Spain and that it was to prevent this that the duke killed the king. Charles and the duke arguably missed a major public relations opportunity by failing to arrange a response to Eglisham to expose his Catholic and Spanish links.

The book is superbly researched, beautifully written, and finely illustrated. It is packed full of entertaining anecdotes, and informative stories. It sheds a great deal of light on many aspects of English and also Scottish and continental European political, religious, and cultural history (including the history of such things as astrology and witchcraft). The chapters are divided up into short sections with striking titles. This makes for easy and pleasant reading, and the book deserves a wide readership. It lacks a bibliography and the index is of limited use to anyone who wants to track down writings by modern scholars (for example, it has no entries on Bellany or Cogswell). Perhaps the volume should have included the whole (fairly short) text of Eglisham’s pamphlet. But this is a highly important as well as entertaining book.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

Johann Sommerville


Francis Barber was born into slavery on the island of Jamaica sometime in the early 1740s. By 1750 Barber’s master, Colonel Bathurst, had made his way to London with his servant Francis joining him. At some point in the early 1750s the young slave met and became a lifelong associate of perhaps the greatest English literary figure of the eighteenth century, Samuel Johnson. Michael Bundock, director of the Samuel Johnson House Trust, recounts this story of a slave who becomes free, a servant who becomes a close confidant, and a friend who eventually becomes the heir of Samuel Johnson’s estate.

Barber was born into slavery, but by the 1750s he entered the murky and legally ill-defined world of a black servant in mid-eighteenth-century England. Johnson, always looking to provide a helping hand to the poor and impoverished, took Barber on as a servant and undertook to provide him a home, an education, and, as the
years progressed, a trusted associate. What is most fascinating is that despite this seemingly intimate association and given Johnson’s penchant for defending the downtrodden of society, as well as his naturally combative rhetorical style, he (Johnson), as Bundock notes, never published a “blast against slavery” (115).

Bundock is at his best in illuminating the vocational and social world of eighteenth-century London for a free black man. At one point Barber fled the home of Johnson to get away from an abusive fellow servant. Barber found work as an apothecary in Cheapside and later joined the British navy. Bundock takes these events to provide an excellent and illuminating exploration of opportunities for black employment in the trades of London and life for a black man on an English man-o-war. While Barber was serving in the British navy, Johnson, evidently fearful for Barber’s life and well-being, gained the help of the notorious radical but influential British politician, John Wilkes, to secure Barber’s discharge from the navy.

Readers will no doubt find Bundock’s discussion of Barber’s interracial marriage to Elizabeth Ball disappointing. This disappointment is not in regard to Bundock’s treatment of this immensely important piece of Barber’s life but rather in the lack of source material to explore adequately an interracial marriage in eighteenth-century English society and the social life of a mixed race marriage. To be sure, contemporaries’ comments are noted in diaries and letters, but little survives to illuminate the marriage relationship and the challenges this unlikely couple and their children faced.

Though *The Fortunes of Francis Barber* is about a free black man living in eighteenth-century English society, at its heart this text is about the relationship between Samuel Johnson and Francis Barber. As Bundock points out, their relationship seems more like father-son than master-servant. Bundock records that the closeness of their relationship is perhaps most poignantly revealed as “Samuel Johnson named Barber his heir; Francis Barber named both his sons ‘Samuel’” (218). Readers will no doubt enjoy the exploration of this unlikely relationship.

*Liberty University*

Douglas Mann


The 1263 disputation between Rabbi Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides) and a Jewish convert to Christianity—Paul Christian—is one of the most well-known
theological exchanges between a Christian and a Jew in the Middle Ages. Disputational literature flourished in medieval Europe, but actual debates were rare. The Barcelona Disputation stands out in two primary ways. First, the documentary evidence enables us to see the human beings behind the texts with unusual clarity. Second, the debate featured an innovative approach to Christian anti-jewish polemic, as Paul made use of postbiblical rabbinic teachings in an attempt to prove the truth of Christianity. *Debating Truth* brings the debate and the debaters to life in this graphic history, supported with primary source documents, a discussion of the historical context, and a consideration of the historiographical issues. A formally structured debate on specialized theological material does not seem an obvious choice for graphic treatment, but the collaboration between Nina Caputo and Liz Clarke demonstrates the value of the genre for historians, as they have produced an outstanding, altogether original examination of this important event.

Part I, the graphic history, consists of five chapters. The first sets up the context of the debate, introduces the participants, and presents the opening arguments. The second and third chapters contain the heart of the debate. Chapter 4 concerns the aftermath of the debate, including the charge of blasphemy that Nahmanides faced after composing a written account. The fifth depicts Nahmanides’s subsequent departure for the Holy Land and imagines the life he might have lived in the Jewish community at Acre. Most of the dialogue is a direct translation from the primary sources, and the illustrations help the reader to notice the tone of various comments, including Nahmanides’s attempts at humor. As Nahmanides travels from Girona, to Barcelona, to the king’s palace, and to Jerusalem; as various figures move through streets, market places, synagogues, churches, and the king’s court, Clarke’s illustrations help to establish for the reader the world beyond the forum of the debate.

In part II, Caputo provides translations of the primary documents relevant to the debate and its context, in which some are reprinted from existing translations, but many are newly translated here. Part III provides an excellent survey of the distinctive history of medieval Iberia and its Jewish minority and explains the significance of disputation as a genre in medieval European culture. Part IV on historiography is masterful. Readers learn about the state of the scholarship, the nature of the documentary evidence, and the challenges in reconstructing the event. A final section on the making of the book is especially compelling.

A set of questions and resources for further research at the end enhance the book’s value for undergraduates in classes on medieval Europe, Spain and the
Mediterranean, Christian-Jewish relations, and seminars on historical methods. But it would also work well in a graduate seminar for the way it models historical thinking, and even scholars who know this material well—perhaps especially scholars who know this material well—will find the project highly illuminating.

*Boston University*  
Deeana Copeland Klepper


Today Sigismondo Malatesta of Rimini [d. 1468] is best known from his elegant portrait by Piero della Francesca and for his patronage of the church of S. Francesco in Rimini, designed by Leon Batista Alberti and decorated by Florentine sculptor Agostino di Duccio with exquisite relief panels featuring classical themes. Also known as the Tempio Malatestiano, for its classically themed decorations, it houses the reinterred remains of Plethon, the much-admired Greek neoplatonic humanist scholar. Malatesta gained his reputation in the wily Italian city-state rivalries as a fierce mercenary captain, who at one time or another served in the employ of the most powerful Italian states, including Florence, Milan, Naples, Rome, and Venice. He was also lord of Rimini, a small city state and dependency within the Papal States. Malatesta’s relations with the papacy were strained at best, for he was accused of plotting to kill Paul II. Paul’s predecessor Pius II had already excommunicated Malatesta and condemned him in perpetuity to hell’s fires in a strange bull accusing him of heinous crimes ranging from murder and wanton lust to atheism.

In the nineteenth century, Jacob Burckhardt found Malatesta to be an example of extreme Renaissance individualism, the petty despot who unabashedly thrust himself forward, whether on the battlefield, in love’s contests, or in his patronage of art and literature at his small court. Rimini was hardly an avant-garde center of Renaissance culture, but as Anthony F. D’Elia argues effectively, Malatesta made the most of what he had. He hired humanist eulogizers and artists to portray him in the mold of a classical hero and champion of pagan virtues. The poetry of Basnio of Parma provides a clear example of humanist rhetoric of praise embroidered with copious references to ancient Greek and Roman mythology and history. The poetry, especially Basnio’s epic *Hesperis*, displays not only its author’s erudition put to the service of his prince
but also how Malatesta probably wanted to be portrayed as a modern Achilles/Odysseus and descendant of the famous Roman general Scipio Africanus who had defeated Hannibal and was subject of Cicero’s famous dream sequence, the Somnium Scipionis. Malatesta’s humanists created a hyperglorification of their patron’s deeds that D’Elia skillfully unpacks and contrasts with other, saner accounts. One can see in this literature a Renaissance art of compensation surrounding a petty despot as his grasp on power weakened in the latter period of his life.

A main theme in D’Elia’s treatment of Malatesta and his humanist eulogizers involves elucidating a clash in Renaissance culture between Christian morality and pagan virtues, certainly an underlying thread in Pius II’s condemnation of the condottiere. D’Elia emphasizes Malatesta’s predilections for pagan heroic virtues, attraction to astrology, his brazen sexuality, and penchant for extreme physical conditioning, but perhaps overdraws the Christian/classical tension that humanists like Marsilio Ficino resolved philosophically by melding and interpreting the one with the other, though without needing to incorporate ancient battlefield heroics and Spartan physical conditioning.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Melissa Meriam Bullard


In early modern European empires there was always a tension between the goals of the state and the goals of colonial subjects living on the margins of empire, and the nature of the empire was not always dictated by the metropole. This is one of the central thrusts of much recent Atlantic World historiography and it is the theme of this author’s chronologically organized study of the actors involved in the South Sea Company’s operation of the asiento, a commercial contract allowing the British to supply slaves to the Spanish Americas after the War of Spanish Succession. Adrian Finucane uses this examination of British factors living and trading in Spanish territory to stress repeatedly the “blurry,” “messy,” “entwined,” and “muddled” nature of the Spanish and British empires on their margins (2, 37, 17). Her story is a fascinating one of South Sea Company agents on the ground engaged in smuggling and contraband trade and rejecting absolute imperial control over the realities of the empire; yet she also tells a story of remarkable “interpersonal alliances and
cooperation” between Spanish and British subjects engaged in trade on the margins of their respective empires (15).

This very short book, Finucane’s first, is a wonderfully written and nuanced study of a topic that has been demanding a book-length study. Historians generally know little about the South Sea Company beyond the economic fiasco of the South Sea Company stock bubble. Finucane explores this commercial entity and imperial arm from the ground up. She helps enrich our understanding of the evolution of the British Empire in the circum-Caribbean world in the first half of the eighteenth century, an understudied period before the “increase in imperial control” of the later eighteenth century (157). Finucane’s narrative can be somewhat “messy” in its details but that reflects the complexities of the topic more than any weakness in her talents as a historian or as a writer. For the most part, Finucane’s history moves deftly between geopolitical concerns, diplomatic history, and the minutiae of the day-to-day lives of the factors involved in the operation of the South Sea Company in Spanish territory. The only weakness in this work is that it is weighted heavily towards British perspectives. Finucane draws on Spanish sources and offers Spanish perspectives, but it seems likely that more could have been done on this front.

The Temptations of Trade is the kind of engaging work that will interest historians of the British Empire, the Atlantic World, and the eighteenth-century Caribbean. It could also be fruitfully used in undergraduate and graduate seminars, particularly because of the remarkable stories it offers of individuals involved in the South Sea Company’s commercial operations in Spanish territory. Finucane has carefully unearthed the stories of South Sea “company employees who lived and worked in the Spanish empire, many for years” (18). Their day-to-day religious and cultural negotiations at the margins of empire offer readers a very human history of the British Empire—a history of empire from the ground up.

Dalhousie University

Justin Roberts


In a compelling afterword to this cinematic retelling of the history of Florence’s first Renaissance duke, Catherine Fletcher reconstructs the fortune of Alessandro de’ Medici’s ethnicity over the centuries since his death. Framed largely as a
matter of class status in his own day (he was reputedly the son of a Medici prince and a slave woman, possibly African), the description of Alessandro’s origins in later eras traveled alongside contemporary ideas of race. Particularly in the wake of biological race sciences of the nineteenth century, those who rediscovered his story often viewed it with either racist scorn or ethnic pride (as the unexpected case of the ‘Negro Medici’). The book’s ten-page coda thus offers an engrossing envoi that contextualizes this prince’s little-known legacy through a motley cast of later interpreters.

Fletcher’s purpose in this volume, however, is to draw readers away from modern notions of race and to illuminate Alessandro by the lights of his own culture in which his ethnicity was perhaps one of the lesser components of his persona. *The Black Prince* offers the tale of the spiky relationship of a pair of illegitimate Medici cousins in the 1530s: Alessandro and Ippolito, both nephews of Pope Clement VII, the patriarch of the Florentine clan. Striving to reestablish itself in Florence after a period of exile, the family’s hopes landed first upon Ippolito, a suave but obstreperous cardinal. His political ambition cost him his uncle’s grace, and Alessandro, himself a canny operator, rose unexpectedly to become the first dynastic prince of Florence. Tensions between the two cousins—embroiled in intrigues with the Florentine exile community and the growing power of the Habsburg empire—culminated in their mutual demise only two years apart: one poisoned, the other knifed.

Sure-footed and novelistic, the narrative situates the Medici saga in the swirling politics of the 1530s, showing the house’s role in the political realignments of the sixteenth century as its members vaulted into Europe’s highest posts: Alessandro married the emperor’s daughter Margaret; his half-sister Catherine de’ Medici became queen of France. Along the way, Fletcher adduces testimony from many of Renaissance Florence’s favorite commentators, from Benvenuto Cellini to Francesco Guicciardini. But there are new and unfamiliar voices, too, dug out of a number of lesser-known sources and a wide array of Italian archives. Fletcher has an ear for captivating turns of phrase in the documents: “If the Duke is our sun then we are his stars,” Roberto Pucci wrote of Alessandro in 1534 (168). Voices from the past take center stage; the book’s best chapter, 24, recreates a frantic interrogation of a suspected poisoner through a headlong rush of repetitive questions, conjuring the texture of the transcript.

Experts of Renaissance Italy will see how Fletcher invites nonspecialist readers into the period through contextual exposition, and what might strike one as excessive description will no doubt please another as a constitutive component
of the story. It is a credit to Fletcher that *The Black Prince* offers fresh research while also soliciting a broad popular readership.

*University of Sydney*  
John Gagné


Frederick I, who was elected king of Germany in 1153 and crowned emperor in 1155, was the leading political figure in Europe during the second half of the twelfth century until his death on the Third Crusade in 1190. Perhaps more famous for his numerous military, political, and ecclesiastical conflicts than for his successes, Frederick, known to later generations as Barbarossa, enjoyed a lengthy and varied posthumous career, including giving his name to the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941. Frederick I has benefited from enormous scholarly attention, but the most recent full-scale biography in English was undertaken by Peter Munz in 1969. In the succeeding decades, many of the scholarly assumptions that provided the basis for Munz’s biography have given way to new interpretations of the political, social, economic, and military structures of twelfth-century Germany and Europe more broadly. In his monumental new study, John Freed has undertaken to set the story of Frederick I’s life and career on new foundations and to take account of the considerable new research that has appeared in the past half century.

*Frederick Barbarossa* is organized chronologically through seventeen chapters, which are bracketed by an introduction, a conclusion, and an epilogue. Freed begins his account in the early twelfth century, and continues up through the death of Frederick I, with the epilogue providing a survey of the myths about Frederick as they developed up through the modern era. The great strength of Freed’s work is his treatment of the familial and political relationships that bound together and drove apart the leading men and women of the German kingdom in the twelfth century. Freed draws upon much of the newest research in this area, including *Princely Brothers and Sisters: The Sibling Bond in German Politics, 1100–1250* by Jonathan Lyon, whom Freed specifically credits for influencing his discussion of familial politics.

Freed is on much less secure ground in his discussion of military affairs, which dominated much of Frederick I’s career. In many cases, Freed simply records the information provided by contemporary sources without additional analysis or insight. Similarly, Freed’s treatment of economic affairs does not do
justice to the considerable scholarly literature in this area and illustrates a lack of comfort with economic matters. Perhaps most importantly, in a book titled *Fred-erick Barbarossa*, the reader is left with very little impression of the man himself or his policies. Freed asserts, quite problematically, that Frederick was illiterate. He then goes on to make the untenable claim that Barbarossa consequently was ignorant of the considerable output of documents produced by his chancery and other royal officials and agents because they were in Latin. Having eliminated the great trove of source materials that might illuminate the German ruler’s personality, intentions, and policies, Freed is left only with the actions taken in Frederick’s name to divine something about his intentions, views, and policies. But even in this context, Freed rarely draws these connections for his readers.

In sum, Freed has produced a monumental study of the politics of the German kingdom during the twelfth century that is far less a biography of Barbarossa than it is an account of his times. Freed’s study will be of considerable use to scholars. It is less appropriate for students or a general audience that likely will become lost in the mass of detail that Freed provides.

University of New Hampshire

David S. Bachrach


The author of this book has produced a well-informed, up-to-date, and engagingly written textbook that will be valuable to anyone interested in changing perceptions of crime and criminals and the evolution of the criminal justice system in modern England. Key issues that have come to the forefront of research in recent years, such as the nature and causes of crime, the role of gender, and the relationship between the media and crime, are discussed alongside more established topics, such as the development of professional policing and the emergence of the prison as the dominant site (and sight) of punishment. Undergraduates will particularly welcome the succinct introductions to key areas of debate to be found in each chapter. In addition, there is a companion website that contains seminar exercises and an extended bibliography.

The discussion of more mundane crimes is particularly welcome, but there is a missing opportunity in the chapter on the media and crime, which, though thoughtful, draws on very well-known examples (Dick Turpin, Jack Sheppard, Jack the Ripper, and Dr. Crippen) rather than looking at the less-dramatic but
equally, if not more, important construction of criminality in the court reports of everyday crime in local newspapers.

The chronological span (some 250 years) is ambitious but a real strength of the book. Unlike most earlier textbooks, which focus largely on developments in the nineteenth century, Drew Gray’s fully incorporates changes that took place in the long eighteenth century and demonstrates more clearly than before their importance for an understanding of subsequent change. Indeed, as the author demonstrates, the range of fundamental and interrelated changes in the criminal justice system that emerged in the early and mid-nineteenth century make this a pivotal a period of modernization that challenges the Garland thesis with its emphasis on late-Victorian and Edwardian reforms. Given the long timespan and the emphasis on the earlier period, certain topics receive less attention than they deserve. This is most clearly seen in the discussion of policing, which is particularly strong on the coming of the new police, but less so on their consolidation after the key legislative changes.

Recent (and not so recent) research has been done on the development of police forces as well as on the contentious issue of policing by consent. Similarly, the discussion of the development of the Victorian prison system would benefit from some consideration of Alyson Brown’s work on prison management and discipline, which does not figure in the bibliography. Despite these reservations, this is a thoughtful and thorough introduction to a rapidly growing area of historical research that should establish itself as a standard textbook on the subject and a good introduction to anyone interested in the long-term development of the criminal justice system in England.

University of Huddersfield

David Taylor


Though depictions of Queen Elizabeth I and her court, post-1588, often present them as empty husks that were more parody than reality, John Guy’s detailed examination of the queen’s last fifteen years gives both Elizabeth and her reign much more substance and complexity. He synthesizes and analyzes an extensive body of secondary scholarship on the issues that dominated the end of the reign, including (but not limited to), the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots; the attempted invasions of the Spanish armadas; the rise and fall of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; Elizabeth’s wars; and England’s maritime exploration and colonization attempts.
Guy’s careful and meticulous research uncovers new primary sources and discovers how previously known ones had been incorrectly translated or transcribed. His corrections render new interpretations of rather famous, but apparently misunderstood, episodes at Elizabeth’s court. For example, many Elizabethan scholars are acquainted with the diary of French ambassador Andre Hurault, Sieur de Maisse, which recorded his 1597 audiences with the queen. However, a poor twentieth-century English translation was usually used, which presented the elderly queen dressing inappropriately and acting “like a whore for hire” (289). Guy’s rediscovery of a complete French manuscript provided him with a more accurate translation leading to a revised understanding of the queen’s dress, revealing that Elizabeth used fashionable clothing befitting her status and not nudity to beguile the French ambassador (288–292).

The book’s layout is clear and chronological, tracing the rise and fall of the people and issues that defined this part of Elizabeth’s reign. Though the writing style is easy to follow, the book’s length would make it prohibitive to assign for an undergraduate course. However, it still would be a valuable asset to any library for both amateur and professional historians alike, because it is so well researched. The only other criticism of this thorough study is that it sometimes censures the queen on rather anachronistic grounds. For example, in the chapter that focuses on debunking the myth of “Good Queen Bess,” Guy discusses Elizabeth’s consent to a scheme (that ultimately failed) to “capture and forcibly deport” resident black Africans to sell them into slavery or exchange them for English prisoners of war on the Iberian peninsula (205). Although racist thinking should be identified and discussed, castigating a person for being trapped in the cultural paradigms of their age is problematic and ahistorical. Moreover, Elizabeth’s posthumous reputation was never based upon supporting racial equality among her subjects.

Guy more successfully contests the image of “Good Queen Bess” with his numerous examples of how Elizabeth consistently invoked the mutual love that existed between her and her subjects, but usually failed to take care of them, such as punishing the veteran soldiers who were begging because they had not received their pay (205). Ultimately, Guy presents the aged Elizabeth as a woman who ruled effectively to the end, but whose implacable ideals of monarchical authority had not been left unchallenged and would not long outlive her.
Historians have long argued that European armies had undue influence on domestic and foreign relations, which increased the chance of a general European war in the early twentieth century. With the centennial of World War I, literature on this topic has mushroomed. Tim Hadley makes a valuable contribution to this literature with this new study. Hadley’s use of original attaché reports and correspondence—overlooked in the German foreign ministry political archives—plus a judicious utilization of other documentary and secondary sources gives his work great credibility.

In his introduction, Hadley notes that the German army leaders at the beginning of the war in 1914 were shocked when their principal ally since 1879, Austria-Hungary, fielded an army that one senior general staff officer described as “no better than a militia!” (x). After the war, German writers blamed the military attachés in Vienna for the shock and historians accepted that view. But Hadley disagrees, and the purpose of his work is to show that historians missed the significant role of the military attaché reporting in the pre-war period, which sheds new light on the diplomacy of that time. Consequently, they also missed an important factor in understanding the Austro-German wartime alliance relationship and the course of the war, especially in its first nine months. (xi)

The book has six chapters. The first looks at the work of military attachés in Europe during the late nineteenth century. The next four focus on the efforts of the German army attachés in Vienna from 1879 to 1914. One outlines the responsibilities of the German military attaché. Another discusses the five main topics on which the Vienna attachés reported. The third, “Military Diplomacy and Regional Security,” details the way in which Bismarck and his successors used attaché reports as they maneuvered Germany through the complicated international environment. And the last outlines the dysfunctional German/Austrian relationship during the first five months of the Great War.

In his “Conclusion,” Hadley maintains that “[c]ontrary to a commonly held view, Germany’s military and civilian leaderships were well supplied with information on the Austrian army long before the outbreak of World War I” (209). It came from the German military attachés in Vienna. Yet the army leaders in 1914 were either unaware of or discounted the poor
readiness of the Austrian army due to many factors, including Schlieffen’s focus on France. To Hadley,

the Dual Alliance was a mass of contradictions: a military alliance with no specific provisions for its maintenance, let alone its success, created to serve high policy ends in the hope that . . . its deterrent effect would never require it to be implemented. (214–215)

Such contradictions had costly consequences in the first months of the Great War.

Tim Hadley has a valuable perspective on the military lead-up to the war in 1914. His work’s only weakness is a regrettable absence of maps and photos. Nevertheless, scholars in the field as well as others interested in Austro-German relations will welcome Military Diplomacy in the Dual Alliance as an important contribution to our understanding of one aspect of the Great War’s origins.

University of Mary Washington


This is a curious book. It is a popular narrative history without footnotes, end-notes, or notes of any kind, yet published by a major university press. It targets a nonacademic readership yet takes as its subject an obscure medieval king, Louis VIII, who ruled for only thirty-nine months between 1223 and 1226 and whose reign was sandwiched between the far more transformative reigns of his father Philip II and his son Louis IX, each of whom occupied the throne for more than four decades. And *Louis* is an anglocentric account of a French ruler. Louis’s invasion of England in 1216 in support of his claim to the English throne lasted seventeen months but occupies half of the book. Notwithstanding such quirks, Catherine Hanley’s account succeeds on its own terms, and it is to be hoped that the book attracts the broad audience for which it is intended.

The author takes a cradle-to-grave approach to her subject. The various events of Louis’s life from birth through knighting and marriage to death are well contextualized and described with a novelistic flair that is nicely counter-balanced by the author’s sober readings of contemporary chronicles. On occasion, Hanley also makes use of charters issued by Louis, but administrative
matters are not her concern. Instead, Hanley draws a detailed picture of Louis’s
title military deeds and domestic life. The author’s evaluation of Louis is positive,
and though there is a slight discordance between Louis’s mixed military record,
on the one hand, and the author’s admiration of his martial prowess and acu-
men, on the other, Hanley generally maintains a healthy critical distance from
her subject. Certainly she does not idealize him.

During the course of her narrative, Hanley makes points that should interest
all readers, and they are sensible ones. The author posits that Louis’s relation-
ship with his father Philip II was not as antagonistic as other (unnamed) schol-
ars have suggested, and her account of Louis’s life bears that out; she also
proposes that Louis, notwithstanding his death at the age of thirty-nine, was
not especially sickly throughout his life. Of even greater significance is Hanley’s
suggestion that Louis stood a good chance of becoming king of England in
1216 and 1217, and that he might well have succeeded if Philip II had sup-
ported his son’s invasion of England more actively, if Louis had undergone cor-
onation, if he had secured Dover, and if the unpopular king John Lackland had
not died during the course of the invasion, robbing Louis of a foe who made
the French contender look palatable in comparison. Most intriguingly, Hanley
notes that the regent for John’s heir reissued Magna Carta in response to
Louis’s ongoing invasion of England and the defection of so many English bar-
ons to Louis’s side. Without that reissuing, Magna Carta might have remained
for all time a dead letter, killed by royal and papal condemnation. In that
sense, the most famous of English documents owes its revival and subsequent
historical relevance to a French prince.

College of William & Mary

Philip Daileader

The Life of Louis XVI. By John Hardman. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press,
2016. Pp. ix, 499. $40.00.)

Louis XVI died on the scaffold on 23 January 1793. Ever since his death, his
life and work have been interpreted based on one’s view of the French Revolu-
tion. John Hardman, distinguished historian of France, recently revised his
1993 biography entitled The Life of Louis XVI in order to expand the more
nuanced picture of Louis’s life and personality he originally detailed in the ear-
lier edition. Hardman’s revised exhaustive biography of the king discusses his
life from cradle to guillotine as he endeavors to dispel two myths about Louis:
that the king was stupid or lazy and that he intended to flee the country in
June 1791 (viii). He counters these two myths by examining Louis’s early life, his marriage, and how the king dealt with the crises that beset his reign. As a result, Hardman’s Louis XVI comes across as a man and monarch who desired to do what was best for France. However the king also emerges as indecisive at critical moments, a product of his personality and the system in which he worked.

Hardman’s revised biography of the king pulls extensively from the works of more recent histories of Louis as well as his correspondence with Vergennes published in 1998. Hardman comments in the preface that in addition to the newer biographies and the correspondence, there is now quadruple “the number of authentic and available letters that Louis wrote before the Revolution” (viii). The reader of the revised biography of Louis XVI is presented with a much fuller discussion of how and why the king sometimes made decisions and sometimes deferred to others especially in the areas of foreign and financial affairs. The new biography also provides more information on Louis’s encounters with notable figures such as Turgot, Vergennes, Malesherbes, Calonne, Necker, and Marie-Antoinette and how well or ill they, and he, dealt with the crises that engulfed his reign.

Though Hardman’s discussion of Louis’s childhood is informative, revealing an intelligent and curious child and youth with interests in science and engineering, the chapters on the important events of the period 1775 to 1792 engage the reader even more. For example, the chapter on the American war discusses the complex reasons for France’s decision to help the American colonists, which were partly connected with keeping France from helping Austria take over Bavaria. By concentrating on Louis’s role, the chapters on the Diamond Necklace Affair, the Assembly of Notables, the Estates General, and the October Days provide another lens through which to see those events and the catastrophic examples of the results of Louis’s indecision. Those chapters also reveal what Hardman thinks of the people with whom Louis worked. Necker particularly comes across as a type of villain considering the baleful effect his Compte rendu had on the public view of how much in debt France was.

In the end, Hardman’s incisive, detailed, and engaging biography reminds people that Louis was intelligent, a man of much integrity, who, though uncharismatic and indecisive, believed he was the protector of the French people who ultimately rejected him.

Belmont University

Cynthia S. Bisson

Facing the destruction of World War I, France increasingly looked to its colonies overseas for food. In this fascinating, highly readable book, the author of this study traces the (often bungled) efforts by colonialists to promote colonial foods and their (often fickle) reception by Parisians during the interwar years. Five chapters each examine a site of encounter—from imperialists’ luncheons to the pages of cooking magazines—to expose the web of divergent interests and ideas that animated “the political imagination of what France’s empire meant to the French nation” (1).

The book begins with wartime shortages creating an opportunity for French colonizers to repurpose their “civilizing mission” toward a more lucrative policy of *mise en valeur* focused on modernizing colonial production to feed the metropole. Procolonial scientists of the Société d’acclimatation assisted this campaign with annual banquets featuring colonial foods, from simple rice dishes to novelties like python. Lauren Janes shows how these banquets’ menus evolved to promote the essential contributions of each colony as part of “Greater France.” But “selling rice to wheat eaters” proved difficult, faced with opposing domestic agricultural interests and consumers more amenable to generic exoticism than integrating colonial “others” and their food (69). Janes’s incisive examination of cooking magazines reveals how the apparent vogue for “colonial cuisine” largely amounted to adding tropical fruit or a pinch of curry powder to commonplace French recipes and indiscriminately labeling them “exotic,” “oriental,” or “colonial.” Real colonial dishes were relegated to “gastronomic curiosity” pieces meant to titillate and disgust.

These tensions fueled the carnivalesque 1931 Colonial Exposition, which is explored in the excellent final chapter. Each colony’s pavilion showcased its unique bounty but mediated its otherness differently. While Algeria promoted the Frenchness of its wine, neighboring Morocco explicitly served an alcohol-free Muslim cuisine. In Guadeloupe’s tasting bar, Creole beauty contest winners served rum punch. Meanwhile, numerous private concession stands offered a mishmash of French and speciously exotic fare. Written accounts of the exposition reported feeling transported by smells and tastes to the colonies, but these appeared as strange, distant lands—cannibalism was a recurrent theme—not familiar annexes of Greater France.

Throughout the book, Janes compellingly argues that Parisian attitudes toward colonial foods were defiant and capricious, calling into question the
top-down influence of colonialism on French national identity too often assumed by scholars. However, popular motivations and agency remain somewhat underdeveloped, as Janes’s broad explanations—“disinterest in the empire,” rigid “national culinary codes”—miss some of the dynamism and complexity of her close analysis (back cover, 101). For example, if many Parisians resisted identifying with or depending on the colonies as envisioned by colonialist propaganda, their willingness to judge, appropriate, and mangle the food of others nevertheless suggests an active stake in imperialism. It is a testament to the originality and richness of Janes’s work, however, that it opens avenues for new questions and scholarship.

*Texas Tech University*  
Benjamin Poole


The story of James, Duke of Monmouth, has been told many times. The illegitimate son of Charles II and Lucy Walter, born in Rotterdam in April 1649 shortly after the regicide, he had a torrid early childhood, the subject of bitter custody disputes between his estranged parents, until his fortunes were transformed following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Recalled to England by a father who was to dote on him, he became fully immersed in the hedonistic culture of the Restoration court before going on to have a successful military career and rising to high office under the crown in the 1670s. Then he fell in with the Whigs following the revelations of the Popish Plot in 1678, who courted him as a potential Protestant alternative to the Catholic heir, James, Duke of York; became mixed up in radical conspiracy in 1682–1683; and led an ill-fated rebellion against the crown following the death of his father and York’s accession to the throne in 1685.

We might wonder what new there is left to be said. Yet, although we have excellent studies of the Monmouth rebellion, we lack a modern, scholarly biography of the duke, which is what Anna Keay has sought to provide. Her book is well researched, drawing upon a wide range of printed and archival material, and offers some revealing insights into the motivation and personality of the duke. Monmouth’s political outlook, Keay argues compellingly, was transformed by the sense of injustice he felt at the persecution of the Scottish Presbyterians at the hands of the Highland Host in 1678. Yet, despite drifting into opposition, Monmouth never had an ambition to be king, Keay insists,
and was in the end a most reluctant rebel. However, it is the method that most
intrigues about this book. Keay engages in some imaginative interpolations of
the historical evidence in an effort to add life and color to her narrative: cre-
ative reconstructions that are compatible with the sources but not actually sub-
stantiated by them. Do we know for certain that “when Monmouth landed at
Deal” on 31 July 1668, “his ears [were] still ringing with the fireworks of
Versailles,” or that the Monmouth rebels “sharpened their swords and bathed
their blistered feet” in the “muggy warmth” of the afternoon of Sunday, 28
June 1685 (19, 356)? Keay provides no references on either occasion.

Perhaps these are fair assumptions to make, but where are readers to draw the
line? What about when it comes to inferring the emotional state of key actors, as
Keay does? There are times when she engages in questionable value judgements.
For instance, she dismisses the 1650s news periodical Mercurius Politicus as “the
government rag,” and condemns as “ferocious” the “civil and moral grip” of
Oliver Cromwell’s major generals (28, 50). And there are a few mistakes. The Earl
of Shaftesbury was not “acquitted” of treason in November 1681: An ignoramus
verdict by a grand jury is not tantamount to acquittal, which was why Shaftesbury
feared being indicted again for the same offense should a Tory grand jury be
impaneled (271–273). London did not surrender its charter in 1683; the court of
King’s Bench adjudged it forfeited to the Crown after lengthy and costly legal pro-
ceedings, an outcome that helped encourage other corporations to surrender their
charters rather than try to defend them at law (334). Keay concludes that while
Monmouth and his supporters “would fail, in the end their cause did not” (387).
This is questionable. In his 1685 declaration, Monmouth pledged his commitment
to annual parliaments, the election of sheriffs by freeholders (to prevent the pack-
ing of grand juries that had been a feature of both the Exclusion Crisis and the
Tory Reaction), and the extension of religious toleration even to Catholics—
things not achieved by the Glorious Revolution. The man who drafted
Monmouth’s declaration, Robert Ferguson, was so disillusioned by the limited
achievements of the settlement of 1689 that he turned Jacobite in the 1690s.

Brown University

Tim Harris

Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France, 1574–89. By Robert J. Knecht. (Bur-

The author of this work has published widely on France’s Valois dynasty,
which ended at Henry III’s death. Although the title lists Henry’s regnal years,
the book covers his entire life and is the first full biography of the king to appear in English since 1858. Robert J. Knecht employs numerous primary sources, especially Henry III’s letters, which have recently appeared in print. Knecht is sympathetic to his subject but offers evidence of Henry’s heroism and tyranny.

Henry was the third son of Henry II and Catherine de’ Medici. The early deaths of his father and two elder brothers brought Henry to the throne in 1574 in the midst of endemic religious warfare between France’s Catholic majority and Huguenot (Calvinist) minority. Religious divisions among the princes of the blood between the ultra-Catholic Guises and the Huguenot Bourbons made finding peace or governing effectively nearly impossible. Earlier in 1573, Catherine de’ Medici had facilitated Henry’s election as king of Poland. When his brother Charles IX died in 1574, Henry III fled Poland incognito to claim his French crown. He relied on his mother’s advice throughout his life up until her death seven months before his own. Henry had no son. Under Salic law, the heir apparent was Henri of Bourbon, and Catholic fears of a Huguenot succession led Henry’s Catholic subjects to rebel and the Guise plot against him. In 1588, in order to survive, King Henry allied with Henri of Bourbon and had Henri de Guise and his brother the cardinal of Lorraine murdered. These acts turned Henry into a tyrant in Catholic sermons and pamphlets and in August 1589 inspired a Dominican friar to assassinate him.

Contemporary critics and nineteenth-century novelists present Henry as a spendthrift fop who lavished affection on his *mignons*, young noblemen who were his closest companions at court. In Knecht’s account, Henry is learned, hard-working, and conscientious. The king did enjoy court rituals and loved to dance, but he also led his mignons on ascetically grueling pilgrimages. Knecht’s Henry is firmly heterosexual. He was the first French monarch to settle at Paris and developed court protocols that limited access to his person. Knecht argues that some of the animosity against Henry derived from the tension between the king’s physical proximity and personal distance. He wanted temporary religious peace and eventually Catholic unity. Unfortunately, his efforts failed. Knecht closes with a quotation from a contemporary scholar: “[Henry] would have been a very good prince if only he had encountered a good century” (318).

Reading Knecht’s biography requires background knowledge of sixteenth-century France. Hundreds of noble men and women appear in small and larger roles. Many of the nobility are not fully identified. There are no maps in the work, and so it is difficult to follow the campaigns of various forces or to locate the towns and districts that supported or resisted the king. Nevertheless,
Knecht does provide a new and insightful perspective on Henry III that will inspire revisions in future studies on the French Wars of Religion.

_Hartwick College_  
Peter G. Wallace


Touted by its subtitle as a “true” tale of nuns, prostitutes, and murderers, _Habitual Offenders_ is, in fact, the narrative of a trial for the most part. Large pieces of any murder “tale” are missing, such as when and where the murders took place, who really did them, and any hint at motive (such as theft or avoiding detection). These elements are lacking, however, because Craig Monson remains true to his sources, substantial though the main one is (over two thousand folios), skillfully supplemented with archival records from Bologna and elsewhere.

What the trial dossier discloses is that two nuns, clearly not possessed of deep vocations, fled or were abducted from the Bolognese convent for repentant prostitutes, the Convertite, in the early hours of 1 April 1644. Testimony of other nuns and others pointed to a mercenary captain and a canon of a local church as the nuns’ lovers or abductors. The backdrop to this event was the War of Castro and the presence of many mercenaries, but the even wider backdrop is the place of the convent in Bolognese life, where nuns took in laundry from local notables and were able—despite rules of claustration—to converse and develop relationships with their clients. Nuns were also able to accumulate objects of value, as the peregrinations of a chest of quality linens and clothing figured prominently in the trial records and witness testimony.

A preliminary investigation of the nuns’ disappearance, in an atmosphere of scandal and gossip and conducted by an archiepiscopal official, was abandoned after a month, leaving some possible avenues untrod. The whirl of rumors convulsing Bologna and Ferrara (where the fugitives were said to have been seen) abated, until the women’s bodies turned up on 21 June 1645, buried in a wine cellar of a house in Bologna not far from the convent. This time the investigation culminated in a formal legal process and fell to a lieutenant of the papal governor, Giandomenico Rossi, who began interrogations in Rome in July but moved them to Bologna by the beginning of September.

By that point, suspicions had also fallen on a secretary of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, nephew of the late Pope Urban VIII. The new pope, Innocent X, an
avowed enemy of the Barberini, urged zealous prosecution in the hopes of gaining revenge behind the quest for justice. The showy arrest of the secretary from the cardinal’s home was just one small measure of that. The Barberini, in fact, had to flee to France and find royal protection there, until a reconciliation was worked out in September 1646.

In the end, one suspect, the canon Carlo Possenti, died from the rigors of torture (judicially sanctioned), while the cardinal’s secretary, Giovanni Braccesi, eventually simply disappeared from the trial record. The mercenary Donato Guarnieri withstood torture under interrogation (a lesser order of torment) and was exiled from the Papal States. Possenti’s death is a gruesome process to read about and lies at the heart of Monson’s barely concealed disdain for the prosecutor, who was convinced of Possenti’s guilt. But Monson also shows how Rossi adeptly caught his victims in lies and posed his questions carefully.

Monson lets the trial record speak for itself with liberal quotation and reconstruction of witness testimony, details of the evidence, and the physical settings. The book is finely evocative of matters of life on the streets of Bologna and so much else at the time. His narrative strives for novelistic levels of presentation, as when he attributes to Rossi an “incredulous look” during interrogation and describes him as “watching impassively” while Possenti suffered (190, 265). One doubts those little touches lay in the official record (just as the constant, geographically precise coordinates given for all locations certainly was not, Google Earth aside). There can be no doubt, however, that this book offers countless insights into its characters and their actions in a carefully constructed historical context.

Clemson University

Thomas Kuehn


Although conversant with the historiographical literature, Jacqueline Riding does not get bogged down in the scholarly debate over the nature and extent of Jacobitism, but instead draws extensively upon the personal and published writings of those involved in the 1745–1746 rebellion and those who observed it from near and afar. Thus, Jacobites reconstructs what it must have been like to experience the devastation and confusion resulting from Prince Charles’s audacious attempt to take back the British throne for the Stuarts. Riding conveys a sense of temporality and place by situating each of her sixty chapters in a geographical location as she traces Charles’s journey from Rome, to France, to Scotland, into England, and back again, while residents of various locales on
his route scrambled to cope with an invading army, and British forces struggled with poor intelligence and a lack of preparedness.

The author underlines the value of appearances and symbolism in the campaign. While on the offensive, Charles paid great attention to dress and outward manner. He took possession of the slain Colonel Gardener’s fine black horse, the royal apartments at Holyroodhouse, and the rich bedchambers of fleeing pro-Hanoverian nobles. He also benefited from rumors that exaggerated troop numbers and forthcoming French assistance. The element of surprise served the Jacobites well in battle until the eve of Culloden when they had to retreat from their ill-planned scheme to steal into the Duke of Cumberland’s camp overnight and attack his soldiers as they lay sleeping in their tents.

Riding deftly explains the sources of conflicting accounts of various events and the myths that they spawned. In some cases uncertainty remains, most importantly regarding whether Charles had ordered his men to give the enemy no quarter, which would have justified the merciless treatment they received at the hands of Culloden’s victors and the British judicial system. Whatever the case, the casualties suffered by the British at Prestonpans and Falkirk could well account for this vengeful severity. Charles comes across as impractical, impulsive, and insensitive to the hardships his supporters endured. Riding stresses the divisions and mutual suspicion among his officers. Cumberland, in contrast, appears methodical and disciplined; he saw to it that his men were well equipped, trained, and fed before they faced the fearsome Highlanders, who by this time had been weakened by poor supply.

*Jacobites* eschews drawing lessons from the past, yet it provides food for thought regarding how the ambivalent can be persuaded to join a dangerous cause, the psychology of building momentum in war, and the folly of launching a military campaign without a clear plan or a united leadership. With its unadorned prose, eye for detail, and thorough explanations, it would be very accessible to a nonspecialist reader.

*University of North Texas*  Marilyn Morris

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It would be wrong to say that this book has no value whatsoever. Yet, what can be said about a book that purports to be a joint effort by scholars of two
historically antagonistic nations to address serious issues in their past relations that begins with a quote from Vladimir Putin on the importance of truth in history (1)? What can one say about a book that characterizes acts of genocidal mass murder as a “difficult matter”? History plays an important and even vital role in both Polish and Russian culture and identity (albeit in different ways). Thus, the premise that historical truth-telling can be an important element in improving current relations between Poland and Russia is valid. The Polish-Russian Group on Difficult Matters, made up of historians from both countries, began in 2005 with official sanction from both the Russian and Polish governments in an effort to find common ground on some of the most divisive and painful events in the modern history of east-central Europe. This book is meant as the summation of the group’s work, covering Polish-Russian relations largely from the standpoint of political and diplomatic history in a series of paired chapters: one written by a Polish historian, another written by a Russian historian.

As an effort to find common ground and lay the foundation for improved Russian-Polish relations, the book is largely a failure. With a few exceptions the jointly paired essays talk past rather than to each other. It is somewhat more successful as an indication of the state of historical research in the two countries, though here, too, problems arise. Prior to the period 1989–1991, most historical research conducted in universities and research institutes in both countries was closely supervised and monitored by Communist security services. The book shows that in spite of lingering ideological problems in confronting the internal legacy of Communist rule, the methodology of Polish historians is generally comparable to that found in Western academe.

Despite a few bright spots, such as the outstanding work of Natalia Lebedeva, the book reveals that Russian historians still face an uphill battle in finding a truthful way to discuss the Soviet past while avoiding national self-flagellation. The underlying problem is that in Putin’s Russia, history is a key instrument of state policy, dissent is heavily suppressed or controlled, and the past is regularly mobilized to justify acts of the state, including the annexation of Crimea and the attempted dismemberment of Ukraine. The complete rehabilitation of Stalin as a “Great Leader” is symptomatic of the policy. This approach to Russian history continues to find advocates in the West, though less now than in decades past. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that most relevant Soviet archives in Russia remain off-limits to researchers and that archival collections belonging to Poland and other former lands of the Soviet imperium have not and may never be returned. Such problems are not
addressed by the book’s Russian writers and with few exceptions are politely ignored by the Poles.

Contributions by Russian historians on the 1920s and 1930s are among the weakest. In discussions of Soviet foreign policy, the role of Stalin is barely mentioned. Soviet material assistance for Nazi Germany from 1939–1941 is also downplayed despite being well documented in the West. Overall, the position here taken by Russian historians on the events leading to the start of World War II appears little changed from the Soviet period. Gaping omissions in some essays are one thing, but other essays engage in outright falsification. Valentina Parasadanova’s essay on the war is an astonishing exercise in sophistry. The issue of Soviet aid to the Warsaw Uprising in 1944 is fairly well understood by most Western and Polish historians.

Although opinions differ over the capability of Soviet forces to reach Warsaw directly in early August 1944, there is no dispute that Stalin deliberately blocked outside assistance to the Polish citizen army battling the full weight of Nazi forces and stood aside while Hitler’s minions massacred over two hundred thousand unarmed civilians in Poland’s capital. Soviet air and artillery assets were within reach of the city by the end of August. The Soviet-led Polish 1st Division was allowed to make a suicidal river crossing but denied any artillery or air support, resulting in massive losses. Parasadanova writes, “experts have been arguing about why the Red Army did not take the city,” which mischaracterizes the historical literature. Then she notes, “this seems to be effort to shift the blame [onto Stalin]…. Was it he who had planned and organized the uprising” (303)? Such comments demonstrate not merely a difference of opinion between Western and Polish scholars and their Russian counterparts but a gaping chasm.

This book fails as an attempt at reconciliation. It does little to address why these gaps exist between Polish and Russian scholars in the first place. White Spots—Black Spots does not work well as a survey of scholarship on key issues. There is little attempt to contextualize the issues raised and little discussion of historiography. This is compounded by the editors’ truly baffling decision to include no references or notes whatsoever. For American readers unfamiliar with the issues discussed in the book, this will be confusing if not misleading, made worse by English translations that are often awkward. As to why this book was published in the first place, one can only hope that it was merely the result of a bureaucratic process by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in which money had been allocated and needed
to be spent rather than a sincere belief that this volume fulfills its stated purpose.

There seems to be little recognition by the Russian contributors of the tremendous harm caused by the Soviet Union to its neighbors during the twentieth century. In that sense the image and memory of the Soviet imperium and the myth of the Great Patriotic War fulfill a kind of compensatory role, offsetting the terrible tragedy that befell Russians themselves under Communism. Until history ceases to paper over such a void, until it ceases to be an instrument of state policy, and until the open wounds of the past are addressed with honesty, the dead hand of the past will retain its hold over Russia’s relationship with its neighbors and with itself.

University of Alaska Southeast

John Radzilowski


This book, aimed at a popular audience, describes Stalin’s death agony and outlines the familiar official campaign against Soviet Jews of 1948–1953. The author engages general readers, while providing fascinating nuggets for students of the period. He shows that the Eisenhower administration was woefully unprepared to deal with the USSR after Stalin’s death. The visceral anti-Soviet attitudes that prevailed in the American government precluded even meeting with the new set of Soviet leaders. A promising, if brief, opportunity to ease Cold War tensions passed.

Joshua Rubenstein finds that in February 1953, while Stalin was presumably still functioning, the anti-Semitic campaign began to falter. Although not published, a “collective letter” to the newspapers approved by Stalin failed to repeat calls for the execution of accused, mostly Jewish Kremlin doctors, denounced anti-Semitism as a “frightful holdover from the past,” and emphasized the “trust of Soviet Jews in the Russian people.” Rubenstein remarks that the collective letter “leaves the distinct impression that Stalin had reconsidered his original plan, whatever it was” (93, emphasis added). Like other writers, Rubenstein had to rely on conflicting rumors about what Stalin intended for Soviet Jews.

The Last Days of Stalin omits some important details of the anti-Semitic campaign. Polina Zhemchuzhina, Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov’s Jewish wife, became friendly with the first Israeli ambassador to the USSR, Golda
Meir, and warmly and publicly spoke to her in Yiddish in 1948. Ekaterina Gorbman, the Jewish wife of Marshal Kliment Voroshilov, reportedly said at a Kremlin reception that Soviet Jews now had their own homeland. Rubenstein recognizes the problem posed by Jews’ “dreams...that extended beyond the...borders of the Soviet state” but does not acknowledge that Jewish enthusiasm for a homeland could encourage non-Soviet identity and loyalty among other groups, for example Western Ukrainians (61).

Whatever the threat to Jews in the USSR was, it passed quickly after Stalin’s death. The new leaders dropped charges against the Kremlin doctors. Impediments to traffic into West Berlin also ended, while talks on a truce in Korea became constructive. Yet American officials failed to respond usefully.

President Dwight Eisenhower trusted Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, who considered Soviet concessions a “moral challenge” to the West (188). Dulles ensured that no opportunities to lessen the arms race or unite Germany were pursued. Rubenstein is somewhat soft on Dulles, who was friendly to high Nazis and helped move funds from the United States to Germany in the 1930s. Then in 1954, Dulles refused to participate in the Geneva talks that ended the French presence in Vietnam; he was an architect of America’s pointless war there.

Rubenstein takes the standard position that fear upheld Soviet rule. He quotes observers, foreign and Russian, who noted mass grief at Stalin’s death, but largely paints that reaction as one of fear about the future. The book neglects the impact of victory in World War II on the sentiments of Soviet people only eight years after the fighting ended.

A sad story on both sides of the Cold War, The Last Days of Stalin is certainly useful for the general public and in places for those familiar with the era.

Miami University

Robert W. Thurston


With keen historiographic insights and a wealth of interesting detail, the authors of this book have produced an insightful account of consumption and class in eighteenth-century England. Using estate papers from three aristocratic families, coupled with secondary literature about material culture, consumerism, and gender, Jon Stobart and Mark Rothery argue that mundane household spending, daily life, and family relationships were just as important to shaping elite consumer habits as shifts in economic structures and fashionable taste.
The authors use the country house to explore how consumption and material culture functioned in elite families—a gap in a literature that has typically focused on the middling sort and their innovations in consumer spending. In eight chapters, Sobart and Rothery trace patterns of consumption and interior design to show the importance of daily spending—as opposed to grand, dynastic schemes—to country house budgets. The authors make a convincing case that “new” and “old” consumption overlapped in the country house. In addition, objects and their arrangement performed multiple functions: They underscored the families’ social prominence; expressed identity based on gender and marital status; and brought wealthy families into a consumer network built on relationships with relatives, servants, craftsmen, and tradespeople both locally and in London.

The two chapters on gendered identity and consumption are particularly insightful. Elite masculinity has only recently become a subject of sustained historical enquiry and the authors cover new territory by proving the importance of domestic spending to elite men’s identity. Their discussion of elite female spending does not break as much new ground because of the large extant literature on that topic, but taken together the chapters bring both men’s and women’s experiences together in a fruitful analysis.

The last two chapters about the social networks and geography of consumption form a real gem in the book. By showing how elite families had to negotiate spending and interior display with family members and servants and by showing the importance of London to elite spending, the authors prove that elite families were not above the culture of mutual obligation that typified social and financial transactions lower down the social scale—even if they had more power within those networks. Also, the authors break down the dichotomy between London and provincial consumption habits; the families they analyze, though firmly situated in the countryside, anchored much of their spending in London.

Although the connections to existing literature on consumerism, material culture, and interior design (and the gendered aspects of each of these) are deftly integrated throughout the book, it is surprising to find few references to recent literature on eighteenth-century marital status or family relationships—two topics Stobart and Rothery repeatedly discuss. It would have been useful to learn of the authors’ interpretation of that literature in light of their own analysis. Even without those connections, however, the authors have provided a lucid and illuminating account of elite eighteenth-century consumption.

*Brigham Young University*  
Amy Harris

This is not a well-constructed book. Turgid (the reviewer lost count of the number of sentences that had to be read twice or more), carelessly proofread, and burdened with an inordinate amount of information buried in lengthy footnotes, the text would have benefited from zealous editing and pruning.

For readers who slog on, the argument does not provide much reward. On the one hand, the author’s case is unexceptionable… and familiar. Scholars have long understood that Adolf Hitler compromised between his ideology and public opinion on some matters, expected that he would need time to get all Germans to internalize many of his beliefs, and prioritized winning acceptance of and compliance with some of these over others. Several of the spheres in which Nathan Stoltzfus shows Hitler pulling his punches are precisely the best known, notably in relation to religion and the established churches.

On the other hand, Stoltzfus overstates the Nazi Führer’s deference to popular feeling by omitting key information about some of the instances being examined. After reading chapter 6 on the Nazi euthanasia campaign and summary remarks in the conclusion, an unwary reader will conclude that Germany’s religious objections both reduced the killing significantly and went unpunished (270). Neither impression is correct. The “halt” of the T4 murders in August 1941 was followed by their resumption on a concealed and slower basis, now extended to additional groups of victims. Almost as many people perished after the resumption as before it, and the figures to the contrary that Stoltzfus provides are inaccurate (203). Although Archbishop Galen, the most public opponent of the operation, was not arrested, thirty-seven clerics in his diocese were, and six of them died in concentration camps.

Similarly, at the end of chapter 8 on the protests in Berlin’s Rosenstrasse in 1943 against the Gestapo’s detention of Jewish men who were married to non-Jewish German women, a novice reader will conclude that the men were saved by the actions of their spouses. This is not quite so. The regime subjected most of these Jews to other punishments in ensuing months, including hard labor service in remote locations that resulted in numerous casualties. Moreover, in early 1945, the Reich began deporting the remnant to Theresienstadt, where a good many died. Finally, no doubt the Nazi regime showed forbearance toward some open criticisms of Nazi Party bigwigs, but it did not always do so, and arbitrariness in such matters was part of its system of terror (209). Two directors of the Deutsche Bank literally lost their heads in 1943 for mocking National Socialism and several of its leaders.
Stoltzfus maintains that many German historians resist acknowledging how much more their forbears could have done to constrain the Nazi regime because conceding this increases not only their burden of responsibility for the Third Reich’s crimes but also that of their countrymen in the former East Germany for theirs (289–290, 298). Not only is this ad hominem argument based on supposition, but Stoltzfus also applies it erroneously. Konrad Kwiet is not an East German historian, as Stoltzfus twice states (290, 293). Though born in a town now in Poland, Kwiet was educated in Amsterdam and West Berlin and spent most of his professional career in Australia.

In short, errors of omission and commission make this an unpersuasive book.

Northwestern University

Peter Hayes

(Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2015. Pp. viii, 359. $34.95.)

Historians of the First World War face an acute problem of narration. The scale of the conflict was so vast and the cast of characters so huge that it is difficult for an author to present a meaningful story. The task is even more challenging if an author speaks to nonspecialists, as David Stone does here. He discusses people and places unfamiliar to Anglophone readers, even as he tries to provide a reasonably comprehensive account in a compressed space. By the end of the war, the Russian Army had enlisted millions of men into thirteen different armies and four different army groups. There are a lot of stories there, many of them dramatic, and few of them known.

Stone has a reputation as an intelligent, reliable, and clear-eyed historian, and this book showcases all of his strengths. One of the many virtues of this volume is that Stone foregrounds several campaigns that get little attention even in broader global or European military histories of the war. Every serious work includes a discussion of the early failures of the Russian army in East Prussia and its early successes in Galicia, but few deal as expertly with the continuing slugfest in Poland that occupied both Russia and the Central Powers for the remainder of the fall and winter of 1914–1915. These were significant clashes: The 56,000 casualties in just one Russian army (the Tenth) in just one campaign in February 1915 surpassed the total number of casualties at the Battle of Gettysburg suffered by both sides. Other lightly covered campaigns, such as those in Eastern Anatolia and Romania in 1916 and in the land and water around Riga in 1917, get similar treatment.
Throughout the study, Stone wishes to emphasize the importance of contingency. Different decisions could have produced different outcomes. Stone deals with the problem of narrating scale by focusing largely on Russian generals exercising command at the army level or above. Stressing contingency, therefore, entails engaging with a long-standing debate about the quality of Russian military leadership. It must be said that Stone has it both ways here, arguing in line with much of the historiography that bumbling command cost Russia dearly at many crucial moments while still maintaining that the performance of Russian generals was at a par with that of other major combatants and that the “real crisis for Russian commanders came at lower levels” (224). The reviewer agrees for the most part with these conclusions but thinks one can also question the limits of contingency in this context. The structure of geography and logistics could and did weigh more than human will in many, if not most, of the situations faced by Russian generals during the war.

Unfortunately, a short review does not leave space for more praise for this excellent work. It introduces readers to a complex and confusing period sensibly and economically. The reviewer only regrets that this book was not available when he was a graduate student!

Lafayette College
Joshua A. Sanborn


This new study examines the way Spain was able to make a comeback after the War of Spanish Succession [1700–1713]. That international conflagration after the death of the last Habsburg, Charles II, confirmed Philip V, a French prince of the Bourbon dynasty, on the Spanish throne [1700–1746]. Philip’s victory cost his adopted country its entire European empire, as well as Gibraltar, Minorca, and a number of ports on the northern coast of Africa.

The story of Hispanic aggressiveness in the Mediterranean during Philip’s reign is a standard part of eighteenth-century history; however *The Spanish Resurgence*, by Christopher Storrs, a historian at the University of Dundee, is a reassessment. The study focuses on the internal policies, institutional overhaul, fiscal pressure, and recruitment techniques in Spain that enabled the country to fight in many wars, especially in the Mediterranean. The author examines the methods used by Philip’s government to create and supply the armies and navy, increase the fleet, improve transportation of supplies, and finance the military engagements needed to reassert influence in Italy and on the northern coast of
Africa. He holds that the most important change was the suppression of the autonomy of the Kingdom of Aragon and, hence, the Crown’s ability to mobilize resources there on a large scale.

The second theme that runs through *The Spanish Resurgence* stems from the knowledge Storrs acquired when researching an earlier book, *The Resilience of the Spanish Monarchy, 1665–1700*. Part of his revision of Philip V’s reign is insistence on continuity between the Spain of Charles II and that of the first Bourbon ruler. Storrs thinks the usual view of the decline of Spain in the last decades of the seventeenth century is exaggerated. He mentions Habsburg precedent and legacy time and again when writing about the dynamic first half of the eighteenth century.

Storrs also gives Philip V more credit than many historians. He maintains that, in spite of battling mental illness, and notwithstanding his uxoriousness, Philip showed real leadership. Storrs makes this point, most especially, regarding the reconquests and negotiations that allowed Spaniards to gain thrones in Italy for the ruler’s two sons by his second wife, Isabel Farnese. By the end of the War of Austrian Succession, in 1748, the Spanish Infante Charles had been ensconced as King of the Two Sicilies and his younger brother Philip entered Parma as its new reigning duke. Storrs is convinced that reasserting Hispanic influence in Italy was Philip V’s own attempt to make up for some of the losses in the War of Spanish Succession, and not solely, as is usually thought, the queen’s idea as a way of finding thrones for their sons.

The book has 310 pages. The “Introduction” is followed by seven chapters; they are “The Army,” “The Fleet,” “Finances,” “Government and Politics,” “Foral Spain,” “Italy and Identity,” and “Spain’s Resurgence, 1713–1748.” The front and end matter includes a short note about currency, an essay on unpublished sources (in archives in five countries), endnotes, and an index.

Christopher Storrs challenges many conventional views and puts forth his own opinions with confidence. *The Spanish Resurgence, 1713–1748* has interesting ideas extracted from a wealth of rather technical information. Historians of Spain and Italy during the Enlightenment will not want to ignore it.

*University of Dallas*  
Alexander Wilhelmsen


Given the abundance of books on Henry V (several of recent vintage and in connection with Agincourt’s sexcentenary), one could reasonably ask if yet another
study is warranted. Malcolm Vale—a veteran historian of late medieval chivalry, politics, and courtly culture—answers this question in the affirmative, telling a fascinating story of Henry’s “direct action and engagement” in the governance of both England and France through the medium of “the original archival evidence” (278–279). Thanks to Henry’s stunning victory at Agincourt, his successful conquest of Normandy, and the diplomatic triumph of the Treaty of Troyes [1420], which made him regent of France and heir to its throne, Henry has overwhelmingly been presented in the guise of England’s great warrior king. Although Vale does not deny Henry’s military achievements, he makes a strong case for the king not showing “any great relish for an exclusively military life” (260). War for him was merely a means to ends, namely: strengthening his rule at home; obtaining justice in regard to his title to the French throne and thereby lasting peace with England’s ancient enemy; and, with peace achieved, uniting Christendom in order to protect it from internal (Lollard and Hussite heretics) and external (Ottoman and Mamluk) enemies.

More interesting to Vale are Henry’s other, less militant qualities. Archival documents reveal an omnicompetent ruler directly, and conscientiously, engaged in the management of all aspects of government: In short, he, not Henry VII, was England’s first “bureaucrat-king” (76). Moreover, his innovative decision to use English as the language of official government business in England added immeasurably to the prestige and formalization of what had hitherto been the least respected of the realm’s three tongues (the others being Latin and Anglo-Norman French). Vale is surely right to argue that Henry did this purposefully, both to give greater authenticity to the expression of his will and to assure the English (and French) political community that he was sincere in his intention to keep all aspects of the dual monarchy, other than his person alone, separate. Henry also promoted the “peaceful arts” of music—even having tried his hand as a composer—and literature (think Hoccleve and Lydgate), and demonstrated serious commitment to the promotion of the Carthusians and Brigittines, religious orders associated with contemporary movements of Church reform and interior devotion.

Recently some scholars have regarded Henry with a more jaundiced eye and perceived a shrewd and manipulative absolutist or a misguided monarch who reignited the wasteful and ultimately unwinable war with France. Vale rejects both these negative characterizations. Granted, Henry’s “primary concern had to be the survival of his regime in essentially unstable political conditions,” but while he effectively inspired fear of his royal displeasure, he “was no despot” (60, 87). Likewise, the eventual failure of the dual monarchy was not a foregone conclusion, even though it appears so in hindsight. Given this study’s
painstaking research, keen insights, and broad contextualization of its subject, readers will be hard pressed to disagree.

*University of Vermont*  
Charles F. Briggs


In this volume, the author aims to unearth the Lotharingian abbot Richard of Saint Vanne [c. 970–1046] from under the layers of later hagiography and historiography that made this tenth-century ecclesiastical leader into a representative of the Lotharingian monastic reform movement. Very few historians have challenged the image of Richard as a systematic promoter of monastic reform. But Richard did not see himself primarily as a monk or abbot, nor as a reformer (in fact, Steven Vanderputten points out that very few of the monasteries in his care were in need of reform!), but rather as a church leader by virtue of his ascetic qualities and his education. Vanderputten places Richard within the wider context of ecclesiastical leadership at the turn of the first millennium. His leadership aimed to promote a higher level of personal devotion among the laity by tightening the relationship between monasteries and their lay patrons.

Using multiple ecclesiastical chronicles, the eleventh-century *Life of Richard*, and some of Richard’s own writings, Vanderputten paints a picture of Richard as a dynamic figure, part of the aristocratic elite of tenth-century Lotharingue who developed an ideal of ecclesiastical leadership that emphasized personal conversion to the ideal of following the suffering Christ, *nudus Christum nudum sequere*. Richard taught this ideal both in word and example through preaching, writing, and a life of public service. Vanderputten finds these ideals are expressed forcefully in Richard’s *Life of Saint Roding*—one of Richard’s predecessors as abbot of the monastery of Vaslogium (Beaulieu, in Northern France)—an otherwise not original and by all means undistinguished work of hagiography, written to provide the abbey with a hagiographical tradition.

Vanderputten discusses Richard’s activities as a “reformer” at Saint Vanne, which included a rebuilding and refurnishing of the abbey. The author concludes that this activity was by no means part of any organized or even systematic movement of monastic reform. After his first abbacy, Richard became abbot of various other institutions. The conflict with the Benedictine ideal of monastic stability that this situation offered was solved by following the *Regula*
Pastoralis of Gregory, which advocated a more active engagement in secular affairs for ecclesiastical leaders. And although some of Richard’s mission may have had political undertones, he certainly was no agent of imperial interests, as some biographers have suggested.

The author thus succeeds in deconstructing the image of Richard as an “organized” reformer. Perhaps one could have wished for a monograph that was less concerned with freeing oneself from the burden of past historiography, and instead explored in more detail who Richard was, rather than who he was not. For example, how did Richard see himself in light of any eschatological beliefs around the turn of the millennium? What motivated him to lead a mass pilgrimage to Palestine in 1027? Still, though Richard’s life might not correspond to the twelfth-century definitions of “monastic reform,” Vanderputten’s book certainly helps better to define what “reform” meant in a tenth-century context: building informal and largely personal networks of monasteries, strengthening bonds between the laity and the monastic order, and perhaps even a hint of eschatological self-understanding, but without any of the more ideological and political themes that characterized the later reforms of the twelfth century.

Calvin College

Frans van Liere


Much good work has already been published on the Irish War of Independence. But Maurice Walsh’s Bitter Freedom is the most ambitious attempt yet to blend high and low politics, the council room and the ambush site, the idealism and cynicism, the visionary and the myopic, and the English/British and the Irish in an attempt—ambitious almost to the point of foolhardiness—to capture the essence of the Irish revolution stretching from the Easter Rising of April 1916 down to the end of the Civil War in May 1923.

The full aspiration of Walsh’s work is beyond human ability to achieve. What is astonishing is how close he comes to achieving it, for those years can never be seen in quite the same light again after immersion in so enthralling a study. Based on a remarkable range of reference—though of course particular verdicts on individuals and events can be debated—it succeeds above all in recreating the atmosphere of the period, the “mood of the time,” in which perspectives were molded, and decisions taken, on all sides.

This is not to say that every reader, or indeed any reader, will find themselves in agreement with everything. But the author might well reply to serial
dissidents, "Go thou and do likewise." That would be to impose a virtual life sentence on aspirant critics to wade through the vast range of material, both print—and he brings to his use of media a rarely rivaled acuteness of perception of wider context—and archival, making unobtrusive but illuminating use of the relatively recently released records of the Bureau of Military History as well as of private papers that he so deftly mobilizes for illuminating purpose.

A further strength of Walsh’s perspective is his awareness of the wider colonial and indeed European world in which the Irish struggle for independence occurred. Several new states emerged in Eastern Europe, after all, in the years immediately following the end of the First World War. Many were wracked by civil wars of one variety or another, and few survived as independent beyond 1939. Although systematic detailed comparison remains to be made between the historical experience of the new Eastern European states and Ireland’s, there was one fundamental difference between them. They were all left-overs of defeated empires—German, Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and Turkish. The Irish Free State was the only new state to emerge from beneath the heel of a victorious empire. And in that emergence Britain’s sensitivity, whether justified or not, of the potential impact of Irish-America on American policy played an important, if elusive, role that still remains to be fully elucidated.

The reviewer’s only reservation about Walsh’s remarkable achievement concerns the ten-page epilogue where he draws on Neil Jordan’s caustic dismissal of the failure of the Irish Republic of thirty years later to achieve the ideals of the revolution, or at least Jordan’s impression of what they ought to have been. That dismissal deserves to be taken into account, but it is to narrow suddenly the lens through which the previous four hundred pages of so perceptive, beautifully composed, and wide-ranging a study have made a contribution of enduring importance to our understanding of Irish history.

Glucksman Ireland House, New York University

J. J. Lee


Even as historians troll through newly opened Soviet archives, the Great Terror launched by the regime in the 1930s remains one of the major mysteries of the Stalinist years. Earlier analyses contended that the purges were best explained by the ambition of Stalin, suspicious to the point of paranoia, to increase his
personal power and eliminate potential enemies and rivals. Revisionist historians of the late Cold War period and after turned that story on its head and proposed that Stalin had been relatively insecure in a dysfunctional system, and rival political factions used terror as a means to enhance their own position. In an account that challenges both the earlier orthodoxy and the revisionist account and uses an impressive array of archival material, Peter Whitewood argues, “Stalin attacked the Red Army because he seriously misperceived a serious security threat”; thus “Stalin seems to have genuinely believed that foreign-backed enemies had infiltrated the ranks and managed to organize a conspiracy at the very heart of the Red Army” (12, 276).

Central to Whitewood’s analysis is the importance of Marxist ideology as the lens through which Stalin and leading Communists understood the world. That lens distorted the level of threat both foreign and domestic, and the Red Army in particular was perceived “as an obvious target of foreign agents and domestic counterrevolutionaries throughout the 1920s and 1930s” (13). Whitewood believes that Stalin, acting from vulnerability and misperception, rather than strength and confidence, took these threats seriously and responded with the devastating execution of his leading officers and the arrests of thousands of others. Convinced that another war lay not far in the future, and that an anti-Soviet “Fifth Column” existed in the army, there was no alternative—so Whitewood contends—to the purging of the military and the subsequent “mass operations” that targeted former kulaks, criminals, and national minorities. Suspicion of the army was not new in the late 1930s. Already during the Civil War [1918–1921], the principal secret police agency, the Cheka, and its successors considered the army to be riddled with spies. Bolsheviks were deeply suspicious of the so-called “military specialists,” those who had served in the tsarist army and now made up a large part of the officer corps of the Red Army.

The “political police’s particular conception of army vulnerability … eventually achieved dominance in 1937” (42). This siege mentality fostered an affective disposition in people like Joseph Stalin to see and exaggerate dangers to the weak and beleaguered Soviet state. Yet, through the 1920s, Military Commissar Voroshilov managed to shield the army from suspicions that foreign agents or Trotskyists had made the state’s military arm vulnerable. The old doubts lingered, but no purges took place until many rank-and-file soldiers supported those who resisted the drive to collectivize the peasants in 1928. Two years later the police rounded up and arrested military specialists, fabricating a scenario that they had conspired to overthrow the Soviet state.
Already predisposed to see foreign agents worming their way into the Soviet system, Stalin was especially receptive to the conspiracies “uncovered” by his political police. One might doubt that he sincerely believed that the accused were guilty and simply calculated that unity and conformity were more important than innocence or guilt in the light of imminent war, but there is no uncertainty that Stalin was the ultimate wrecker of the Red Army. Despite excessive repetition of main points, occasional speculation, and a rather convoluted prose style, Whitewood’s study gives us the most suggestive solution that we have to date to the mystery the dictator’s decimation of his military.

University of Michigan

Ronald Grigor Suny


“Oh, the grand old Duke of York, he had ten thousand men.” We have all sung it, but how many of us know anything about the figure to whom the nursery rhyme refers, namely Prince Frederick Augustus, the second son of King George III of England? Probably not that many, whilst what even those people know is limited to what is generally seen to be his farcical command of the British armies that were sent to the Low Countries in 1793–1794, and then again in 1799, and the duke’s subsequent involvement in a scandal that cost him his job when his then current mistress was found to be using her influence to obtain commissions in the army for money. What we have, then, is at best a comic figure, but in this simple and unpretentious biography Derek Winterbottom shows us that the ditty that we should really be singing is rather the one about the model of a modern major general.

Unlike his elder brother, the future George IV, the youthful Prince Frederick was an earnest young man on good terms with his father determined to make his mark on life. The obvious field in which he could do this being the army, at the age of just seventeen he was appointed as a colonel, to which honor he responded by engaging very seriously with all matters military and within a few years emerging as a serious authority on the armed forces of Prussia in particular. When war broke out with France in 1793, then, he was a natural choice for the command of the British forces sent to the Netherlands, and in this capacity it is Winterbottom’s view that he actually performed quite well: there were failures and defeats, certainly, but in almost every case these were not York’s fault. When the experiment was repeated in 1799, the duke’s
performance proved harder to defend, but here, too, Winterbottom is keen to exonerate him, pointing out, in particular, that his authority was curtailed by the instructions he had received from London.

Perhaps, then, York was not so bad a field commander as has usually been assumed, but, if the author’s judgement is susceptible to challenge on this point, what is clear is that, having been appointed commander in chief of the army, the duke proved a great success, putting an end to many abuses, improving training and military education, and encouraging the introduction of new tactics. The changes that he made beyond doubt played an important role in the string of victories that culminated in the battle of Waterloo. As for the scandal that temporarily interrupted his career in 1809, this is shown in effect to have been manufactured by radicals out to attack the government under any pretext whatsoever, York having been at worst naive and foolish rather than corrupt. Meanwhile, as we learn, too, that York was a decent and kindly man who was much liked by all who met him, the obvious comment that he was no Wellington is one that has a distinctly positive ring.

University of Liverpool

Charles J. Esdaile

GENERAL, COMPARATIVE, HISTORIOGRAPHICAL


This book is an important addition to the growing body of literature that examines fascism in a transnational context. The author provides an insightful and highly original exploration of the dialogue between Italian Fascism and Japanese political and sociocultural debates of the period. Throughout the work, Reto Hofmann does especially well in highlighting the ambiguities and contradictions in the debate over fascism’s applicability to Japan, in particular the tension between its nationalist and internationalist impulses.

The text is written in a lively and accessible style and the author seamlessly interweaves narrative detail with theoretical analysis. The work is organized chronologically and punctuated by key events and moments of contact between the two nations. Hofmann’s first chapters give the reader a panoramic look at the contours of the debate: from tracing the life and times of Shimoi Haruki-chi—an educator, poet, and self-appointed cultural intermediary between Italy and Japan—to a discussion of Mussolini’s image in popular Japanese newspapers, films, and literature. In the final chapters of the work, Hofmann shows how Japanese opinions towards Fascist Italy evolved in response to shifting
world events and the exigencies of international diplomacy that drew Italy, Germany, and Japan into the Tripartite Pact.

Hofmann provides a critical insight into the nature of the Japanese encounter with fascism, asserting,

[that] they understood fascism in different ways at different times speaks for the concept’s vitality more than its amorphousness, because, as this book suggests, Japanese found the many meanings of fascism relevant to their reflecting on their own political anxieties and aspirations. (2)

This point is later articulated quite effectively in chapter 3, in which Hofmann offers a subtle and theoretically rich analysis of the diverse interpretations of fascism and its often conflicting uses in Japan. The improbable attraction to specific fascist ideas by liberals and the equally unlikely “fascist critique of fascism” from the political Right convincingly demonstrate the highly ambiguous nature of fascism in the Japanese context (87).

The author draws from an eclectic variety of source material: everything from intellectual tracts by leading cultural scholars and politicians to newspapers, films, propaganda, and advertising. This wide selection enables him to provide a multifaceted analysis of how Italian Fascism entered into the Japanese public imagination. However, a more systematic selection and analysis of the various sources employed, as well as an explanation of their relative importance or obscurity in the overall cultural and political debates of the time, would have further strengthened the work by enabling the reader better to assess fascism’s significance in the wider sweep of Japanese history.

Well-researched and well-written, The Fascist Effect illustrates the intricate way in which Italian Fascist concepts were transformed and reconfigured when incorporated into a Japanese context. It makes a key contribution to the field, which is of interest to specialists while also well worth the read to a wider audience.

College of Mount Saint Vincent

David Aliano

Fifty Ships That Changed the Course of History: A Nautical History of the World.


In his brief introduction, Ian Graham notes that human interaction with and efforts to understand and use the seas have been key historical forces that informed ship design over the course of maritime history. From there, the
author of popular works in science, technology, and history embarks on an examination of fifty ships that he believes best exemplify the technologies that shaped the direction of maritime history and human culture and civilization.

The ensuing contents of Fifty Ships That Changed the Course of History are short vignettes on ships that best represent the teleology of maritime history. Graham’s guide begins with Pharaoh Khufu’s solar barge, designed for metaphysical rather than maritime navigation, and ends with MS Allure of the Seas, the largest cruise ship ever built. In between are forty-eight other vessels that represent the gamut of human maritime endeavors: exploration, trade, transportation, and war. Graham provides readers with some technical specifications such as length, tonnage, construction materials, and propulsion, along with sketches or photographs of the various ships. His vignettes offer readers a brief understanding of the ships’ purposes, their construction, their historical contributions, and finally, in some cases, their demise.

Readers with expertise in maritime and naval history will quickly find flaws in the work. Graham neglects to explain his methodology for choosing his fifty ships, leaving room for critics to offer their own examples of ships not included in the book. For example, naval historians might object to his inclusion of HMS Illustrious, arguing with good reason that USS Lexington best represents the importance of seaborne air warfare. Graham also fails to explain fully how individual ships themselves changed the course of history. Finally, and perhaps because of the book’s structure, the forces that informed the construction of the ships are not fully explored. The ships are in themselves not historic; they are rather manifestations of economic, social, cultural, and technological factors that were shaping the course of history.

Those critics, however, miss the value of Graham’s work. Though Fifty Ships might not be a particularly good fit for a university research library, it would be an excellent reference for secondary school libraries. In fact, Graham’s recognition by the 2012 Royal Society Young People’s Book Prize illustrates his commitment to a constituency to which historians in general ought to be paying attention. It should be no surprise that the increasing reach of technology in people’s lives can have an insidious effect on nurturing an interest in history in the young. Graham’s book is visually appealing and offers enough of a story to get the imaginative juices of a budding historian going. Fifty Ships is the kind of book that would have caught the reviewer’s eye as a teenager. The academy would be wise to take note and similarly dedicate some of its efforts to engaging the young men and women who will fill its ranks in the future.

Society for Military History
Craig C. Felker
New books recounting the history of notable technological inventions are published at a steady clip. Some explore inventions as emerging in a linear sequence from idea to prototype to market; some seek to explain the social, economic, and business context of new technologies; and others aim to understand the particular mindset or backgrounds of different inventors. Cutting across these three genres, Gavin Weightman recounts the numerous incremental innovations that built upon one another to bring flight, television, the bar code, computers, and cell phones to the point of mass-market uptake. Throughout this study, the author seeks the “Eureka moment,” in which an invention works for the first time. Of course, what it means for an invention to work often is a matter of significant contention, both in priority disputes between inventors and among a newer generation of historians who ask for whom a technology is working—the inventor, the manufacturer, or the consumer—and in what ways does it work? Such conceptual questions arise only very subtly and are not explicitly developed in this book.

Weightman does a masterful job of describing the gradual accretion of innovations (some of which worked, somewhat undermining the idea of a single eureka event) that were necessary to give rise to today’s ubiquitous airplanes, television, scanners and bar codes, personal computers, and cell phones. He does not shy away from complex technologies, instead diving into the science and engineering of efforts to make practical devices that predated or accompanied the turning point of a working prototype. For each technology, Weightman covers numerous inventors with often detailed biographical vignettes. Those who want to learn more about the inventors, not just the inventions, will enjoy this feature. But the book also includes many speculative claims and undocumented assertions concerning when a breakthrough was “the first,” or when “time was ripe” for breakthroughs. Although there is a solid bibliography, the book has no footnotes, so it is difficult to determine whether Weightman explored primary sources, or compiled the text from existing literature.

For all of his strength of narrating specific case studies, the book lacks an analytical framework, and Weightman offers only modest hints of broader conclusions. The book does serve as a useful corrective to ever-popular accounts of heroic innovation and genius inventing. Inventors are made approachable, human, and understandable when presented as outsiders and amateurs who challenge orthodoxy. The key actors come across as incredibly driven to achieve
something that many experts dismiss as impossible or impractical. However, having sidestepped issues of current interest to scholars of invention and innovation, such as tensions between support for “disruptive” innovation versus opportunities for sustaining and maintaining, or the role of users in modifying and tweaking inventions, or exploring how networks (e.g., television broadcasting) emerge and evolve alongside key inventions and the degree to which they lock certain technologies in place, the book will not find significant readership among historians of technology. Similarly, it does not fill a gap in graduate or undergraduate courses in the history of invention, innovation, or technology. However, it is an excellent resource for those who want to learn more about five very important technologies, especially their origins and prehistories.

Lemelson Center for the Study of Invention and Innovation, Arthur Daemmrich
Smithsonian Institution


Until his death in 2013, Barton Whaley was, as the introduction to this book points out, the “undisputed dean of U.S. denial and deception experts” (xxii). This posthumously published book is a collection of eighty-eight case studies of military deception, together with several chapters in which Whaley discusses the importance of deception in military planning and describes the optimal deception planning process. Much of this material is likely to be familiar to readers of military history, intelligence studies, or the relatively large literature that already exists on military and strategic deception. Many of the cases, in fact, are described in more detail in Whaley’s major work Stratagem: Deception and Surprise in War. But, although the earlier Stratagem is a lengthy work more suitable for scholars than the general reader or military professional, this new book presents the cases in a shorter, more readable form.

This book also has a more focused purpose than much of Whaley’s earlier work, which is to examine deception from the point of view of the planners and to consider the role of the military commander in the planning of deception operations. For that reason most of the cases center more on the backgrounds and personalities of the key individuals involved and less on the actual operations themselves. The cases range from the historical (and perhaps fictional) Trojan Horse of 1183 BC to the use of deception by General Norman Schwarzkopf’s planners during Desert Storm in Iraq in 1991. Whaley’s breezy writing style makes these cases a pleasure to read.
Much of the book can be seen as an argument for the importance of deception and for the personal attention and involvement of commanders in the deception planning process. Whaley is concerned that the lessons of the importance of deception are too easily forgotten and must be relearned by new generations of military leaders. What he believes is most needed for effective deception planning, in addition to the active participation of the commander, is the presence of guilefulness on the part of the planners. Deceivers also tend to like practical jokes and magic. A theme that runs through this book—and much of Whaley’s other work—is the similarity between military deception and magic.

The book is largely intended for current and future military deception planners, and there is a good deal here of interest to the practitioner. The book would have benefited from better proofreading, as there are a number of typographical and other minor errors throughout the text. An index would also have been useful. A more serious gap in the book is the absence of any discussion of how deception might apply to nonstate actors and nontraditional threats and conflicts. The focus here is on traditional warfare, but more work is needed on the role of deception (and counter-deception) in areas such as cyber conflict, covert action, or terrorism.

Naval Postgraduate School

Erik J. Dahl

*Atlantic Africa and the Spanish Caribbean, 1570–1640.* By David Wheat. (Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2016. Pp. xix, 332. $45.00.)

The impact of David Wheat’s work on Atlantic, Latin American, and Caribbean scholarship is large. He shows the early Spanish Caribbean as black (if not more than Spanish) in demographic terms, the deep connections between Africa and the earliest Spanish colonies, and the foundational transimperial networks between Spanish and Portuguese vassals in the New and Old Worlds. His reassessment of the role of slavery in the early Spanish Empire portrays this institution beyond reductionist economic understandings, as “slavery was a means of reinforcing Spanish expansion and strengthening territorial claims overseas” (255). Of course, most enslaved and free African men and women were not consciously collaborating with Spanish colonization. Instead, as they sought freedom, family life, and stability for themselves in the Spanish Caribbean, they secured and extended Spanish rule in this region by becoming their “surrogate colonists” (260). Free and enslaved Africans and their descendants held the region for the Spanish crown by feeding the cities of Cartagena,
Havana, Veracruz, and Portobello, among others, by supporting the trading routes connecting these ports, by becoming themselves small traders and proprietors (see the chapter on free black women owning taverns), and by defending Spanish strongholds (both as free black militiamen and maroons allied with the Spanish) from British, Dutch, and French incursions.

Wheat reasserts the importance of the Spanish Caribbean and its surrounding mainland right after the conquest of Mexico and Peru, as he points to the significance of this region for the larger Spanish Atlantic. The density and diversity of black life in the earliest Spanish colonies was immense in terms of African origins and degrees of engagement with colonial institutions: the church and the royal authorities.

The book initially focuses on Africa’s connections with the Caribbean, first on Upper Guinea, where the author examines the complex history of highly decentralized societies and the meanings of ethnonyms found in slave trade documents of the Spanish Caribbean, and then on Angola, where he examines the many explanations of why there were so many captive children early in the slave trade from this region. The third chapter examines social networks across the Spanish and Portuguese Atlantic mostly by following Luso-African traders in the Spanish colonies. The next chapter sheds light on black women who, as proprietors, became part of the urban landscape of city-ports of the Spanish Caribbean as well as examines how gender and caste categories intersected in marriage records. The last two chapters analyze the rural hinterland of these ports, where most of the labor of free blacks and slaves was oriented to intra-American consumption rather than transatlantic exports as well as the relative speed of cultural change of recently disembarked Africans, as they became godparents in Catholic baptisms for fellow newly arrived Africans.

It is impossible to do justice to such a great book in a five-hundred-word review. I hope this work will be translated soon into Spanish, given the great gap between the English language African-diaspora scholarship and the locally based scholarship of Spanish American countries on this subject.

University of California, Irvine

Alex Borucki


This study is a grand narrative with themes that are intersected with many different collateral subthemes. The author begins with the British Great Exhibition
of 1851 at the Crystal Palace, which set the stage for rapid development in the 1850s. After addressing the hundreds of exhibits that pointed to a new phase in human evolution, he moves on to the mainstream of important, disruptive developments around the world. Gold is the first subject he considers, especially gold discovery in Victoria and California. Along with the tens of thousands of immigrants to the gold fields came an important upswing in transportation to support these miners. Thus were born clipper ships in the ever-intensive shortening of ocean connections between the gold fields and Atlantic metropolises. In the following chapter, the author deals with the large-scale expansion of ocean trade and transport that followed.

Roads are next on Ben Wilson’s tour. Here he emphasizes the enormity of the westward migration of people across the Great Plains to the West Coast. Unlike earlier expeditions, which were solitary, the migrations of the 1850s were massive and involved stopping-off points with merchants, restaurants, and brothels along the way. Minnesota and New Zealand as objects of massive population migration followed next. Not only did these frontier areas attract serious transformation of natural biota into farm fields and flocks, but the niche process caused the displacement of tens of thousands of indigenous people from their lands. A different tone sets the division of the United States between slave and free states, which begins with a powerful account of slavery in the 1850s.

In the second section of the book, “Fault Lines: The Age of Silver,” Wilson moves beyond the British and American scenes to the broader world. He begins with the expansion of Russia across Siberia and into Alaska and California. This is followed by an account of American-British contention in Latin America and the entry of the United States into Japan. Then, the story moves to China and the 1857 Indian mutiny, which is depicted with close attention to “modernity’s close connection to barbarism” (294).

In the final section, Wilson turns to Fleet Street and the empire of news, followed by brief looks at the enormous impact of the transatlantic cable. Then, there is an overview of several important changes in the 1850s: the emergence of Darwin, Napoleon III’s Italian adventure, and Britain in China. He ends with a discussion of the issues involved in the coming of the American Civil War.

Wilson uses little in the way of theory to explain these interacting changes in the world of the 1850s, but his depictions fit nicely with E. C. Ellis’s discussion of “Sociocultural Niche Transport.”

niche constructions made around the world in that decade emphasize the transformation of the natural and cultural environments and the new adaptations required of most people and many animals in its aftermath. An expressive and expansive narrative, this is a fine book.

*University of Wyoming*

Ronald Schultz


In her new book, *Buying a Bride,* law professor Marcia Zug upends prevailing views of “mail-order” marriages as exploitative, instead finding that women traded oppressive conditions at home for liberating opportunities abroad. Examining North American history from the 1600s to the present, Zug sees marriage migration varying profoundly with context. Although she stretches the term mail-order bride beyond its modern meaning and defends these marriages with less-than-reliable data, her well-researched, densely referenced, and conversationally written book will prove edifying and entertaining to anyone interested in North American or women’s history, or in understanding the modern mail-order bride industry against a richly detailed historical backdrop.

Zug describes official efforts to stabilize male-dominated settlements in Jamestown, Virginia, as well as Louisiana and Canada by recruiting young white women as potential brides, a strategy used two hundred years later in California and Oregon mining towns. Recruits were vetted for morals, given supplies, and provided bed and board until marriage; property and inheritance rights for married women were improved to promote recruitment. These women were considered heroic, risking danger for the cause, keeping their men home and happy—and away from tempting Native American women. Zug calls them mail-order brides, but power differences are important: These projects had government oversight, people neither corresponded nor were promised before meeting; women traveled in groups; eligible men significantly outnumbered women; and immigration status was not a factor. Mail-order marriages, to Zug, begin with advertisements “soliciting *women* to enter into a marriage with a previously unknown *man* and typically travel a significant distance” (7–8, emphasis added). This describes colonial migrants, but excludes modern mail-order brides.

Public opinion shifted when the archetypal mail-order bride became a foreigner. In the early 1900s, “picture brides” married to Japanese workers and European women escaping war by marrying US citizens were seen as desperate,
scheming opportunists, and prostitutes who were hazardous to American women’s rights, dangerously fertile, and competed for scarce marriageable men. The men were portrayed as sexist, seeking slavish obedience from their wives. Zug traces a long arc of exclusionary changes in immigration law flowing from antipathy towards these marriages.

This binary construction of mail-order relationships persists, reinforced by periodic murders of immigrant “brides”; many feminists accuse the industry of trafficking. Zug finds no data supporting this conclusion, instead describing happy marriages between working-class men who feel left out of the US marriage market and immigrant women who find these men less sexist than men from home. Zug argues that “[d]espite significant risks, mail-order marriages are typically beneficial and even liberating for women” (5). No reliable data justifies a claim of typicality, given self-reporting biases and myriad reasons to hide industry involvement; reports of the number of these marriages (never mind their quality) have been discredited. Common scenarios of men allowing women’s fiancée visas to expire, or lying about filing required documents, are not addressed.

In colonial Louisiana, French women protesting harsh conditions and the lies they were told tried to return to France but were refused passage—trapped, three thousand miles from home. Matrimonial advertisements in the 1890s were used by at least three serial killers to find victims; Zug reassures us that murders were “extremely rare,” even though one man killed fifty women before being caught (149). Traveling to marry a stranger is like hitchhiking—one may arrive safely, or not at all. Zug acknowledges that “when marital immigrants are not protected such immigration becomes exploitation, in the worst cases trafficking” (61). If she admits that protections for immigrant “brides” were imperfect, feminists should acknowledge that immigrant women came to the United States and found better lives—journeys with rewards as well as risks.

George Washington University Law School

Suzanne H. Jackson