

## Reviews and Short Notices

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### Medieval

*Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities.* Edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik. Brepols. 2015. 168pp. €59.00.

This volume represents a collection of studies first presented at the second Dorestad Congress, which accompanied the 2014 exhibition ‘Golden Middle Ages: The Netherlands in the Merovingian World, 400–700 AD’ held at the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. The articles contained within all sit somewhere between the breadth suggested by the volume’s title and the narrower focus suggested by the title of the congress and exhibition. Most of the articles are about either Dorestad itself (in the final section), or Frisia and the Low Countries area, and there are also articles on connections with the North Sea world, though nothing outside north-west Europe. This range serves to provide the volume with a coherent if slightly ill-defined focus, which is consolidated by the concentration of most of the articles on archaeological matters and the division of the book into three sections: ‘Settlements and Cemeteries’, ‘Material Culture’ and ‘New Research on Dorestad’. While all the contributions are worthy of consideration, for reasons of space I shall focus only on two from each section here, before concluding with some thoughts on the volume as a whole. I should note at the outset of this review that I am not an archaeologist by training, and have approached this book primarily through the lens of assessing its accessibility to a literary historian.

The first section, ‘Settlements and Cemeteries’, is the least cohesive of the three, and contains: an interesting survey of the evidence for linguistic diversity in the early medieval Low Countries by Michiel de Vaan (which, it must be noted, is about neither settlements nor cemeteries); two articles – by Annemarieke Willemsen and Johan Nicolay respectively – on the thorny subject of royalty in the early medieval Low Countries (and the Rhineland); and a multi-authored survey of the archaeological work undertaken at Borgharen, a listed monument near Maastricht containing a Roman villa and a Merovingian cemetery. Willemsen and Nicolay challenge, in different ways, perceptions and assumptions about early medieval ‘royalty’ and ‘upper classes’. Willemsen demonstrates that there is often little to distinguish between graves which have been termed ‘royal’, ‘princely’ or simply ‘high status’, and that, in most cases, ‘royal’ graves cannot be linked to any rulers known from the literary record, with the grave of Childeric I representing an important exception. Nicolay, meanwhile, presents a response to the influential construction by Pieter Boeles of the idea of ‘Frisia Magna’, the

supposed pre-Carolingian kingdom of the Frisian kings, and the deconstruction of this idea by more recent archaeologists and historians. Nicolay uses clearly demonstrable phases in early medieval Frisian archaeology to argue that there never was a 'Frisia Magna'. Instead there existed different regions with different elite networks and external influences, the nature and extent of which changed over time.

The second section of the volume, 'Material Culture', is somewhat more cohesive in that all the chapters concentrate on archaeological issues: two on glassware and rock crystal by Line Van Wersch and Genevra Kornbluth, two on coinage by Wybrand op den Velde and Anna Gannon, and one on the relationship between trade and identity by Ben Jervis. Kornbluth explores the significance of two types of female status-markers made from rock crystal: spindle whorls and bound pendants. The study is firmly supported by references to contemporary written sources that reinforce the value associated with rock crystal in the early medieval period. Perhaps most important in this study is the conclusion that different types of bound pendants cannot be associated with particular ethnic groups, as demonstrated by the uneven distribution of pendants of Anglo-Saxon origin in the Frankish heartlands of Neustria and Austrasia. Gannon's subject is Series X, a trading currency that circulated around the North Sea through the eighth century. Rather than addressing the unresolved issue of the origin of Series X coins, Gannon's central argument is that labelling the coins as the 'Wodan/monster' type is misleading because the iconography of the coins is inherently neither Christian nor pagan, could have been produced in either cultural context, and certainly circulated in both worlds. Although arguing that such iconography was purposefully ambiguous is tricky, Gannon is right to point out that such ambiguity was useful in a world where trade between pagans and Christians was commonplace.

The final section of the volume focuses on Dorestad itself, with three relatively short contributions: a multi-authored article on the 'rise and fall' of Dorestad; a presentation of the dendrochronological evidence for the settlement by Esther Jansma and Rowin Van Lanen; and a concluding chapter by Annemarijke Willemsen. The authors of the first of these articles place Dorestad in the context of landscape dynamics. Although I cannot summarize the full significance of the article here, the authors have done a commendable job of presenting the narrative of Dorestad within the recent archaeological and palaeogeographical work that has been done around the Rhine delta area in order to demonstrate why the emporium had become obsolete by the middle of the ninth century. Jansma and Van Lanen support this with their dendrochronological evidence, which provides an independent witness to Dorestad's importance in the early medieval trade network, and especially its links with the Rhineland, as well as confirming that the emporium had ceased to be of importance, if not ceased to exist entirely, by the second half of the ninth century. The authors explain dendrochronology in a way that is accessible to the partly or completely uninitiated, and the thirty-three pages of dendrochronological data tables that accompany the chapter will no doubt be of great use and interest to many archaeologists.

While this volume is fully illustrated with black-and-white images throughout, it would be remiss not to mention the beautiful full-colour plates section that sits between 'Material Culture' and 'New Research on Dorestad'. Although these are only coloured versions of those found in the chapters, having them in colour

(and in some cases enlarged so as to be observable) really serves to bring the subject matter of the book to life. I do feel that as a whole the volume would have been well served by having an introductory chapter to provide some context – beyond what can be discerned from the blurb – and to explain the rationale behind the sections, which, particularly in the case of the first, are not always cohesive units. Another slight weakness is that several of the contributions feel more like reviews or overviews of the current state of research than articles with finalized conclusions. I concede this may be a matter of perspective, as the authors often present new findings but admit that further research needs to be done before conclusions can be drawn. I would also emphasize that this observation does not lessen my feeling that this is an very useful volume which draws together a wide range of evidence from a variety of research approaches, and that – for the most part – this is presented in such a way as to be accessible to those without training in the relevant fields – whether archaeological or literary. I would, therefore, not hesitate to recommend this collection of articles to anyone interested in the significance of the early medieval Low Countries region.

*University of Leeds*

RICHARD BROOME

***Royal Bastards: The Birth of Illegitimacy, 800–1230.* By Sara McDougall. Oxford University Press. 2016. xv + 310pp. £65.00.**

This is an ambitious and wide-ranging book. It aims to dispel the myths which, in the author's opinion, have confused our understanding of the emergence of the concept of illegitimacy in the form that predominated in the West from the thirteenth century. In a comprehensive analysis of 400 years of royal inheritance practice from the Carolingians onwards, Sara McDougall argues that the attribution to the Latin Church of the demonization of illegitimate children is wholly mistaken; that 'bastards' were more generously treated than is generally thought; and that 'Legitimacy was determined by the quality of a child's maternal and paternal ancestry, not by marriage law' (p. 273) – a conclusion which might be better expressed if 'legitimacy' were replaced by 'inheritance'.

McDougall is right to argue that the framers of what became canon law did not 'target' illegitimate offspring, but not until page 142 does she frankly acknowledge that Church authorities did not have jurisdiction over succession and inheritance in any case. Popes intervened only when called upon to protect the claims of appellants, such as the daughters of Count Boso in the 870s (pp. 87–8). Likewise, they did not intrude in marriage disputes unless approached by the aggrieved (Teutberga; Ermengarde, Ingeborg: pp. 84–8, 171–3, 220–7), or where other parties brought questionable marriages to their attention. Independently of such cases, they were also consulted about questions of principle, practice or law. Leo I's response to the bishop of Narbonne was one (458/9); another, not mentioned by McDougall, was Nicholas I's letter to the Bulgarian prince Boris (866), which differentiated between espousals (*sponsalia*) and marriages (*nuptiae*), described the associated ceremonials, and emphasized that the essential act was the consent of the man and the woman; and another was Innocent II's response to a question by Bishop Henry of Winchester on the Tresgoz-Sackville marriage (1138 × 41).

In emphasizing that Leo I and Innocent II did not comment on the legitimacy of children (pp. 50–2, 174), however, McDougall obscures the essence of these

responses. Leo described the difference between a wife and a concubine in terms of the presence or absence of the ‘nuptial mystery’ – the consent to form the *societas nuptiarum*, which ‘contained the sacrament of Christ and the Church’. Unless the concubine ‘had been freed, given a dowry, and made honest (*honestata*) by public nuptials’, she was not a wife (‘making an honest woman of her’ survived to become a common phrase for marriage in modern English). Innocent, for his part, made the consent of the parties the constitutive act in marriage formation: ‘she became a wife from the moment she consented by voluntary agreement to be a wife: for it was not promised for the future, but confirmed in the present’. This clear statement is completely obscured in McDougall’s version of the Anstey case (pp. 173–7), which follows Goldy’s unreliable ‘narratizing’ account (2004). What is important about the Anstey case is that it was the king’s court which referred the determination of the matrimonial case to the archbishop of Canterbury in 1159, thereby acknowledging that lawful marriage was required for legitimate inheritance. It proceeded to the papal court (twice) only because it was appealed, first by Richard of Anstey and then by Mabel de Francheville and her mother, and those appeals related only to the *questio matrimonii*. Matters of inheritance belonged to the king’s court, as Alexander formally recognized in two later English cases (X 4.17.5 and 7).

Similarly, McDougall dismisses references to lawful children in Cluny Charter 693, dated 946, on the ground that the charter belonged to the category of ‘documents recorded, by and large, by clergy, who would have relied on earlier examples and conventions’ (p. 123). The rhetorical flourishes may have been standard formulae, but the dispositive sections assigning lands and rights were very specific. In this case, where a man and his wife (*uxor*) made provision for the inheritance of their property, the clause *sine prole legitimo* occurs not once but four times. Such repeated emphasis on *lawful* children surely implied differentiation from children who were not *legitimi* and who were excluded from inheritance. Another example, not cited by McDougall, is the even earlier Charter 53, from 893, in which Ava assigned the *villa* of Cluny, and all its carefully listed appurtenances, to her brother Count William (later William I of Aquitaine), with the stipulation that if she outlived him, it should pass to his children, ‘if Divine Mercy grants the fruitfulness of sons and daughters from lawful marriage (*de legitimo conjugio*)’ (A. Bernard (ed., rev. by A. Bruel), *Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols (1876–1903, repr. 1974), I, pp. 61–3, no. 53; William used that bequest to found the monastery of Cluny in 909: *ibid.*, I, pp. 124–8, no. 112, at p. 125). Equally telling is the record from 905 of Isaac’s gift of one third of his property to ‘my sweetest and most beloved wife Sigereda ... on the occasion on which God united us to join in lawful marriage (*dum nos ad legitimo conjugio sociare iusit Deus*)’ (*ibid.*, I, pp. 99–100, no. 88, at p. 99).

If this evidence is set beside the Anglo-Saxon vernacular treatise *Be wifmannes beweddunge* (c.970?; 1030–60), on the social and legal requirements of marriage (see D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (eds), *Councils and Synods, with other Documents relating to the English Church*, I/i–ii (1981), I/i, p. 427–431, at p. 431), one could suggest that there was another narrative concealed behind the flamboyant disregard of emperors and kings for ‘marriage law’, so splendidly catalogued in *Royal Bastards*. It is surely not ‘anachronistic’ (p. 174) to read *legitimum conjugium* as a monogamous commitment for life between a man and a woman, accompanied by social, legal and religious rituals that

distinguished it from other sexual liaisons, whether short- or long-term; and it was this early model of lawful marriage that triumphed as the basis for legitimacy and inheritance. These small quibbles aside, Sara McDougall has written a fascinating book, which will invite lively discussion and debate for many years to come.

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ANNE J. DUGGAN

***Episcopal Power and Local Society in Medieval Europe, 900–1400.* Edited by Peter Coss, Chris Dennis, Melissa Julian-Jones and Angelo Silvestri. Brepols. 2017. xi + 289pp. €80.00.**

In recent years the episcopal office has received growing interest from modern scholars. This volume, edited by Peter Coss, Chris Dennis, Melissa Julian-Jones and Angelo Silvestri, is an excellent addition to the growing corpus. The result of a conference held at Cardiff University in May 2013, it covers both a wide time frame and geographical area, from tenth-century Flanders to fourteenth-century England.

The volume has been split into three sections, each looking at an aspect of episcopal power. The first looks at how episcopal power was constructed, the second part at how it was enhanced, and the final section studies how bishops expressed their power. Peter Coss discusses how the disputes at Coventry at the end of the twelfth century influenced monastic views on episcopal power. During this period, the monks of Coventry cathedral were in dispute with their bishop, Hugh de Nonant, resulting in their expulsion from Coventry in 1189, and their triumphant return in January 1198. Coss discusses how the monastic chronicles depict an unfavourable view of episcopal power being used to suppress the righteous monks. What Coss is correct in pointing out is that there is no contemporary account surviving from Coventry. The closest is a deposition by the prior in 1226; we must, therefore, look at sources outside Coventry. Coss's study of contemporary monastic chroniclers, such as Gervase of Canterbury and Richard of Devizes, balanced with a comparison of other surviving evidence, provides a well-argued assessment of the relationship between bishop and chapter in twelfth-century Coventry.

Heidi Beistad delves into the world of the Icelandic Church with Árni Þorláksson, bishop of Skálholt. The late thirteenth century was a period when Iceland was being integrated into the kingdom of Norway, and Beistad provides a brilliant assessment of how Bishop Þorláksson's practical reforms were centred on his relationships with the archbishop of Nidaros (Trondheim) and the king of Norway. She provides a convincing argument that Þorláksson's policies made a significant change in the 1280s, after the deaths of the archbishop and the king, indicating that Þorláksson's attempts at reform were resisted by the local Icelanders.

In part II, Maria Chiara Succurro continues the theme of episcopal disputes with a study of twelfth-century Brescia. She demonstrates how by studying documents from a dispute between the bishop of Brescia and the abbot of Leno, we can learn a lot about rural life. Importantly, we can learn how episcopal power was enhanced, and disputed, through the acquisition and preservation of rights, including the consecration of chrism and jurisdiction over marriages. Succurro's

article is an excellent example of the variety of evidence which can be teased out of a body of documents.

Aaron Hope looks at how bishops increased their power in their diocese through the use of deputies. He provides a coherent and accessible discussion on the legal development of the vicars general in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He also includes a discussion on how cathedral chapters, during times of *sede vacante*, acted as a corporation in the role of vicar general. He then moves into a stimulating discussion of when exactly a bishop elect had the legal right to act as the bishop in the diocese. It would have been interesting if Hope had compared the role of the vicar general with that of the papal legate (in many ways a vicar general on a larger stage), which is a topic deserving of more than the brief mention in the footnotes.

Two highlights of the final section are the articles by Melissa Julian-Jones and John Jenkins. Julian-Jones studies how bishops expressed themselves through their seals, and how this changed during the thirteenth century. She emphasizes how the changing role of the bishop to include more martial activities was reflected in the inclusion of heraldry on the seals. Likewise, family arms were also included to reflect the status of the bishop and his connection to prominent families. She also reflects upon how the bishop's location was linked to the location of the family, using the example of Thomas Cantilupe, whose family held extensive lands in his diocese of Hereford.

Jenkins, on the other hand, explores how episcopal power could be ignored, through the example of John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter from 1327 to 1369. Jenkins discusses how there were physical limits to his power imposed by geography and communication links. He then moves on to look at how Grandisson's attempts to promote the interests of relatives were blocked by the interests of the local clergy and laity. Jenkins's article nicely rounds off the book by noting that although we have a vast amount of evidence for how bishops constructed and expressed their power, it did not necessarily mean that such power was accepted.

At times the chapters in this volume feel rather short. There are some excellent lines of thought which could do with further investigation. Similarly, there is a distinct lack of maps. Jelle Lisson's work on the evolution of diocesan borders in Liège, for example, would benefit from a set of maps to accompany the description of the evolution of the borders. Likewise, a map showing the geographical distances between Iceland and Norway would have helped to bring home to the readers of Beistad's article how great a distance there was (nearly 1,500 km of ocean) between the two, and the challenges this created. However, the range of this book is one of its great strengths. There is something of interest for historians of many areas and periods.

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JAMES BARNABY

***Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe.* By Daniel G. König. Oxford University Press. 2015. xiv + 436pp. £75.00.**

How did people in pre-modern times learn about cultures other than their own? Daniel König provides an important study of what Muslim scholars in



late antiquity and medieval times knew about the Latin-Christian West, and how they obtained that information. His analysis in this book provides an important case study in the processes of cross-cultural information transmission in the eras before modern means of communication. More specifically, König's study presents a significant revision or refutation of a long-standing hypothesis about Muslim-Christian relations in pre-modern times.

The currently prevailing interpretations of Arabic-Muslim understanding of Latin-Christendom, according to König, 'reduce a large and differentiated range of Arabic-Islamic perceptions to a single basic pattern' in which Muslims 'arrogantly' had little interest in knowing about other peoples (pp. 16–17). This view is most influentially articulated by Bernard Lewis and much of König's analysis is directed toward refuting or at least revising Lewis's position. König provides a detailed examination of sources showing the informed diversity of Arabic-Islamic understandings of Latin Christendom, as articulated by Arabic-Islamic scholars who 'aimed at producing an organized vision of the historical and contemporary world' (p. 72). These scholars were cosmopolitan in their perspective and do not fit into the pattern of arrogance and ignorance posited by the Lewis hypothesis.

The book begins with a discussion of the variety of sources available and definitions of the methodological approach and key terms. In the second chapter, König defines what he identifies as the 'information landscape' of the 'Arabic-Islamic scholars who produced records on Latin-Christian Europe' (p. 27). This chapter is conceptually central to König's analysis in following the diverse channels for the flow of information about Latin Christendom to those Muslim scholars. König's basic chronological framework is presented, beginning with 'worlds apart become acquainted' (p. 27), becoming 'neighbours' in increasingly 'entangled spheres' between the fifth and fifteenth centuries as seen in the Arabic-Islamic chronicles (pp. 27, 44, 68).

In chapter 3, König discusses the scholars themselves. This chapter goes beyond the usual discussions of Arabic historiography by providing a history of intellectual scholarship and a discussion of the role of the scholars in producing the various understandings of Latin-Christendom. One important dimension of this analysis is König's argument that 'lack of linguistic skills' at times 'prevented Arabic-Islamic scholars from understanding concepts and institutions characteristic of the Latin-Christian sphere' (p. 106). Noting the role of language in the processes of information transmission adds an important dimension to this study.

König presents four case studies (in chapters 4–8), each showing 'how Arabic-Islamic scholars recorded a certain facet of the Latin-Christian sphere over the centuries' (p. 26). One chapter covers how the scholars presented the history of the western parts of the Roman Empire, particularly noting their coverage of the Roman past of al-Andalus. Chapter 5 analyses the evolution of how those scholars viewed the history of the Visigoths and how their basic narratives evolved. The next study examines the evolution of how the Arabic-Islamic scholars used the term 'Frank' and how 'from the thirteenth century onwards, Arabic-Islamic scholars developed an increasingly clear notion of a realm called "France"' (p. 225). This discussion shows that the currently popular description of pre-modern Muslim thought as uninterested in non-Muslims is incorrect. The fourth case study (chapter 8) examines how Arabic-Islamic scholars reacted to

and covered Latin-Christian expansionism, especially from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. König notes the ‘rise of knowledge about Western European geography’ in that era, involving a new political map that included England, Slavic and German lands, and a growing knowledge of Italian city-states like Genoa. Each of these case studies is encyclopaedic in coverage and framed in the chronology presented in the second chapter. However, each chapter also has an inclusive conclusion, which provides readers with a very helpful summary of the main points proved by the in-depth details of the chapter’s presentation.

The book closes with a chapter in which König summarizes the re-evaluation of the scholarship relating to Arabic-Islamic understandings of Latin-Christendom involved in this monograph. In addition, König compares the coverage of Latin-Christendom by the scholars with their coverage of India. India ‘occupied a different position [from Latin-Christendom] in the information landscape that shaped’ Arabic-Islamic scholarship (p. 336), but in the work of major scholars discussed by König, ‘the world from Western Europe to the Indian subcontinent appears as a (comparatively) balanced whole’ (p. 337).

The comparative analysis strengthens König’s argument that Arabic-Islamic scholars were not intellectuals who, convinced of their own religio-cultural superiority, were arrogantly uninterested in other peoples and cultures. To strengthen the position even more, König might have also mentioned the coverage that those scholars gave to Africa south of the Mediterranean coastal societies. Scholars frequently noted by König, such as al-Mas’udi (d. 956), al-Biruni (d. 1050), al-Bakri (d. 1094) and Ibn Khaldun (d. 1406), had ranges of cosmopolitan visions that included Africa as well as India and Latin-Christendom. Expanding the comparative coverage would add strength to König’s position that in ‘recording the histories and describing the contemporary societies of non-Muslims, Arabic-Islamic scholars clearly acknowledged that the non-Muslim sphere, including medieval Western Europe, merited attention’ (p. vi). This position is a clear and well-substantiated refutation of the old narrative pronounced by Lewis and others.

In this book, König presents a detailed analysis of relations among cultures within frameworks shaped by ‘information landscapes’. He explicitly notes that his study ‘does not intend to reduce the issue of cross-cultural perception to the bipolar opposition of “Islam” and “the West”’ (p. 5). Instead, his approach puts ‘emphasis on phenomena such as “connectivity”, “hybridity”, and “transculturality”’ (p. 5). In another publication, König specifically defines the ‘transcultural approach’, noting how that approach supports efforts ‘to deconstruct the long-cherished dichotomies of “Orient and Occident”, of “Islam and the West”’ (*Transcultural Studies*, 2 (2016), p. 135). Although the concept of transculturality is implicit in König’s analysis in the book, it gets little explicit attention. The analysis in the book could be strengthened by a more direct discussion of the relationships between the information landscapes being examined and transculturality. Is the information landscape of the Arabic-Islamic scholars transcultural?

König makes a significant contribution to understanding the nature of the historic relations between Muslims and western Christendom. Its comprehensive coverage and carefully defined analysis make this a valuable source for both



specialists and the more general reader interested in global cross-cultural/transcultural relations in world history.

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JOHN VOLL

***Henry the Young King, 1155–1183.* By Matthew Strickland. Yale University Press. 2016. xxi + 472pp. £30.00.**

In 1173, one crowned and anointed king of England went to war against another. The great war of 1173–4 laid bare the risks inherent in associative kingship, and its destructive legacy ensured that the experiment would never again be replicated in England. Matthew Strickland opens his eagerly awaited biography of Henry the Young King, the king who unsuccessfully rebelled against his father King Henry II, with Jordan Fantosme's famous explanation of their quarrel: 'a king without a kingdom is at a loss for something to do; at such a loss was the noble and gracious Young King' (p. xi). As simple as they seem, these lines encapsulate the complex problems facing the Young King, as well as his modern biographer. Crowned and anointed king of England on 14 June 1170, the Young King was nevertheless denied the power and authority normally invested in that office. Instead, his father 'the Old King' Henry II continued to reign in all of his territories. This not only frustrated the Young King to the extent that he attempted to take the rule of those lands by force, it has also denied historians the types of evidence one might otherwise expect to underpin a royal biography. Without the means to bestow patronage, the Young King was unlikely to leave behind a large number of *acta*. Only 32 survive (p. 13), compared to over 3,000 for his father Henry II and 98 for his contemporary William Marshal. What is more, while the deeds of both Henry II and William Marshal were recorded by medieval biographers, a historian of the Young King's career has to piece together their analysis from such disparate sources as, for instance, the letters of Thomas Becket and John of Salisbury, various monastic chronicles, the verse history of Jordan Fantosme and the poetry of Bertran de Born. As Strickland explains, this has had a negative effect on the Young King's reputation: 'Historians of Henry II, Eleanor [of Aquitaine], Richard the Lionheart, Thomas Becket and William Marshal have all touched on the Young King where his life intersected with those of their principals, yet their gaze has usually been brief and their verdicts almost always harsh' (p. 9). Such superficial treatment tends to build upon the low opinion that medieval clerics had of the son who (in their opinion) had committed the unpardonable offence of taking up arms against his own father. As a result, the Young King has the reputation of a foppish and easily manipulated wastrel.

Strickland's thorough and conscientious analysis of the Young King's life and career produces a far more nuanced image of a young man who found himself placed at the centre of the highly pressurized world of Angevin–Capetian relations. The study is divided into three chronological parts, each characterized by a very broad theme. The first focuses on young Henry's early life and career to 1172, including his coronation and regency; the second on the causes, progress and consequences of the Great War of 1173–4; and the third on the period of stability of 1178–82, which was cut short in 1183 with Henry's war against his brother Richard the Lionheart. This tripartition of Henry's life is a very useful

organizational tool that helps Strickland's biography to achieve something quite rare in historical writing: a 'thickened' narrative that successfully incorporates thematic analysis into a chronological presentation of events. In some ways the gaps in the sources necessitate such an approach. For instance, there is no surviving record of the Young King's coronation, yet Strickland's analysis of other medieval English coronations provides some feeling for the event. This book is therefore much more than a biography of the Young King. It is an examination of the social, political and cultural environment of late-twelfth-century western Europe from the perspective of one of its most prominent figures. Events in Henry's life become windows onto medieval practices more generally. Topics such as medieval childhood, tournaments, warfare, the Church, household and affinity, peace-making and government are examined to place the Young King's experiences in their broader contexts. The voluminous endnotes are a resource in themselves, and bear witness to both the breadth and the depth of Strickland's understanding. In this way, Strickland not only overcomes the limitations of his evidence, he also makes his study relevant to a much broader audience.

Matthew Strickland's biography of the Young King is essential reading for any student of the Angevin empire. As one might expect, it is particularly strong on the great war of 1173–4, but its unique perspective provides a fresh look at the inner workings of the polity threatened by the Young King's rebellion. It is fitting that the book has been published by Yale University Press, which now carries in its 'Yale English Monarchs' series W. L. Warren's biography of Henry II. Where the two overlap, Strickland's study almost always revises and supersedes Warren's. Nevertheless, there is something of a dark irony in the fact that *Henry the Young King* is not part of the 'Yale English Monarchs' series. In death as in life, the Young King's kingship is still not quite recognized.

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COLIN VEACH

***The Historians of Angevin England.* By Michael Staunton.** Oxford University Press. 2017. xi + 402pp. £75.00.

In offering us his interpretation of the key historians of Angevin England, Michael Staunton has done us all a wonderful service. This is a book that everyone, undergraduate historian and professional scholar alike, must read before setting off on his or her own journey of discovery in the pages of Roger of Howden, Ralph of Diceto, William of Newburgh, Gerald of Wales, Gervase of Canterbury, Ralph of Coggeshall, Richard of Devizes, Walter Map, and, finally, Richard de Templo. For it is on the shoulders of these nine twelfth-century historians that much of our understanding of the history of the lands of the Angevins rests, and comprehending these historians is the first task that confronts those of us who want to study the last quarter of the twelfth century. Michael Staunton's book is destined to become one of the well-thumbed books on the library shelves, and it is a further boon that the book is available as an electronic resource: our students have no excuses.

The first eight chapters give the reader an expert introduction to each of the historians being offered up for examination. The reader is introduced to the

latest thinking on the authorship and purpose of each work, and is furthermore treated to Staunton's own subtle evaluation of each text. The second half of the book turns from the technical aspect of documentary analysis to a thematic examination of the works being discussed. Staunton brings to his subject a keen knowledge of the classical works that informed our authors and so turns himself into an essential guide to the topics he chooses to examine.

All our authors were insiders to the high reaches of the English social hierarchy, even if they pretended to be otherwise. Gerald of Wales, for example, because he was thwarted in his ambition to become bishop of St David's, saw himself as something of an outsider to the political establishment which excluded him from the prizes he thought were his due, but the fact that he could even aspire to these great heights gives a lie to his claims. The other authors came from equally exalted levels of society (when viewed from the perspective of those outside the social elite); the group of historians that form the focus of this study included a dean of St Paul's, a royal diplomat, a royal servant, an abbot, a monk of St Swithun's Winchester, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury; all of them were highly educated, some having been schooled in Paris, and some of them scholars of considerable note by their own estimation (Gerald of Wales) or by our modern assessment (William of Newburgh). As Staunton has to acknowledge, therefore, these men wrote about what they knew, rarely straying from the major concerns of their class and gender to explore the real outsiders to their society. Women, Jews and the hoi-polloi of Angevin England only ever came to our authors' attentions when their lives intersected with the great political moments of the age; the revolt of William Longbeard in London is one such exception, another the pogroms against Jews in 1189 and 1190.

The themes of Staunton's book are therefore constrained by the interests exhibited by the historians of Angevin England. He takes us through the ways in which they wrote about Henry II, his kingship and his rise and his fall. Staunton devotes a chapter to rebellion, a regular theme of many our authors' works. He explores how our authors described the loss of Jerusalem, and their understanding of the response of western Christendom to that loss in the launching of the Third Crusade. Richard the Lionheart is another theme explored by Staunton, as is the relationship between the Church and government. Women and other outsiders are treated to an important study, and the book finishes with an examination of the English and their neighbours. The book is a treasure-trove of learning.

Historical writing in the late twelfth century presents us with a quandary. Although there were a dozen or so writers who were inspired to write the history of their times, their works, if influential today, hardly had the circulation to make them influential in their own day. On the contrary, unlike the work of their earlier Norman contemporary at Mont-Saint-Michel, Robert of Torigny, the works of the Angevin historians in England had a very limited circulation. So why, then, did so many men feel inspired to write works which, by the measure of counting extant copies of their manuscripts, so few of their contemporaries got to read? (Gerald of Wales suffered an audience to listen to his *Topographica Hibernica* at Oxford in 1188 or 1189, see L. N. Thorpe, 'Gerald of Wales: a public reading in Oxford in 1188 or 1189', *Neophilologus*, 62/3 (1978), pp. 455–8.) Staunton offers us the suggestion that 'historical writing was revived in such a fluent form after 1170' because of the murder of Becket. From 1171 onwards,

Henry II ceased to be the golden boy of twelfth-century western Europe and became an embattled ruler, beset by rebellion from within his own family and from within his own lands, and attacked from without. This fundamental change in the fortunes of Henry II stimulated our authors to seek to understand why matters had come to pass as they had. The extraordinary events of the time, events which contemporaries recognized as being extraordinary, spurred our authors to write. Roger of Howden, perhaps, was stimulated to write because of the events he was witnessing during the war between Henry and his sons in 1173–4; Ralph of Coggeshall was certainly spurred to write by the fall of Jerusalem in 1187; Walter Map and Gerald of Wales were drawn into literary pursuits by a desire to provide explanations for the modern events which they were witnessing; and William of Newburgh went so far as to state plainly that he thought it was his duty to pass on to future generations the memorable events of his day. Whatever caused these nine men to set down on parchment something of the events of which they knew, we who study this period are grateful that they did; and now we will be grateful to Staunton for bringing his considerable learning to bear on the problem of understanding the historians of Angevin England.

*University of East Anglia*

STEPHEN CHURCH

***The Decline of Serfdom in Late Medieval England: From Bondage to Freedom.***  
 By Mark Bailey. Boydell. 2014. ix + 373pp. £60.00.

Serfdom or, in England, ‘villeinage’, was one of the defining social structures of the Middle Ages. Approximately half of all agriculturalists in England c.1300 were personally, legally and economically unfree. They owed their manorial lord or lady fines and taxes, could only bring suit in their courts, and might be compelled to work their lands. But by c.1500, servile status had almost entirely disappeared. For generations scholars have emphasized the importance of the decline of serfdom for English social and economic development, and yet the actual contours of that decline have not been studied systematically. Because of the resulting conceptual fuzziness, historians of the peasantry disagree stridently over the chronology, causes and effects of the disappearance of servile status and tenure. Mark Bailey’s wide-ranging study is a comprehensive and meticulously researched intervention into these debates. His conclusions reveal that the Black Death had a far greater economic and social impact than previously acknowledged, and that serfdom declined and copy- and leaseholds developed more rapidly than earlier studies suggested.

In the first section of the book, Bailey provides a thorough overview of the historiography of serfdom. The second chapter offers a very useful summary of the established narrative of the decline of unfree landholding and its conversion to copyhold, leasehold and hereditary tenure over the course of the fifteenth century; and chapter 3 provides clear and succinct definitions of the payments and services due from serfs and holders of servile land, useful for quick reference. Chapter 4 maps out the main causes generally identified as key to the decline of serfdom: the purchase of manumissions, changes in population and the economy, direct peasant resistance against exploitation, and the increased mobility of peasant society after the plague.

In the second section, Bailey presents the results of his study of *c.*3,500 court sessions and 400 accounts from 38 manors in Norfolk, Suffolk, eastern Oxfordshire and western Bedfordshire. These manors were selected because they represent a range of different-sized manors, and different types of landlords and landholding structures, allowing Bailey to compare which factors most influenced the decline of serfdom. In chapters 6–11, Bailey explores in detail the nature of serfdom and overlordship on the fifteen best documented manors, most of which were held by high-status gentlemen, nobles or ecclesiastical lords. For each of these manors, he provides a general description, an overview of how land tenure changed over the period, a tally of the frequency and last incidents of villein payment and service, any evidence for attitudes towards servile status, and a succinct conclusion. Chapter 12, which surveys a range of more limited information from a further twenty-three manors, is perhaps the most innovative. Here, Bailey presents evidence from the smaller manors that were most common in the English countryside but which rarely attract scholarly attention, and categorizes the patterns of the decline of serfdom there into four distinct types: fifteen manors where servile land lost its association with villeinage, but hereditary tenure continued; five manors where most holdings became hereditary tenures but some were converted to fixed-term leaseholds; one manor where most servile land became leasehold for life or a set number of lives; and two manors where most customary land was converted to leasehold for a fixed term.

The concluding chapters contextualize Bailey's findings within the historiography of serfdom and the larger narrative of English economic history. His case studies demonstrate that local conditions were of paramount importance. The attitude of the landlord, the customs of the manor, and even the evolution of practices on neighbouring manors could alter the pace of the decline of servility and the conversion of land to leasehold, copyhold, or hereditary tenure. Following the death of nearly half of England's population, landlords were forced to relax the extraction of fees and services in order to attract and retain tenants. They also began to convert customary land to lease- and copyholds tenures, which former villeins favoured because they were free of servile associations. Peasants were thus able to use their increased economic power to demand concessions from the lord, raise their social status and participate in the increasingly active land market. When peasant resistance emerged it was not, Bailey argues, because of a second reinstitution of serfdom after the Black Death, but rather because a few landlords failed to change their policies in light of new economic conditions. Villeinage in England may have been socially demeaning but it was not financially crippling.

This book is a powerful corrective to assumed narratives of the decline of serfdom, and is sure to stimulate further debate about the nature of the relationship between serfs and landlords, the importance of the Black Death, and the impacts of leaseholds on the development of capitalism. It is admirably well organized and clearly written, and lends itself to a range of audiences. The frequent reiterations of definitions, conclusions and research methods can seem repetitive to someone progressing through the book from beginning to end, but this repetition also means that portions of the study can be easily excerpted: the first and last sections would provide an excellent introduction to serfdom in a postgraduate course on late medieval English society, without

either overwhelming the students or losing the detail with which Bailey presents his arguments. Likewise, a local historian interested in a particular location could read the relevant case study and still easily understand Bailey's methods and arguments. For cultural historians and literary specialists, Bailey's analysis of evidence for attitudes towards serfdom in documentary records provides a useful complement to depictions of unfree labourers in literary works like *The Canterbury Tales* and *Piers Plowman* or images of fortune's wheel and peasant workers. Serfdom will continue to excite conversation for decades to come, and it is to be hoped that future studies will be as thoroughly grounded in primary source research as Bailey's contribution.

*Fordham University*

LOUISA FOROUGH

***Prophecy, Politics and Place in Medieval England: From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Thomas of Erceldoune.* By Victoria Flood. Boydell. 2016. xii + 240pp. £60.00.**

The overall theme of this monograph is borders. Victoria Flood takes prophecies from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries – well-known ones such as the *Prophecy of Merlin*, the *Last Six Kings*, *Erceldoune* and the *Cock in the North*, along with far less familiar texts – and relates them to the borderlands that both divided and united the kingdoms of the British Isles in the later Middle Ages. The setting is a very appropriate one, as prophecy is itself a boundary language, a form of *translatio*, crossing from region to region, from language to language, from interest group to interest group, from one time period to another. Prophecy is never still, something that this study brings to the fore. The work is divided into four major sections, each with subheadings to provide way-markers for the reader, presenting the material in a roughly chronological order. These divisions allow a more thorough exploration of each group of texts, in their border context than would be afforded by the usual format of several shorter chapters. Prophecy has now become a matter of 'mainstream' historical study, and there is a growing body of work on the subject. Flood sets her own research squarely in the framework it provides. In her introduction, she reviews existing scholarship in the area and offers some of her own general views in this context, whilst setting out a clear rationale for her own work. Her ability to translate from medieval Welsh enables her to widen her approach, to compare texts across these languages, and to follow the trajectory of prophecies across the Anglo-Welsh border. It is an important, and essential, task that has not been previously carried out on this scale, offering exciting new insights into the formation and re-formation of texts, and their potential uses.

Flood begins her study on the 'other' side of the border, by relating earlier Welsh material to Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Prophecy of Merlin*. Geoffrey, she concludes, was familiar with already-existing Welsh sources (he did not make it all up!) and she also notes that not only Geoffrey, but other Welsh writers, sought the support of Robert of Gloucester during the Anarchy. Robert was also lord of Glamorgan, an indication of the cross-border interests of local rulers. It is now accepted that the Irish Sea was more of a highway than a barrier in the Middle Ages, and Flood's presentation and examination of prophetic material from this time both demonstrates and analyses the shifting and often violent relations



of political elites in the area. She sees prophecy as a ‘threat response’, which Geoffrey adapted to the interests of his Anglo-Norman patrons. Similarly, the prophetic work of Gerald of Wales is set within the context of Robert ‘Strongbow’ fitzStephen’s campaign to aid the king of Leinster in 1169. Flood links these works to prophecies found in Welsh sources such as the Red Book of Hergest, and contextualizes them with analysis of a variety of other historiographical materials. She also links Welsh prophetic texts to the use of Merlin prophecy as a frame for the romance of *Fouke FitzWaryn*. Apparently, Fouke was cast as a hero in Wales – literary scholars will be very interested in this aspect.

Again, Flood studies prophecy and politics from both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border, noting that prophecy in Scotland at the time drew its material from French, Latin and English sources (like English prophecy, then?). Although it is more usual to see Scotland as facing a threat from the south, in the person of Edward I, Norway was also a potential invader at the time. Prophecies, as used by the Bruces, are seen as developing the idea of an individual, such as Robert Bruce, as a signifier for the nation – in this case, Scotland. A study of these texts, and the work of Pierre Langtoft, is set in the context of northern English ‘death and disaster’ verses such as *Als y yod*. This leads smoothly into a study of the *Erceldoune* prophecies, which Flood describes as ‘a combination of jingoism and pessimism’ and a ‘genuinely pan-insular literary-political phenomenon’. The work on *Erceldoune* is particularly detailed, offering valuable new insights into a text which literary scholars often find problematic. Some of the themes introduced in this chapter carry over into the final section, which covers the period of dynastic uncertainty – and struggle – in Britain following the abdication of Richard II in 1399.

It is in the fifteenth century, Flood maintains, that prophecies seen previously related to the regional ambitions of families and dynasties were developed in pursuit of quasi-royal (or perhaps royal) power. Her main example of this is the Percy family, and their interests on both the Scottish and Welsh borders. She explores this by means of the *Cock in the North*, its Welsh translations and variants, with associated prophecies and other historiographical material. Valuable insights drawn from this exploration are employed to re-envision the political events surrounding Richard II’s abdication, the alliance between Glendower, Percy and Mortimer embodied in the Tripartite Indenture of 1405 (not 1403, as Flood also notes), and Percy-led attempts to overthrow Henry IV. Moving on into the fifteenth century, she presents an equally valuable examination of the Welsh heritage of the House of York – through the marriage of Roger Mortimer and Gwladus Ddu, as it appears in contemporary Yorkist genealogies – from a Welsh point of view. Finally, she shows how the Welsh context encompassed families such as the Tudors, feeding into the prophetic landscape surrounding the accession of Henry Tudor to the English throne in 1485.

Flood’s statement about the large part played by theorizing in her work is a little too self-deprecating; she has done her work well, with very good research and attention to detail. Prophecy, as she also notes, is a very mobile discourse; its meaning is made by collusion between the teller and the audience, so any study of prophetic texts involves interpretation. Prophecy traded on its shifting qualities when order and harmony were objects of desire, and the focus of this volume is on geographical spaces that were themselves shifting and

unstable. At the same time, Flood rightly notes that all work on this topic is a contribution to a larger corpus, an ongoing work. More is needed in order to fully understand how this phenomenon – and it could be described as such – worked, and was employed, in later medieval Britain. Much of the material in this study is Galfridian; the texts derive much, or all, of their imagery and style from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Prophecy of Merlin*. They are full of lions and lionesses, dragons and wolves. Does this result from the exploration of the Welsh/Irish side of the border in relation to the English, or is there something about Galfridian prophecy that makes it particularly useful in border situations? This is something that might be examined further. There might be studies of how these border prophecies, their makers and their users, related back to their own national hinterlands, and of the interaction between the different elements – Galfridian, Sibylline, biblical/Joachite – with one another, in texts and in collections. Families are another area, locally and nationally, which is ripe for investigation in terms of prophecy, as is the association between prophecy with other forms of historiographical and literary text. The literary construction and rhetorical strategies of prophecies have also to be systematically studied, in detail. Flood maintains that the political prophecy with which she is working represents the viewpoints and requirements of political elites, and she demonstrates that well. In order to be fully useful, however, propaganda must be disseminated – outwards and downwards. This volume shows some of that outward movement, but much further study, locally and nationally, is required on the dissemination and reception, and the re-dissemination, of political prophecies. All of these ideas and issues arise from a reading of this monograph.

In short – this is a really interesting, valuable book, not only for prophecy scholars and those with an interest in that topic, but also for historians with local, national or international interests, and for literary scholars. The insights it provides should generate many new ideas for further study. Victoria Flood's writing style is clear, her methodology is sound and her scholarship rigorous, but they are presented in a way that will be accessible to general readers with an interest in the subject, as well as to scholars and academics. 'Political' prophecy is an engaging and absorbing – dare I say, exciting – subject, and this book is engaging and absorbing, too.

*University of Hull*

LESLEY COOTE

***Late Medieval Castles*. Edited by Robert Liddiard.** Boydell. 2016. xviii + 425pp. £60.00.

This new edited volume is a compilation of previously published journal articles and book chapters concerned with castles of the later medieval period, which is here held to encompass the period c.1250–1500. Seventeen essays are preceded by an introductory essay by the editor, the renowned landscape historian and castellologist Robert Liddiard. Showcasing both the diversity of approaches to castle studies and the vibrancy of debate around castle-building in the later medieval period, it serves as a welcome companion volume to the editor's 2003 volume *Anglo-Norman Castles*, by the same publisher and in a similar format.

This is a weighty and impressive collection of essays, all by prominent figures in the field, featuring several influential landmark publications. Despite this, many were previously difficult to locate and not available in any sort of electronic form, which lends the volume immense practical value. The contributions have been judiciously selected to ensure a balanced geographical coverage and in recognition of different disciplinary approaches. Most essays have also been painstakingly curated, with the style of notes harmonized, and the accompanying images are for the most part crisply reproduced.

That the contributions were published over a forty-year period throws up some interesting historiographical lessons. The earliest essay (Patrick Faulkner's landmark survey of fourteenth-century castle planning) was published in 1963; the most recent (Nicola Coldstream's radical revisionist take on Master James of St George) in 2003. Many of the essays were at the very forefront of new departures in castle studies, whether through the adoption of different interpretative frameworks or through interdisciplinary insight. Most made statements and caused ripples of controversy; together they provide a point of departure for a future research agenda. There are detailed studies of individual sites (Bodiam, inevitably, as well as Knaresborough and Lulworth); others of castle-building programmes in specific periods and geographical regions (including Edward I's celebrated activities in north Wales); different types of analysis (especially of plans, planning and access); fresh approaches (particularly informed by landscape studies and literary scholarship); and more synthetic overviews. The inclusion of four essays by Charles Coulson – comprising around a quarter of the volume – highlights this author's towering contribution to the field and emphasizes the intensity and complexity of debate over the functions and meanings of later medieval castles, which is often crudely compressed into a 'symbolism versus militarism' paradigm, beloved by students but detested by many serious scholars. Several essays explore the place of the castle in its contemporary environment, reflecting how, as Liddiard notes in his introduction, the landscape-focused route of enquiry 'has almost become a sub-discipline in its own right'. Scottish and Irish material is included (Charles McKean on Renaissance 'castles' in Scotland; Tom McNeill on castles and borderland warfare in Ireland), while Muriel Whitaker's essay on Arthurian symbolism explores the area of interface between castle studies and literary scholarship of which we have only scratched the surface. In terms of coverage of the research field there are no glaring gaps. Only the contribution of large-scale excavation is absent, but this is a reflection of the fact that the most important work in this area has been published in monographs rather than the pithier essays that feature here. The editor supplies a carefully crafted and suitably reflective introduction that sets the scene and reflects on the current state of scholarship. A guide to further reading at the end of the volume serves the valuable purpose of signposting the reader towards more recent literature published since the essays, serving as a gateway to further in-depth scholarship. There is also a handy index, which is all too often absent in volumes of this sort.

Perhaps the central achievement of the volume is that, cumulatively, the essays take us far beyond familiar but outdated narratives about the supposed 'decline' of castles after *c.* 1300. It is refreshing that many authors steer quite deliberately away from the familiar honeypot sites of the later medieval period to explore the wider spectrum of castle-building and castle-building society. Thus, while

we encounter newly built grand sites at the cutting edge of fashion, we are also reminded of the all-important 'background noise' of less celebrated castle-building as extant sites were constantly repaired and rebuilt, while others adhered to conservative forms or faded into obsolescence, and in which region-specific socio-economic and military circumstances provided an impetus to booming traditions of private fortification in certain zones but not others.

As a retrospective but also as a shop window for the vitality of castle studies, this volume will be particularly useful for scholars who can find seminal essays easily accessible and all in one place. Overall, this is a welcome second instalment of castle studies' greatest hits that will prove hugely valuable to researchers and students.

*University of Exeter*

OLIVER CREIGHTON

***Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent: A Fourteenth-Century Princess and her World.* By Anthony Goodman.** Boydell. 2017. xviii + 244pp. £25.00.

***Cecily Duchess of York.* By J. L. Laynesmith.** Bloomsbury. 2017. xxii + 262 pp. £85.00.

These are two very different books about two rather similar women, albeit separated by over a century. Joan, princess of Wales and Cecily, duchess of York were both born into the higher nobility and would, themselves, have become queens of England had their husbands not died prematurely. Both women were mothers of kings and both had long widowhoods: Joan for nine years and Cecily for thirty-six years. Moreover, they were both extremely fertile: Joan of Kent had six children by two husbands, and Cecily had twelve children by one husband, seven of whom survived into adulthood. Both women were the subject of scandal: Joan for her three marriages, two of which were secret, and Cecily for her supposed marital infidelity. But in spite of the tempestuous times in which they lived, both women died in their beds: Joan in 1385 and Cecily in 1495.

These biographies are, however, very different. Both have been written by excellent scholars, but the materials available to them vary greatly: there is very little personal material surviving for Joan of Kent, whereas there are household accounts and manuscript books which throw light on the personality of Cecily. In both cases, much of the evidence is derived from the work of chroniclers, whose main interest is usually focused elsewhere. Anthony Goodman was seriously ill while writing his biography of Joan and, indeed, sadly died before it was completed; this has, inevitably, influenced the final work, which is much less substantial than Laynesmith's biography of Cecily. The Boydell publication is, however, the more attractive book, with better paper, much better illustrations and an attractive paper jacket instead of the ubiquitous laminate. In both volumes the notes are printed together at the end, but in the Laynesmith volume the relevant page numbers have not been provided as headers, making it hard to locate a particular note.

Goodman has done his best to overcome the lack of sources, which particularly affects Joan's early life: the first sixty-four pages of the book are, therefore, largely taken up with an account of the exploits of Joan's father, Edmund of Woodstock, and her two husbands, William Montagu, earl of Salisbury and Thomas Holland.

Goodman does, however, provide a sympathetic assessment of the difficulties facing wives whose husbands spent most of their time away fighting in France. Here a family tree showing Joan's natal family of the Wakes and her Brotherton cousins would have been a great help. Even after she had married the Black Prince and was living with him in Aquitaine, it is hard for Goodman to keep the focus on Joan amidst the incessant campaigning in southern France and Spain. But, unlike Joan's other recent biographer (Penny Lawne, *Joan of Kent: The First Princess of Wales*, 2015), Goodman made use of archives in Bordeaux and Valencia to understand better Joan's role as princess of Aquitaine. Only when she returns to England does Joan emerge from the shadows, and the final seventy pages describe her situation as the wife of the ailing Black Prince, and then as the mother of the young Richard II. Now she emerges as a patron and mediator, and as the effective manager of her estates. Goodman is equivocal about what exactly happened to Joan on Friday 14 June 1381 during the occupation of London by the rebels. He sets out the evidence (pp. 155–7) but leaves us to make up our own minds. Dr Penny Lawne is clear that Joan accompanied her son part of the way to Mile End and then turned back to the Tower where she was confronted by the rebels (*ibid.*, pp. 243–4). Goodman does not comment on the fact that Joan chose to be buried, not with the Black Prince at Canterbury but with her earlier husband, Thomas Holland, in the Greyfriars church at Lincoln. Lawne is certain that Thomas Holland was 'the great love of her life' (*ibid.*, p. 263) and that may well have been the case. Perhaps the most notable chapter of this attractive biography is the final one entitled 'Venus ascending?' in which Goodman, with masterly skill, places Joan's unusual life in the context of the changing attitudes to marriage, and to the roles that women might play in society. Here the consummate biographer of John of Gaunt and Marjorie Kempe comes into his own, and Joan is seen as 'the mistress of her fate'.

Dr Laynesmith has already written biographies of England's late medieval queens (*The Last Medieval Queens*, 2004) and now she tackles a 'near' queen. Up to now what most of us knew about Cecily was derived from C. A. J. Armstrong's article 'The piety of Cecily, duchess of York', first published in 1942. Laynesmith sets out to demonstrate that the piety has been exaggerated and that there was much more to Cecily than the daily routine of prayer and edification set out in her household book. There is a good deal of material available to chart the life of Cecily, and Laynesmith makes very good use of it, especially the household accounts and estate management documents. At times she pauses, amidst the aristocratic carnage of the fifteenth century, to consider what really happened during events such as childbirth or a baptism. There are very interesting discussions of Cecily's seals (pp. 100–2): her great seal was exceptionally large (8 cms whereas Joan of Kent's seal had been only 5 cms) and bore the Latin legend 'the seal of the lady Cecily, wife of the true heir of England and France and Lord of Ireland, mother of King Edward IV, duchess of York'. So, whereas Cecily identified herself by her marriage and her motherhood (and later also as the grandmother of the queen), Joan of Kent on her seal merely recorded her titles. Cecily's presentation of herself in relation to other members of her family may, perhaps, reflect the insecurity of her ever-changing position in relation to those in power.

Cecily's strange signature 'Cecylee' on a letter sent to the dean of Stoke by Clare (p. 101) suggests a not well-practised hand. But if she probably wrote

little, there is good evidence that Cecily owned and read books. In spite of his best efforts, Goodman could find little evidence of 'book using' on Joan's part, although she patronized the Franciscans and, like her son Richard, had an interest in astrology. Cecily, however, acquired manuscripts while she was in Rouen with her husband and patronized writers. In her widowhood she seems to have had books read out to her and to her household, and she left numerous books in her will to the female members of her family. Whether this striking difference between these two women was a real one, or simply the trick of source survival, it is hard to know. But both women left wills, and Joan does not mention any books.

Both authors inevitably concentrate on the families of these two women, and there is no escape from the infighting of the house of York. The brothers of Henry V remained loyal to his infant son, and the four surviving children of Joan of Kent stood by each other and supported their half-brother, Richard II. But Cecily Neville seems to have been unable to persuade her sons 'to love one another': they betrayed and murdered each other. Laynesmith cannot help us to understand what, if anything, Cecily felt about the duplicitous behaviour of her sons.

There is much that we shall never understand about these two women: how could Joan allow herself to marry the earl of Salisbury when she knew she was already married to Thomas Holland? How could Cecily face her sons as they betrayed and murdered each other? But these two excellent biographies probably take us as close as it is possible to get to women whose lives, in spite of the wealth and glamour, were often sad and constrained.

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CAROLINE M. BARRON

***Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon and the Royal Response, 1391–1392.* By Benjamin R. Gampel. Cambridge University Press. 2016. xii + 378pp. £96.00.**

Benjamin Gampel's book is the culmination of a meticulous and painstaking reconstruction of events that took place in Aragon between the summer of 1391 and the spring of 1392. While he wisely makes use of relevant documents that Fritz (Yitzhak) Baer published in his *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien* (Berlin, 1929), he has expanded upon them by combining material published by other researchers with documents he has unearthed himself.

I must confess that this impressive array of material compelled me to present this topic differently in the classroom, for it sheds new light on the actions and priorities of the crown in Aragon during this volatile period. At the same time, this book presents a clear picture of the developments that determined the fate of various Jewish communities. As Gampel himself states, by 'focusing on the days and weeks leading up to the attacks, and the actual time during which the riots and conversions took place, we have the opportunity to observe how daily decisions made by the royal authorities influenced the shape and scope of the violence' (p. 7).

The book is divided into two parts: the first part covers the different geographical areas (city of Valencia, kingdom of Valencia, Majorca, Girona, Barcelona, Catalonia, kingdom of Aragon); the second part analyses the stance of the royal court, namely King Joan, Queen Iolante and the king's brother, Duke



Martí (and his wife). The motives that created ten months of extensive unrest are complex and stemmed from religious hatred, and economic and political dissatisfaction (against the crown, municipal leaders, nobility, the wealthy), ranging from the rational to the irrational.

Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi had always placed the creation of the 'Royal Alliance' at the centre of the very existence of the Jewish community in Spain. These attacks sorely tested this alliance and exposed the limits of power and the failures of royal authority. Gampel refers to 'competing priorities' (p. 238) and spells out these priorities as he reconstructs the fateful events.

What strikes the reader is how the behaviour of the royal family played a crucial part in the manner in which the leaders of each locale dealt with the upheavals. Leaders in the city of Valencia, for example, presented false reports and/or withheld information. It was easier to blame outsiders/sailors/peasants than their own urban dwellers for the attacks. How did a king who repeatedly deferred his visits to these sites assume that the mere notice of his impending arrival would suffice to deter the rioters? Was he actually afraid to come, as was the king of Portugal during the riots of Lisbon in 1506? Was he as selfish as he seems to be in his correspondence, obsessed with hunting and acquiring greyhounds and falcons? Did he realize that sometimes those conscripted to aid the local leaders carry out his royal orders to deflect attacks might end up joining the fray?

Were the fortifications offered to the Jews, which they themselves had to finance and where they sometimes starved, the best option available? While the queen seemed to be consistent in objecting to forced conversions of Jews, was the king as consistent? After all, he did note the relative calm that followed various mass conversions. Could the leaders entrusted by the king to arrest and punish the rioters and plunderers actually execute his instructions? What should be done about debts owed to Jews, and if those Jews converted, could they collect or was a moratorium on debts preferable?

While the first portion of the book alludes to many royal actions, the second centres specifically on each of the central figures. The king was inconsistent, often fearing the loss of his loyal tax-paying Jewish constituents, but not concerned enough to leave his palace at critical times or to abandon or curb his passion for hunting. The queen seems to have been seriously devoted to her Jewish taxpayers when her health, and the health of her children, permitted; her pregnancy during this period played a major role in her involvement or lack thereof. The king's younger brother was often sent to represent him, but Duke Martí seems to have been obsessed with his dream of conquering Sicily. During this period, he was most anxious to obtain funds from his brother for whatever he deemed necessary for his naval enterprise; his sailors at times seemed to have joined in the attacks on Jews and the Jewish quarters while waiting to set sail.

This book is not a quick read; one slowly wades through a tremendous amount of archival work and copious footnotes and intricate details. One wonders if similar research could be conducted concerning the events in Castile, where the riots began (Seville, July 1391) and if the correspondences of the eleven-year-old infante, Enrique III, and his advisers might be as revealing. One suspects that there was not a great deal of contact between the crown and the Jews themselves, except of course, with the eminent rabbinic leader, Hasdai Crescas, and a few Jews reaching out in distress. On the other hand, if so many of them converted

as willingly as reported, this and the fact that many opted to die rather than convert (in addition to some suicides that were noted) might suffice to explain what appears to have been minimal contact.

*Anti-Jewish Riots in the Crown of Aragon and the Royal Response, 1391–1392* takes the story presented by Baer, the pioneer of Spanish Jewish history during Christian rule, an important step further. By means of filling in detail after detail, it illuminates this traumatic period in the history of Aragonese Jewry. Gampel succeeds in pointing to human frailty, to limitations of power often accompanied by the selfishness of each of the leaders discussed, and to the vulnerability of the Jews residing in Aragon at the end of the fourteenth century.

*The Schechter Institute of Jewish Studies, Jerusalem*

RENÉE LEVINE  
MELAMMED

***Magnanimous Dukes and Rising States: The Unification of the Burgundian Netherlands, 1380–1480.* By Robert Stein.** Oxford University Press. 2017. xv + 315pp. £85.00.

This is a book about state formation in the late medieval period, and specifically about how far, and by what means, the authority of the Valois dynasty of Burgundian dukes became implanted in that patchwork of territories which lay between France and Germany. Translated and slightly adapted from the Dutch original (2014), the book is a synthesis which brings together the author's own extensive research into bureaucratic culture and processes, as well as the work of very many scholars in that field whose findings have perhaps not received the weight they deserve in existing accounts of Burgundian power. To date, those accounts have tended to focus more on the dukes, their court and their servants; on the powerful cities of their dominions, especially Ghent; or on the sphere of political ideas and political communication. Here we have a narrative of state formation from below, in which considerable importance is attached to the role of representative assemblies.

The book does not explicitly go along with Richard Vaughan's conclusion that the Burgundian union was the product of the diplomatic guile of the first duke, Philip the Bold (d. 1404). Two related developments are emphasized instead. The first is the importance of the financial and political failure of the many little princely houses which had governed in the region in earlier times. The second key development was the willingness of local elites, through the mechanism of the existing representative assemblies (*états, staten*, the 'states' of the title), to embrace the Burgundian alternative when presented with the opportunity to do so. The estates are rightly understood here as the product of a long tradition of assembly-holding in the region, and arguably that tradition has been underestimated in previous syntheses – even that of Prevenier and Blockmans, despite the fact that both scholars have been pioneers in the study of these proto-institutions.

We then go through the processes of 'state formation' proper, especially the development of a bureaucracy, legal processes, financial administration and taxes. This is not an institutional history as such, but rather an attempt to assess the social and political weight of institutions in the lives of ducal subjects. To that end each chapter includes a number of insightful vignettes which put flesh

and bones on some of the potentially abstract processes that are discussed. At every level Stein finds a renewal of institutions, personnel and procedures which together made up a far more efficient, professional corps than anything previous princely regimes had implemented. Many models were imported, as previous scholars have long known, from French practices. The results of this process of state formation were very uneven, however. Burgundian exercise of justice brought order and clarity thanks to the duke's jurists, but over time, especially at the local level, it was corrupted by the financial needs of a state which found ways to make justice pay. At the highest level it eventually brought an over arching institution – the *parlement* of Mechelen, 1473–7 – which was highly professional, but which was also insufficiently connected to the exercise of justice at lower levels. The dukes' subjects wanted good law and the sound exercise of justice, but the Burgundian regime was only partially successful in meeting these needs. In matters of financial organization it is a similar story, marked if anything by rather less success. Philip the Good found public finances in ruins when he took over in several principalities, and responded by importing the institution of the *chambres des comptes* (counting houses), which brought a great deal of order. But here too there were significant problems: having enough suitable financial experts, for example, and dealing with the natural inertia of local arrangements which predated the Burgundian period. The limitations of Burgundian state formation are perhaps most apparent in the sphere of taxation, and the excesses of the last duke in this regard brought the dynasty close to disaster. Burgundian rule resembled that of many other 'compositie monarchies' of the early modern period, which worked best when they worked through and with local elites, and which weakened themselves when any drive towards centralization was pushed too hard.

The book's argument works better for the lands which the dukes acquired from the reign of Philip the Good onwards (especially Holland, Hainaut, Zeeland and Brabant) than it does for the lands which the dynasty's founder inherited, not least the counties of Flanders and Artois. These were not lands which 'chose' Burgundian rule in any sense. The book could also do with a longer and more detailed discussion of the fate of the processes identified here after the death of the last Valois Burgundian duke in 1477. It would have been especially interesting to see what the author thinks of the role of the estates in the half-century after the collapse of Valois Burgundian rule, since he convincingly shows how they predate, and then contribute to, Burgundian authority. Those points aside, Stein has produced an important book which gives the anglophone reader new ways of understanding the phenomenon of Valois Burgundy, and the processes of state formation in late medieval Europe.

*Durham University*

GRAEME SMALL

## Early Modern

*Electing the Pope in Early Modern Italy, 1450–1700.* By Miles Pattenden. Oxford University Press, 2017. xv + 309pp. £75.00.

This extremely learned book is both appropriately and deceptively entitled. It does indeed focus on the papal election in early modern Europe. Chapters

systematically and exhaustingly treat every stage of election: the conclave, the candidates and the cardinal electors; the complex and evolving voting procedures and methods; authority and dissension during the Vacant See; the criteria involved in choosing candidates; and survival and governance strategies of new popes. But in describing in great detail the nature of papal elections, Pattenden also reveals the essence of papal monarchy. As Machiavelli observed, unlike hereditary monarchies, which could be controlled by one family for centuries, the papal reign was short-lived (usually at most ten years) and the successor brought with him different priorities and a new set of chief administrators. The conclave to a large extent defined the entire papacy to come – influence was peddled and deals were brokered as cardinals all jockeyed to support the winner and gain or retain some power in the new administration. This point is amply supported with an abundance of examples and evidence in numerous sources, including manuscripts and archival records, from the period under discussion. This is institutional history at its best. Statistics and exact numbers fill the pages and seventeen charts and figures visualize the quantitative results of research. The author has done an admirable job synthesizing the huge amount of scholarship on the early modern papacy, but there are notable omissions of important scholars, such as Egmont Lee, and scholars from the *Roma nel Rinascimento* group, in particular Anna Modigliani and Paula Farenaga. Especially surprising is the lack of the use of Platina's papal biographies (1475), an essential primary source for the earlier popes discussed in the book. Platina worked under and personally knew three of these popes and his biographies are full of details not found elsewhere. These lacunae are mostly from the period pre-1500. The book's main focus and strength is in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The book is quite dense and not easily read cover-to-cover. It is, however, a gold mine for strategic reading on specific topics. The author systematically explains the topic, problems and the scholarship on pertinent questions, and offers his own analysis with historical examples and some unusual primary sources. In the chapter on choosing candidates, for example, the author studies the role of information and disinformation available to cardinal electors. Although cardinals were theoretically locked away from the outside world, news, false news and rumours decisively influenced their voting choices. As the author shows, ambassadors sometimes knowingly reported outright lies to the assembled cardinals about the outside. False reports about regal support for specific candidates or the predictions of astrologers sometimes leaked into conclaves. The chapter on papal government and the growth of papal bureaucracy is outstanding. The author summarizes the dense scholarship and varied debates about papal finance, and then provides his own interpretations on such issues as the advantages and disadvantages of venality, legislation, papal debt, taxation and credit innovations, and the role of nepotism. Quantitative compilation and analysis is the author's favourite method of argumentation. The numbers, percentages and charts in this chapter and the entire book offer stunning and apparently indisputable evidence for the author's conclusions on many of the thorny issues of early modern papal monarchy.

I have some minor criticisms about writing style, presentation and editing. There is a lot of repetition in the book as the author is constantly restating or

refining his argument. The author writes too often in the first person and many pages contain phrases such as 'I have argued', 'I will argue', or 'I am not arguing'. The proliferation of arguments and especially clarifications of arguments is distracting and tiresome in a book that is based on so many rich sources, and excellent anecdotes and examples. Another quibble is the author's frequent use of the archaic 'amongst', which, most academics would agree, is no longer quaint but a plague in poorly written undergraduate papers. But these minor criticisms are hardly worth mentioning in such an amazing book, which will be an essential tool for serious scholarship on the papacy for many years to come.

*Queen's University, Canada*

ANTHONY F. D'ELIA

***Admiration and Awe: Morisco Buildings and Identity Negotiations in Early Modern Spanish Historiography.*** By Antonio Urquizar-Herrera. Oxford University Press. 2017. xvi + 272pp. £70.00.

Antonio Urquizar-Herrera's excellent book on the cultural and religious appropriation of Andalusian architecture by Spanish historians of the early modern era presents an original and compelling argument that reveals how closely the meaning of medieval Islamic heritage in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain was linked to issues of national identity and origins. It is an original and extremely timely piece of work which taps into the polemical multiculturalism debate which has gained such currency in Spain in the wake of the terrorist attacks of September 2001 in the United States and March 2004 in Madrid. Urquizar shows how early modern historiographical and antiquarian ideas central to the remembrance of Andalusia's major Islamic buildings are still pertinent to the negotiation of Spanish identity.

In the introduction, the author outlines his plan to explore three main areas, namely the treatment of Islamic architecture in early modern Spanish historiography, the construction of Spain's national identity and the response to Islam in Spanish thought at that time. The intention is to analyse contradictory perceptions of Islamic architecture, whose monuments were seen as trophies of the Christian Reconquista but also as symbols of a conquered civilization whose presence still endured. The Christian appropriation of the brilliant architecture of al-Andalus is cited as the most visible manifestation of this type of cultural hybridity, while the perception of Islamic architecture in terms of cultural memory had already been established in historical literature as early as the thirteenth century, in descriptions of monuments captured as spoils of war in Cordoba, Seville and, much later, Granada. Urquizar points out that early modern Spanish historiography, both local and national, sought to imbue medieval Islamic architecture with stories about the Roman and Christian origins of Spain.

The book is divided into three parts, the first of which addresses ideas of conquest and plunder, the notion of the loss of Spain and the concept of Islamic monuments as Christian trophies, focusing initially on the views expressed by Ambrosio de Morales in his writings on the Cordoba mosque, a building which had been symbolically appropriated by the insertion of a large Christian nave in its centre. The first chapter considers the discourse of restoration underlying

the medieval interpretation of Islamic architecture, in which the remains are viewed prior to 1492 as belonging to the Muslims who interrupted Spain's fundamentally Christian culture, and after that date, as memorials to Islamic defeat and Christian triumph. Chapter 2 explores the relationship between destruction and memory in that triumphalist discourse, using the example of the demolition of the Toledo mosque, while chapter 3 reviews the idea of trophy in historical accounts of the Christianization of Cordoba and Seville's mosques and considers the conquest of the Alhambra in Granada in considerable detail.

The key aspect of part II is the development of early modern antiquarian ideas and discourse in Spain, centring on historical dislocation and antiquarian appropriation, on the foundations of antiquarian writing on Islamic architecture and its appropriation of those monuments. Chapter 4 shows how the main purpose of Sevillian priest Rodrigo Caro's *Antigüedades y principado de la ilustrissima ciudad de Sevilla* (1634) was to rescue Classical Seville from oblivion. Caro described every Islamic architectural structure in the city, apart from La Giralda, as of Visigothic, Mozarabic, Roman, Greek or pre-Roman origin, consigning Islamic architecture in Spain to the status of memorabilia from remote antiquity, thereby transforming their traditional perception as trophies. This approach combined Classical humanism with the strong desire to build a Spanish identity based on the new meanings forged by antiquarian writers well aware that the monuments in question had been left behind by the nation's historical enemy, perceived as the archetype of cultural and religious confrontation. Chapter 5 returns to Morales's description of the Cordoba mosque in his *Las Antigüedades de las ciudades de España* (1575), which inquired into 'the signs and traces of antiquity' in the building in order to transform it into proof of the pre-Islamic history of the city by claiming that although the stones of the mosque were Islamic, their arrangement provided evidence of the city's Roman roots. As Urquizar states, this was an act of 'conceptual appropriation aimed at cultural homogenization' (p. 83). In chapter 6, Toledo provides a fascinating example of the uncharitable Christian perception of the Islamic legacy, where Islamic architectural incompetence was deemed to be the cause of the lack of grandeur in the city's urban landscape, and moral judgements were closely linked to the ideas of the Classical aesthetic canon.

Part III moves into the realm of the antiquarian model as religious fakery, and touches upon genealogical forgery and the invention of false texts and relics. The main concern of this section of the book is the antiquarian enterprise of Christianization and its links to the historical falsifications surrounding the origins of Spanish Christianity. Urquizar begins in chapter 7 with the Lead Books of Granada, the lead discs supposedly written by Granada's early martyrs, with accompanying relics discovered during the demolition of the minaret of the old city mosque. He deftly argues that antiquities, sacred history and the nation's mythical origins are here entwined with the construction of Spain's lineages. Chapter 8 discusses how links to mythical foundations were made and uses the case study of the mural painting of Our Lady the Ancient in Seville cathedral to show how pre-Islamic cult images were harnessed as a narrative resource. Finally, chapter 9 considers the martyr and relic stories specific to the three major sites of Islamic heritage in the Iberian peninsula, Cordoba, Seville and Granada.

The concluding part of the book is an interesting counterpoint to previous chapters. The author charts the impact upon later writing and art of



the historiographical themes in the works discussed, and assesses how real experiences of Islamic buildings were shaped. The ideas and themes of early modern history writing were sympathetically echoed in fictional literature of the time, and also in early modern images, in which Islamic buildings were virtually absent from antiquarian texts. In sharp contrast, the views of foreign travellers to Andalusia tended to be independent of local arguments, and inclined to praise Islamic architecture and show interest in its splendour and otherness.

Not only is this book highly impressive in the breadth of learning it contains, but it is also very enjoyable to read. It is beautifully written in a clear, accessible style which conveys the author's mastery of his subject matter. The research it encompasses is presented with meticulous detail, and the range of texts discussed is striking, as the forty-seven-page bibliography suggests. Most importantly, this is a seminal book about the vital relevance of a major aspect of the medieval and early modern culture of Spain to the country's current intellectual and popular debates. Urquizar epitomizes this in his account of how for several decades the Cordoba mosque has been an ideological 'micro-battlefield' where popular perceptions of Spain's multicultural past and the Catholic essentialism of the building's bishops and clergy clash, revealing how the Christianizing and antiquarian impulses he delves into with such expertise are still active today.

*University of Cambridge*

ELIZABETH DRAYSON

***Elizabeth: The Later Years.* By John Guy.** Penguin. 2016. xii + 493pp. £10.99.

Praise has been heaped upon John Guy's study of the Elizabethan years from 1584 to 1603, an acute assessment of early modern queenship. And rightly so. In Guy's account, a 'warts and all portrait', she was a 'canny' ruler, equally capable of being 'melodramatic' and 'circumspect'. We do not entirely have to like this Elizabeth. Guy himself admits to his emotions changing as he pondered the world that she created, on her little personal stages in London and on her country house visits. We have lost now forever (and we may feel about time) the simplistic hero worship of Sir John Neale's *Gloriana*, on which we all grew up, with his tribe of acolytes burrowing into the documentation of each of the queen's parliaments.

This is the reading of a single masterly historian, who knows the original source material, much of it actually revealed since Neale's time, like the back of his hand. He also has his own band of young and not so young scholars, from the remarkable Stephen Alford, to long-engaged figures like Ian Archer, Paul Hammer, expert on the 1590s, Simon Adams and, of course, Sir Roy Strong, ready with his immense learning to make us think again about Elizabethan portraiture.

What is so interesting about the Elizabeth we are given here is just how skilful, how manipulative in each successive crisis of her later reign, she turns out to be. Guy does not shout about this from the beginning, but relentlessly he reveals that this was a monarch who, despite increasingly raddled age and essential make-up, always remained masterful and completely in charge. She was the leading politician of the reign; above all, in foreign policy, but also in handling the Church. She was always Elizabethan England's supreme strategist and tactician. The courtiers knew this to their cost. Guy paints each of them – Burghley, Walsingham, Raleigh, Hatton, Essex and Robert Cecil – with inimitable detail

and perception, showing their intense dependence, in turns, on the mercy of the queen's temper. And what a temper this was: she could storm, she could sulk, she could put any minister down with well-chosen words or a rapid diversion.

Yet this is not a portrait of a hard woman. The queen was intensely vulnerable to men's charms, fond of Leicester, Guy argues, with an almost aching longing, needing the court round about her, or with her as she travelled, keeping all the key men under her eye. So what is the secret of Guy's ability to grip us? Above all, after decades of manuscript work, he knows the documentation very well indeed: moreover, its intricacies are constantly before his mind. For, though there is much sustained analysis here, essentially this is narrative history, which never really leaves the centre of power, whether this was at court, at Tilbury briefly in 1588, or equally at, Cowdray, the Catholic Viscount Montague's place, at Theobalds or at Kenilworth.

Around the middle of the book, Guy really moves into his stride. After a scathing account of the Rouen expedition, 'Catastrophe in France', he turns to domestic politics in 1592 to 1595. Turbulent summers, plague and then four years of harvest crisis, long ago revealed to us by that great agrarian historian W. G. Hoskins, provide the obvious storyline here. Guy makes much of how, despite the later boastings of 'reigning with your loves', supremely egocentric, the queen now put herself first and the Londoners last.

In this critical hour, the queen passed her sixtieth birthday: as she 'hid away with her much reduced court, invisible to her subjects and seemingly impervious to their suffering, she would become unnerved, then numbed by her inability to respond'. Yes there were muggings, lootings and arson attacks in London. Paul Slack long ago told us how crucial the dearth orders suddenly became. So Elizabeth's 'cordon sanitaire' was necessary, excluding the people from the Westminster palace gates: they could no longer even gaze on her menagerie in the Tower. Even martial law could be condoned in this situation. But Guy surely goes too far when he states that Elizabeth 'did not blink' at the plan for forcible deportation of all black Africans. The chapter, with the ironic heading 'Good Queen Bess', ends with Guy's noting Elizabeth's approval of this plan, 'which will do nothing to enhance her reputation today'. Revisionism suddenly seems out of hand: she was a Tudor monarch after all, not a politically correct modern one.

There is much to come after the 1590s: above all those three great set pieces the Armada, Essex's foolish rebellion, and the theatre of stooping to conquer with the monopolies debate in the 1601 parliament. Guy deals with the Armada succinctly, sorting out the probabilities about what she really said at Tilbury. One is very ready to be persuaded that we do have Elizabeth's authentic speech, or near enough, since her famous words have the ring of the person whom we still, after Guy's dismissal of any royal charm, credit with being the master politician of her age.

In two chapters on 1601, 'Defying the Queen' and 'I am Richard II', Guy sweeps his absorbing narrative towards its end. 'Was Essex really a traitor to Elizabeth?' he asks. 'Arrogant, stubborn, narcissistic and presumptuous he certainly was ... he acted foolishly and impetuously and had crossed the line in scheming with James.' On 8 February he led three hundred of his supporters down Cheapside; on 25 February, before a small group of witnesses handpicked by the queen, Essex was beheaded at the Tower. Guy's telling of the story of his

failed coup and his arrest is compelling, but his analysis of how and why Elizabeth acted in this last crisis of her reign is even more important, because here he knits together his whole reading of Elizabeth.

When William Lambarde had recently been appointed her Keeper of the Rolls in 1601, he took Elizabeth through the records in his charge. Suddenly she interrupted him, when he came to Richard II, declaring, 'I am Richard II know ye not that?'; she went on 'he that will forget God will also forget his benefactors; this tragedy was forty times played in open streets and houses'. Guy's interpretation of this comment rings true: Essex's conduct was as much a failure to respect her royal status as a failure to respect God. He had overreached himself, by criticizing her rule 'in open streets and houses'. The Mary Queen of Scots issue aside, Elizabeth lived faithfully to the rule of the 'divinity of kingship'. Her deepest instinct was, above all, to protect this divinity.

*Moreton-in-Marsh*

ANTHONY FLETCHER

***Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion.* By Tom Hamilton.** Oxford University Press. 2017. xviii + 237pp. £65.00.

For nearly four centuries, historians have mined Pierre de L'Estoile's memoirs and diaries for their detailed narratives and lively descriptions of France's Wars of Religion. They have often also uncritically adopted his interpretation of the wars as politics masquerading as religion. Even scholars who have recognized that L'Estoile was not an entirely objective witness to the history he recorded have tended to take his *politique* bias as an unproblematic reflection of the elite social milieu of Parisian jurists and royal officials that he frequented. Tom Hamilton is the first to go beyond these generalizations to ask just how and why Pierre de L'Estoile interpreted the wars as he did. Presenting L'Estoile as a collector and writer – albeit one who never published his work in his lifetime – Hamilton seeks to understand how L'Estoile's personal and professional circumstances determined 'how he made sense of his troubled times' (p. 10). By showing the constructed nature of L'Estoile's recollections, Hamilton hopes to direct scholars' attention to how the religious wars were remembered, as well as how they were lived.

Hamilton begins by introducing L'Estoile through his Parisian neighbourhood of Saint-André-des-Arts and through the material culture of his household and collection. This foregrounds the importance of family and friendship in the choices L'Estoile made and presents the library that housed his ever-growing collection of the ephemera that proliferated during France's religious wars as a source of social distinction and key element in L'Estoile's reconstruction of the past. Later chapters proceed chronologically to show how L'Estoile's collecting and writing evolved through the reign of Henri III, the era when Paris was dominated by the ultra-Catholic Holy League, and the years between the 1598 Edict of Nantes and L'Estoile's death in 1611.

A central argument sustained throughout the book is that L'Estoile endured the confessional battles that raged through most of his adult life without taking sides. Collecting materials that represented all parties to the debates, he used them to denounce confessional zeal while maintaining a critical distance from

the quarrels. His collection of poems and pamphlets on the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre, for example, does not assign responsibility but rather asks how reactions to the massacre became imbedded in memory. His diary for the reign of Henri III also seeks a 'confessionally neutral tone', blaming both sides for the havoc they wreaked on civilian populations while emphasizing 'the political nature of the quarrels' (p. 105). Only the seizure of power by the Holy League in Paris prompted L'Estoile to drop any semblance of neutrality. As Hamilton masterfully demonstrates, he highlighted the illegitimacy and exposed the false piety of the League by juxtaposing pamphlets and prints in the collection known as the 'Drolleries of the League' in ways that made 'damning intertextual links' (p. 152).

L'Estoile did this, Hamilton explains, because by remaining in Paris and continuing to exercise his office as *secrétaire du roi* instead of following other royalist officers into exile he had in fact collaborated with the League Parlement. 'To protect his office and reputation, it was essential for him to present his memories in a way that confirmed resistance to the League' (p. 135). Hamilton concedes that we do not know exactly when L'Estoile composed his memories of the League, and there was doubtless a lot of hindsight and revision. He nevertheless argues persuasively for L'Estoile's double game when, for example, he points out that attendance at sermons by Leaguer preachers helped protect the diarist from the League's suspicious minions, while providing the evidence that he later used to denounce those preachers as bigots and rumour-mongers. L'Estoile was far from the only royal officeholder who concealed his true beliefs in order to protect his family and property from the radical faction that held power in the League, and Hamilton rightly calls our attention to the complexity of the choices these men faced and to the impact this had on their recollection of these troubled times.

L'Estoile was unquestionably sincere in denouncing the exaggerated piety that served as both a recruitment tool and a justification for the Holy League. He never left the Catholic Church but believed that it needed reform. He nevertheless rejected the Tridentine reform programme and advocated instead a return to the simplicity of the early Church. Maintaining friendships and family relationships across the confessional spectrum, he further believed that concord could be achieved only by subordinating religious to secular authority. These Gallican and royalist views are why he supported Henri of Navarre (later Henri IV) against the League. These views are also, as Hamilton explains, what drew the young *avocat* Pierre Dupuy to frequent the diarist's library and exchange books and ideas with him in the later years of his life. The same shared perspectives help explain why it was Dupuy who brought L'Estoile's manuscript diary for the reign of Henri III into print in 1621. Eager to encourage respect for the monarchical authority that had been imperilled by the League, Dupuy highlighted the manuscript's political implications, while editing out or toning down passages about religious matters that might not pass the censors. In doing so, he initiated the political interpretation that until recently dominated our understanding of the Wars of Religion.

Hamilton makes several references to L'Estoile's providentialist view of events and briefly affirms – as other recent historians have – that politics and religion were inseparable in his times. He does not offer a new, or overarching, interpretation of France's civil wars but, to the contrary, warns against incautious

generalization by alerting us to the partial and subjective nature of a source whose objectivity has too often been taken for granted. Thoroughly researched, tautly argued and well supported with telling examples, this is an important book. It will not be an easy read for scholars with scant knowledge of the period but may nevertheless prove rewarding as a model study of how memory is constructed through the creation and manipulation of texts.

*Boston University*

BARBARA B. DIEFENDORF

***The Jesuits and Italian Universities, 1548–1773.* By Paul F. Grendler.** The Catholic University of America Press. 2017. xvi + 505pp. \$34.95.

Paul Grendler's new book is 'the history of the interactions between the Jesuits and Italian universities and governments' (p. 12). He discusses these interactions in sixteen Italian cities and towns, from Messina to Siena, from Padua to Rome. The book proceeds chronologically and is divided into fifteen chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to the education of Loyola and his companions at the universities of Paris and Padua, chapters 2–13 discuss the Jesuit attempts to participate in the running of Italian universities, and the last two chapters elucidate questions related to Jesuit pedagogy and Jesuit contributions to theological education.

The book builds on Grendler's well-known expertise in Renaissance and early modern education. It also issues from his recent interest in Jesuit education as manifested, for example, by his *The University of Mantua, the Gonzaga, and the Jesuits, 1584–1630* (2009), and his article 'The culture of the Jesuit teacher', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 3 (2016), pp. 17–41. In the acknowledgments to the book which is reviewed here, Grendler notes that 'a second volume on Jesuit pre-university schools in Italy is in preparation'. Together these two volumes promise an impressive and thorough scholarly work on Jesuit education in early modern Italy.

There are several themes which recur throughout Grendler's book. Perhaps the most important one – at least from the point of view of trying to understand why the Jesuits usually failed in their attempts to have a role in Italian universities – is spelled out in the introduction, where Grendler notes that if a city or state had a university, 'this was an important part of its political identity' (p. 1). More specifically, universities were 'civic institutions', which rulers and subjects alike viewed as 'our university' (p. 7). This being the case, the fact that the Jesuits – in Italy, and especially in the sixteenth century – struggled to establish universities or to have a role in already existing universities seems to have boiled down to the fact that 'the Jesuits were outsiders' and 'not "our religious" to many in Italy' (p. 443). Grendler's book depicts Italian universities as institutions that were jealously guarded by the civic magistracies (which consisted of the city, the prince, or both). In such circumstances it was bound to be difficult for a religious brotherhood, whose members rarely were of local origin, to take charge of any university teaching, let alone to establish its own university.

Another leitmotif that emerges from Grendler's book is the recurrent, underlying theme of political intrigue and power struggle that marked the processes of founding a university. In Sicily this was manifested in Catania's

long-standing opposition to Messina's desire to establish a university (pp. 39–40), because a university would have increased Messina's prestige and influence in regional politics. Later, in the 1630s both Catania and Messina – which now had its own university – were opposed to the Jesuit initiative to establish a university in Palermo (p. 258). This time the attempt to establish a Jesuit university failed, because Cardinal Giannettino Doria – 'the most powerful churchman in Sicily' – wanted to become the chancellor of the new university. The Jesuits wanted the post to themselves and when the 'three crown ministers' in charge of the issue ruled in favour of Cardinal Doria, the Jesuits withdrew from the undertaking with the outcome that Palermo had its university only in 1805.

Also, when discussing the case of Parma, Grendler observes the importance of the prestige that a new university would have brought both for the Duke Ranuccio I and for his state. Here Grendler questions the argument that Renaissance rulers founded universities 'in order to educate administrators' and, convincingly, points out that while this may have been true in the case of national monarchies such as England, small Italian duchies like Parma 'needed few administrators' and managed perfectly well with the services offered by the members of local noble families (pp. 158–9).

A further theme to emerge from Grendler's book is the impact which personal relationships between individual Jesuits and members of the ruling elite had on the Jesuit involvement in Italian universities. The Jesuit Antonio Possevino, for example, 'established a strong relationship' with Emanuele Filiberto, the duke of Savoy (p. 96). In Mantua, Luigi Gonzaga – a member of the ruling family – became a Jesuit and established the close relationship between the Jesuits and the Gonzaga family. In the mid-1620s, Duke Ferdinand Gonzaga established the university of Mantua with nine Jesuit professors teaching, for example, rhetoric, theology, natural philosophy and mathematics (pp. 190, 196–9). However, good connections and sufficient funding alone could not always guarantee the founding of a Jesuit university. This was the case in Palermo, where Pietro Salerno, a son of wealthy merchants, joined the Society of Jesus and – to no avail – used his connections and money to advance the Jesuit goal to establish a university there (pp. 255–6).

Yet another theme to recur in Grendler's book is the competition between Italian universities and the Jesuit colleges or possible Jesuit universities. As discussed in chapter 5 (aptly named 'the Padua disaster'), in Padua this competition led to such strong opposition to the local Jesuit school – which one professor of the university of Padua referred to as 'their university' – that in 1591 the school was ordered to stop teaching external students. In 1606, the Jesuits were expelled from the territory of Venice.

While the Jesuit network of colleges spread rapidly across different continents, it remained an important objective for the Jesuit superiors to establish or otherwise engage with universities. The Jesuit College of Rome (discussed in chapter 11) is an interesting example of the Jesuits trying to blur the boundaries between a college and a university in order to meet the goal of providing education in theology, an activity usually reserved for universities. Related to this point is the continuous rivalry between secular and Christian traditions of Aristotelianism, discussed in chapter 14. While the contrast – or opposition – between civic universities and the Jesuits' more religiously conscious approach to pedagogy (and Aristotle) no doubt played a major role in the developments



discussed in Grendler's book, his argument that in the 1530s such members of the university community at Paris who believed that 'the humanist approach to sacred studies led to heresy' included the first Jesuits (p. 26) contradicts what we know of the Jesuits' subsequent career as teachers of the *studia humanitatis*. The evidence that Grendler offers here is Nicolás Bobadilla's autobiography (Grendler himself questions the value of the source in his footnote 45), in which the notoriously cantankerous Jesuit remarks 'qui graecizabant, lutheranizabant' (those who were fond of Greek were fond of Luther). Perhaps the best way to interpret this alleged Jesuit hostility towards 'the humanist approach' in the 1530s is to assume that while to a certain extent such an attitude did exist, from the 1540s onwards the early Jesuits experienced a change of heart.

The interaction between the Jesuits and the Italian universities was laden with challenges and usually led to disappointment among the Jesuits. Grendler shows that, out of sixteen Italian universities, the Jesuits succeeded only with the universities of Parma, Mantua, Fermo and Macerata (in addition, they taught mathematics in three other universities). At least with regard to Parma and Mantua, the Jesuit successes may have had something to do with Grendler's observation that, for the Jesuits, it was easier to deal with princely families while the interaction with city councils was often difficult and unpredictable (pp. 441–3). It will be fascinating to see how, and if, Grendler's forthcoming work on Jesuit pre-university education will relate to the issues discussed in the book reviewed here. For example, it will be interesting to see how Grendler will discuss the role of rhetoric in Jesuit colleges. In the current book he states that rhetoric had an 'awkward place in the Jesuit curriculum' (p. 165). While it might be true that rhetoric was awkwardly placed somewhere between the lower and higher studies in Jesuit education, Jesuit humanists such as Pedro Juan Perpiña (1530–66) insisted on the crucial importance of rhetoric to all scholars, whether philosophers or theologians.

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***Religion in Early Stuart England, 1603–1638: An Anthology of Primary Sources.*** Edited by Debora Shuger. Baylor University Press. 2012. xxvii + 993pp. \$95.50.

***Religion in Tudor England: An Anthology of Primary Sources.*** Edited by Ethan H. Shagan and Debora Shuger. Baylor University Press. 2016. xxxiv + 638pp. \$89.95.

These are the first two volumes in an ambitious new series entitled 'Documents in Anglophone Christianity'. Although published in reverse chronological order they are best treated as a coherent whole, not least because *Religion in Early Stuart England* is provided with a 'Note on nomenclature' (pp. xxiii–xxvii) not replicated in *Religion in Tudor England* but which nonetheless proves relevant to both. All such collections of documents present considerable editorial challenges as regards the principles of selection and how much commentary to provide, often compounded by historiographical disputes. There is also the problem of the nature of the evidence itself. Thus in the present case the 'primary sources' chosen consist mainly of contemporary printed literature in English. But, as well as

the consequent omission of manuscript material, there is the fact that university religious teaching during this period was largely conducted in Latin. Moreover, what of the artefactual evidence, of church interiors and the like, which survives in considerable abundance? This last is all the more important given that a majority of the population were illiterate. Again, how broad a definition of 'religion' is best employed? Should it, for example, include political ideas, albeit left out of the account here? After all, the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church cover among other topics pacifism (no. 37) and communism (no. 38). Yet, despite such caveats, these two volumes exhibit considerable strengths, especially in their treatment of English devotional life, which reveals some striking continuities across the Reformation. This in turn helps Ethan Shagan and Debora Shuger to navigate their way through rival 'Protestant' and 'Catholic' interpretations, while providing a useful perspective on the much-debated religious developments under the early Stuarts.

Less happy, on the other hand, is their treatment of the famous, in some eyes infamous, Lambeth Articles of 1595, which stemmed from a dispute at Cambridge University concerning the theology of grace. According to Shagan and Shuger (pp. 330–46), these articles in their final form, far from embodying a Reformed or Calvinist view of predestination as generally assumed, were the work of an unidentified group of anti-Calvinist theologians and designed to accommodate so-called 'Arminians *avant la lettre*'. They base their claim on a clever piece of Arminian propaganda, published as a pamphlet in 1651. (Archbishop Laud, who described the Lambeth Articles as containing 'fatal opinions' incompatible with 'the practice of piety and obedience to all government', would have been very surprised to learn of their supposedly consensual nature: *Works*, VI. pp. 244–6.) The evidence indicates, however, that the Lambeth Articles do indeed endorse unconditional predestination and were the product of a meeting or meetings of the Court of High Commission, the senior members present being Archbishop Whitgift of Canterbury, Bishop Fletcher of London and Archdeacon Vaughan of Middlesex (a bishop-elect at the time), all of demonstrably Reformed sympathies. The articles were in turn approved by Archbishop Hutton of York, who was of the same doctrinal persuasion as the other three. What is more, instead of being 'suppressed' as anti-Calvinists later alleged, the Lambeth Articles continued to be regarded as interpretative guidelines concerning the doctrine of the English Church until the *renversement* of the 1620s. The editors also fail adequately to distinguish between 'supralapsarian' and 'sublapsarian' teaching on predestination, a difference of opinion among Calvinists which serves to explain the careful phrasing of the articles themselves.

This attempted sanitization of the Lambeth Articles from an anti-Calvinist point of view turns out, however, to be part of a much broader historiographical endeavour. Thus, although eschewing the term 'Anglican', Shagan and Shuger want to resurrect the distinctly battered concept of the English Church as embodying a *via media* or middle way between extremes (pp. xx, xxvii–xxviii). Presumably this is why they effectively omit any consideration of the widespread Protestant iconoclasm in sixteenth-century England, much of it officially inspired, and more specifically fail to treat the highly significant changes in eucharistic practice from the reign of Edward VI onwards. A further and related consequence is that the 'altar controversy' of the 1630s is reduced to a bare footnote (Shuger, p. 873). But in some ways even more surprisingly, Puritanism,

conceived of as a movement for further reformation, disappears completely from the pages of Shuger after the accession of James VI and I, and *Religion in Stuart England* ends in 1638 with no explanation or even anticipation of the revolution to come. The reader is similarly left guessing why there was an English Reformation in the first place. The implication seems to be that the religious changes in both cases were the result of extraneous political events. Yet such an approach runs the risk of reducing the power of ideas to vanishing point. Above all it ignores the impact of the Augustinian renaissance, courtesy of the printing press, which spawned the great Europe-wide debates about justification by faith alone and unconditional predestination, pitting Protestant against Roman Catholic and then Lutheran against Calvinist. England did not escape this intellectual upheaval and religion now became, willy-nilly, a new ingredient of politics.

On the subject of 'nomenclature', Shuger (and presumably her colleague Shagan agrees) employs criteria which will strike many historians as unduly purist as well as inconsistent. The descriptive labels employed, we are told, must be 'consistent with the *self*-understanding of those to whom they refer'; hence, among other things, 'the avoidance of "Arminian" for those who would have disowned the kinship'. Applying the Shuger test, there was apparently only one Arminian in early Stuart England: Samuel Hoard. Yet Shuger sees no problem with deploying the much later terms 'High Church' and 'Anglo-Catholic' to describe some of these same people (pp. xxiv–xxv). Here, however, it is worth recalling the title of a work, published in 1660, by Archbishop Laud's biographer and great champion, Peter Heylyn: *Historia Quinqu-Articularis or a Declaration of the Judgement of the Western Churches, and more particularly of the Church of England, in the Five Controverted Points, reproched in these Last Times by the Name of Arminianism*. Heylyn personally preferred the term 'Melanchthonian', in honour of the theologian who had helped to rescue Lutheranism from the 'rigid' predestinarianism of its founding father. But, whatever the name, the teaching in his view remained the same, that is to say predestination was conditional, on faith or its lack, and not simply dependent on an absolute decree of God.

Nevertheless, by way of conclusion, it is only fair to acknowledge the very considerable editorial labours that have evidently gone into producing these two handsome volumes. They comprise a rich collection of documents in their own right, many of which will be unfamiliar to most readers, including, for example, the revealing prayers of Thomas Bentley, the tantalizing excerpts from the Jesuit Henry Garnett, and the fascinating poems of William Strode and Francis Quarles. This is a body of material which can be profitably used by students, without worrying too much about some of the foregoing criticisms.

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***The Trouble with Tea: The Politics of Consumption in the Eighteenth-Century Global Economy.* By Jane T. Merritt.** Johns Hopkins University Press. 2017. xii + 212pp. \$22.95.

In *The Trouble with Tea: The Politics of Consumption in the Eighteenth-Century Global Economy*, Jane Merritt underscores the different ways in which tea

remained a troubling commodity throughout the eighteenth century. The growing demand for tea as a commodity of exchange stimulated commercial and imperial expansion in Asia, yet it remained problematic for the American and British companies and merchants navigating the political changes of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. As a consumer good, tea both increased comfort and pleasure through its drinking, but also raised uncomfortable questions around luxury, morality and nationhood. At the same time, it was problematic for governments keen to tax it and derive revenue but concerned about the political symbolism it slowly acquired. Tea was a site upon which important questions and discussions continued to take place throughout the century.

While written principally from the perspective of its significance within American history, *The Trouble with Tea* makes an important contribution by broadening understandings of tea and its role within global trade and political economy. Chapter 1 explores the centrality of tea to the English East India Company's trade, particularly from the late seventeenth century onwards, and underlines the importance of tea to the British state through the taxes it accrued for the government. During the early decades of the eighteenth century, Merritt shows the ways in which the English East India Company attempted to establish a monopoly over the Chinese tea trade. Such an ambition relied heavily on bullion supplies and led to the alienation of competing European merchant companies. As a result of such attempts, by the mid-eighteenth century the English East India Company had amassed a glut of tea, a situation that encouraged it to expand its markets in the west by looking across the Atlantic Ocean. In doing so the political economies of China, Britain and the American colonies became further intertwined. Although tea consumption was slow to establish itself within the American colonies, chapter 2 demonstrates that as the supply of tea increased and the price dropped in the late 1730s and early 1740s, American consumers came to embrace this new hot beverage. At this time, the cultural work of understanding tea and its place within American society also began in earnest, with discussions on luxury, vice and idleness, which (as in Britain) largely focused on women and their consumption of tea. Nevertheless, as demand grew, increasing numbers of merchants entered the business. Although attracted by potential profits, the increasing importance of tea as a commodity of exchange also caused concerns about national debt and bullion supplies. As chapter 3 shows, such concerns also manifested themselves in political discussions over dependency and relations with Britain. These discussions came to a head as Britain moved to tax tea following the Townshend Acts of 1767. Although many merchants and consumers took a stance at this time and agitated for the non-importation of British supplies of tea, the demand for tea continued to prompt American merchants to seek out supplies from other European agents and contraband markets. The situation eased in 1770 with the repeal of the Acts, but began again in 1773 with the Tea Act, which created more direct export relationships between Britain and America in order to support the work of the English East India Company.

As Merritt shows in chapter 4, during this period discussions over tea expanded to include concerns over the imperial exploits of the English East India Company on the subcontinent of India. Thus, as American merchants tasked with accepting shipments from Britain came to sign affidavits agreeing to refuse them and the events of the Boston Tea Party took place, the concerns voiced were part of broader arguments about the nature of British imperialism. As chapter 5

shows, despite the beginnings of the American Revolution and the focus on tea as a particularly political commodity, its consumption had become habituated within American homes and demand continued. The pricing and distribution of tea remained key issues throughout the 1770s and as chapter 6 demonstrates, the post-Revolution decades of the 1780s and 1790s witnessed an intensification of the need to establish connections with other suppliers and to find means of trading with Chinese markets directly. Like other traders, American merchants found that American goods would not suffice and that bullion was essential to such trade, causing fears around debt and bullion shortages. Nevertheless, domestic demand continued to grow in volume and sophistication, with more consumers demanding tea of different varieties. Such demands continued to remain troublesome within America, but the potential profits at stake meant that merchants invested time and resources in engaging with varied markets.

By placing the changing supply and consumption of tea within a global context, by following the supply chains further and investigating the political debates that surrounded them, Merritt enriches our understanding of how this commodity came to be meaningful within late eighteenth-century America. While a still greater variety of links could have been illuminated to demonstrate the importance of other European and Caribbean markets and intermediaries, by further illuminating the broader global context of seemingly well-known historical events, Merritt prompts readers to consider the deep entanglements of eighteenth-century trade and exchange. In doing so, her work underscores the need for further research showing the difficult, constantly changing nature of local engagements with global commodities.

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***Wealth and Disaster: Atlantic Migrations from a Pyrenean Town in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.* By Pierre Force.** Johns Hopkins University Press. 2016. xviii + 230pp. £33.50.

The background of this book is the dream of every historian: a coincidence that allows the academic to discover a whole new topic and a raft of historical sources that have not been exploited before. *Wealth and Disaster*, by Pierre Force, is the story of two French families, the Lamerenx and the Mouscardy, who started their life in a little Pyrenean city called La Bastide Clairence but emigrated to Saint-Domingue, thus taking part in the building of an Atlantic history. In exploring this formative moment in history for Saint-Domingue, Pierre Force's work puts forward not only the voices of the elite figures, but also those of commoners (p. 64).

Through a work of real investigation, Pierre Force has managed to reconstruct the paths of those two families thanks to copious judicial, notarial and legislative sources, both in France and in the West Indies, which are assembled together like a large puzzle. The profusion of detail can be unsettling at times, but Force is careful to remind the reader of the relationship between the different characters. The story that he tells is one not only of 'wealth and disaster', as he foregrounds in the title, but also of extreme mobility across the Atlantic Ocean, landownership and traditions (for the clash of the latter he relies on the general context given in the

works of Gabriel Debien, Jacques de Cauna, Christopher Miller, John Garrigus or Bernard Bailyn).

Many established ideas regarding the push factors of emigration from France (the living conditions of settlers in the West Indies, their relationship with slaves, the way slaves viewed their masters) are brushed away by Force. Through the experience of those two families and their offspring, the reader learns that it was not automatically the second or third son who would emigrate to succeed, but sometimes the eldest, the heir of the family would, for diverse reasons, try his luck in the colonies (p. 83). Force inducts the reader into the reality of plantation slavery through judicial cases about witchcraft, justice siding with masters and the ill-treatment of slaves (pp. 51–5). Within the pages of the book, it is clear that there was no Manichean vision of plantation life in the Caribbean at the time: Jean Mouscardy had mulatto children who were illegitimate but for whom he managed to arrange a deal and establish them as coffee planters (p. 85); free people of colour often owned plantations and slaves themselves (p. 49); and some slaves managed to protect and hide their white masters during the 1791 rebellion.

Force divides his work in two parts. The first part is focused on ‘wealth’ and events mainly before the slave revolt of 1791 and the second part deals with ‘disaster’ and is explained as a consequence of the Haitian Revolution, during which most white planters lost their coffee plantations to looting. The transition between those two periods is explained by Force as being about the illusion of wealth rather than real durable wealth (p. 61). The Haitian Revolution not only led to the independence and constitution of Haiti, it modified and had a long-lasting impact on its society, in terms of social strata, but also in the relationship between those social classes. Indeed, Force mentions ‘a new ideology of white purity’ (Garrigus, *Before Haiti*, in *Wealth and Disaster*, p. 99), which was triggered by the influx of poor white immigrants at the end of the eighteenth century, creating in the process new social classes: the *petits blancs* (poor whites), the *grands blancs* (wealthy whites), free blacks and slaves. This new organization of society led to the growth of myths about life before the revolution, with former slaves claiming they had been well treated by the *grands blancs* and blaming the *petits blancs* for their lost wealth and glory (p. 100).

In *Wealth and Disaster*, Force presents a story of political, personal, social and economic ruptures and continuities, while questioning, through the experience of those two French families, the notion of national belonging, of finding a home and providing for one’s descendants in an unsettled world.

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ELODIE PEYROL-KLEIBER

## Late Modern

**Germaine de Staël: A Political Portrait.** By **Biancamaria Fontana**. Princeton University Press. 2016. vii + 296pp. £27.95.

Today no one doubts the existence of a French liberal tradition. A proliferation of recent studies furnishes incontrovertible proof of this. We now have excellent scholarship not only on liberal historians and political theorists like Tocqueville, Constant and Guizot, and on Catholic liberals like Lacordaire, Lamennais and



Montalembert, but also on liberal political economists like Jean-Baptiste Say and Frédéric Bastiat. Additionally, there is outstanding work on twentieth-century liberal revivalists like François Furet, Marchel Gauchet and Pierre Manent, and the liberal political sociologist Raymond Aron. And there are no signs that this flourishing interest in French liberalism will abate in the near future.

In this rediscovery of an authentically French liberalism, Madame de Staël has not been neglected. Books and articles on her are appearing regularly, conferences are being held and modern editions of her work are being published. A translation of perhaps her most important work, *Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution*, just recently came out with Liberty Fund.

However, in her new book, *Germaine de Staël: A Political Portrait*, Bianca Maria Fontana observes that much of this scholarship on Madame de Staël remains focused on her personal life story. Even de Staël's intellectual production tends to be approached through the lens of biography. Thus, it is often described as motivated by private and personal issues, or as merely supporting or complementing the views of the powerful male intellects in her life, such as her father, Jacques Necker, or her long-time lover, Benjamin Constant, or, for that matter, any number of male intellectuals whom she met along the way.

Attention to Madame de Staël's personal life story is certainly understandable. The brilliant daughter of Jacques Necker, Louis XVI's controversial minister of finance and, at one point, one of the richest men in Europe, and Suzanne Curchod, an influential Parisian *salonnière*, Germaine de Staël led a fascinating life before her untimely death in 1817 at the age of 51. She witnessed the Revolution first hand, participated actively in its political life, met and sparred with intellectuals across Europe, and was received by the political and cultural elite wherever she went. A larger-than-life personality, she was loved and admired, hated and feared. As her biographers remind us, she had an active romantic life: one husband, at least fifteen lovers, and five children.

But Madame de Staël was also one of the period's most influential liberal intellectuals. In her own lifetime, she was recognized as an intellectual powerhouse. A fierce and formidable critic of Napoleon, she wrote not only bestselling novels, but many letters, essays and treatises expounding on liberal themes. For anyone who cares to read them there is no question that they should be included in the liberal canon and the fact that they are not reveals only our striking historical amnesia and scholarly myopia. According to the frequently quoted remark of one of her contemporaries, 'there are three great powers in Europe: England, Russia, and Madame de Staël'. This is why Fontana's book is such a welcome addition to existing scholarship.

It is clear that Madame de Staël shared certain key commitments with other liberals. Like them, she believed in the principles of civil equality, constitutional government and individual rights. However, according to Fontana, if we limit our understanding of Madame de Staël's liberalism to such notions, we risk misreading and misunderstanding her. Madame de Staël's most interesting and original side, Fontana argues, is the attention she pays to the 'liquid' elements in liberal regimes, in other words, the underlying factors that enable their survival and prosperity. Constitutions are not enough; the moral health of a nation and the right kind of 'emotional dynamics' are necessary as well.

In many ways, Madame de Staël was, at heart, a social psychologist and a moralist. She was intensely interested in the dynamics of public opinion, popular

moods and passions. She thought deeply about how to encourage the type of leadership that might channel these in benign directions. She worried not only about defending individual rights but about encouraging intellectual and moral improvement. Fostering compassion, humanity and courage in the French population and its leaders was as important to her as protecting the rights of individuals.

Fontana is right to direct our attention to the importance of Madame de Staël's moral concerns. Such issues are conventionally left out of our histories of liberalism, which mostly focus on individual rights and interests and the constitutional arrangements that protect these. Certainly, Fontana is also right when she states that Madame de Staël was never just a pale reflection of her male counterparts, but an independent and innovative thinker with widespread influence. One does wonder, however, just how unique Madame de Staël's moral concerns were and whether they alone constitute Madame de Staël's originality. She was surely not the only liberal who worried about the absence of good leaders and the moral and intellectual condition of France.

The true value of Fontana's book is thus not just that it reminds us of the importance of Madame de Staël, or that we learn of her interests in the emotional dynamics of liberal regimes. It is also that by including Staël in the pantheon of liberal founders, Fontana forces us to revise our understanding of what 'classical liberalism' really *is*. Early liberal thinkers like Madame de Staël were not just interested in constitutional reform, individual freedoms and minimal government. Original liberalism, as conceived in France in the wake of the French Revolution, was also as much about fostering collective moral health, public education, compassion and generosity. And, as Fontana says, this is where Madame de Staël speaks most urgently to us today.

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HELENA ROSENBLATT

***The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815–1914.* By Richard J. Evans. Allen Lane/Penguin. 2016. xxiv + 819pp. £12.99.**

The nineteenth century is undoubtedly back as an object of historiography. As nationalism seeps into political debate, as large-scale migration within and between countries and continents rises, and as we calculate the costs, benefits, and future of globalization, taking stock of the nineteenth century – as the first truly 'global' century in which many of these issues first emerged – seems particularly worthwhile.

Current historians are more sceptical of earlier accounts of the nineteenth century that advance one unifying narrative, whether ongoing industrialization or the evolution of the nation-state. They are more apt to emphasize that nineteenth-century Europe was not uniform in its development, nor was the experience of contemporaries similar across the continent. More importantly, the 'global turn' in history has heralded a closer reading of Europe's role as chief driver of global forces, undermining the notion of Europe as a hermetically sealed continent. As historians like Christopher Bayly and Jurgen Osterhammel have shown, Europe's role in shaping the nineteenth-century world was always ambiguous: its global reach was never complete, and the consequences of its influence around the world

were uncertain. Europe's century it undoubtedly was, but its apparent supremacy was much more contingent, and the course of the nineteenth century itself much messier, than older historical accounts conceded.

It is the trend towards a more global history that Professor Sir Richard Evans strives to channel in *The Pursuit of Power: Europe 1815–1914*, volume VII of the 'Penguin History of Europe'. Evans, chiefly a historian of modern German history, handles the many demands of documenting a crowded century well, aware of the diversity existing within and between states and regions. The Europe that emerges from this long book of over 800 pages is triumphant yet uneasy, liberal yet reactionary, distinctly modern yet strangely pre-modern, relatively stable yet increasingly jostling. What is revealed is less the nineteenth century as an Age of Improvement than as an Age of Ambivalence. Power, for Evans, is what defines the nineteenth century. States strove for it (or actively grabbed it overseas), social groups struggled for economic and political power, and overall, society sought power over the natural world. Well aware of the complementary and often conflicting themes at play through the course of the 'long nineteenth century', Evans focuses on power in order to bind the disparate sub-themes together. The century was a 'mixture of strangeness and familiarity' and his account is subtle enough to convey this properly to the reader.

The book is divided into eight chapters. The century's political history is covered in four chapters, with two chapters devoted to social and economic history and two chapters on cultural history. Yet political history, of statesmen and congresses, does not dominate. Throughout the book Evans underlines the human dimension. Each chapter opens with a biographic sketch of an individual who lived through the topics discussed in the chapter. Darwin, Gladstone and Bismarck may well have been used to chart the century's development in a more traditional account, but Evans has chosen four men and four women whose lives prove much more illuminating in understanding the nineteenth century as a lived experience.

Evans weaves a colossal amount of detail into the narrative, tracking back and forth across the continent highlighting local differences, detail and nuance. The book is comprehensive and encyclopaedic, and Evans should be praised for his success at binding it all into a coherent narrative. The Penguin series is aimed at the general reader, so omits citation. The book, Evans stresses, is 'designed to be read through from start to finish'. Helpfully, Evans divides each of the eight chapters into ten sections, yet the serious-minded tone and admirable attempt at synthesis across the entire continent could test some readers' staying power. Encyclopaedic history is the current vogue, yet there is still a place for felicity and concision.

Evans covers the familiar themes of rapid and radical change astutely. Over the course of the century Europe's population doubled; its economy industrialized and expanded hugely; cities grew or sprang up; its people lived longer and were better fed; illiteracy rates fell; politics became less autocratic and a little more democratic; science chipped away at religious certainties; communications joined up distant places. But Evans usefully points out that Europe did not move in unison nor did its people. The urban shift throughout Europe was pronounced, yet rural ties and agriculture still mattered. In 1900, for example, over half of Italians, Spanish, and Austro-Hungarians still worked the land, as 80 per cent of Russians did. Serfdom officially ended in 1861 but patrician practices in eastern

Europe continued to frame much of rural life. Faith ebbed, though as a result religion took on a missionary and populist edge, going urban and global to combat the coming secular tide. Wages rose yet inequality persisted. The 'Vienna System' maintained the peace (what few conflicts there were, were short and localized), yet domestically political order was often fragile. The 1848 convulsions failed, but they had a lasting impact in pushing – or dragging – European states towards liberal constitutionalism, though at differing speeds. Industrialization spread but was fitful and uneven in its impact. Leisure pursuits were enjoyed by more and more people as the century neared its end, but there was a nagging hollowness to life despite this. News of war in 1914 swept rapidly through the world thanks to the telegraph and the telephone, but some on the fringes of Europe remained completely unaware that war had been declared and who was fighting.

What Evans's account lacks is a fuller appreciation of Europe's place in a nineteenth-century world that it dominated but did not solely occupy. He acknowledges the work of Bayly and Osterhammel in the preface and declares his intention to incorporate a transnational perspective, but, while Evans accepts the importance of a global dimension, he does not fully grapple with it. European domination of the world was clear and often brutal, as Evans skilfully demonstrates, yet it was only partial and temporary. One way of alluding to this might be to open his chapter on late nineteenth-century imperialism with the biography of a missionary in China – where the missionary experience was hard and unrewarding. This may have better illustrated the way Europe impinged on a globalizing world but in only a partial sense dominated it. Indeed, sketching the experience of Chinese toiling in the Glasgow shipyards or the views of a Japanese delegation visiting Europe could have illustrated the ambivalence non-Europeans may have felt towards Europe and the world it shaped. Europe marked the nineteenth century indelibly, but its influence reverberated in many interesting and complex ways. Evans might have made more of this.

Given the length and scope of the book, a proper conclusion that summarized and took stock of the century might also have been included. What did the nineteenth century mean to contemporaries, and how did they view it from the vantage point of 1914? Evans's book ends fairly predictably with the lights going out over Europe in 1914, but it would have been more daring and suggestive to end his account of Europe's century in 1905 with Japan's victory over Russia. Still, this is merely a grumble: the long nineteenth century could be a little shorter or longer depending on tastes. *Pursuit of Power* is a significant advance on conventional accounts, while remaining in many ways conventional.

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***The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1838–1956: A History.* By James Heartfield. Hurst. 2016. xii + 486pp. £45.00.**

The relationship between humanitarianism and empire has received an increase in critical scholarly attention over the past decade. Hagiographic

accounts of liberal interventionism have been challenged by an approach which looks carefully at the intersection between economic and political state interests, and their impact on imperial policy. As this book argues, British anti-slavery in the nineteenth century served a dual purpose; it allowed Britain to demonstrate its moral authority and right to rule, as well as offering the opportunity to make further incursions into the different theatres of empire, most notably the interior of Africa. In shifting the focus away from heroic individuals and the discourse of imperial benevolence, Heartfield offers a detailed account of the ways in which humanitarianism was both concerned with, and compromised by, the geopolitical priorities of the British government throughout the period. In the light of recent debates surrounding the role of the foreign aid budget, this book offers a contextualization of the historic intersection between the British imperial project, the 'civilizing mission' and its global anti-slavery activism.

Heartfield has taken the world's oldest campaigning human rights organization as an institutional framework for engaging with this history. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS) began life in 1839; in 1909 it merged with the Aborigines' Protection Society, before finally changing its name to Anti-Slavery International in 1990. Given the organization's position in the history of humanitarianism, alongside its extensive and well-preserved archive, this volume is both a welcome and a necessary addition to the scholarship. Heartfield acknowledges that his book is the 'history of an organisation' (p. vii) and not of a movement, and this is reflected in the sources he has chosen to focus on. The footnotes are dominated by references to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; while this is a remarkable source of information, the narrative might have been further enriched through a greater inclusion of relevant material external to the organization's official publications. Choosing to focus on a single institution offers the author the ability to cover an extensive set of geographies and historiographies, allowing the reader a broad overview of British anti-slavery over the course of more than 120 years. BFASS traces its roots to the abolitionist movement of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Heartfield offers the briefest of introductions to this period but his narrative really begins in the aftermath of the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean. This periodization allows him to concentrate on the formation of BFASS in the wake of some of the failures of emancipation, following its history up to the post-war 1950s when the organization entered into a period of waning influence. The book is divided into three sections; the first deals with the Americas, the second with Africa and the Middle East, and the third with the broader empire (although the focus remains for the most part on Africa). The issue of Australia and the Aborigines' Protection Society is dealt with by Heartfield in a separate publication. Even with this slight narrowing of the historical material there is an almost overwhelming cast of characters and political contexts to absorb.

There are some fascinating moments within the book that tell the reader much about the complicated and sometimes fraught competing interests at work in BFASS. The section on the relationship between anti-slavery and Chartism provides an interesting insight into the different hierarchical claims of race and class in the Victorian period. In relation to these fractious undercurrents the author carefully delineates the inter-factional struggles between the radical and

moderate strands of anti-slavery. This tension is particularly well elucidated through an analysis of the relationship with American anti-slavery activists. Of interest to many readers will be the chapter dedicated to the American Civil War and BFASS's reluctance to support the Northern States. The impact of national and class prejudices, combined with persistent divergences on tactics and rhetoric, led to a seemingly incomprehensible refusal to throw the considerable moral weight of BFASS behind Lincoln and his anti-slavery Union cause. This section is enhanced through a consideration of some of the outside forces and actors who shaped the British anti-slavery movement in this period.

Heartfield suggests that it was the destruction of America's peculiar institution that shifted the anti-slavery gaze from the Atlantic world to the East African or Arab slave trade. There follows an interesting discussion on the ways in which anti-slavery was used as a proxy battleground in the struggle over who would dominate in eastern Africa – European Christians or Arab Muslims? As the author is quick to point out, 'Nobody asked whether the Africans ought to rule in Africa' (p. 231). Heartfield argues that this pivot towards Africa saw BFASS become integrated to a far greater degree with both colonial officialdom and the missionary societies. With this move BFASS became part of the established mainstream of British foreign policy. For BFASS, which saw no conflict between an emancipationist agenda and the colonial project, the empire was the means through which the gospel of Christianity, civilization and anti-slavery would be spread throughout the world. The deeply problematic nature of this assumption is most profoundly illustrated in the chapter on the Congo, which demonstrates how the rhetoric of anti-slavery provided a humanitarian foil for violence and expropriation on an industrial scale. In this instance anti-slavery was the tool by which King Leopold II of Belgium asserted his personal claim to what became known as the Congo Free State. From the late 1870s onwards Leopold was enthusiastically endorsed by BFASS, which championed his anti-slavery agenda, a position they maintained until 1905 (pp. 368–74). The horror of what unfolded has been cited as one of the most extreme instances of colonial brutality as millions of Congolese lost their lives and limbs through a regime of forced labour in pursuit of rubber. The book ends with a consideration of the impact of the anti-colonial movements of the twentieth century on questions of both labour and self-governance. Independence, Heartfield argues, had never been the kind of liberation that BFASS imagined and thus with the onset of decolonization the organization became less relevant.

Overall the book is an ambitious attempt to document and explain the shifting actions and ideologies of BFASS over time. The chapters work well as comprehensive and factually rich summaries of the histories they cover, but by necessity of the sheer number of different topics included the author has only a limited space to represent these complex international interactions. The role that anti-slavery organizations played, and indeed continue to play, in shaping ideas about race for a predominantly western audience is flagged up by the author, although it is an underdeveloped aspect of the narrative. Given current contestations over the issue of modern slavery, particularly in relation to politically charged subjects like the refugee crisis, this book reminds us that humanitarian action is not and has never been neutral.

*University of Nottingham*

KATIE DONINGTON 



***Daughters of the Anglican Clergy: Religion, Gender and Identity in Victorian England.*** By Midori Yamaguchi. Palgrave Macmillan. 2014. xiv + 324pp. £68.00.

This is a group portrait of clergy daughters in the Victorian Anglican Church. Midori Yamaguchi demonstrates that this is a viable and worthwhile project because these women, enthused by the drive and energy to serve the Church, did have a distinct identity. They became involved with a multitude of caring roles. Yamaguchi has searched family papers and turned up an unknown story. She has revealed a remarkable set of religious dynasties: there were the eight daughters of George Moberley, headmaster at Winchester College in the 1830s and later, in 1869, bishop of Salisbury, born between 1835 and 1846. Mark Pattison had ten daughters between 1816 and 1832. Christopher Wordsworth had five daughters between 1840 and 1852. Perhaps the best known of these dynasts was Archibald Tait, father to eight girls from 1846 onwards, five of whom died tragically in the same year, 1856.

Yamaguchi builds her account around the life pattern of these women. She begins with the peculiar atmosphere and way of life of the Victorian parsonage, where girls such as these learnt about what she calls the 'religious family enterprise'. She traces their introduction as deferential members of their father's flock to the varieties of parish work, moving out from its core business to beyond the church network and missionary activities: 'my duty is to get acquainted with everybody' runs a chapter heading. Then, in three closely argued chapters, comes the analysis of the mission of the clergy daughter, often through marriage into the Church and the home duties this involved. Many of course became teachers.

For some a clerical upbringing led to escape, especially when a marriage like that of Sybil Thorndike, a famous St Joan and wife of Hugh Casson, led to a hugely successful stage career. But Thorndike was wholly exceptional in that sense, though 'many parsonage-bred women who grew up after the 1860s had been acting from their childhood in parish entertainments and their success in the parish gave them confidence' to continue with stage careers. Many more though were pioneers of women's education or toiled long in unpaid charitable or social work.

An interesting section of the book deals with daughters who stayed at home to care for the older generation. The expectation that this was a primary duty for females in a clerical family remained absolute. Thus Elizabeth Wordsworth could only fulfil her role as Principal of Lady Margaret Hall because her sister Susan, and her other sister Dorothy until her marriage, remained at home. It remained fundamental, Yamaguchi argues, for a woman to give up her career when she was needed by her family. This was a different world from ours. The book undoubtedly benefited enormously from the scrupulous supervision, at the post-graduate stage, of that doyen of English gender studies the late Leonore Davidoff.

*Moreton-in-Marsh*

ANTHONY FLETCHER

***Desire and Defiance: A Study of Bengali Women in Love, 1850–1930.*** By Aparna Bandyopadhyay. Orient BlackSwan. 2016. xvi + 303pp. Rs.1095.00/\$54.00.

Discussion of women's sexuality and ways and means to control their supposedly 'natural' transgressive behaviour dominated public print culture in

colonial India. Although the entire repertoire of ancient Indian literature is full of patriarchal suspicion of the promiscuous behaviour of women, what is unique about the colonial period is the heightened paranoia of the Hindu intelligentsia (drawn mostly from the upper castes and middle classes) pertaining to women's sexuality. This heightened paranoia was largely because of the new opportunities and avenues opened up to Indian women by the colonial modernity. Consequently, as early feminist historians have pointed out, attempts were made to control women and their sexuality more comprehensively. In this regard even the social reforms directed towards women have been seen as eventually leading to a 'recasting of patriarchy' in multiple ways. In fact, as argued by feminist scholars, both reformists and revivalists wanted to control women's sexuality and the difference between the two groups lay primarily in the remedies they proposed. While the reformists wanted to reform some of the existing traditions to curb upper-caste women's promiscuous tendencies, revivalists feared that reforms would only aggravate such tendencies. Hence, the motive of both groups was the same so far as women were concerned and they differed only in their methods.

Nonetheless, later feminist scholars realized that women in colonial India were not the 'passive' victims of the aforesaid male-centric patriarchal discourse. Instead, women did have 'agency' of their own and on several occasions they registered their dissenting voices through print, colonial courts, or simply through their everyday non-conformist activities. In other words, recent feminist scholars have started focusing on tracing the 'recalcitrant' or 'audacious' voices of women in colonial India. In fact, as argued by a feminist historian Charu Gupta, the very existence of so much didactic literature on what women should do, how they should dress, how they should behave, what they should read, and so on, is in itself indicative of the fact that the women, in general, were not following the norms and boundaries set for them (Gupta, *Sexuality, Obscenity and Community: Women, Muslims, and the Hindu Public in Colonial India*, 2001). Thus, the idea of 'women's agency' has cropped up in a major way in recent feminist writings discussing colonial India.

The present monograph by Aparna Bandyopadhyay reinstates the aforesaid arguments made by feminist historians. She focuses her attention on the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century transgressive acts of upper-caste Bengali women in love and the corresponding paranoia of the Bengali Hindu intelligentsia. Bandyopadhyay has shown how even the most progressive acts of the time such as the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856 and the Special Marriage Act of 1872 were actually driven by patriarchal anxieties arising out of the supposedly 'natural' propensity of women to engage in extra-marital affairs and the aggressive female libido. Various testimonies of contemporary reformers and advocates of Hindu social reform have been cited in this regard by Bandyopadhyay. She cites, for instance, one advocate of widow remarriage who raised his doubts over the utility of forced widowhood by indicating the supposedly 'eight times more powerful sexual desire' of women compared with that of men (p. 2). Similarly, the advocates of the Special Marriage Act of 1872, which introduced the element of 'choice' in the case of Brahma marriages, were actually motivated by concerns over the rebellious sexual transgression of women entrapped in marriages where their 'choice' was hardly sought.

Similarly, as shown by Bandyopadhyay, even the need for women's education was felt by the reformers to free them from their 'lowly' instincts. Hence, they very carefully designed a 'women-specific curriculum' and shunned all such literature which could entice women to step outside their familial boundaries and engage in transgressive sexual acts. In chapter 2 Bandyopadhyay discusses in detail the fear of the Bengali intelligentsia regarding the burgeoning genre of novels portraying women's transgressive love. Simultaneously, there were vociferous attempts to chastise many of the age-long pre-colonial Hindu anthologies, such as that of Radha and Krishna, which portrayed transgressive love. Here Bandyopadhyay has brought out the unusual connection between the discourse of the late colonial reformers and the rhetoric of a revivalist Hindu cultural nationalism.

Furthermore, taking her cue from recent feminist writings, Bandyopadhyay has also brought out 'women's agency' in all the aforementioned discourses. This 'agency' of women embodied itself at two different levels – one was the level of organized initiatives of the Brahmo and Hindu upper-caste women to encourage 'marriage based on choice', as delineated by Bandyopadhyay in chapter 1. This organized 'agency' was also reflected through the counter-discourse created by women 'attempting the pen and print' in colonial Bengal from the middle of the nineteenth century. The second level of asserting 'agency' by women was related to the more mundane day-to-day sphere. Here drawing inspiration from Haynes and Prakash (eds, *Contesting Power: Resistance and Everyday Social Relations in South Asia*, 1992), Bandyopadhyay has brought out numerous instances of 'everydayness of resistance' by 'deviant' Bengali women.

Nonetheless, the most striking and unique feature of Bandyopadhyay's work is the attempt to go beyond the argument of 'women's agency' and to look at the harsh realities of life which these 'deviant' women faced as a consequence of their 'everyday resistance'. Feminist scholars, in their attempt to celebrate 'women's agency' embedded within a patriarchal set-up, often forget to look at these harsh realities; which, to her credit, Bandyopadhyay has not. She rightly points out that 'love, whether conjugal, pre-conjugal, or extra-conjugal, was thus an intrinsically gendered experience' (p. 237). She very convincingly shows that such acts of individual defiance hardly emancipated women from the stranglehold of patriarchy. Instead, owing to their dramatic, silent and insidious everyday acts of resistance, these transgressive and defiant women in love often met with a miserable fate in the form of social ostracism; deception, desertion, mutilation and murder by their lovers; unwanted pregnancy and abortion; prostitution; and on occasions suicide. Such was/is the overarching presence of patriarchy, which is discussed in detail by Bandyopadhyay in chapters 3, 4 and 5. In other words, Bandyopadhyay nowhere romanticizes 'women's agency' over the harsh realities faced by these brave women who, on occasions, dragged their lovers to the court to assert their own and their child's right to maintenance. However, as she shows, these colonial courts often ended up by upholding the same shastric prescriptions on women's 'chastity'.

In the end, there is no major shortcoming in the rich and fascinating narrative of Aparna Bandyopadhyay, which is based on rigorous archival work. However, one wonders at the relative neglect of Frederick Engels's impressive analytical framework for understanding monogamous marriage based on the 'myth of love'

in the present monograph (Engels, *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, 1884; see Eleanor B. Leacock's 1972 edition). To put it differently, the economic explanation of the paranoia of the Hindu intelligentsia pertaining to transgressive non-marital sexual acts of Bengali women has not been emphasized substantially in the present work. This may well, of course, be a conscious choice on the part of the author. In the end, one firmly agrees with the appraisal made by Geraldine Forbes in her foreword to the present work that 'the women Bandyopadhyay has rescued from erasure were not the mindless victims of missionary accounts, reformist tracts and conservative imaginings, but living, breathing, thinking, loving, adventurous, brave, foolish and daring women' (p. xii).

*University of Delhi*

SAURAV KUMAR RAI

***The Building Society Promise: Access, Risk, and Efficiency 1880–1939.* By Antoninus Samy.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xxiii + 296pp. £65.00.

This book reads very like a very good thesis. Clear, cautious and painstaking, the introduction and each of the four chapters that follow review the relevant literature, set out what is to be done, explain the methodology to be adopted, discuss the evidence consulted, enumerate the strengths and weaknesses of the arguments put forward, and then recapitulate what has been achieved. The book's more than 130 figures and tables (together with its four statistical appendices) tend to become rather overwhelming, and the writing, while always clear, is sometimes a little laboured.

This then is not an easy read. But it is worth persevering. *The Building Society Promise: Access, Risk and Efficiency* tackles the vexed question of whether or not English building societies lived up to their promise of helping working-class people purchase their own homes. Antoninus Samy's methodological rigour is impressive, his interrogation of the sources indefatigable, his arguments meticulously, and convincingly, nuanced. Drawing upon economic theories of mutual society behaviour and adopting what he calls 'rational historical reconstruction', he analyses the records of eight different building societies, with particular emphasis upon the Co-operative Permanent Building Society (CPBS), an outlier of the wider co-operative movement, which was established in 1884.

Samy's conclusion is that the building society movement was justified in its claims that it did much to promote working-class owner occupation. Before 1918, he argues, it was a combination of managerial commitment and the quality of the information fed through from their agency networks that enabled the societies to lend safely to groups otherwise excluded from the mortgage market. 'By careful selection and monitoring of their borrowers, the "ardent social reformers" running the CPBS realised their vision of helping as many working men and women as possible to own their own homes, and in doing so made real the dream of home ownership at a time when it was largely considered to be beyond the grasp of working-class people' (p. 131).

Although the societies continued to lend to working people, both skilled and unskilled, in the years following the First World War, there were significant changes. With demand growing, competition between the societies intensified as

they sought to maintain or increase market share. The CPBS and other large societies began to turn from the agency networks that had served them so well to new, more centrally located, more impersonal branch structures. The resulting loss of the informational advantages they had enjoyed previously meant that they needed to establish new, more formal, ways of ensuring the creditworthiness of potential borrowers. This they did by, for example, raising the down payments they demanded, increasing the interest rates they charged and shortening the repayment periods they allowed. In effect, believes Samy, there developed a split into two separate groups: 'a movement of "traditional" building societies which were local, personal, and prudent in their financial dealings . . . and a movement of "retail" societies in the new era, better suited to the mass markets for housing and savings that emerged in the interwar period' (p. 253).

*The Building Society Promise* could scarcely be more austere and disciplined. It is only at the very end of the book that Samy allows himself to consider explicitly the broader implications of his work. His research shows, he concludes, that the past has lessons for the present – and urgent lessons at that.

In a banking sector reeling from the reckless behaviour caused by uninhibited growth and executive pay in recent years, the reformers of the banking sector would do well to look at the pre-war world of the building society movement when societies were managed by local people with an acute knowledge of the real economic needs of their communities. (p. 268)

*University of Wolverhampton*

JOHN BENSON

***Asia and the Great War: A Shared History.* By Xu Guoqi.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xvii + 275pp. £35.00.

***The History Problem: The Politics of War Commemoration in East Asia.* By Hiro Saito.** University of Hawai'i Press. 2016. x + 279pp. \$62.00.

The Asian experience in the two world wars has taken a long time to enter western historiography. The Asian theatre of the Second World War has been significantly covered in scholarship, of course, but the majority of work has been on the European front, with western Europe predominating. The vast majority of coverage of the Great War has concentrated on Europe, again with western Europe to the fore. Only in the past couple of decades have there been significant moves towards exploring aspects of the non-western theatres of war in greater detail.

Both *Asia and the Great War* by Xu Guoqi and *The History Problem* by Hiro Saito contribute to this growing literature. Both are excellent studies of previously under-examined areas in the history and memory of modern global war in Asia. Xu's book is a comparative study of several different Asian countries' roles in the First World War, whereas Saito's is a study of the way in which Japanese memory of the war has complicated the country's relations with its Asian neighbours in the contemporary era.

Xu Guoqi is already an accomplished historian of one under-served area of study, the Chinese role in the First World War, on which he wrote a much-

praised monograph *China and the Great War: China's Pursuit of a New National Identity and Internationalization* (2005). His new book returns to East Asia, but goes beyond China to show a wider picture of how the Great War shaped political movements in the region. It is worth noting that overall the level of actual conflict in East Asia was very limited. Japan used its status as a Pacific power of growing importance to solidify its position in the region. Xu points out that 'Japan had little at stake in the European war' (p. 26), but could see the possibility of seizing the important port of Qingdao (Tsingtao), which was a German possession, by entering the war on Britain's side under the terms of the 1902 Anglo-Japanese Alliance, although Britain was not very enthusiastic about invoking its terms. Through summer and autumn 1914, the German fortress in Qingdao was besieged by the Japanese, finally falling on 7 November; 200 Germans had been killed during the battle, and 422 Japanese (p. 32). The Japanese were assisted by the British 36th Sikh regiment, an example of how Asian troops were used by one imperial power against another. Japan continued to play an important supplementary role, her ships accompanying Australian and New Zealand ships through the Pacific and Indian oceans. China, in contrast, was still in the first years of the weak republic founded after the 1911 revolution, and divided up into areas ruled by militarist leaders. Yet the Beijing government realized that participation in the European war might be an effective way to bolster China's position and regain some of the rights and territory that it had lost after the defeats by the western powers and Japan from the mid-nineteenth century. Between 1916 and 1918, some 100,000 Chinese labourers were sent to the Western Front to support the British war efforts behind the frontlines, as the western powers became increasingly desperate to throw resources at the stalemate; Winston Churchill claimed: 'I would not even shrink from the word "Chinese" for the purpose of carrying on the War' (p. 45).

In Xu's account, however, the really important effect of the Great War in Asia was its role in stimulating nationalist movements. He looks in turn at the way in which Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese and Indian nationalisms were affected by the upheaval of the war years. Xu engages with the agenda in Erez Manela's *The Wilsonian Moment* (2007), which argued for the aftermath of the Great War as a time when Woodrow Wilson's ideas of self-determination (aimed at European nations) influenced non-western anti-colonial movements in Asia and North Africa. Xu draws on a wide range of readings and extensive work in archives (in particular the UK National Archive) that demonstrate the rising nationalist feeling among Asian peoples under colonial dominion. He shows that many of the hopeful Asian figures (including a young Ho Chi Minh) who hoped to advocate the case for their peoples soon found that they were either rejected or ignored by Wilson, Lloyd George and Clemenceau. Instead, one of the most important elements of the shared experience of Paris was to create new bonds between Asian peoples. In clear, if slightly stilted, English, Korean nationalist Young L. Park wrote on 1 October 1919 that 'China is a weakest country but a nearest friend of us today' (p. 148). As Xu shows in his concluding chapter, suggestively titled 'Asia rethinks its relations to the world', the region's intellectuals became quickly disillusioned with what they regarded as the hypocrisy of the West. Instead, ideas such as pan-Asianism emerged in the search for a new ideology that would supplant western influence in Asia.



Pan-Asianism, we now know, did not succeed in freeing Asia from western rule. 'The root of that failure', Xu notes, 'might be found in Japan's dominant role' (p. 245). For within a decade, pan-Asianism had mutated from its original formulation by American-influenced Japanese intellectuals as a way of creating a new form of collective identity in the region. By the 1930s, it had become a racially inflected ideology of Japanese superiority over other peoples in the region, and a justification for colonial occupation and, ultimately, the invasion of China.

It is the legacy of that Asia-Pacific War that Japan inflicted upon the region that the sociologist Hiro Saito seeks to understand in his thoughtful and nuanced book. Saito concentrates on what is delicately termed 'the history problem': the continuing tension in international relations between Japan, China and South Korea because of these countries' inability to achieve reconciliation over the legacy of the Second World War in Asia. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu, Saito argues for 'East Asia's history problem as a political field wherein relevant actors compete over the legitimate commemoration of the Asia-Pacific War' (p. 10). At its simplest, the 'problem' emerges from the perception among many Chinese and Koreans that Japan has not apologized sufficiently or with adequate sincerity for its war crimes in the region. Saito examines the effects of various tactics – speeches, compensation and education in particular – that have made up Japan's primary approaches to resolution of the problem, and gives a detailed and very useful account of the way in which the Japanese political sphere has attempted to deal with the issue since the early post-war period.

One of the primary pieces of evidence that Saito brings up is the Tokyo Trial of 1948 (more formally, the International Military Tribunal for the Far East), at which major Japanese politicians were sentenced to death or long terms of imprisonment for their wartime actions. Even at the time, the trial's verdicts were controversial. The Indian judge, Radhabinod Pal, declared: 'If it is really law which is being applied I would like to see even the members of the victor nations being brought before such tribunals' (p. 137), and refused to affirm the 'guilty' verdicts of the other judges. The Allied forces firebombed Tokyo and other Japanese cities, leaving behind hundreds of thousands of dead, and of course released two atomic bombs of terrifying power. Saito notes that this does not in any way justify the argument heard today on the Japanese nationalist right (and implied in public spaces such as the Yushukan museum attached to the Yasukuni shrine in central Tokyo) that Japan never committed war crimes in the first place. 'The two wrongs – the acts of aggression committed by Japan and the Allied powers – do not make a right', he argues (p. 137).

Saito moves on to a commendable set of suggestions that better education would increase understanding between the Asian nations and the United States about what the others suffered during the war. Yet, as he acknowledges, there is a set of hidden assumptions behind the post-war discourse that have not yet been confronted. 'The Tokyo Trial's failure to confront colonialism obstructed Japan's commemoration of the sufferings of Asians' (p. 139), he notes; in other words, Britain and France, as colonial powers, failed to allow an argument that Japan's acts, while reprehensible, were as much a product of a colonial world-view as the conquest of India or Indochina. A critical reassessment of the Trial, he argues, needs to make sure that 'the responsibility for the Asia-Pacific War will be collectively and fairly distributed between Japan and the Allied powers in the

light of the world-historical context of imperialism and colonialism in the first half of the twentieth century' (p. 153).

The argument is certainly tenable, but is perhaps more controversial than Saito allows. One of those Allied powers – one often forgotten – was China, and there is certainly no appetite in that country today to argue for a more balanced approach to the causes of the Asia-Pacific War in which the blame would be divided between the Allies and Japan. Current historiography in China would acknowledge the power of British imperialism in particular in China in the 1930s, but also point out the success of the then Nationalist (Guomindang) government in reducing imperialism's power during that period. Chinese politicians, then and now, would argue that the Japanese invasion of China (the first phase of the Asia-Pacific War) was driven not by fear of western imperialism in Asia, which was declining in power by the 1930s, but by western and particularly American efforts to support a stronger sovereign China that could not be dominated by any western power. A rising Chinese nationalism was the direct threat to the dominance that Japan sought in China during the 1930s; not a declining British or French empire. The Americans did not enter the Second World War in Asia to defend European empires, but to bring about their end, along with Japan's. (Winston Churchill, for one, was well aware of this fact, as shown in Christopher Thorne's 1978 classic *Allies of a Kind*.) As China's power grows, its own rather distinctive views on the legacy of the war years are likely to become a more important element of the 'history problem'.

Both of these books shed much-needed light on the important topics of the effects and legacy of wartime in modern Asia. Xu's is a concise, sharply written account of the Great War in Asia that will be of immense use to students and scholars alike. Saito's is a humane, highly informed argument on a topic that continues to shape relations in East Asia today and will be of interest to historians, sociologists and international relations specialists. Both are fine scholarly contributions which add real value to the field.

*University of Oxford*

RANA MITTER

***Living the Revolution: Urban Communes and Soviet Socialism, 1917–1932.* By Andy Willimott. Oxford University Press. 2017. xv + 203pp. £60.00.**

In the centennial year of the Russian Revolution of 1917 post-mortems continue to dismiss the radical possibilities of the revolution. Tired clichés about inevitable failure and collapse abound. Lenin is once again condemned as a German agent, and the romance and enthusiasms of the early revolutionary years are buried in insistent reminders that all that passion and purpose would inevitably lead to Stalinism and totalitarianism. In many anniversary accounts the revolution is exhumed only to be re-entombed in convictions that such utopian efforts only lead to the Gulag. Modernization, we are told, leads to a modernity that enslaves in new, more effective and less immediately apprehended ways. Russia is fated, doomed to authoritarianism because the alternative egalitarian and democratic dreams were impossible to realize in such a benighted country. The most generous emotional response of professional critics is regret that things did not work out or could not work out as Lenin and the Bolsheviks

vainly hoped; the more common response is a full-throated condemnation of any attempt to move beyond capitalism, liberalism and individualism. Socialism is left on the trash heap of history.

Andy Willimott dares to recover the forgotten sense of hope and daring, of reimagining social possibilities, of young revolutionaries in the first decade and a half of the revolution, and wants to remind us of 'the inherent indeterminacies of revolution' (p. 23). For the communards, the usually young members of living or working communes, as well as for Willimott, 'the revolution was often participatory and expressive in nature' (p. 20). Rather than a top-down story of coercion and the crushing of possibilities, Willimott emphasizes the agency of activists who were able 'to feed back into official structures' and offer the regime 'a form of popular legitimacy'. His story shows 'how the state was forced, from time to time, to co-opt or codify ideas from below' – at least until the consolidation of Stalin's power (pp. 20–1). Those young men and women who formed urban communes saw themselves as the vanguard of the vanguard, creating new anti-bourgeois living and working arrangements. Private, individual, traditional, utopian were all seen negatively; collective, rational, scientific, efficient and orderly were positive.

Students organized communes in their dormitories, and through social activities ranging from cooking and cleaning and contributing money to the 'common pot' to intense study and discussion they improvised their own idea of socialism. Willimott tells this story through numerous examples, newspaper accounts and vivid excerpts from memoirs. When one young villager bought a pig into the communal room, the new addition to the collective wreaked havoc with its squealing. Old habits died hard, and the pig enthusiast was ridiculed as a holdover from a past that needed to be transformed. Tensions between the autonomous and the official, between the initiatives of the communards and the desires of authorities, shaped the experience of the urban communes but in more than one direction. The young advocates of the 'new life' were appalled by the renewal of market forces that came with the introduction of the New Economic Policy in 1921. Their struggle aimed to overcome the sloth of the Russian people (*Oblomovshchina*) associated with the hero of the nineteenth-century novel *Oblomov* as well as the superfluous indolence of the aristocrat Evgenii Onegin of Pushkin's poem. More than the abstractions of Karl Marx, literary sources, most importantly Nikolai Chernyshevskii's *What Is To Be Done?*, were fundamental in shaping the mentality and ambitions of young urban communards. From the founders and followers of Marxism their most potent example was the Paris Commune of 1871.

The 'cultural revolution' in which the communards engaged was not only about political enlightenment and gender equality but also about far more mundane practices that emphasized sobriety, cleanliness and sanitation, such as brushing one's teeth and giving up alcohol. Collective living also meant dealing with sex. Experiments with unrestricted sex among commune members gradually gave way to new understandings of marriage as 'something old, something new, something borrowed, and something red!' (p. 97). The inevitable arrival of children and the equation of woman (the Russian *baba*) with backwardness created persistent tensions within the commune. The virtues of Bolshevik modernity – discipline, toughness, efficiency, rationality – tended to be coded masculine.

In 1929 the communards' energies were harnessed to the Soviet state and Communist Party's leap into an industrial future in the First Five Year Plan. The mobilization of the rank and file coincided for a time with the enthusiastic participation of those organized as egalitarian collectives within factories. But as the number of workers in communal organizations increased, communes appeared to many workers and bosses to be too volatile and unpredictable for the imperatives of rapid, supposedly planned, industrialization. Both the state and the communards desired maximum output. The question was how to achieve it. Stalin's speech of 23 June 1931 attacked equalization of wages, which had been a hallmark of the communes, and called for greater differentiation of skilled and unskilled labour. The regime steadily shifted to a new policy of wage differentials, cost accounting, one-man management and greater centralization of decision-making within the party elite that undercut and ultimately eliminated the bottom-up self-organization and collective egalitarianism of the production communes. The communards were revolutionary enthusiasts and could not move against the revolutionary thrusts of Stalinism, but the revolution had come to mean something quite different from what it had earlier meant to them.

This book is beautifully produced. Chapter by chapter the story of the urban communes moves forward thematically and through time. Willimott is a gifted writer who knows how to mix analysis and explanation with salient details and anecdotes that illuminate the points he wants to make. He is at the same time neither a popularizer nor a simplifier but a historian dedicated to bringing back the texture of the revolutionary fervour of the first fifteen years of the Soviet experiment. Such attempts to find alternatives to 'bourgeois' lifestyles have been dismissed as utopian. The communards themselves rejected any notion of utopia, which was associated with the pre-Marxist socialist dreamers of the early nineteenth century. For them, and for Willimott, their efforts were genuine trials – in the several senses of that word – to create something new, something better, than Russians and other Soviet peoples had experienced. In our dystopic age the knowledge that in the past there were those who imagined other ways of living gives some hope that the present should not be mistaken for the future.

*University of Michigan*

RONALD GRIGOR SUNY

***Screening Soviet Nationalities: Kulturfilms from the Far North to Central Asia.* By Oksana Sarkisova. I. B. Tauris. 2017. xx + 299pp. £64.00.**

Through the study of Soviet cinema, Oksana Sarkisova has offered a new and original angle to examining the process of creating Soviet national identities in the 1920s and 1930s. Using a wide range of archival evidence, the author explores how travel documentary films, the so-called *kulturfilms*, were used for cultural construction amidst the Soviet modernization campaign. As shown, the early *kulturfilms* offered a graphic representation of the diverse Soviet political and cultural landscapes. The 'cinematographic atlas' of the Soviet Union created by filmmakers during the first post-revolutionary decades was used to emphasize the fundamental difference of the Soviet Union from its imperial predecessor, enforcing multinational and modern perspective in representing the Soviet land and its peoples.

The author adopts a spatial principle in exploring the dynamic transformations of ethnic and national units on film. A comparative analysis of films representing regions of the Far North, the Far East, the Volga Region, Siberia, the Northern Caucasus and Central Asia is the core of the book. The discussion of Soviet *kulturfilms* is chronologically limited to the years 1926 and 1940, the period of active experimentation with the new forms and methods of the cinematic representation of the Soviet space. The author examines Soviet 'non-fiction' as a novel form of political propaganda (p. 25), tasked with refashioning the centralized imperial legacy into horizontal mapping of inherited ethnic heterogeneity. Sarkisova corroborates Hirsch's view that Soviet modernization of backward borderland peoples was aimed at 'double assimilation', achieved by firstly organizing them into national categories and then into the unified entity of the Soviet people (*Empire of Nations*, 2005). So, the representation of the Soviet ethnic and cultural diversity had been transformed between 1926 and 1940, replacing initial 'ethnographic surveying with a shared symbolic economy of belonging to a unified space' (p. 206).

Sarkisova argues that the early Soviet 'non-fiction' was tasked with developing mechanisms of inscribing culturally heterogeneous communities within the homogenizing project of Soviet modernization (p. 4). This suggests two main themes of the book, visual representation of Soviet ethnic particularism and promoting a unified Soviet identity created as a by-product of the state-driven modernization campaign. The first theme provides a new angle for interpreting the early Soviet nationality policy, the indigenization (*korenizatsiia*) policy, initiated in the mid-1920s Union-wide. Sarkisova's book contributes to existing scholarship by examining the role of multiple agencies, including film-makers, cinematographers, academics, state and party functionaries in constructing, and indeed visualizing, diverse Soviet nationalities. Sarkisova's examination of travel films is in line with Hirsch's investigation of the role of Soviet ethnographers. While ethnographers theorized national categories, film-makers provided a visual support for the Soviet 'affirmative action empire' (Terry Martin, *An Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939*, 2001).

Apart from presenting the multinational outlook of the Soviet Union, the early Soviet *kulturfilms*, as Sarkisova suggests, were intended to propagate the Soviet effort of bringing diverse backward peoples into 'civilization'. Hence, indigenous people were simultaneously presented as complex cultures in need of research and preservation and as primitive societies awaiting modernization. To aid Soviet industrialization, the 'backward' indigenous people were to become equal and active partners in the socialist economy through 'all-around cultural and national development' (p. 64). This included the promotion of literacy, hygienic universalism, rational use of natural resources and adopting Soviet mentality. The 'civilizing mission' of the Soviet authorities is a running thread throughout the book. It was the focus of the expedition films discussed in chapter 5, 'Diagnosing the nations: nationalising dirt and disease on the screen'.

Whereas the early travel films depicted the multinational mosaic of the Soviet space, the travelogues of the 1930s contributed to constructing a unified Soviet identity and including those most remote ethnic groups in an 'imagined community' of Soviet people. This transformation is exemplified by the short travelogue *Dagestan* (1927). Sarkisova suggests that the film provides a visual legitimization for the inclusion of this multi-ethnic and recently anti-Soviet area

in the Soviet Union. The newly created Dagestan Autonomous Republic is presented as a diverse and rapidly industrializing land; the unity of the republic is highlighted not through its ethnicities, but through industrial development, irrigation programmes and modern factories. The modernist discourse, as argued by the author, ‘reframed the mountainous landscape from its association with romantic freedom-fighters towards an identity of an enlightened citizen’ (p. 145).

Another overarching theme of the films discussed in *Screening Soviet Nationalities* is a new Soviet man. Despite ethnic heterogeneity, early *kulturfilms* cement the image of the Soviet peoples equally looking forward to the communist future. It is advanced by each and every Soviet man and woman who adopted the view that ‘There are no fortresses that the Bolsheviks cannot storm’ (p. 76). So, in addition to preventing cultural extinction and legitimizing inclusion of those diverse areas, Soviet ethnographic and cinematic travelogues propagated individual qualities of explorers, film-makers and Soviet citizens, who were featured in these films. Soviet-bred bravery, mastery over nature, individual heroism, physical and spiritual strength, collectivism and fraternity were the virtues inspired by the early Soviet *kulturfilms*. These features were inculcated across nationalities and republican borders. The film *The Earth Thirsts* (1930), discussed in the book’s last chapter, symbolizes the unifying element of the Soviet nationality policy and imprints collectivism and fraternal unity across the Soviet Union.

Overall, Oksana Sarkisova manages to insert the discussion of Soviet ‘non-fiction’ of 1926–40 into a wider theoretical and historical context. This makes the book an excellent contribution to the scholarship of Soviet cinema, early Soviet history, Soviet cultural politics and Soviet nationalities policy. In general, the book will be interesting and useful for everybody who is interested in Soviet culture, history and early nation-building.

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OLENA PALKO

***Programmed Inequality: How Britain Discarded Women Technologists and Lost its Edge in Computing.* By Marie Hicks. MIT Press. 2017. x + 342pp. £32.95.**

Women’s history continues to be a growing field, and Marie Hicks’s recent latest addition to the historiography will not only prove important in increasing our knowledge of the role of women in the history of twentieth-century Britain, but will also be key to enhancing our understanding of the role that women play in the history of technology. Movies such as *The Imitation Game* and the BBC drama *Breaking the Code* have concentrated on the role of men in the Second World War, especially their part in the development of technology to crack the German Enigma Code. They have focused particularly on Alan Turing and Post Office Engineer Tommy Flowers. Yet these movies, and the numerous books published on this area, have dedicated much less attention to the role of women in the operation and construction of technology. Their role proved vital for Britain’s victory in the Second World War, and its post-war development.

The importance of women to the field of technology did not begin with the advent of the Second World War. Indeed, their role can be traced back as early



as the 1930s, and it is this, together with their pivotal role in the war, that is deeply analysed by Hicks in her first chapter. In so doing, Hicks demonstrates that the role of women in technology was ever present. While the war intensified the importance afforded to the recruitment of women to replace conscripted men, women's contribution to this area was not purely created as a result of wartime necessity. Furthermore, while women's contribution to the war effort proved vital, inequalities prevailed, and in areas where women were retained after the war, they remained subjected to lower pay and discrimination.

One of the major themes examined throughout this book is the nature of inequality between men and women. While the nature of inequality between the sexes, particularly in the labour market, has been examined in detail by numerous historians of women, the extent of inequality and sexism examined by Hicks in the field of technology provides further evidence of gender discrimination. In the opening to this book, Hicks retells the story of how those who were responsible for training future engineers were women, and the trainees were men. However, women would be demoted once sufficient men were available for work, and would always be subjected to lower pay. It is this, together with other inequalities, such as the difficulties in obtaining promotion and the restrictions brought about through marriage (owing to the Civil Service Marriage Bar), that severely impeded the progress of women in the first half of the twentieth century.

Indeed, it was the failure of the nation's labour law to enshrine equality of opportunity into law in the aftermath of the Second World War that leads Hicks to conclude astutely that women now formed part of the 'Machine Underclass' by 1955. The consistent refusal of equal pay by the British government and the failure to classify 'equal work of equal value' exacerbated the inequalities that had been strongly highlighted by the war years, but were now becoming acute with the increased dependence on technology. As Hicks persuasively notes, the development of technology and computers did not, in itself, signify the need to reduce the size of the labour market, or cheapen its labour. Indeed, the growth of technology in the first instance, while making work more efficient, did require a greater number of workers to ensure the correct operation of the machines. In this instance, while women displayed equal ability to their male colleagues, hiring women would often help employers achieve savings owing to the prevailing disparities in pay.

Hicks identifies a major turning point from 1955 for the computing industry in Britain. The timing is possibly not entirely insignificant. Britain was slowly emerging from the brutality of post-war austerity into the years that Prime Minister Harold Macmillan would later describe as a period when Britons 'never had it so good'. So perhaps it was not too melodramatic for the government to suggest that the changes in the computing industry at this time signified a 'revolution' and that the pace of change going into the 1960s would be so intense that it would be of a speed that would produce 'white heat'. The government, prioritizing British-made computers, was now focusing on how computerization could revolutionize the way in which government business was conducted. With the introduction and subsequent computerization of the Pay As You Earn (PAYE) tax system, together with the pensions processing of retired workers, Britain was moving towards a digital society. Nevertheless, this transition was heavily gendered. Hicks shows how advertisements for computers would use the image of the efficient, smartly dressed woman worker who, through her skills, was

capable of operating the machinery that would be responsible for discharging a range of functions that were previously performed by hand among a wide range of workers, especially in areas of financial services, where ledgers were commonly used. Yet it was employers, especially government departments, who struggled to accommodate the challenges brought about through computerization. Office space in older buildings was not designed to meet the space and energy requirements of the new large devices that would be installed. Thus, while the arrival of new technology was significant in terms of signalling progress for the future of office work, the required infrastructure, especially buildings, had failed to keep pace with these growing changes.

The final two chapters focus on how the rise of technocracy, despite the original intention to professionalize the computerization of the nation, actually served to impede the computer revolution. Faced with several economic challenges in the 1960s that ultimately led to the devaluation of the pound by Wilson's Labour government in 1967, workers were not entirely convinced that the country or their jobs were totally safe. Moreover, the government's involvement in the mergers and acquisitions of major computing companies in this period signified not only its desire to exert greater control over the industry, but showed that the promise of advancement at breakneck speed in the field had failed to materialize. Inevitably, the approach of a more technocratic form of governance at the end of the 1960s led to the professionalization of computer jobs that had previously been placed at the lower end of the occupational scale. Through professionalizing many previously lower-grade computer jobs (or indeed removing them altogether) and creating a new management class, women would again be the subject of deep discrimination. This, as Hicks shows, led to the development of 'Computer Men', while women were moved aside, or de-skilled into lower-paid, lower-skilled areas of the industry. This enforced change served once again to reinforce the dominance of men while solidifying gender inequalities that were never really eradicated, despite the vital contribution of women to the development of computerization in the British labour market.

This book will be an essential addition to the historiography of women workers in twentieth-century Britain. Its highly readable style means that it is accessible to experts in computing, historians interested in the history of women, and general readers alike. Its ability to bring together a range of primary material from both the government and women workers' testimonies provides a rounded and comprehensive account of an industry that proved so vital to Britain's development in the twentieth century, but one where the historiography has paid far too little attention to the pivotal role that women played within it. Indeed, the book ends by noting that as Britain approached the Thatcher years, it had lost its way in the field of computing. It persuasively argues that the way in which Britain's women workers were used could have contributed to this missed opportunity. With such a compelling story told in this book, I am sure that I am not alone in hoping that Marie Hicks will pursue a project in the future that tells the story of women in computing in the Thatcher years and beyond.

*Wuhan University*

MARK J. CROWLEY

## The Americas

*American Character: A History of the Epic Struggle Between Individual Liberty and the Common Good.* By Colin Woodard. Penguin. 2016. xi + 307pp. £13.76/\$17.00.

Colin Woodard's *American Character* is an insightful investigation of the role 'freedom' has played in American political life to date. Framed against the backdrop of Donald Trump's 2016 presidential election victory, a result which Woodard dramatically declared left 'the Republic in turmoil' (p. xi), the author seeks to address the question 'how do we build and maintain a free and good society?' (p. 57). Employing the same geographical framework which brought him critical acclaim in *American Nations*, Woodard leads the reader through developments in American history through the lens of eleven regional nations (Yankeedom, New Netherland, The Midlands, Tidewater, Greater Appalachia, the Deep South, El Norte, the Left Coast, the Far West, First Nation, and New France), addressing how each has influenced American democracy.

Woodard's engaging style carries the reader through a whistle-stop tour of American history in the opening chapter. At times, the context Woodard provides to set up his wider argument is lost as he moves the reader from the landing of the *Mayflower* to the musings of conservative radio host Rush Limbaugh in quick succession without providing a connection between the two. What Woodard does provide a clear sense of in the opening chapter is his distrust of libertarianism, describing it as 'the greatest present threat to individual freedom and America's world-changing 250-year experience with liberal democracy' (p. 8). Despite the frenetic opening, Woodard deftly introduces the crux of *American Character*, arguing that 'throughout the history of our republic, the real and abiding conflict has not been between these shape-shifting political camps [Democrat and Republican], but over competing definitions of freedom' (pp. 6–7). It is in this political-philosophical discussion that Woodard's work thrives.

Throughout the following chapters, Woodard is able to develop his analytical framework in a more cogent manner than in his opening. 'Two paths to tyranny' provides a cautionary tale of how freedom can be eroded by collectivism (the Soviet Union) and by individualism (the Oligarchs of the Deep South). The anecdotal discussion of the author's time spent in Ceaușescu's Romania brings a human element to what can seem an abstract conversation on constructions of freedom. Woodard solidifies his structure in 'The rival Americas' by stressing that American regionalism is more complicated than the standard notion based upon the Mason–Dixon line. Woodard emphasizes how the eleven distinct regions which make up the continental United States each has its own societal identity, derived from European nationality or religious influence, which have profoundly influenced the role of freedom and extent of government. However, the author failed to address what role, if any, the influence of native Americans had on this debate.

The subsequent five chapters chart the 'epic struggle between individual liberty and the common good'. As with most works that attempt to cover several hundred years of history in only 307 pages, Woodard can be overly brief in his analysis. His discussion on the influence of John Locke on American political thought for example, feels superficial due to its brevity and could have been a chapter in its own right. Furthermore, Woodard's venture into

counterfactual history, claiming that had the Confederacy not attacked Fort Sumter, Lincoln would have allowed them to negotiate a peaceful succession (p. 107), is uncomfortable and out of place in this discussion. Nonetheless, Woodard provides a good sense of how elites during the period were fearful of providing others with liberty, particularly when this threatened their own economic interests.

The discussion on ‘The rise and fall of laissez-faire (1877–1930)’ is the zenith of Woodard’s work. It is the most compelling chapter, with cautionary stories of the unscrupulous and unchecked power of railroad and oil tycoons, providing an engaging narrative of the pitfalls of unfettered laissez-faire capitalism. Woodard’s suggestion that the unregulated laissez-faire system of the Gilded Age exploited and endangered individual freedom is a compelling argument. The chapter ably shines a light on the reforms of the great progressive Theodore Roosevelt, and it would have given greater emphasis had the chapter ended there. I can understand why Woodard carried the chapter to the Great Depression to show Theodore Roosevelt’s influence on Harding, Coolidge and Hoover; however, the weakness of the chapter lies in the passing discussion of Wilson. It could have spent more time discussing how the First World War necessitated a change in the role of government, which would have tied nicely into the discussion on Franklin Roosevelt. Nevertheless, this is a fascinating and informative chapter.

Having taken the reader through 400 years of American struggle with freedom, Woodard’s conclusion, ‘A lasting union’, is a map of how to successfully capture seven of the regions which would provide a generation of political control. Woodard cannot resist a parting shot at the Deep South: ‘it’s a region whose values any supermajority-seeking party should run against. The Deep South’s tradition of hierarchical libertarianism is profoundly un-American, being authoritarian in governance, oligarchic in economics, retrograde in human rights’ (p. 262). In doing so, Woodard provides a strange final chapter. It would have made more sense to reaffirm how freedom has been contested, rather than to provide a road map of how the Democrats will build a supermajority.

Ultimately, Woodard’s work provides an insightful and interesting introduction to a complex subject. His writing brings to life a debate which can be overtly abstract, and for this he deserves credit. Should a reader seek more academic literature, Eric Foner’s *The Story of American Freedom* (1998) remains a seminal work, and this is acknowledged by the author (p. 268). Nonetheless, Woodard’s work is an interesting read, providing considered political theory at a turbulent time in American politics.

*University of Oxford*

DOMINIC BARKER

***Jacksonland: President Andrew Jackson, Cherokee Chief John Ross, and a Great American Land Grab.* By Steve Inskeep.** Penguin. 2016. 421pp. \$17.00.

The story of the Removal of the Cherokees has been told many times, but never with such a combination of verve, careful research, imaginative writing and historical insight. Host of *Morning Edition* on National Public Radio, Steve Inskeep follows in the footsteps of the *Time* magazine editor Jon Meacham – author of *American Lion* (2008) – in producing a book on Andrew Jackson

that puts modern biographies by professional historians to shame. Inskeep's contribution is to pit Jackson against John Ross, the Cherokee leader who recognized the futility of military resistance and adopted the tactics of peaceful opposition available within the political structures of the United States. Behind it all lies a sense of irresistible historical process as the white hordes overwhelm the aboriginal inhabitants. Inskeep adopts the device of two maps, the traditional (undrawn) Indian map which recognized the sphere of influence of each tribe, and the white man's map of territorial and state boundaries superimposed over vast tracts where few white men lived in 1790. The outcome would be the creation of a huge area in the Deep South that owes its existence to the military prowess, bullying diplomacy and political will of the creator of what Inskeep calls Jacksonland.

Yet this was not a simple struggle between native and invader. Inskeep dramatically tells the well-known story of the crushing military defeat of the southern Indians at the hands of Jackson between 1812 and 1818 and the subsequent expropriation of their lands. As Tocqueville remarked, the Americans had found a way of stealing native lands with the apparent consent of those they were cheating of their birthright; Jackson himself showed little shame in exploiting them in a way that enriched himself and his friends. The Cherokees, however, were 'more than mere victims: they played a bad hand long and well' (p. 7). In the War of 1812 they fought on the American side, and when they were later maltreated in land negotiations they persuaded Congress to reverse the more excessive wrongs. They were able to do so partly because they adopted the ways of the invaders and appealed to American values through American institutions. Already a settled agricultural people, dressed mainly in white man's clothes, the Cherokees responded more enthusiastically than any other southern tribe to the federal government's 'civilization' programme, and thereby made their transplantation more difficult to justify or to effect.

John Ross's male ancestry was more white than Cherokee. He had been privately educated in an English-speaking family; he could argue skilfully, correspond with influential people and move easily among powerbrokers in Washington. When he realized that the Jackson administration was determined to transplant the Cherokees across the Mississippi, Ross appealed to northern sentiment, helped by the skilful articles written by Elias Boudinot at the *Cherokee Phoenix*, a newspaper written in both English and the new Cherokee syllabary created by Sequoia. Ross generated support among the National Republican opposition after 1829 and among enough Jacksonian congressmen to come close to defeating the new president's Indian Removal Act in 1830. Thereafter he exploited the legal holes in the administration's case, appealed successfully to the Supreme Court, and was defeated only by Jackson's refusal to interfere when the Georgia and Alabama legislatures unconstitutionally overrode the treaty rights of Cherokees and Creeks.

Although Jackson is the villain, Inskeep's approach to him is far from unsympathetic. He recognizes that Jackson's intent was always to promote the security of the United States by moving the southern Indians away from European meddling and settling their lands with right-thinking farmers who could exploit the land more profitably. Jackson, Inskeep rightly sees, was 'smarter, more strategic, and further-seeing' than most historians have allowed (p. 206). He does, though, exaggerate the contradictions in Jackson's attitude towards

Indians because he overlooks the critical distinction Jackson (and others) made between individual Indians – often admirable fellows and certainly improvable – and Indian tribes that stressed community above private enterprise and valued traditional loyalties associated with place and ancestors.

The main limitation in Inskeep's treatment of the white side of the conflict derives from his acceptance of traditional interpretations of Jacksonian politics. The book frequently asserts that Jackson was leading a democratic revolution when, in truth, American politics had been democratic for over a generation. The easy assumption that Jackson's political pre-eminence expressed a rising popular demand for control of government obscures – and not only in this book – the plain truth that Jackson won power in 1828 mainly because of a political rebellion against an assertion of federal power that southerners feared could threaten local control of their racial minorities. Fears for slavery loomed large in the 1820s, and issues relating to the Missouri crisis complicated congressional debates over Indian Removal even before Jackson came to power. Inskeep rightly stresses the pioneering significance of the anti-Removal petition campaign in the North, which not only depended on the political activism of women and evangelicals but also helped to turn antislavery men against black colonization and made some look towards more drastic means of ending slavery. But the groundswell of northern support was possible only because an old antislavery tradition survived that forcefully objected to the internal expansion of slavery implicit in moving Indians west of the Mississippi.

Ross's campaign exploited the world of democratic politics skilfully in fighting his rearguard action. Some historians have blamed Ross for persisting long after defeat was palpably inevitable – as Boudinot, Sequoia and some recent northern allies warned as early as 1833 – but Inskeep points out that the majority of Cherokees insisted on a stubborn refusal to accept Removal. As the arguments dragged out beyond Jackson's presidency, at least Ross managed to gain a better financial deal for them. He was scarcely to blame for the final political and administrative confusions that in 1838–9 turned their westward journey into the disastrous and lethal Trail of Tears.

*University of Oxford*

DONALD RATCLIFFE

***John Quincy Adams and the Politics of Slavery: Selections from the Diary.* By David Waldstreicher and Matthew Mason. Oxford University Press. 2017. xxiv + 308pp. £22.99.**

In an era in which Andrew Jackson is receiving substantial attention because of the debate over his place on the \$20 bill and US President Donald Trump's embrace of his image and legacy, Old Hickory's immediate predecessor John Quincy Adams is also experiencing a revival of interest, at least among scholars. Several recent biographies by William J. Cooper, Fred Kaplan, James Traub and Harlow Giles Unger have re-evaluated the sixth president and his role in US domestic and foreign policies.

This edited volume by David Waldstreicher and Matthew Mason considers another aspect of Adams's career: his involvement in the politics of slavery. Using his famous diary, the co-editors trace the development of Adams's views on



slavery, finding that they dovetail with four themes in the diary: ‘the Adams family legacy, his nationalism, his internationalism, and finally his development of an antislavery voice compatible with each of these overlapping aspects of his politics and identity’ (p. xvii). Waldstreicher and Mason agree with Leonard Richards’s assessment that Adams’s diary served as ‘a workshop . . . for the refashioning of his [public] self’ (p. xi), arguing that the diary became ‘an exercise in managing and working through the politics of slavery’ (pp. xi, xv). What resulted was Adams’s ‘transformation from seeing slavery as a political problem to be managed by wise, patriotic elites to thinking of it, and ultimately proclaiming it, as the root of American political evil’ (p. xv).

Condensing slavery-focused diary entries totalling over 300,000 words into a short, readable text would prove challenging to most scholars, but Waldstreicher and Mason succeed in using a deft editorial hand. Where possible, they let Adams’s entries speak for themselves. But they also summarize entries and provide context from other primary sources that Adams wrote. The result is an accessible primer on Adams’s views on slavery.

Through the co-editors’ choices, readers are able to see Adams’s progression from someone who thought of slavery as an abstract, philosophical question to someone who moved towards the antislavery end of the political spectrum (p. 272). Early in his career, Adams took the pragmatic approach to the institution of slavery, arguing during a debate over the 1803 Louisiana Purchase that ‘I think we are proceeding with too much haste upon such an important question [i.e., slavery]’ (p. 15). As his opposition to the gag rule in the 1830s and 1840s indicated, however, Adams came to believe strongly that slavery was wrong; yet, he never took the final step into abolitionism. Waldstreicher and Mason attribute this inability to Adams’s concern about losing political support, a common failing among politicians then and now to place self-preservation over the morally just decision (p. 270).

One of Adams’s final diary entries demonstrated the tension that existed in his life when it came to slavery. On 4 November 1846, he wrote: ‘I have no communion with any Anti-Slavery Society and they have disclaimed all confidence in me; but I sympathize with all their aversion to Slavery.’ Maybe Adams had not come as far as either he or abolitionists had wished, but he had begun to see enslaved African Americans as deserving of human equality. Many Americans of that era had not reached that point, so for that Adams should be commended.

*Cumberland University*

MARK R. CHEATHAM

***Cotton and Race across the Atlantic: Britain, Africa, and America, 1900–1920.*** By Jonathan E. Robins. University of Rochester Press. 2016. xiii + 298pp. £70.00.

This book makes an important contribution to discussions about the economic aftermath of the American Civil War, and the increasingly global nature of the cotton industry and its intersection with modernity, race and science across the Atlantic region and beyond. Building on the broader focus of Sven Beckert’s recent book *Empire of Cotton*, Robins’s work focuses on the role played by the British Cotton Growing Association at the turn of the twentieth century, as

they responded to concerns of the Lancashire spinners, led the semi-philanthropic drive for 'empire cotton' to end Britain's reliance on cotton from the US South, and used cotton as a tool for imperial development.

At the end of the American Civil War, there was a move towards a multipolar system of cotton growing and manufacture as India and Africa both offered possible cultivation areas. Cotton had been tied in to a narrative of progress in both the USA and the UK, and increasingly Africans were perceived as passive beneficiaries of this as 'cotton colonialism' came to the fore (p. 5). From a British perspective, using cheap African labour to produce cheap but high-quality cotton for the Lancashire spinners was an obvious choice, although, as Robins's book skilfully shows, debates over the choice of a model of labour within the colonies were extended and bitter. The British had less legal leeway than the Germans in forcing Africans to grow cotton, but they made use of hut taxes, in effect turning the Africans into *corvée* labourers (p. 119). Coerced labour was ethically undesirable, but the British needed to retain control of the supply of cotton seeds and therefore the ginning equipment, as well as monitoring the amount of cotton cultivated, using those methods. This desire for control was also driven by racist sentiment, as Europeans often dismissed African agricultural techniques and the suitability of Africans as autonomous independent labourers, instead requiring that they be peasants or peons, dependent on their masters.

The expertise in cotton cultivation within the USA was recognized, and scientists and agriculturalists from the other side of the Atlantic helped the British grow cotton in their colonies, by transporting the coercive labour regimes that had been used in the USA. One of the rare successes, the irrigated Gezira cotton plantation in Sudan referred to by James C. Scott as 'high modernism' (p. 145), used southern sharecropping as a model, brought to Africa by white American scientists. American entrepreneur Leigh Hunt proposed to resettle up to 1 million African Americans in Sudan to teach Africans to become capitalist farmers, and at the same time solve the US 'race problem', but as with many colonization efforts, this was tremendously controversial and unsuccessful, not helped by rumours of African cannibalism spreading in the American press (pp. 150, 189). Black Americans also became involved in this enterprise, building on pan-African feeling, but also developing a sense of racial uplift.

Following the First World War, in the US South, as African Americans moved north and west, cotton was increasingly consolidated into large technological holdings run by whites. During the New Deal era, cotton growing continued to be centralized and driven by the state, not unfettered capitalism (p. 28). 'Cotton populism' rose in the South – a democratic movement to control prices and production and to prevent speculation on the thriving cotton futures market. Emerging from this movement came racially driven complaints that African American labour was overpaid and underworked following slavery, while extra-legal intimidation methods were used by 'night riders' to force cotton farmers, black and white, to reduce their acreage to boost prices. It is no coincidence that there is a correlation between low cotton prices and higher rates of lynching (pp. 183, 192). Lancashire spinners also reacted angrily to attempts to artificially manipulate prices and by 1902 nearly 90 per cent of Oldham spinners were on short time with trade unions paying out huge sums to members to help them to survive (p. 47). Price fluctuations caused by global economic panics, such as that in 1893, and subsequent overproduction pushed cotton as an industry

into crisis, and caused commentators to debate whether cotton really was a 'black man's crop' after all. Lancashire spinners maintained the view, quoted by Robins, that 'the return per acre is not sufficient to adequately remunerate white men' (p. 72).

In response to the cotton crisis, the British Cotton Growing Association (BCGA) was founded, driven by the leadership of J. Arthur Hutton, a member of a slave-trading family, who had then turned his attention to palm oil. He made it his mission to use cotton to benefit Africans. The BCGA was not a popular movement, finding it difficult to secure constant support from the Lancashire spinners whose main concern was their own precarious position and, despite the intervention of the famous campaigner E. D. Morel, not that of unrelatable distant individuals of another race (pp. 63, 71). However, in several African colonies the Colonial Office did grant ginning rights to the BCGA and the aim of using cotton to 'propel Africa towards capitalism' was trialled (p. 103).

This book is a thorough investigation of the role of the BCGA. Robins's only area of omission is an exploration of the involvement of Africans as active agents rather than passive respondents to the efforts of the BCGA, and Robins acknowledges that the sources he consulted silence African voices. Glimpses of African agency sometimes peep through, as in the story of a local chief, Gbadebo of Abeakuta, who visited Oldham to investigate the cotton industry for himself, but also refused to bow to 'empire cotton' propaganda, instead focusing on the growing of kola nuts, palm oil, coffee and cocoa, in return for the development of the railway. As Robins acknowledged, Gbadebo refused to bend to the whim of the BCGA (p. 126).

With a few notable exceptions, Robins outlines a catalogue of failures in the BCGA's efforts to control African cotton cultivation and to produce crops rivalling those from the USA. Black scientists like J. W. Hoffman, hired directly by the Colonial Office because it thought that a black man would have a better reception in Africa, fell victim to the diseases in the region. Methods imported from the US South using animal labour would not work in many parts of Africa because of the tsetse fly. Following the First World War, the BCGA softened its position, realizing that African agricultural techniques did have merit and that imposing solutions from outside was counterproductive. But by then it was mostly too late for empire cotton, and the Lancashire spinning industry also entered decline. It is telling that, as Africa's nations acquired their independence in the years following the Second World War, they abandoned cotton-growing and turned to other industries. This book tells the story of the BCGA's mistaken assertion that because cotton was a black man's crop and his labour was cheap, modern white scientific techniques could be used to impose capitalist farming on the African. It is a very well-written and entertaining book, and an important addition to our understanding of early twentieth-century debates over the significance of cotton.

*Loughborough University*

CATHERINE ARMSTRONG

***The Revolution Has Come: Black Power, Gender, and the Black Panther Party in Oakland.* By Robyn C. Spencer.** Duke University Press. 2016. xv + 260pp. £20.99.

*The Revolution Has Come: Black Power, Gender, and the Black Panther Party in Oakland* by Robyn C. Spencer is a deeply researched, nuanced organizational

history of Oakland's Black Panther Party (BPP). It traces the history of the BPP from its founding in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale to the end of its last community programme in 1982. One of the book's strengths, in fact, is Spencer's determined refusal to treat the BPP as synonymous with its leaders or 'as a series of moments and flashpoints on a timeline' (p. 202). She has used her vast array of sources, including more than twenty interviews with former Panthers, to highlight the subtleties of an organization not generally known for understatement.

The BPP, argues Spencer, consisted of a group of activists committed to revolutionizing the lives, politics and living conditions of Oakland's black community. The Panthers enjoyed their greatest successes when the leadership and the rank and file both were able to focus on the needs of the people they served. Internal disagreements, corruption at the leadership level, and brutal repression from federal, state and local agencies forced the BPP to turn its attention elsewhere, ultimately sapping it of its revolutionary potential.

According to Spencer, the BPP grew out of a larger organizing tradition in Oakland that had local, national and international ties. Newton and Seale, between them, had experienced poverty, jail, the military and college. They wrote their original ten-point platform and programme as a response to the international growth of Black Nationalism *and* to the injustices that they and other black residents of Oakland encountered daily, particularly with regard to housing and harassment by police. In this way, they melded the lived experience of growing up black in Oakland with a broader intellectual tradition. They did not want to foster Black Nationalism for the sake of separatism. Rather, they hoped to use it as a tool to raise political consciousness within the black community. Their ultimate goal was to transform American society as a whole into a more inclusive and democratic space, an aim that led them to liaise with white activists as well as those from minority backgrounds.

Parts of the Panther story, especially those involving violence, are well known. The image of a leather-clad man wearing a black beret and wielding a weapon has become an enduring symbol of the BPP. But Spencer works to break down this image. She argues that members used weapons as an 'organizing tool' to gain publicity and 'connect the heightened police presence in Oakland's black communities to structural discrimination' (p. 37). Within the organization, however, the definition of 'self defense' was contested. After the arrests of Newton and Seale in 1967, the Party debated the tactical use of 'urban guerilla warfare' vs the need to form coalitions with more mainstream political activists (p. 62). The latter position ultimately won. Political education classes accompanied weapons training. The Party expelled men who joined solely for the love of guns. Moreover, within the organization, Panther women pushed hard against a masculine ideal that depended on 'submissive womanhood' for its existence (p. 46). Women, including Kathleen Cleaver, Ericka Huggins and Elaine Brown, gained visible leadership positions. Many other women led in less visible ways.

Nevertheless, argues Spencer, establishment fear of armed black men triggered rounds of brutal repression against the BPP. The FBI's counterintelligence programme COINTELPRO, the Internal Revenue Service, and local law enforcement agencies targeted the Party and its individual members. Police commonly arrested members on petty charges, forcing the BPP to use its financial resources on bail and lawyers' fees rather than on community services. Agent provocateurs exploited rifts within the Party and destabilized private

relationships. The IRS scrutinized the Party's finances. *The Revolution Has Come* illustrates these programmes' devastating effectiveness. Much of the paranoia that characterized the BPP's leadership, some of the intra-party violence that resulted, and many of the problems faced by the Panthers' community service programmes stemmed directly from these acts of political repression, contends Spencer.

Unfortunately, Spencer's discussion of gender is not nearly as well defined as those relating to the BPP's revolutionary potential or its organizational difficulties. She claims that BPP members 'tried to transform themselves' by confronting 'ingrained ideas about gender and sexuality' (p. 4). Her contention may be true, but her examples need fleshing out. She acknowledges that women took on leadership roles out of necessity, as men were more likely to be targeted by law enforcement agencies and arrested. Yet she does not discuss what women's leadership meant for the organization or its members. Elaine Brown chaired the BPP between 1974 and 1977 while Newton was in self-imposed exile. Spencer characterizes these years as some of the BPP's most successful in the mere five pages she devotes to them. When Newton returned to the United States, however, he and his supporters easily ousted her, in part, argues Spencer, through allegations that the Party had become 'weak' and 'female' (p. 179). But Spencer does not explain why Newton chose this particular tactic or why it worked. Similarly, Spencer mentions parenthood within the Party on several occasions, casually pointing out that children lived away from their parents in dorms (p. 191) and that a desire to parent more directly caused at least one woman to leave the Party (pp. 196–7). One cannot help but think that there was a larger story to tell. How and why did the Panthers try to transform parenthood? Why did their efforts fail? If, as the book's subtitle implies, gender is meant to be an organizing thread of Spencer's narrative, then these tantalizing titbits needed to be built up. In their current form, they are missed opportunities.

Ultimately, this book is a valuable addition to the burgeoning historiography of Black Power. It serves as an important corrective to earlier, one-dimensional interpretations of the Black Panthers. It clearly highlights the organization's aspirations, internal contradictions, intellectual grounding and community activism. But it is not the work of gender history I hoped it would be.

Iowa State University

AMY RUTENBERG

***Kitchen Table Politics: Conservative Women and Family Values in New York.*** By Stacie Taranto. University of Pennsylvania Press. 2017. ix + 286pp. \$55.00/£45.00.

The 1970s was a peculiar decade in American political history. Initially overlooked as a period when it 'seemed like nothing happened', it remains inevitably bookended between the tumultuous and revolutionary 1960s and Reagan's wild 1980s. Stuck in the middle between two more roaring decades, the 1970s have often been understood as a turn from the liberalism of the 1960s to the conservatism of the 1980s, an 'invisible bridge'. Of course, the 1960s were not void of conservatism nor did liberalism collapse with the election of Ronald Reagan, and the 1970s are best understood by looking at the complex shifts and overlaps of liberal and conservative, or Democratic and Republican. In *Kitchen Table*

*Politics: Conservative Women and Family Values in New York*, Stacie Taranto traces these intersections and the fluctuating political interests that marked the 1970s.

*Kitchen Table Politics* tells the history of a vital yet often overlooked demographic in the political history of the 1970s: Catholic women. In 1960s New York City, amidst rising crime, racial unrest and suburbanization, newly minted middle-class families were leaving the city for the more exclusive suburban communities. For many Catholic women this change meant leaving behind a New Deal community for a politically more amorphous suburbia. In counties like Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester and Rockland these women forged a new politics of family values. In many ways it was a politics of reaction, a reaction to the growing feminist movement, a reaction to the calls of the Second Vatican Council, a reaction to the proposed Equal Rights Amendment, and most importantly a reaction to legalized abortion.

Uneasy about the increasingly close association between the feminist movement and their home in the Democratic Party, the women looked in vain to a Republican Party still dominated by the moderate Nelson Rockefeller. Despite initial hesitation the women organized grassroots organizations utilizing church and community networks vehemently lobbying against the gains of the so-called women's liberation. By the 1970s Catholic women in the suburban communities outside New York had organized a political party, The New York State Right to Life Party, pushing the issue of abortion to the forefront in state and national races. Taranto captures the work behind these campaigns, acknowledging the political achievements of the activists. The chapter on Ellen McCormack's presidential campaign in 1976 stands out as one of the strongest in the book, and one that highlights the importance of the study. There are few historical studies of the McCormack campaign and how a group of housewives were able to organize a presidential campaign. In the definitive contemporary account of the 1976 presidential campaign, *Marathon: The Pursuit of the Presidency, 1972–1976* (1977), journalist Jules Witcover mentions McCormack but three times over almost 700 pages, never elaborating beyond the dismissive description 'the antiabortion candidate'. Acknowledging the import of the McCormack campaign, Taranto illustrates how the women relied on established networks and grassroots efforts for a successful run. Recognizing electoral realities, the women sought not the White House or even the nomination but a way to spread their message and demonstrate their electoral clout and swing role. Having learned the political system and rules of political marketing in previous races, the women set out to reach as many people as possible. As such they decided to run McCormack in the crowded Democratic primary, which looked to be competitive far longer than the apparent renomination of Gerald Ford. The campaign was dedicated to raise enough support to qualify for the newly instituted matching federal funding, which they did, and make abortion a campaign issue, which they did. Having left the Democratic Party behind at the beginning of the decade and raised abortion as a crucial campaign theme in any race, the women were ready to complete the partisan shift by the end of the decade. The homemaker populism of the campaigns became a part of the Republican discourse, and in 1980 the women of suburban New York elected both Ronald Reagan and Senator Alfonse D'Amato.



Despite recent talks about the decline of political history and lamentations about the focus on social issues at the expense of the political process, the field is thriving precisely because of work understanding the political as encompassing the social, cultural and lived experiences; *Kitchen Table Politics* is a case in point. Not only is *Kitchen Table Politics* an example of how to incorporate social history within political history, but Taranto convincingly argues for the importance of both the changes within the Catholic Church and the suburban spatial realities, including the significance of race. As the women left behind both the Democratic Party and their childhood neighbourhoods in the Bronx and Brooklyn they found themselves in a position of influence in the suburban communities surrounding the city. It is hard not to liken the organizing and activism of the women to that of the communities Lisa McGirr captured in her seminal work on the right, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (2001). Taranto's book is a good addition to McGirr's classic account, capturing a different subset of the new American right. Like *Suburban Warriors*, Taranto's study is built on exhaustive archival research and diligent oral history. Taranto's work is important precisely because of the source material she uses; her access to the private collections and recollections of the activist women guarantees their history will not go lost. In general *Kitchen Politics* is an important complement to the still growing scholarship on conservatism, grassroots activism and the political history of the 1970s.

*Åbo Akademi University*

OSCAR WINBERG

***Inside the Clinton White House: An Oral History.* By Russell L. Riley.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xv + 441pp. £19.99/\$29.95.

Bill Clinton had a way of commanding attention, and those around him remember, often in vivid detail, the events that took place leading up to and during his time as president. An oral history is an interesting way to study a topic based on first-hand accounts. One can get a more complete picture of what took place, albeit in the eyes of the subject(s), when compared to a work that has a narrower focus. *Inside the Clinton White House: An Oral History* by Russell L. Riley is no exception.

What is very evident from the interviewees is how highly they regard William Jefferson Clinton. Nonetheless, they were also honest and transparent when it came to expressing their opinions on the strengths and weaknesses of Bill Clinton and his presidency.

Clinton's experience as Governor of Arkansas (a small state) was detrimental when trying to persuade a Democratic-controlled Congress. William Galston, deputy domestic advisor admits that:

[The] best preparation for being president is to be governor of a large state, and the worst to be of a small state ... What's typical about talented governors of small states is that they are head and shoulders above the other politicians in their state, and they can – through force of intellect and character and a loyal dedicated staff – move the political system of those states ... Washington is not that way at all. (pp. 272–3)

Galston's remark is especially valid given how he characterizes Clinton's failure to accomplish national health care reform, which Galston believes 'dealt a blow

to the momentum of the Clinton presidency from which it never recovered. From the collapse of the health care plan to the last day of his presidency he was on the defensive' (p. 134).

Clinton's lack of discipline also caused him problems, but this may have been due to his intelligence and love of conversation. From the perspective of Peter Edelman, assistant secretary of Health and Human Services, Hillary Rodham Clinton was the one who would set the president straight. When asked, Peter responded by stating, 'she's the one who would say, "Bill, you've got to decide. Cut the shit, let's move ahead here. Let's get on one way or the other"' (p. 362).

On the other hand, a strength of President Clinton, repeated numerous times, was his incredible intellect. This was also evident to Riley, who titled chapter 29 'Clinton's intellect'. From the perspective of Charlene Barshefsky, deputy US trade representative, 'Bill Clinton is . . . hugely intelligent, intuitive, and fluid [sic] in his thinking' (p. 346).

Another strength was his ability to connect with people, to seem authentic and relatable; two things that served him very well, both as a president and as a politician. Mickey Kantor, Secretary of Commerce, also mentions this: 'He's among the very, very few, I've never met anybody like him, he gives it back, and you walk away totally enthralled with him. It's not a parlor trick, he actually does care about you, sometimes too much' (p. 348).

The layout of the book is based on five themes, which effectively link different aspects of the Clinton presidency – getting to the White House, domestic and economic policy, foreign policy, politics and the White House, as well as a look at the president and his team, which also includes the First Lady – Hillary Clinton.

Riley starts each chapter with a brief summary as a way to outline what the interviewees discuss throughout the rest of the chapter. This provides a short but helpful lead into what will be discussed, and gives each chapter a structured context. While each chapter is given a context, a weakness of Riley's approach is that the chapter lengths, and therefore the depth of the subject matter, vary (there are thirty-four chapters). Readers will understandably gain a more in-depth knowledge of the perspective of the interviewees in the longer chapters.

Another weakness is Riley's intent to focus on individual discussions over a more structured approach. However, there is always a level of bias when it comes to deciding what or how to cover a topic. On the other hand, an interesting feature of the book is the availability to access of the referenced interviews as part of the Clinton presidency oral history collection via the Miller Center's website, <<http://www.millercenter.org/presidency/clinton/oralhistory>> (p. viii).

For anyone who is interested in a balanced first-hand account of what took place inside the Clinton White House, Riley's work is a good place to start.

*University of Texas Rio Grande Valley*

MICHAEL ESPINOZA

***Playing to the Edge: American Intelligence in the Age of Terror.* By Michael V. Hayden.** Penguin. 2016. xiv + 450pp. \$17.00.

'There are days', Michael Hayden writes, 'when a director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is inclined to think that he is running a large public

affairs, legal and legislative liaison enterprise, attached to small operational and analytical elements. Of course, it is (or should be), the other way around' (p. 252). As someone with tours of duty not only as Director of the National Security Agency (NSA) but also CIA, and time spent doing intelligence work for the US Air Force, Hayden makes a convincing argument that a skewed view of intelligence-gathering is more fact than fiction. As an intelligence professional, he's uniquely placed to inform the debate on the changing nature of warfare in the post 9/11 era. 'Critics, observers and just average citizens don't know as much about intelligence as they want or should', Hayden posits in the foreword of *Playing to the Edge: American Intelligence in the Age of Terror*. 'A goal of this book is to help address that' (p. x).

Part memoir and part history of the intelligence community, *Playing to the Edge* examines the world of espionage and the traditional tools of the trade: SIGINT-signals intelligence, information gleaned from potentially invasive communications intercepts; and HUMINT, human intelligence, secrets learned by having agents on the ground. Both tools were the weapons used by NSA and CIA, advising, says Hayden, 'combat forces in real time and living up to a self-described role; we track 'em, and you whack 'em' (p. 31).

But before you can whack them, you have to track them, and therein lies a central thread of Hayden's work. With multiple intelligence-gathering agencies afoot, collecting bits of information like so many puzzle pieces, a place was needed where all the pieces could be fitted together to get the best possible picture of where America's post-9/11 enemies were. Hayden, as head of both the NSA and CIA, had a front-row seat as America's intelligence agencies were gathered under the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. 'There were few in the intelligence community at the time who thought restructuring was a good idea', he writes. 'I certainly did not ... too little autonomy for the parts leads to inaction, inflexibility, hesitation and lost opportunities' (p. 154). But misgivings aside, the vehicle which delivered intelligence would matter little; results would. 'This [the battle against al-Qaeda] was an intelligence driven war', Hayden claimed. 'In the Cold War ... it was difficult for our adversary to hide. That enemy was easy to find, but hard to kill. This enemy was relatively easy to kill. He was just very, very hard to find' (p. 32).

Looking for America's new enemies took up a large portion of Hayden's time at NSA and CIA. If readers were spared the number of times he and other intelligence officials appeared before oversight committees to explain their actions, or to prevent the US Congress from preventing them from acting in the first place, the book might be considerably smaller. But to do that would deprive them of an inside look at another battle being waged, the parameters of which were set not by Hayden, but instead by Eliza Manningham-Buller, deputy director and later head of MI5, Britain's internal security service. She questioned how democracies under threat could provide both liberty and security for their citizens. 'There needs to be a debate', she said, 'on whether some erosion of civil liberties ... may be necessary to improve the chances of our citizens not being blown apart as they go about their daily lives' (quoted in Hayden, p. 34). And while other democracies were prepared to grapple with that dilemma, this was not so much the case when it came to America's political elites, asserts Hayden. 'Far easier to criticize intelligence agencies for not doing enough when they feel

in danger', he says, 'while reserving the right to criticize those agencies for doing too much when they feel safe again' (p. 35).

It is that tension between those charged with overseeing national security, and those charged with overseeing national security's guardians, often couched in partisan language, which adds to the edginess in *Playing to the Edge*, a term Hayden uses to suggest national security should be protected even if measures needed to do so came close to overstepping the boundaries of propriety or legality. The congressional hearings he and other heads of the intelligence community attended occasionally became contentious, as they discussed and defended terrorist surveillance, RDI (rendition detention and interrogation) and targeted killings, and how they may or may not impinge on American civil liberties. There is even back and forth on whether the Fourth Amendment has the force of law outside the United States. Hayden seems to have little love for Democrats, while Republicans mentioned in the book, particularly President George W. Bush, might have reason to blush. And he has a hard time fixing Barack Obama's position in the war on terror. The 44th president suggested in his 2009 inaugural address that 'we reject as false the choice between our safety and our ideals', tells a foreign audience in 2013 that 'you can't have one hundred percent security and then have one hundred percent privacy and zero inconvenience' (as quoted in Hayden, p. 410), and then allows the US Justice Department to pursue both NSA and CIA for potentially exceeding their remit. All the more confusing, suggests Hayden, was Obama's call for limits, transparency and the near elimination of targeted killings, when as president, 'he had conducted 85 percent of all secret drone strikes in human history' (p. 343).

People looking for moral absolutes or some kind of coexistence between liberty and security in the post-9/11 world will not come away reassured after reading *Playing to the Edge*. Michael Hayden's work is a seemingly unapologetic insider's look at how American national security works, moral ambivalences and all. It is an appropriate treatment of the subject from someone who led an agency whose motto is 'And Ye Shall Know the Truth and the Truth Shall Make You Free', who now as a private citizen is fond of Plato's parable of the cave, and the questions it raises about the challenges of discovering the truth.

*DeVry University*

JOHN MORELLO

## General

***The Sea in History*. 4 vols. General Editor Christian Buchet.** Boydell. 2017. £450.00.

***(The Sea in History: The Ancient World*. Edited by Philip de Souza and Pascal Arnaud.** Boydell. 2017. xxiv + 715pp. £125.00.

***The Sea in History: The Medieval World*. Edited by Michel Balard.** Boydell. 2017. xxx + 1057pp. £125.00.

***The Sea in History: The Early Modern World*. Edited by Christian Buchet and**

**G rard Le Bou dec.** Boydell. 2017. xxvi + 1047pp.  125.00.

***The Sea in History: The Modern World.* Edited by N. A. M. Rodger.** Boydell. 2017. xxx + 819pp.  125.00.)

Organized by the Paris-based O c nides, this is an impressive collection arranged in four substantial volumes: Antiquity, the Medieval World, the Early Modern World, and the Modern World. Most of the contributions are in English, although several are in French. The range of scholars chosen is most impressive. So also is the coverage of different parts of the world. This is extremely impressive. For example, the prehistorical case studies include chapters on the maritime aspects of early Andean civilizations, the Caribbean, western Europe, West Africa and Japan. The latter, by Mark Hudson, is wide-ranging and emphasizes the significance of marine voyaging in Japanese history. The ancient inhabitants of Japan were regular voyagers to offshore islands, many of which were settled, at least seasonally. However, with the notable exception of Okinawa, there was no long-distance maritime expansion. Similarly, Daniel Sandweiss argues that the earliest Andean civilizations depended on marine resources. Fishing was a major source of protein and, even for the highland-based Inca, the sea and its resources played a critical role in imperial geopolitics. Sandweiss concludes by arguing that the impact of the 1972 El Ni o on fisheries helped cause instability in Peru. Alioune D me suggests that desertification made fishing in the Senegal valley more significant. Pascal Arnaud underlines the significance of maritime connectivity in binding together the Roman Empire. He also points out that new archaeological work, for example on shipwrecks around India, is providing important information on maritime links.

The quest for information is a repeated theme. Christiane Villain-Gandossi emphasizes a medieval ‘nautical revolution’ in Europe from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. However, in practice, coastal charts were frequently imperfect or non-existent, and lighthouses absent or inadequate. Accurate timekeeping, and thus navigation, was very difficult without the instruments that were to be developed later. As a result, knowledge was unfixed, in the sense that it could not readily be related to the maps that did exist. Experience, in the shape of the views of long-lived members of the crew, was a crucial element in knowing how to respond to circumstances. Alongside a quest for practical solutions, there was a belief that witches could direct winds. As another aspect of maritime uncertainty, there was the role of piracy, which is mentioned frequently in the volumes.

For the early modern period, Shakespeare mentions piracy frequently as well as providing clear evidence of the widespread impact of the sea on the collective imagination. References to catching the tide and to the winds are frequent, with the tide providing a clear metaphor. Shipwreck, and the problems of storm-tossed or, in contrast, becalmed journeys, of too much or too little wind, engaged the imagination of the age. Winds blowing ships onto rocky coasts were a particular threat. A terrible storm is important to the plot of *Othello* in that the destruction of the Turkish fleet preparing to invade Cyprus leaves the Venetians sent to help the island free to pursue the obsessive jealousies that Iago builds up. Dutch paintings of the period, for example by Jan Ruysdael, include harrowing scenes of ships being sunk in storms. Winter voyages were harshest and most dangerous.

The general theme of the collection is progressivist and positive. As with David Hancock on Atlantic trade between 1492 and 1815 in the third volume,

trade is presented as integrating cohesive oceanic economic communities, and maritime links as providing opportunities. That approach invites awareness that navalism, like its critique, needs to be located in particular conjunctures, which, however, is not always a strength in the volumes under discussion. This point can be illustrated by considering two key geopolitical writers. Alfred Thayer Mahan, who is briefly, but effectively, discussed by Kenneth Hagan in the fourth volume of the collection, sought naval power for the United States in order to implement his view of the national destiny of international power expressed through naval strength. In contrast, in an approach that is essentially ignored, Halford Mackinder, the founder of British geopolitics, in the early 1900s, came to support the new imperialism of the Liberal Unionists, such as Joseph Chamberlain, as he saw territorial control over land as a key to economic strength. Irrespective of their oceanic profiles and strength, the industrialization and political coherence of large land powers appeared to Mackinder to challenge the value of sea power or to give it a new direction and energy by basing their strengths on land resources. In his *Britain and the British Seas* (1902), he argued forcefully that the development of rail technology and systems altered the paradigm of economic potential away from maritime power. Mackinder told his audience at the Royal Geographical Society in 1904 that an international system based on sea power, which he termed the Columbian epoch, was coming to an end as a result of the reassertion of land power made possible by the railway. He was challenged by Leo Amery, who argued that air power would take precedence: 'a great deal of this geographical distribution must lose its importance ... It will not matter whether they are in the centre of a continent or on an island.' In turn, in 2005, Peter Hugill took forward Amery's critique of Mackinder.

There is room for many different views, but it is possible that these excellent volumes would have benefited from one that takes several on board. At the same time, the last volume closes the collection with superb and tight chapters covering strategy, power politics and economics, both across the centuries and around the world. More generally, the strength of the contributions is readily apparent in the volume, notably with the coverage of the two world wars and the Cold War. Simon Ball points out that the biggest surprise for Mediterranean strategists in 1940 lay in who was fighting whom. Evan Mawdsley presents the sea as a decisive factor in the Second World War. Norman Friedman explains the significance to the Chinese Civil War of the Russians controlling the north Chinese ports at the end of the Second World War. Colin Gray offers a thoughtful understanding of Soviet sea power. Martin Murphy assesses the revival of piracy, and Peter Chalk the narcotics trade. The juxtapositions are sometimes curious: France and the sea since 1945 following a chapter on climate change and world trade, but the individual pieces, as here, are excellent, and so much is covered. The editors deserve much praise for a first-rate collection.

*University of Exeter*

JEREMY BLACK

***Law, Crime and Deviance since 1700: Micro Studies in the History of Crime.* Edited by Anne-Marie Kilday and David Nash. Bloomsbury. 2016. xiii + 324pp. £21.99.**

In the introduction to this book the editors provide a well-argued and coherent advocacy of the use of a micro-study approach to the history of crime and



criminal justice, stressing its use in linking crime to wider social and cultural issues. They emphasize their view that only micro-studies have the 'inescapable ability to put the human individual, and the power of their narrative, back into the history of law and crime' (p. 9), thus allowing them to become agents of their own actions and not just passive victims of historical processes. This argument, which takes up several pages, seems to suggest that micro-studies are new in the field of crime, as historians try to 'wrestle' with novel insights and 'ways of interpreting' historical evidence, but it is an approach which has been used before on many occasions. Indeed, the authors recognize that micro-history has been 'consciously and unconsciously used by individuals as far back as the early eighteenth century' (p. 10) and cite Geoffrey Elton's excursion into the same area in 1958 to support their cause. Some reference to other approaches and why these have been rejected in this book might have been useful. Also there is some confusion regarding how the text is set out, as the authors state that the book has three sections, yet it is divided into four groups of chapters. However, minor niggles aside, this is an entertaining and thought-provoking addition to writings on crime and deviant behaviour.

The stories included range from that of a Scottish trial for blasphemy at the end of the eighteenth century to a notorious murder committed in Surrey in 1945, taking in contributions on a *belle époque* Parisian Commissaire de Police and chain gangs in the southern United States from the 1920s. Most stories focus on the individuals at the heart of the story, and the unique experience of crime that each had, allowing for specific issues connected with the context of the events to be revealed and explored. The first section, the most wide-ranging, examines how society constructs norms and applies laws, with narratives concerning blasphemy, financial crime, the Contagious Diseases Act and a wartime homicide. David Nash's exploration of the execution of Thomas Aikenhead for blasphemy is a particularly engaging account not just of a particular crime, but of how that event has gone on to acquire its own history, and been interpreted and reworked to carry a particular message at various times, and still has echoes in societies where religious intolerance exists.

The second section considers violence perpetrated by women, one case being that of a middle-class Frenchwoman, Emilie Foucault, who threw vitriol in the face of her lover, and another that of an Irish domestic servant, Kate Webster, who was accused of killing her mistress. These cases stand well together, as they focus on how personal relationships and emotions can interplay with acts of crime, as well as examining how newspaper reporting was instrumental in shaping the fates of the accused. Foucault was able to reinvent herself in court as a passionately devoted victim of a cruel and callous man, reinforcing gender and, indeed, national, stereotypes, and with sympathetic press coverage she was acquitted. Webster was not only a working-class woman who deviated from the normal rules of femininity and the social hierarchy, but she also suffered prejudice on account of her ethnicity, and was condemned to death. Here the micro-history approach clearly allows for comparisons of the working of the criminal justice system when it dealt with women of different backgrounds and personalities.

The third section considers police and policing through accounts of the Bow Street Runners, complaints made against the police in early twentieth-century Paris, and the policing of vice in London in the early Victorian period. These seem less concerned with individuals, instead focusing on 'unknown corners

of the history of policing' (p. 11). Rachael Griffin's account of the use of undercover Metropolitan policemen in controlling drinking and gambling among the working class reveals the gap between what the authorities expected their officers to achieve and the realities of policing at street level, as well as the tensions which existed between police and public regarding the extent of police power. Anja Johansen's depiction of the career of the Parisian Commissaire de Police Leon Kien further addresses this issue of tension between police and public in the face of serious accusations of malpractice made against him and his officers through a study of how such complaints were handled by the Paris police force. Both writers stress the importance of the micro-studies approach to their topics, with Griffin identifying it as a way of bringing to light issues which might be 'obscured by broader approaches' (p. 202). Her appeal for the use of combinations of micro- and macro-historical approaches is a sound one.

The final section of the book, 'Stories of Confinement', examines incarceration and punishment, and how individuals have dealt with, and reacted to, being within the penal system. There are three chapters examining this from the prisoners' angle and a final one from the viewpoint of a prison chaplain in the 1840s. The standout chapter here is the insightful one contributed by Helen Johnston, Barry Godfrey and Jo Turner concerning a recalcitrant female serial offender, which uses not only prison documents but also record linkage techniques to discover more about her background and the family she left behind at home. Helen Rogers also makes good use of record linkage in her study of two Yarmouth boys who were imprisoned and then transported to Australia, revealing contemporary attitudes to young offenders and their punishments.

This book provides a wide range of narratives of interest to those studying crime and the interplay between criminals and the law, the police and the penal system, with a focus strongly on the individual's experience. It also contains an extensive bibliography which will be useful to students studying this field of history.

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