Reviews and Short Notices

General

Glanmor Williams: A Life. **By Glanmor Williams.** University of Wales Press. 2002. 207pp. £14.99.
George Macaulay Trevelyan: A Portrait in Letters. **By Peter Raina.** Pentland Books. xvi + 161pp. £16.50.

Glanmor Williams was born in 1920 in Dowlais, one of the oldest industrial communities in South Wales, the only child of working-class parents. Educated at Cyfarthfa Castle Grammar School and what was then the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, he can now be described as the doyen of Welsh historians. George Macaulay Trevelyan was born in 1876 and brought up in his family's country house in Northumberland. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, he was frequently described in his generation as the doyen of English historians. Trevelyan has been well-served by his biographers and this present collection of letters, largely exchanged between George and his poet brother Bob, add useful insights. The editor has provided useful notes identifying matter referred to in the correspondence, though either he or Trevelyan spells some personal names idiosyncratically. The last letter is sent from Cambridge in 1949, the exchange having begun over half a century earlier. In such a domestic correspondence not all the letters are of great individual interest but collectively they do open a window on the likes and dislikes, fears and aspirations, of two well-read men of their class and generation. Behind them, too, lay a distinguished lineage. In 1928, for example, there has to be a decision as to what to do with some hundred attractive volumes of classical texts, in old white binding, on the death of their father. Moreover, they contained notes and comments by Macaulay himself. George decides that his classical scholarship is not up to the mark and proposes to hand them over. There are, too, as one would expect, comments about Italy which reflect, as the decades pass, the passing of a dream. Perhaps the most interesting, and certainly the lengthiest, exchange occurs in late August 1914 when both men set out their respective (and differing) views on war origins and British policy. It is also interesting to note that George, subsequently to be Grey's sympathetic biographer, writes in 1914 that the foreign secretary had been 'very wrong indeed' to make war plans 'years ago' in concert with France. At the beginning of their correspondence neither man would have supposed that in 1939 George would be describing himself, from

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Cambridge, as an A.R.P. officer. In that same year he described himself as 'a mere survivor' in a world which had lost its way.

One suspects that Glanmor Williams never had to worry about what to do with the volumes of texts on 'the two side sections of the glass bookshelf in Papa's study'. He paints an illuminating picture of a hard but warm childhood in an industrial community in crisis and of his own progress, as a scholarship boy, through grammar school to the Elysium by the sea that was Aberystwyth – where he had to come to terms with the arrival of exiled English students. After some school-teaching, he gained a post at Swansea – where he was to make his distinguished career as a historian. Concentrating on the study of the Reformation in Wales, he has moved backwards and forwards in tracing both antecedent and subsequent church history. He was inspirational in gathering round him younger historians who have made a considerable mark in Wales and beyond. It is not only as historian, however, that he has made an outstanding contribution. He has been drawn into a wide variety of public roles in Wales connected with broadcasting, music and the Welsh language. He has remained faithful to his chapel and his Christian convictions have sustained him. The portraits he paints arising from these many links and connections are kindly and this is not a sour or disappointed autobiography. The author is grateful for all that has come his way but is honest enough to admit that there have been times when he has 'wobbled' and wondered about how to keep in balance between 'being a historian' and other roles for which his talents equipped him. It is a matter of particular interest to read Glanmor's reflections, in this regard, concerning a post which he failed to gain in 1975 but which, since 1992, this reviewer has occupied – though perhaps with similar ambivalence about where to strike the balance!

University of Wales, Lampeter KEITH ROBBINS

***The New History: Confessions and Conversations*. Edited by Maria Lúcia G. Pallares-Burke.** Polity. 2002. vi + 247pp. £15.99.

Few would deny that the study of social history has been transformed in recent years. Increasingly, attention has turned to the 'cultural', displacing both traditional empiricist and Marxist approaches to both writing and research. This movement – blandly and arbitrarily dubbed the 'new history' – is the focus of this book, which attempts an exegesis through interviews with some of its best-known practitioners. Maria Lúcia Pallares-Burke plays the role of interlocutor, interviewing nine eminent historians, in order to 'offer a series of snapshots' of their individual manifestos. The list of scholars selected – Jack Goody, Asa Briggs, Natalie Zemon Davis, Keith Thomas, Daniel Roche, Peter Burke, Robert Darnton, Carlo Ginzburg and Quentin Skinner – is impressive, despite not being strictly cosmopolitan and containing only one woman.

Each dialogue follows basically the same format and begins with the interviewee reminiscing about his or her intellectual development, offering personal anecdotes that range from the informative to the amusing. Thus Natalie Davis describes the nomadic existence imposed by her political beliefs during the McCarthy era, whilst Robert Darnton confesses that as a newspaper reporter, the only way he could read Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* was by hiding it in an edition of *Playboy*. Thankfully, such tales rarely stray into self-indulgence. All of the historians display remarkable modesty when the

discussions move on to their own work, often citing what they view to be the superior work of their peers.

The conversations gradually move to consider wider methodological issues and the state of the discipline itself. In this respect, in spite of divergent research interests, all nine figures agree on a number of key points. Whilst discussing theory, none of those interviewed were willing to reject Marxism '*en bloc*', despite their role in displacing it. Also, in terms of historical practice, all seem keen to stress both the uniqueness of the historical profession in an age of increasingly interdisciplinary approaches and the importance of traditional archival research. As a whole, the book has the feel of a coherent group dialogue that is carefully considered and reflective, but at the same time passionate and spontaneous. Moreover, the juxtaposition of personal narrative and philosophical musings provides not only a useful insight into the field and its protagonists, but also, ironically, a valuable source of social history itself.

University of Exeter ROBERT LAMB

***Historical Theory*. By Mary Fulbrook.** Routledge. 2002. xii + 228pp. £10.99.

Mary Fulbrook presents herself as an aspiring bridge-builder. Perceiving a 'theoretical malaise' in which historical studies is mired, she aims to span the chasm that currently exists between postmodern theorists, with their 'relativist and sceptical conclusions', and practising historians who defend themselves inadequately with 'simple empiricist assertions of faith'. She can be seen at the same time to be trying to bridge the horns of a personally felt dilemma, where her aim is to reconcile the diversity of assumptions and approaches (and sometimes mutually inconsistent explanations) that she accepts as being integral to historical study, with a continuing belief in the feasibility of acquiring progressive understanding on the way to actual historical 'truth'. Her clearly structured book deals, then, with 'Interpretations' (approaches to history), 'Investigations' (routes from past to present) and 'Representations' (which includes an examination of ideological involvement). From these inevitably overlapping, and occasionally repetitive, themes emerges her attempted justification for continuing to talk of a history clearly differentiated from fiction, where 'the realities of the past' can be expressed in 'relatively neutral, non-contested theoretical concepts'.

That justification comes from an insistence on some conservative and sometimes seemingly self-contradictory presuppositions. Thus, Professor Fulbrook envisages an open-minded discipline, its proponents ready to accept the need for multivocality and change, but remaining at the same time constrained within 'collective traditions of inquiry'. The members of what she refers to, in Kuhnian mode, as a 'paradigm community' share a body of pre-existing knowledge that sets the parameters and direction of future investigations, as well as appropriate modes of representation. The puzzle-solving which constitutes the historian's essential task then appears as not so much an individualistic as a communal enterprise, with solutions open to peer-evaluation, and some patently preferable to others. But just how those crucial evaluations are to be made is not clarified: the criterion seems to be nothing more than pragmatic consistency with the prevailing 'paradigm' and a sensible attitude towards empirical evidence.

As a specialist in German history, Professor Fulbrook has been compelled to confront historiographical debates that not only impinge on historians

themselves but also highlight the much wider (social, political, moral) importance of historical representation for the present and future; and her theoretical work here is informed with a high seriousness about its practical implications. She has, however, failed to persuade this sceptical reviewer that her bridge is more than a cantilevered structure, left unsupported and still some distance from her worthy objective.

University of Hertfordshire BEVERLEY SOUTHGATE

***The Descent of Ideas: The History of Intellectual History*. By Donald R. Kelley.** Ashgate. 2002. vii + 320pp. £40.00.

To some empirically minded British historians, the history of ideas (or intellectual history) has, with its focus on conceptual abstractions, seemed an alien intruder. Emanating supposedly from the brain of Arthur Lovejoy in the 1930s, it has been seen as an American import; and as an institutional nomad it has often had to struggle hard for recognition. Donald Kelley, long-standing editor of the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, and well known not least for previous works on the history of historiography, has now produced an illuminating study of the history of intellectual history, which should serve to clear up many misconceptions and to locate the subject in an extraordinarily rich intellectual and cultural context.

Professor Kelley takes as his entry point Victor Cousin, whose school of eclecticism in the early nineteenth century conveniently necessitated a study of all past philosophies; so that from Cousin, we are taken back to origins in antiquity, through medieval developments in learning (including theology, history of literature, philology and hermeneutics), to modernity. The central theme of eclecticism, exemplified importantly in J. J. Brucker's seminal *Critical History of Philosophy* (1766), provokes consideration of such recurring issues as the relationship of ideas and language, formulation of the canon, the nature of tradition, and attitudes towards and uses of the past; and separate chapters are devoted to the histories of literature, science, human sciences (including sociology, anthropology and psychology) and philosophy. Importantly, too, the story is brought right up to date. Lovejoy himself, with his still relevant quest for an answer to the question 'What's the matter with man?', is finally reached on page 277; and a concluding outline of twentieth-century developments takes account of a by now helpfully historicized postmodernism.

With its myriad cast and with its complexity of interweaving themes, the writing is sometimes dense; and the arrangement of material results in some inevitable overlap and occasional repetition. It is also particularly sad, for a volume that might well be consulted almost as an encyclopaedia, that there is no bibliography and that the index is seriously defective – with concepts ignored altogether and many names omitted and/or lacking important references (none at all in the last hundred pages). But in other respects this is an immensely scholarly work, even daunting in its erudition; and it should serve as a seedbed for further research in a multitude of fields within what is now defined as intellectual and cultural history.

University of Hertfordshire BEVERLEY SOUTHGATE

Refiguring History: New Thoughts on an Old Discipline. **By Keith Jenkins.** Routledge. 2003. 75pp. £9.99 (pb).

Re-thinking History. **By Keith Jenkins.** (With a new preface and conversation with the author by Alun Munslow.) Routledge Classics. 2003. xx + 99pp. £7.99 (pb). (First published in 1991.)

Refiguring History is the latest in a series of polemical works (*Re-thinking History* was the first) in which Keith Jenkins argues for the revitalization of academic history through the 'reflexive foregrounding of a postmodern discourse' (p. 2). As in earlier books, he uses the theories of Derrida, White and Ankersmit as a basis for his arguments. This new publication is necessary, Jenkins feels, because historians have failed, in sufficient numbers, to give up the old ways of working. They (particularly Evans and Marwick) are stubbornly sticking to the idea of history as an empirical and objective uncovering of the past that attempts to interpret that past as truthfully and with as much epistemological certainty as possible. Jenkins argues that these 'evidentially based synoptic accounts' and 'truth-at-the-end-of-enquiry' approaches are 'effectively interpretive closures' (p. 3). The attempt, in any case, Jenkins asserts, is doomed to failure. Instead of searching for objective truth using strict historical methods, historians should adopt an attitude which 'disregards convention, disobeys the authoritative voice and which replaces any definitive closure with an interminable openness, any exhaustive ending with an et cetera, and any full stop with an ellipsis' (p. 6). Although some historians, Jenkins continues, have allowed pluralistic and relativistic concepts to influence the content of their work, they tend to be unwilling to give up the form or method of their work. Furthermore, this pluralism is constantly threatened by a relapse into anti-emancipatory ways, with objectivity and detachment becoming 'alibis for silence' (p. 16). While the theoretical points that Jenkins raises are interesting, many of them – for instance the 'empty signifier' (the idea that a word has an endless number of potential meanings) from Derrida (pp. 20–2, 35), and the 'fictive' nature of history (it can be expressed only in figurative language) from White (p. 45) – have already become well known over the last ten years or so, in part thanks to Jenkins himself. But there is thought-provoking material here, particularly for students, although it is debatable whether or not Jenkins will succeed in winning over any more of the stubborn traditionalists – and it is likely that his claims to universality will not impress. All history, he suggests – past, present and future – is already and can only be postmodernist. 'Postmodernism is "the only game in town" ' (p. 70). Jenkins admits to being 'deliberately provocative' (p. 7), but despite his disclaimers this book has a kind of arrogance about it – the underlying message appears to be that those who have failed to 'see the light' or stubbornly refuse to accept the tenets of postmodernism wholesale are somehow lesser human beings. There always have been and always will be many different kinds of historians doing many different kinds of history in many different ways. Furthermore, at some point a new theory will come along and postmodernist theory will seem as quaint as Marxist theory seems now.

The reissue of *Re-thinking History* in the Routledge Classics series is certainly warranted. Although the disjointed style does not make it the most readable of books, it has become an almost indispensable introductory text for courses in the theory of history.

Tiverton, Devon PAUL J. PROSSER

***The Dangers of Ritual. Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*. By Philippe Buc.** Princeton University Press. 2001. xiv + 272pp. £27.95.

In recent years many historians, especially those of the early middle ages, have attached great importance to applying the insights gleaned from social anthropology to interpreting the role secular and religious rituals played in medieval political cultures. The discovery by Gerd Althoff and others of the *Spielregeln* which governed political behaviour in the Ottonian *Reich*, for example, has revitalized the study of tenth-century German history. But, as Philippe Buc shows in this study of 'the relationship between medieval documents and twentieth-century theories of ritual' (p. 2), this ritual turn is not without its pitfalls. In the first part of his book Buc continues the investigations he has published in a series of articles in the last decade on how medieval authors understood the rituals they wrote about. Through a careful and chronologically regressive study of various early medieval texts he demonstrates how medieval authors' descriptions of political ritual were shaped by their own outlook, and their own agendas: we cannot, and should not, regard their accounts of particular rituals as those of impartial observers. Thus Buc demonstrates how, in the *Antapodosis*, Liudprand of Cremona used his references to political rituals to construct an opposition between good Ottonian rituals and bad Lombard rituals; moving back to the ninth century, he shows how the Carolingian writers were well aware that rituals were polyvalent and that a single event such as Louis II's Roman *adventus* in 864 could be interpreted in more than one way; moving back to the sixth century, Buc investigates how Gregory of Tours constructed a good:bad typology for royal ritual: good royal ritual was that which imitated episcopal behaviour, bad royal ritual that which ignored episcopal advice. He ends by discussing how Christians appropriated pagan rituals of execution for their narratives of martyrdom. He also makes clear that medieval writers were aware of the potential for hypocrisy in political behaviour. So far, so necessary, although in confining his attention to what medieval authors thought about ritual, in trying to reconstruct a medieval anthropology of ritual, Buc of necessity ignores much of the material for early medieval ritual, especially the rites recorded in liturgical books. Nevertheless, Buc brings a breath of critical fresh air to much recent scholarship. But it is in the second half of this book that perhaps its real interest lies, for here he investigates the conceptualization of ritual since the Reformation. Beginning with the sixteenth-century Protestants' critique of Catholic ritualism Buc investigates how this led to a theory of political ceremonial which separated sacramental rites from those which enforced social order and thence to the fathers of sociology. Buc also demonstrates the problems arising from cross-contamination between twentieth-century historical analyses of medieval ritual and social anthropology: for example, Fustel de Coulanges's views on the transition from ritual to law influenced Ernst Kantorowicz's discussion of kingship in *The King's Two Bodies*, a work which in turn influenced Clifford Geertz. In a review of this length there is unfortunately insufficient space to go into the intricacies and nuances of Buc's argument. But this is an important book which deserves a wide readership, for if Philippe Buc is even half right his work has implications which go far beyond the confines of medieval history.

University of Exeter SARAH HAMILTON

***Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in its Social Context since the Middle Ages*. Edited by Rudolf Dekker.** Verloren. 2002. 192pp. €19.50.

The word 'egodocuments' has not yet – and perhaps for good reason – achieved wide currency in Britain. It refers, as the editor explains, to 'texts in which an author writes about his or her own acts, thoughts and feelings', so it includes such literary productions as autobiographies, memoirs, letters and diaries. Such 'subjective' utterances, though sometimes thought suspect by historians, can yield useful evidence – not least in the case of those who may be under-represented in more 'official' sources. They have obvious relevance for subjects such as memory, identity and self-fashioning; and it is with these that the essays in this collection are mainly concerned, ranging as they do from a treatment of Jewish ethical wills in the twelfth century, through a description of early modern almanacs, to an exhortation to embrace ego-tripping diarists on the internet.

As in any such edited volume, the contributions vary greatly in quality of writing and in probable interest to the non-specialist reader; and I plead the reviewer's prerogative to select a few to recommend. First, academics in need of justification for their own behaviour might like Gadi Algazi's account of the sixteenth-century scholar Hieronymous Wolf. Wolf's writings reveal how he contrived to model himself on the subject of his own research, and thereby helped to establish a scholarly role and identity that we still recognize – including the avoidance of unwelcome claims on our time, counterbalanced by such periodic diversions as the drinking of wine. A particularly good paper is Carolyn Chappell Lougee's treatment of French Huguenot and post-revolutionary émigrés. This emphasizes the usefulness of memoirs for those who have lost their papers, in re-establishing the written documentation required for social and personal identity; and by juxtaposing and comparing her two chosen groups, the author shows how changing political circumstances affected notions of subjectivity and of what was actually required from autobiographical writing. Another well-written and suggestive (and highly entertaining) piece is that of Stephen Carl Arch, who contrasts the supposedly archetypal autobiography of Benjamin Franklin with three others which, though written from marginalized social positions, do more to demonstrate and develop a new conception of personal identity, wherein 'the self is invented as an agent of its own destiny'. Finally, presenting John Wesley as a 'superstar', Michael Mascuch rehabilitates his *Journal*, not as diary or autobiography, but rather as a mode of self-presentation and publicity that affected not just the course of Methodism, but also the development of a reading public addicted to the trivia of 'celebrity'.

This volume might have benefited from a native English-speaking proofreader, to eliminate minor linguistic aberrations; and the absence of an index is lamentable. But the diverse contributions indicate many fruitful usages to which 'egodocuments' (preferably by any other name) may be put.

University of Hertfordshire BEVERLEY SOUTHGATE

***The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*. By John Lewis Gaddis.** Oxford University Press. 2002. xii + 192pp. £14.99.

Having read all the English-language books on the purposes and methods of history (and written one of them), I have been forced to the conclusion that

there is a rigid class division between the books by Oxbridge and Ivy League toffs, and those by the oiks from less prestigious institutions, with the former totally ignoring the latter. Most of the toff books issue from lectures to, or discussions with, fellow denizens of the dreaming spires and ivy-clad quadrangles, the reasons given for studying history being *their* reasons for studying history, with no thought for why, say, history should be taught in comprehensive schools. John Lewis Gaddis, professor at Yale University and distinguished authority on the cold war, gave the lectures on which this book is based while he was George Eastman Visiting Professor at Balliol. Gaddis refers constantly to Marc Bloch's *The Historian's Craft* and E. H. Carr's *What is History?*. No better books 'for use in the classroom have yet appeared', he tells us (p. xi), and he attempts to perpetuate the hoary myth that historians today don't write about what they do: 'We mumble when the social scientist tell us that we aren't really doing science. We grumble at the postmodernists who claim that what we're writing is only fiction. But we don't respond effectively to either argument' (p. 92). 'Elegance' (apparently the special quality possessed by Bloch and Carr – and apparently more important than accuracy) is specially prized by Gaddis (p. xi). In a kind of free association of ideas, everything he says reminds him of some painting, or film, or book, going from Friedrich's *The Wanderer above a Sea of Fog* and the film *Shakespeare in Love* to Jan Van Eyck, Picasso, and *Saving Private Ryan* – and that's just the first dozen pages, with over-strained references continuing throughout. Gaddis sees no need for precise definitions, though sometimes we get fanciful ones: 'maturity' is the 'arrival at identity by way of insignificance', and 'historical consciousness' is 'the projection of that maturity through time' (p. 6). 'Landscape of History' and 'Landscape of the Past' seem to be used interchangeably, and it is never clear what either (or both) mean. In discussing causation, Gaddis returns to the approaches of nineteenth-century philosophy; he really should engage with what working historians today say and do. He is excellent, but scarcely original, on the way in which history is far closer to the natural sciences than the social sciences, and professionals with an interest in these important issues should read chapters 4, 5, and 6, though their force is diminished by over-elaboration. In the final page and a half, Gaddis actually mentions teaching: quite definitely, this book is not 'for use in the classroom'.

The Open University ARTHUR MARWICK

***Pattern and Repertoire in History*. By Bertrand Roehner and Tony Syme.** Harvard University Press. 2002. xii + 413pp. £30.95.

At present there seems no end to the books appearing on historiography. Some have useful comments on historical method, but most rely on pontificating and on argument by assertion about what historians should do. It is therefore pleasing to be asked to review a book that engages directly with the problems of method. That is not, of course, the same as agreeing with the thesis, which is one that I, and I suspect many historians, find somewhat lacking in an allowance for the specificities of particular periods and contexts. The authors seek to define and analyse the 'building blocks, modules, and simple patterns' that they believe are common to different episodes. Thus, the book can be presented as a work of historical sociology, although it avoids much of the introverted nature of such

study and, in addition, is more interested in war than in class. The flavour of the work can be gauged from the discussion of wars for territorial expansion, which even range to include those by ant colonies. In addition, strikes and the French and American revolutions receive particular attention, although the links between the sections are not drawn strongly enough. The two revolutions are probed for parallels which, the authors suggest, reflect 'certain deep mechanisms of revolutionary dynamics' (p. 69). More generally, they argue that comparative history will be hampered unless it is recognized as a separate discipline, with its own criteria for evaluation, and that future progress in historical sociology will be conditioned by the availability of comparative historical data, in which progress hitherto has been slow. Their book seeks to address this lack, but some of the comparisons seem forced. Fruitful conceptually, this volume also serves to remind us of contrasts between a sociological use of the past as a data set and an historical attempt to understand contingent specificities and the impact of time.

University of Exeter JEREMY BLACK

***A Companion to Western Historical Thought*. Edited by Lloyd Kramer and Sarah Maza.** Blackwell. 2002. xi + 520pp. £85.00/$124.95.

The editors of this wide-ranging and ambitious volume take the view that the readership of academic history writing is dwindling, but on the other hand previously obscure documents and historical records have become instantly available to those interested in history through the worldwide web on a scale never before achieved. They reflect on the fact that what is now taken as the 'normal' context for writing history – university departments, advanced degrees, conferences, journals and monographs – is not very much more than a century old. What 'doing history' might involve a century ahead may be very different indeed. This has led them to assemble twenty-four contributors – all of them still safely ensconced in American university departments – to examine the many forms of historical thought which have flourished in Europe and North America from biblical times and classical antiquity to the present era of the internet, television and the global film industry. There is no attempt to cover historical thought in other important civilizations and cultural traditions in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The editors state in the introduction that they have no space to discuss the content of all the chapters. A short review even more certainly cannot. It may be helpful, however, to summarize the four parts into which the book is divided. The first part covers the long period from biblical times through the sixteenth century; the second focuses on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; the third focuses on the twentieth century (with an emphasis on the enormous proliferation of schools of historical thought and the impact made by advances in other disciplines – sociology, cultural anthropology, psychology, literary criticism being the most prominent); the fourth takes off into our present world of shifting uncertainties and emphasizes the extent to which the new technologies may well shape future historical work. The essays, all of which are referenced and accompanied by guides to further reading (with a consolidated bibliography at the end), certainly provide authoritative introductions. 'Historical thought' can never be divorced from context. That is what makes the concluding essays on such matters as 'the new world history' or 'the visual media and historical knowledge' of particular interest as we struggle

to cope with demands now made on our profession. This is an admirable 'Companion', though an expensive one.

University of Wales, Lampeter KEITH ROBBINS

***Mythistory: The Making of a Modern Historiography*. By Joseph Mali.** University of Chicago Press. 2003. xiii + 354pp. $40.00/£28.00.

Too many books have come my way recently in which the authors have ignored the basic requirement, known to every student, of acknowledging, and engaging with, the existing literature. Accordingly, it is a great refreshment of the spirit to encounter the scholarly courtesies, as well as the intellectual power and linguistic skills of Joseph Mali, professor of history at Tel Aviv, and author of *The Rehabilitation of Myth: Vico's New Science*. Analysing the works of the celebrity historians of the pre-professional era – which is essentially what Mali does – tells us little about how history is written today, but does demonstrate the central role that study of the past has always had in western society and the major part these famous men played in forming the general discourse of their day. For the first half of the book the narrative is not unfamiliar: Thucydides, with his stress on sources and facts, contrasted with Herodotus and his more flexible attitude towards myth; Vico, whose preoccupation with 'feeling' and mythology was spurned by his rational contemporaries, the Enlightenment historians, then discovered and lauded by Michelet; Ranke, the creator of a political history anchored in the official archives, challenged by Burckhardt, for whom, Mali tells us (p. 99), history was all about 'mystery and poetry'; the Rankean, Meinecke, who, after the Second World War, recanted, declaring that the Germans would have been better to follow the tenets of Burckhardt. Departure from convention comes in the next chapter, which focuses on Aby Warburg. The notion of Ghirlandaio as *the* painter of the triumphant Florentine merchant class has now entered pop history: it was Warburg who, 'after arduous years of archival research' (p. 152), first brought out how Ghirlandaio's paintings represented the deep myths holding together Florentine society. The discussions of Burckhardt, Warburg, Ernst Kantorowicz, author of *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (1927), a best-selling biography which sought to illuminate the myths which motivated medieval rulers, and Walter Benjamin (not, it seems, the grade-A Marxist bore I and others have presumed him to be: p. 232), are electrifying. Mali favours those writers (he also throws in T. S. Eliot and James Joyce) who based their work on mythical sources, and credits them with creating 'Mythistory', *the* appropriate history (or 'historiography', as he prefers to say) for the modern age. Actually, historians must continue to draw upon the sources (even official ones) most appropriate to their particular inquiries. But this is an infinitely stimulating book, not recommended for introductory courses on methodology, but superb for postgraduate seminars, or courses touching on concepts of modernity.

The Open University ARTHUR MARWICK

***History and Historians in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Peter Burke.** Oxford University Press for the British Academy. 2002. x + 253pp. £25.00.

As part of its centenary celebrations (it was founded in 1902), the British Academy is publishing a series of major monographs to demonstrate the

vitality of British scholarship at the start of a new millennium. It was very proper that one such volume should be devoted to giving a 'retrospective account' of British historical scholarship in the twentieth century. Peter Burke has assembled a team of ten well-known historians to tackle this task. He admits that there might be a tendency for someone (like himself) who entered the historical profession in the 1960s to assume that only then did 'the action' really take place, but counselled his contributors against setting up the first sixty years of the century as some kind of historiographical old regime. That point taken, how was the task to be attempted? The editor accepted that it would have been impossible to attempt coverage of all the areas which British historians had studied in the course of a century. Some selection had to be made. The decision was taken to focus on 'a few major topics' and these have turned out to be 'periods' (in this case 'the Middle Ages') 'disciplines' (instancing art history, historiography and philosophy of history, historical demography) 'regions' ('the Orient') and 'themes' (instancing 'the city', gender, disease, class and 'the nation'). The eminence of the contributors ensures that the surveys are authoritative and illuminating. They certainly testify to the very many types of historical inquiry which have established themselves during the twentieth century. Quite properly, the authors do give attention to the particular contributions made by individual scholars. John Breuilly in particular looks at the evolution (and now dissolution) of a particular tradition of British historical writing. In that connection, though it is admittedly only too easy to argue for a different selection of 'major topics', a volume of this kind might have been a proper occasion to have given an overview of 'the historical profession' in twentieth-century Britain – that is to say how it was composed, where it was located, how it has expanded. Foot soldiers, as well as great names, deserve a place. This reviewer also has a mild grumble that in a retrospective of 'British' historical writing all the contributors, except the one located in Helsinki, have posts in English universities and pay scant attention to historiography outside England.

University of Wales, Lampeter KEITH ROBBINS

***Gender and the Historian*. By Johanna Alberti.** Pearson Education. 2002. vi + 144pp. £12.99.

Alberti's survey of the theoretical questions challenging women's historians is a useful historiographical account of the way women have been studied in the last thirty years in Europe and America. It retraces the debates of this period and demonstrates the liveliness with which scholars have confronted the question of how best to investigate the past lives of women. In many ways these debates mirror some of the concerns of the larger historical community, for example, the shift from empiricism to a more theoretically based discipline, and within that the influences of movements like Marxism, structuralism, post-structuralism and post-modernism. Much of this is encapsulated in the debates over gender itself as 'a useful category of analysis' in Joan Scott's oft-quoted phrase. Men are now also being studied as gendered beings who make historical choices which are often contingent on retaining power on their sex's behalf. By the 1990s it was recognized that women's history needed to be tested for its underlying assumptions about white middle-class females as the norm against

which all others should be judged. This echoes and sometimes predates developments in larger historical debates.

Alberti carefully unpicks the different threads of these debates as they were woven by writers like Gerda Lerner, Joan Scott, Judith Bennett, Mary Poovey, Antoinette Burton, Lyndal Roper, and many more. Scott's writings determine the contours of much of the debate, but arguments over how much agency women had (or have), how much women's lives can be interpreted in light of modern-day women's concerns, and the importance of race also receive fair consideration. I have two complaints to make of this book. First, Alberti is so judicious in her coverage of the debates that it is sometimes hard to extract the intensity with which many of the writers pursue their subject. Secondly, by entitling the volume *Gender and the Historian*, it is clear that Alberti subscribes to Scott's points about the importance of gender (as opposed to women's) history, and much of the rest of the volume is spent considering how other historians respond to Scott and her arguments. At the same time, Alberti makes it clear that at the end of the twentieth century the most vibrant work used gender alongside other theoretical constructs like class, race, and the body itself to understand women's (and men's) roles as historical actors. However, the discussion of where the study of men fits into gender history is basically limited to a discussion of John Tosh's excellent work. The history of masculinity extends far more widely these days and this is not really reflected in Alberti's study. This mars an otherwise solid book.

Middlesex University KELLY BOYD

***Women in European History*. By Gisela Bock. Translated by Allison Brown.** Blackwell. 2002. viii + 264pp. £16.99.

In this textbook Gisela Bock faces the very difficult task of writing a comparative history of European women over the last two and a half centuries. She focuses chiefly on larger political questions beginning with eighteenth-century debates over where women stood as human beings. These debates were, of course, spurred by Enlightenment discussions of men's equality and women increasingly were placed (and placed themselves) in the midst of arguments about human rights. The book moves on to a consideration of the rise of women's demands for political rights in the nineteenth century, their occasional achievement of those rights, the ways their need for regulation and protection were seen by the state, and finally their demands in the second half of the twentieth century for equality. Along the way she visits questions of active and passive suffrage, motherhood and maternalism, racism and race policy, and much else.

It is a daunting task which sometimes defeats the author as she struggles to incorporate the wide differences in the way women's lives altered over the period. British, German and French examples predominate, but never far away are references to what was happening in every other European nation and often the USA. The density of the scholarship offers the reader a good look at the pace and type of change, but can sometimes be a bit overwhelming. The book works best in the middle chapters on the growing call for women's rights, particularly suffrage, in the nineteenth century. Bock places these movements in the context of other national struggles for male suffrage and she zeroes in on the influence of class as a determinant of the speed of change. Her section on

maternalism is also particularly strong, which no doubt is due to Bock's own earlier research interests.

This book is a careful survey of the way women across Europe forced a reconsideration of their place in society. It will be useful for courses where questions about men's and women's changing political power is under scrutiny. Its strong comparative spine allows readers to speculate on why debate rose and change was achieved in different nations and to reflect on the influence of factors like religion, class, industrialization and liberalism on the pace of change. It is a valuable contribution to the literature on women in the modern world.

Middlesex University KELLY BOYD

***A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times*. By Colin Heywood.** Polity Press. 2001. 231pp. £14.99.

In this history of childhood Colin Heywood undertakes three things: to summarize the ideas of his predecessors in this sometimes contentious field; to identify and analyse those areas in which debate and sometimes disagreement most often arise; and to relate his own version of childhood's history. For this he draws on material from a wide range of European and American sources, recorded in an extremely valuable and interesting bibliography. Some parts of the book are fairly conventional. Part I ('Changing Conceptions of Childhood') treads a well-worn path through the ideas of some childhood historians (beginning of course with Philippe Aries) and charts a succession of important developments since the middle ages: new Reformation attitudes, the Enlightenment, Romanticism, political and economic pressures of the last 150 years. The chapter following this rapid survey, 'Some Themes in the Cultural History of Childhood', gives a very clear and useful exposition of the areas of debate which have interested historians and continue to preoccupy society today: the child is shown to be a site of questions about the significance of depravity and innocence, nature and nurture, independence and dependence, age and sex. This 'repertoire of themes' illuminates the succeeding chapters in Part II ('Growing Up: Relations with Parents and Peers'). In these chapters Heywood's material is rich and fascinating, and almost every question asked hitherto about children in history is dealt with: how they were handled; whether they were valued and loved, treated kindly, and prepared well for the adult world; or, conversely, unwanted and abandoned, bullied, exploited and ill-equipped to face the future. Though they are not fully examined, variations of class, gender and ethnic group crop up; throughout the book Heywood makes it clear that many parents' strategies were aimed at protecting their children by maintaining and shoring up the inequalities associated with these differences. As gradually parental preferences have had to defer to policies of the state in the 'disciplinary society', we are led to question whether things have got better for children in modern times. The average western childhood is indeed now prolonged; the young are well fed and cared for and highly educated. Yet society is still anxious about questions of nature and nurture and the apparently intractable inequalites of race and gender; and moreover it is asking whether there is not danger in some of the elements of independence and power that children now seem to have within their grasp.

University of Reading MARGARET HOULBROOKE

Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy. **Edited by Simon Ditchfield.** Ashgate. 2001. xxix + 322pp. £49.50.

This eclectic collection of essays is a fitting tribute to a scholar whose own contribution to the historiography of medieval and early modern Europe stubbornly refuses to be thrust into the straitjacket of any single approach or school of historical thought. Accompanied by a discerning survey by Simon Ditchfield of John Bossy's intellectual development and his influence as a historian and a revealing and warmly appreciative memoir by Peter Jupp, the sixteen essays which follow reflect the full breadth and range of his interests, stretching widely both chronologically and geographically, from thirteenth-century Languedoc and Tridentine Rome to Victorian Yorkshire. To a greater or lesser extent all of them engage with a theme which has continued to shape and inform Bossy's understanding of this formative period: the notion that a fundamental shift took place by which the social experience of religion as a communal activity was eclipsed by an increasing emphasis upon the individual's private relationship with God. The contributors explore a variety of Christian 'communities' (real and imagined) and their histories: from medieval guilds, dissolved Benedictine priories and the celestial company of martyrs and saints, to congregations welded together by rousing sessions of psalm- and hymn-singing, the negatively projected collectivity of a plotting cabal of Jesuits, and the overlapping social networks and worlds within which the early eighteenth-century physician Richard Mead operated and circulated. Others trace manifestations of what Bossy called 'migrations of the holy': Margaret Aston, for instance, explores the fascinating process by which woodcuts originally used to illustrate the Bishops' Bible became decorative features of broadside ballads, relocating themselves from the 'sanctum of holy writ' into secular contexts (p. 130). Several contributions reconsider the nature of late medieval Catholicism and its afterlife: Eamon Duffy seeks to recover the formation of a distinctive 'conversative voice' of the English Reformation, one component of which was nostalgia for a lost communal past, while Patrick Collinson argues that the contemporary lament for the demise of a timeless 'merry England' was no more than a potent myth. Bossy's enduring preoccupation with the role of the Christian religion as a mechanism for facilitating harmony and reconciliation finds an echo in Peter Biller's examination of the phenomenon of Cathar peace-making and in Bill Sheils's study of J. C. Atkinson's ministry in the Cleveland parish of Danby before 1900. Mary Heimann's illuminating discussion of the multiple ways in which St Francis of Assisi was reinvented by Catholics, Protestants and socialists in the nineteenth century is another of this collection's particular highlights. As in many festschrifts, the essays in this volume are somewhat uneven in quality and, despite the ingenious needlework carried out by the editor in the introduction, they do not form an especially coherent whole. Nevertheless, collectively they demonstrate the remarkable diversity of ideas and interpretations which John Bossy's highly original body of writing and thinking has served to stimulate over the last forty years. To quote Ditchfield, they represent a series of 'ongoing conversations and engagements' with a historian 'whose mode of enquiry has by its nature promoted dialogue and debate rather than acquiescence and agreement' (p. xxix).

University of Exeter ALEXANDRA WALSHAM

***'Revolution': The Entrance of a New Word into Western Political Discourse.* By Ilan Rachum.** University Press of America. 1999. viii + 304pp. $39.50.

'It looks like a revolution', wrote John Evelyn shortly before James II fled England in 1688, and Ilan Rachum's book shows that he knew what he was talking about. In a plethora of fascinating references, mostly from minor historians, pamphleteers, letter-writers and diarists, Rachum shows that the word 'revolution' was used to describe sudden political turnover and change for centuries before it appeared in any major work on politics. Introduced by a few fourteenth-century Italian writers, it 'went underground' during the Renaissance as humanists disapproved of its non-classical nature, but even by 1600 some dictionaries in Italian, French and English distinguished this political meaning from its 'gyrational' one. It reappeared in all these languages as a somewhat sensational label for the mid-seventeenth-century upheavals in several countries, and by 1660 was regularly used to denote unidirectional political change, though often with negative epithets such as dire, fatal or dreadful. The book lays to rest some influential myths. Rachum finds no evidence that the word was originally borrowed from astrology or astronomy, though some later writers deliberately played upon this association. The idea that its political meaning was confined to a cyclical movement or return to original principles seems to derive from the classicist pedantry of Hobbes and Harington, as well as from eighteenth-century English insistence, by both Whigs and Tories, that the 1688 revolution had been a basically conservative event. Only in the 1780s, after the American War of Independence which excited great interest in France especially, did the word begin to be used regularly in the sense of a desirable and progressive transformation with wider implications. Important lessons about meaning, context and concepts could be drawn from this study, but are surprisingly evaded. The work of Quentin Skinner, J. G. A. Pocock or Reinhard Koselleck on the importance of meaning, context and *Begriffsgeschichte* in the history of political terms is ignored, though in many ways Rachum carries out their prescriptions for detailed work assiduously. But instead of theory we are offered the hackneyed metaphors of personification and teleology: the word eventually had a 'sensational career'; it 'advanced' or sometimes 'failed to advance' towards its modern meaning; and after 1776 the word 'still had to wait . . . for the term to join the idea'. Nevertheless, the book should prove invaluable to anyone interested in the history of political thought, for its demonstration that the context of political terminology may be very different from what the well-known mainstream texts suggest, as well as for its richness of surprising and fascinating examples.

Middlesex University NORAH CARLIN

***Revolutions and the Revolutionary Tradition in the West, 1560–1991*. Edited by David Parker.** Routledge. 2000. xi + 237pp. £16.99.

During the 1980s and early 1990s anniversaries marking the end of the American War of Independence in 1783, the 1688 English Revolution and the 1789 French Revolution were soon followed by the experience of living through the revolutionary events occurring between 1989 and 1991. Images of Thatcher and Mitterand competing to claim national credit for originally ushering in the rights of man were soon overtaken by television pictures showing the fall of the

Berlin Wall, the downfall of President Ceauşescu and Boris Yeltsin's defiant stand against a conservative coup. For Thatcher, 'the iron lady', 'the world turned right side up', as stressed in a chapter title from the *Downing Street Years* (1993). Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History* (1992) highlighted the manner in which recent events transformed the perceptions of historians. Likewise, Eric Hobsbawm, whose *Age of Extremes* (1994) viewed the past very differently from Fukuyama, conceded that 'whoever we are, we cannot fail to see the century as a whole differently from the way we would have done before 1989–91 inserted its punctuation mark into the flow' (*On History* (1997), p. 311).

Inevitably these events gave a new lease of life to the history of revolutions, such as reflected in Parker's excellent edited work. Colin Bonwick, John Breuilly, and Gwynne Lewis, among others, offer historians and students a thoughtful and up-to-date understanding of the role of revolution in the modern western world. In this manner, this book, which goes back to the sixteenth-century Dutch Revolt, competes with and complements the more limited chronological focus of *Reinterpreting Revolution in Twentieth Century Europe* edited by Moira Donald and Tim Rees (2000). Concise studies of individual revolutions illuminate historiographical issues, like the contribution of 'the people', the role of violence, the power of ideas, the extent to which revolutions have proved progressive and liberating, and their impact upon social structure. Contrasting perspectives are offered by Chris Wrigley – he identified the 'fear of revolution' as a key force limiting revolution in inter-war Europe (pp. 181–2) – and Roger Griffin, whose revisionist study presents fascism as 'a radical form of "revolution from the Right" ' seeking to establish 'a new type of human being, a new type of state, a new era' (pp. 198–9).

David Parker's introductory chapter draws upon succeeding chapters to consider a range of questions, most notably the nature of revolution: 'What defines a revolution as such is not the precise form of state which emerges from the battle for power but the rupturing of the state and the purposes for which it is used' (p. 3). Acknowledging the lack of a concluding chapter, Parker urged readers 'to write their own' (p. x). Certainly, these chapters will give readers considerable food for thought when writing their own histories of revolution.

Kingston University PETER J. BECK

***How to Write the History of the New World: Historiographies, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World.* By Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra.** Stanford University Press. 2001. xviii + 450pp. £40.00.

In *How to Write the History of the New World*, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra sets out to shed new light on 'the dispute of the New World', the celebrated eighteenth-century debate, first explored by Antonello Gerbi, over the supposed 'inferiority' of the Americas and the 'feebleness', even 'degeneracy', of its inhabitants, both Indian and Spanish American creole. Whilst acknowledging that Gerbi had no sympathy for such 'denigrating perspectives', which originated in northern Europe, Cañizares-Esguerra nevertheless takes issue with his dismissal of the works of Spanish American authors who responded to such disdain, and offers a detailed exploration of the writings of Spanish and Spanish American historians of the new world, and of the complex intellectual debates that accompanied the production of their works. In the process he contributes a fascinating

discussion of changing approaches to the writing of history, and to the authority and reliability of sources. Our 'modern (and postmodern) historiographical sensibilities', the author argues, 'originated in the eighteenth century in seemingly obscure epistemological disputes' (p. 1). Indeed, in Spain, the search for new methodologies to write the history of the new world actually anticipated many of the developments in historiography later attributed to Leopold von Ranke, a contribution which remains unrecognized because of the 'backward' place which Spain and Spanish America have occupied in northern European and Anglo-American consciousness since the seventeenth century.

Accordingly, the most innovative sections of this thoroughly researched and exceptionally detailed study are those that deal with eighteenth-century Spanish new world historiography – which led the way in 'breaking with antiquated interpretations of the American past' (p. 133) – and with the development, in the New World, of 'patriotic epistemology'. Crucially, Cañizares-Esguerra characterizes the Spanish Enlightenment as a patriotic movement which, in response to the negative representations of the 'Spanish mind', sought to bring about a complete renewal of Spanish historiography, cartography and botanical studies. It was in the Royal Academy of History, he argues, that intellectuals engaged in lengthy historiographical debates centred on the need to produce new histories of colonization: these debates clearly show 'how in tune Spain was with the dominant historiographical European currents of the day, for most of the criticism of Spanish colonial historiography that was advanced by the likes of de Pauw was first articulated by the Academy' (p. 160). Similarly, the author's discussion of the making of 'patriotic epistemology' in the new world advances the argument that, in their efforts to refute northern European perceptions of the Americas and their inhabitants, late colonial Spanish American historians and antiquarians 'crafted persuasive critiques of the genre of conjectural histories' and 'articulated an original analysis of the epistemological limitations of the "traveler" that foreshadowed many of our contemporary postcolonial insights' (p. 206). Through analysis of the writings of numerous authors – Juan José de Eguiara y Eguren, Mariano Fernández de Echeverría y Veytia, and José Joaquín Granados y Gálvez among others – Cañizares-Esguerra shows that those who crafted the new discourse validated only the historical knowledge of learned clerical – mainly, though not exclusively, creole – observers and precolonial and sixteenth-century Amerindians and deployed it 'to undermine the authority of foreigners' (p. 248).

Although at times almost overwhelmingly detailed, *How to Write the History of the New World* is a fascinating and persuasive study that skilfully and effectively brings to life many previously ignored or neglected writings by Spaniards and Spanish Americans, and serves as a corrective to those who should seek to dismiss them.

University of Bristol CAROLINE WILLIAMS

***Bridges and Boundaries: Historians, Political Scientists, and the Study of International Relations*. Edited by Colin Elman and Miriam Fendius Elman.** The MIT Press. 2001. x + 434pp. £16.95.

This rather lengthy volume in three parts seeks, in the words of the editors, to explore 'how scholars from the fields of history and political science can learn

from one another, while recognising some of the nontrivial obstacles that divide them'. In the first part, the methods of historical enquiry and those of political science are compared and contrasted. These are supplemented in the second part through sets of case studies on fairly standard topics covered by both disciplines: the thirty-year crisis from 1909 to 1939, the rise and fall of British power, and the cold war. For each of these a political scientist, an historian and a commentator reflect on the approach of the discipline to the material. Finally in the conclusions, Robert Jervis and Paul Schroeder explore, from the perspective of the international politics scholar and the historian respectively, why their subjects are studied differently.

The end result leaves one with a good grasp of the key, and as the editors are keen to stress legitimate, differences between the two disciplines and a mild appreciation of where they might learn from each other. The distinctions are reasonably clear in the methods applied by each. Political science seeks broad generalizations about events such as war, revolution or decline whereas international history eschews the idea that there can be a general law to explain such complex phenomena. Where the political scientist seeks to explain a particular historical event by reference to other situations which seem of the same type, the historian tends to view complex historical events as distinct and specific. Political science seeks explicit, parsimonious theorizing and separates it from any empirical testing; as John Lewis Gaddis puts it in his chapter on cold war history, it is a form of enquiry which reflects the *Pompidou Centre* in Paris, with all the necessary service work visible. The historian seeks subtlety and nuance, aiming to include a range of factors to explain historical events, where description and explanation are embedded within the text and where form conceals function. Yet the editors note quite correctly that in the case study chapters, the paired authors seek not only to explain events differently but their disciplines often guide them in different directions. In this sense the volume encourages diversity while identifying areas where co-operation might be possible, in particular through the political science school's growing interest in process tracing, which it sees as not too dissimilar from the historian's traditional construction of narratives.

The editors hope that recognition of the appropriate boundaries of each discipline and co-operation between the two will allow bridge building and eradicate what has often characterized their, at times tribal, approach to each other. It should also be said that the contributors do appear as willing 'bridge-crossers'. But in this sense they may be not totally representative of their disciplines. One only has to attend any major academic conference where the two tribes gather to see clear evidence of the divisions which still exist, marked not by hostility but rather by indifference.

University of Central England EDWARD JOHNSON

***Fascism and Communism*. By François Furet and Ernst Nolte.** University of Nebraska Press. 2002. xvii + 98pp. £26.95.

This quite expensive little volume contains an exchange of eight letters, first suggested by the editor-in-chief of a Roman journal in 1996 and then republished in the French review *Commentaire* in 1997–8 after Furet's death. The English translation, by Katherine Golsan, appears, courtesy of a grant from

the French Ministry of Culture, in the 'European Horizons Series' edited by Richard Golsan, who has added some endnotes, and with a preface by Tzvetan Todorov. The tone of the letters gives the reader the feeling of eavesdropping on great men in this dialogue between two ageing pre-eminent historians who are courteous, mutually respectful and argumentative. It may be, as Todorov opines in his preface, that Furet gets the better of the skirmishing but, by the publication of his *Le passé d'une illusion: essai sur l'idée communiste au XX siècle* (1995), he had come a long way from his Marxist-Leninist past and here is engaging pretty much on the home ground of the neo-Hegelian Nolte, famous as the author of the pioneering and monumental *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* (1963 – translated as *Three Faces of Fascism*) and infamous in *soi-disant* progressive circles for, *inter alia*, his contribution to the *Historikerstreit* of the 1980s. The pain of the perfunctory but angry condemnation to which he was subjected comes through in Nolte's letters while Furet, as a quondam communist, alludes to his own ideological past (as such persons often do) to reinforce his authority to be critical of *marxisants*. Both agree that the two totalitarianisms of fascism and communism fed off one another, even though Furet argues against Nolte's interpretation of fascism as largely a reaction to Bolshevism, contending that fascism 'is itself the revolution', because of 'the formidable attraction it held for the masses of the twentieth century'. It was the other face of the anti-liberal-democratic movement. Both agree that Stalinists after 1945 bamboozled the intellectual *bien pensants* of the west with an orthodoxy of a spurious 'anti-fascism' which served to hide the true nature of communism and sought to make unprejudiced inquiry into the phenomena of fascism and totalitarianism taboo. Both see themselves as taboo breakers and adhere to the 'historico-genetic' approach in explaining the totalitarianisms as opposed to what they term the 'structural' approaches of Friedrich, Arendt and Aron. Both agree (how could one not?) on the uniqueness of the Holocaust – if not on how to deal with Holocaust denial. Furet seems to this reviewer to be on firm ground when seeking to direct Nolte more to the pre-1914 Germanic origins of Nazi fascism and in criticizing Nolte's choice of the positivist Charles Maurras as the first face of fascism, but only in the last letter does the name of Zeev Sternhell appear (without any explanatory endnote on his writings and views). All in all, this contrived correspondence is likely to prove of interest, particularly to specialists. However, the dialogue of two portentous intellectuals reared in anti-empiricist traditions, with their doleful musings on the world at the end of the millennium, gives their exchanges a nostalgic air. One is reminded of Parkinson interviewing Enoch Powell as described by Clive James: they gazed into each other's watering eyes, two tower-blocks awaiting demolition.

University of Birmingham R. A. H. ROBINSON

***How Great Generals Win*. By Bevin Alexander.** Norton. 2002. 320pp. £11.95.

Based on secondary reading, and a reprint of a book first published in 1993, this is a series of short essays on understanding how great generals win. The case studies are of Scipio Africanus, the Mongol generals, Napoleon, Stonewall Jackson, Sherman, Allenby, Mao Zedong, Guderian (in 1940), Rommel and MacArthur. Alexander asserts that the principles of war are simple but that their application requires skill. There is an emphasis on operating on

the line of least expectation and least resistance, manoeuvring onto the enemy's rear, occupying the central position, making convergent tactical blows and, in short, dominating the tempo of war. Frontal attacks are condemned, and deception praised. The political ends of war are stressed and Liddell Hart applauded. There is nothing really new here, the analysis is somewhat simplistic and Alexander has made no effort to revise the 1993 edition in light of subsequent work. Although this is a good read, victory is about much more than generalship.

University of Exeter JEREMY BLACK

Celts and Christians: New Approaches to the Religious Traditions of Britain and Ireland. **Edited by Mark Atherton.** University of Wales Press. 2002. xii + 217pp. £14.99.

The intention of this volume and the conference which inspired it was to bring together academic specialists in early medieval Britain and Ireland with the modern movement which seeks to revive what it perceives as 'Celtic Christianity', largely basing its understanding of this concept on translated religious literature from medieval Ireland and Wales. One would imagine that writers with such a different approach to their sources could only communicate on a superficial level, but the full and accurate footnotes accompanying all the articles give a uniformity of depth to their contributions which may owe something to the overall care of the editor.

After Mark Atherton's introduction, emphasizing the relevance of the varied contributions to the book's central theme, Oliver Davies opens the first section, on 'Identities', by discussing the modern interest in Celtic Christianity, 'suspended between readings of texts in a historical mode and readings of texts which are driven by the need to find ancient validation of new insights and meanings' (p. 35). Without condemning the second approach, which he compares to modern reinterpretations of the Scriptures within an evolving tradition, he urges a rapprochement between tradition and history 'in which tradition remains open to and aware of the constraints of historical analysis' (p. 36). Jonathan Wooding confronts the 'Celtoscepticism' of some archaeologists who maintain there is no conclusive evidence for an identifiable Celtic people or culture in the ancient world. He defends the continuing relevance of Celtic as a linguistic concept in medieval and modern times, and leaves open the possibility of a common Celtic spirituality in the absence of any common liturgical heritage. Elva Johnston discusses the pagan and Christian identities of St Brigit, a cautionary tale against a too-literal reading of hagiography, and Mark Atherton suggests Celtic influences on the poems of Caedmon.

The second section concerns 'Theologies'. Professor Allchin discusses the link between Creation and Christ's Resurrection as seen in early Welsh poetry, Thomas O'Loughlin explores the theology of conversion in Muirchú's Life of St Patrick, and Densil Morgan examines the spirituality of the modern Welsh poet D. Gwenallt Jones. The volume ends with an essay by Mary Low giving an ecological view of early Irish nature poetry. This cross-fertilization has actually resulted in a valuable book, marked by the good humour with which present-day exponents of 'Celtic Christianity' accept the scepticism of the academics as to the very existence of such an entity as 'Celtic Christianity', and their

exhortation to read medieval devotional literature from the Celtic-speaking areas of these islands with a greater concern for its historical context.

Trinity College Dublin KATHARINE SIMMS

***The Britons.* By Christopher Snyder.** Blackwell. 2003. xvi + 331pp. £20.00.

Christopher Snyder's new book tells the story of 'Britishness' from the Late Pre-Roman Iron Age to the present, concluding with the current Welsh Assembly. It is divided into four parts, and subdivided into thirteen chapters. The structure is basically chronological. Covering as it does over 2,000 years, this is a rapid survey, but it does elaborate on different regional experiences of 'Britishness', as for example in the period *c*.600–1100 (chapters 7–10). The writing is generally clear and carries the reader along admirably. It is a handsome work and well illustrated. As a popular work of synthesis, it succeeds admirably.

The destination is less obvious. The underlying question which the volume sets out to address is 'Who are the Britons?', as is discussed briefly in chapter 1, but this issue quite quickly loses centre stage. Instead, the book is dominated by the high politics, wars and conquests which have traditionally been the focus of the 'Loss of Britain' narrative. For example, the Roman Britain chapter is composed primarily of an account of the Roman conquest (pp. 29–47), with other issues occupying just six pages. The author is stronger on the sub-Roman and early medieval periods, where his own research has been focused, but there are some significant omissions in the referencing, which detract from the currency of even this account. So, for example, recent discussions of St Albans, edited by Henig and Lindley in 2001, are absent, as are interpretations of the Augustine's Oak conferences by the reviewer (1997) and Clare Stancliffe (1999). This does not matter too much in a popular work but it diminishes the value of the volume as an entrée to more serious study.

The referencing is by footnote, supported by a chapterized bibliography. This has some defects. For example, Green 1997 is footnoted in chapter 3 but only appears in the bibliography of chapter 13; on p. 113, Ireland 1996 is footnoted but does not occur in the bibliography. Additionally, the referencing is thin. The prehistoric and Roman periods, in particular, are rather heavily derivative of a few, survey-type works. Matters of detail are also at issue. For example, on p. 76 he writes: 'most scholars agree that the Britons remained the majority population throughout Britain in this period [the sixth century], and in most areas the politically dominant one as well.' Both statements are surely contentious, but if the latter one in particular is correct, can someone please explain to me how it was that Anglo-Saxon England became the dominant political and cultural force in Britain over the next generation or two? Why is St Cuthbert, who was an Anglian Bernician, described as a 'Cumbrian' (p. 137), and can we really call Geoffrey of Monmouth 'a Briton' (p. 256)? There are only a few typographic errors (as p. 101, 'tryants' and 'tryanny').

University of Manchester NICHOLAS HIGHAM

***Scotland: A History, 8000 B.C.–A.D. 2000.* By Fiona Watson.** Tempus. 2002. 288pp. £9.99/$14.99.

Fiona Watson's BBC *History of Scotland* was an important milestone in the portrayal of Scottish history on television. It avoided the dominant form of

the celebrity TV historian giving a unitary and (often) conventional view of the past, and instead took the form of interviews designed to elicit a range of expertise and to respond to the rapid developments in our knowledge of Scottish history, particularly in the early period. In terms of format and sophistication it was very impressive, and it was a great pity that it was not networked throughout the UK.

This is the book of the film, all by Fiona Watson, but none the less welcome for that. It sums up the whole of Scottish history in about 70,000 words, and as a result much is bound to be omitted; however, the book aims to inform and not to be comprehensive in all areas. Dr Watson makes the decision to focus on the early period of Scottish history, where change in our understanding is rapid as a result of archaeological discovery: thus almost a quarter of the book deals with Scotland before the Romans, and half with the period before the end of the Wars of Independence. The twentieth century is sketched in very briefly, but this decision is defensible, in that there is much good work in print already on modern Scotland.

Although the Preface deals briefly with issues of identity, on the whole Watson does not deal in detail with the underlying issues of 'Scottishness': she may have decided that in such a general history this would place too much pressure on the narrative. This is direct and purposive, giving a clear summary of the drift of events.

Scotland: A History is nicely illustrated, particularly in the period up to 1700, and offers a good basic introduction for an educated readership, much like the TV programme which preceded it. For those interested in the period since 1750, Devine, Finlay, Harvie, Lenman, Murdoch, Smout and others offer better and fuller approaches, but Dr Watson is no doubt aware of this, and has specifically angled her book to the periods in which it is possible to bring fresh evidence to the attention of a large audience. Technically, the present reviewer wishes that accents on Gaelic words were present, especially since they survive on anglicized French borrowings.

University of Strathclyde MURRAY G. H. PITTOCK

***Germany: A New History*. By Hagen Schulze.** Harvard University Press. 1998. ix + 356pp. £11.50/$16.95.

The book is organized around a series of chronological chapters in which political narrative is central, accompanied by economic and cultural analysis and underpinned by continual reflection on the significance of the term 'German' in this history. 'Germania' was a term used in the Roman empire to describe peoples east of the Rhine. Schulze emphasizes the centrality of the Roman empire to the history of that unknown land. Rome may not have conquered 'Germany' but the emergent aristocratic elites of the German lands collaborated with Rome, sought to emulate Rome, penetrated to the centre of Roman institutions and named their empire Holy (sanctified by the pope) and Roman. 'German' meant not being Roman, 'deutsch' (vernacular) not being Latin. The idea of a German nation was political and late medieval, referring to the assembled estates of the empire. Humanists promoted a 'tribal' identity with the rediscovery of *Germania* written around AD 100. Luther's Bible translation laid down the basis for a standard German written vernacular. At the same time divisions intensified

within 'Germany' on confessional and territorial lines. The latter acquired sharp form with the hard-fought success of Frederick the Great's gamble of 1740 in seizing Silesia from Austria.

Austro-Prussian rivalry was overshadowed by the French threat, national and revolutionary. Napoleon's defeat produced a simplified German political system in which the national idea was central but blocked off from political realization through internal division and external opposition. In relating how these obstacles were overcome by the Bismarckian achievement of 1871 Schulze adds an interesting digression on alternatives: a greater Germany, a democratic Germany, a confederal Germany, a 'trias' Germany, a Germany divided between Austria and Prussia.

Schulze stresses the middle position of the German lands within the east–west division. The new central power, after Bismarck, pursued an ambitious foreign policy leading to war in 1914. The Weimar Republic, product of defeat, is portrayed as weak and unpopular, unlikely to survive, especially with a deep economic crisis. The Third Reich is depicted as ideologically driven, bent on expansion, war and the destruction of Jews. Its defeat seemed to signal the end of the German nation-state. Schulze argues that both German states were coming to accept this division just as a new arms race between the two super-powers over-stretched the USSR and led to its withdrawing support from its satellite states. The new German nation-state, Schulze argues, is unlike the first one. Its members do not long for an ideal nation-state, it combines unity and freedom, is accepted by its neighbours and is firmly integrated into the west. History shows us that we do not need fear history repeating itself.

All this is done briskly and lucidly in a text uncluttered by notes but accompanied by many splendid illustrations as well as tables and graphs. Inevitably one disagrees with some of the radical selections necessarily made and with specific judgements. Also, it is impossible to do justice to debates between historians. However, reflections on the different meanings of the national idea enable Schulze to consider other possible paths of development and make clear the changing relevance of the national idea to German history. It is a considerable achievement.

University of Birmingham JOHN BREUILLY

***Italy: A Short History*. By Harry Hearder. Revised and updated by Jonathon Morris.** Cambridge University Press. 2001. xii + 294pp. £13.95.

First published in 1990, *Italy: A Short History* may not have been Harry Hearder's best work – *Italy in the Age of the Risorgimento* and *Europe in the Nineteenth Century* are both superior – but it was his most popular one. Published in several different languages (Hearder himself was delighted to discover a Hungarian translation) *Italy: A Short History* clearly had hit its intended market – not just the history student but 'the general reader, whether tourist, business-person or traveller, with an interest in Italian affairs', as the original cover notes put it. Given its success first time around, it is not surprising that Cambridge University Press have decided to launch a 'revised and updated' second edition *senza* Hearder, who died in 1996, but *con* Jonathon Morris who has added a short (fifteen-page) epilogue dealing primarily with the tumultuous political events of the early 1990s. Whether CUP can justifiably claim that the

new edition has been 'revised' is, however, a moot point. Morris has sensibly left Hearder's first 262 pages intact and only the last six pages of the first edition do not make it into the second – inevitable given that the effects of *tangentopoli* immediately made redundant Hearder's original closing thoughts on Italy's progress 'towards the twenty-first century'.

All of which means that the 'new' *Italy: A Short History* demonstrates the same weaknesses and strengths as the 'old' one. Hearder aims 'to give a positive view of Italian history' in contrast to the 'positively disparaging' opinions of other (unnamed) British historians (perhaps he had Denis Mack Smith in mind). Although this is in many ways welcome, it does occasionally leave the reader wanting a little more critical input from the author. Just how healthy, for example, is a political system that since unification has been consistently dominated by what could be described as 'regime politics'? Only with Morris's survey of the less appetizing features and figures of contemporary Italian politics do we get a welcome dose of caustic commentary. Nevertheless, there are few English historians of Italy who write with the same ease and clarity as Hearder. Equally, there are few who would be able to manage the trick, as Hearder does, of condensing 3,000 years of history into one slim volume while still providing the reader with a detailed narrative of events and personalities, and a sense of historical perspective. It is for these reasons that *Italy: A Short History* deserves a second outing.

De Montfort University NICK CARTER

Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia. **By Orlando Figes.** Allen Lane. 2002. xxxiii + 729pp. £25.00.

In *Natasha's Dance* Orlando Figes surveys the history of Russian culture over approximately 250 years, from the foundation of St Petersburg to the Brezhnev era, illustrating his account with copious detail about the artefacts and customs of Russian life. He focuses on the artists (Repin, Roerich, Kandinsky, et al.), writers (Pushkin, Tolstoy, Akhmatova), composers (Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Stravinsky), and members of leading families (Volkonskys, Sheremetevs) who influenced culture whilst they sought to define a 'Russian' identity. As his central argument, Figes explores the tension at work within this search – between the 'modern' Europeanized sophistication of St Petersburg and the 'ancient' mercantile Moscow, between the educated elite and the uneducated majority, and more broadly between the influences of Europe and those of Asia. Was it possible to find a true Russian identity somewhere between, on the one hand, the westernizing influence of Europe instigated by Peter the Great and, on the other, the legacy of centuries of Asian influence in the Russian heartlands throughout the middle ages? Figes suggests that a significant catalyst for this quest for a Russian identity was Napoleon's invasion of 1812, which inspired an upsurge of nationalism that led the educated classes to begin to reject their European, and particularly French, culture in favour of Russianness – language, customs, folk songs, dress – which they found in the villages of the interior. It is perhaps an irony that much of the peasant culture that was 'borrowed' was the remnant of an earlier, Tatar (Asian), occupation. The book's title is taken from a passage in Tolstoy's *War and Peace* in which the upper-class Natasha, visiting in the country, dances instinctively when she hears traditional music. With this

seeming paradox of a well-bred countess easily adapting to lowly peasant culture, Tolstoy was trying to depict a single national consciousness that would include all classes. Figes argues, though, that Tolstoy and other writers and artists were engaged in a mythic, piecemeal recreation of an ancient 'Russian' tradition, as preserved in the twin institutions of the Orthodox Church and the peasantry. The new myths of Russianness did not, of course, replace the existing culture; rather the two merged and interacted. Indeed, it was not unusual for some urban dwellers to manifest a 'split personality'. In public they retained European customs and manners, but at home, dressed in kaftans and surrounded by rustic furniture, they created a private interior Russianness.

Arranged thematically, with chapters on, for instance, the peasants, the church, and émigrés, *Natasha's Dance* is a stimulating, insightful and comprehensive account of Russian cultural history. Having a sound basis in primary research, the book will prove a useful resource for academics, while the vivid writing will engage the general reader.

Tiverton, Devon PAUL J. PROSSER

***Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-houses in Eastern England*. By Christopher Stell.** English Heritage. 2002. xx + 380pp. £65.00.

This is the fourth, final and, arguably, the most important volume of Christopher Stell's inventories of nonconformist chapels and meeting-houses, stretching as it does from Sussex in the south to Lincolnshire in the north as well as including Greater London. The region, therefore, represents the very heartland of English nonconformity, with Puritan strongholds in East Anglia, Methodism in Lincolnshire, as well as smaller sects such as the 'Peculiar People' of Essex and the 'Cokelers' of Sussex. The remit for the book is to record in detail all the Protestant nonconformist chapels and meeting-houses constructed before 1800 but it also lists 'as many later works as it has been possible to inspect'. The result is a gazetteer of 1,780 buildings across 12 counties, illustrating the considerable diversity of English nonconformity. As some of the fieldwork for this volume dates back to the 1970s, it also provides a valuable record of buildings which have subsequently been lost through demolition or have been radically altered internally, for example through conversion for domestic use. Arranged by county, each chapter has an introductory overview of the chapels in that region. The more detailed entries for individual buildings include a short history of the congregation, the building and its fittings, as well as providing a brief bibliography. The volume is also well illustrated with over a hundred plans and photographs.

The architecture of these places of worship varies considerably. Roxton chapel in Bedfordshire was originally a late eighteenth-century barn, it became a place of worship in 1808 and had two wings added for a vestry and school room in 1825. Facing Roxton Hall, the building has the rustic Gothick look of a summer house. In Canterbury, the Strict Baptists in 1845 took over a building which had been built, in connection with the city's water supply, on a bastion of the city walls. These stand in contrast to the purpose-built chapels like the Old Meeting House in Norwich opened in 1693 with its elegant south front and nineteenth-century furnishings, or Westminster Chapel (London), an auditorium designed to seat 2,400 people which was opened in 1865. The architecture also illustrates the considerable theological and liturgical differences encompassed by

Protestant nonconformity in England. The remarkable churches of the Catholic Apostolic Church – especially 'the cathedral' at Albury (Surrey) with its chapter-house, three vestries, a room for the preparation of incense, etc. – stand in marked contrast to the Quaker meeting houses and Moravian chapels.

The individual entries also illustrate the changing fortunes of English nonconformity and the decline of some movements. The Huguenot temple constructed in Fournier Street, Tower Hamlets, in 1743, was leased by the Wesleyans for much of the nineteenth century, then became a synagogue before becoming a mosque in 1976. Other chapels, such as the Congregational Chapel in Tunbridge Wells, have avoided demolition but been converted to other uses, in this instance to become a branch of Habitat.

Christopher Stell is the acknowledged expert on English nonconformist architecture and this comprehensive volume makes details of this rich heritage readily available. Although, as the author comments, 'recording without preservation is no solution to the continued attrition of an important aspect of English national life'.

University of Exeter ANDREW SPICER

***Medicine before Science: The Business of Medicine from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*. By Roger French.** Cambridge University Press. 2003. 298pp. £16.95.

The late Roger French was the Director of the Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine at Cambridge and a leading figure amongst pre-modern medical historians. He was a prolific historian, the author of nine books, editor of a number of other works, as well as many articles. French's final book, *Medicine before Science*, was accepted by Cambridge University Press just a few days before his death in May 2002. Thanks to the assistance of Dr Cornelius O'Boyle, of the Wellcome Unit of Medical History at UCL, the book appeared in print in 2003.

Although the preface states that the book provides an 'introduction to the history of university-trained physicians from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century Enlightenment', it actually covers a great deal more ground. The volume is divided chronologically into three parts, beginning with a discussion of the work of the Hippocratic writers and Galen in ancient Greece. In the second section, the focus is on the Latin tradition, or what might be called Latinized Greek medicine of the middle ages, and the relationship of natural philosophy and medicine. The third part begins with what French calls 'the crisis of theory', which resulted in the eventual adaptation of 'scientific' medicine.

While the title and format of the book suggest that it is a chronological survey, French continually stresses that this is not his aim. His stated purpose was to examine the evolution of the successful relationship between university-educated physicians and the society and culture in which they operated. This makes an interesting change from recent works which have tended to focus more on 'popular' medical practices and healers in the 'medical marketplace'. University-educated physicians were in the minority of a huge range of healers available to patients in medieval and early modern England. And yet, French argues, they were able to secure themselves a stronghold by creating a demand for their services based on their perceived knowledge and wisdom. For most of the time span

covered in this book the expertise was based on the Latinized version of Greek medicine. He argues, however, that these beliefs and practices were supplanted in the first three or four decades of the eighteenth century by a variety of new rational systems of natural philosophy which opened the way to what has been called 'scientific medicine'. Although this is a well-written and interesting book, the use of the phrase 'medicine before science' in the title is a somewhat unfortunate choice. As with many other terms, such as 'medical marketplace' or 'scientific revolution', the question of what constitutes 'scientific medicine' is still open to debate. However, there can be no doubt about the importance of French's work to medical, social and cultural historians. As the final work in a long and illustrious career, *Medicine before Science* plays an important role in our understanding of medieval and early modern medical beliefs and practices.

University of Exeter LOUISE HILL CURTH

The Art of Frenzy: Public Madness in the Visual Culture of Europe, 1500–1850. **By Jane Kromm.** Continuum Press. 2002. xv + 283pp. £70.00.

There have been a number of published academic studies focusing on the history of madness in recent years. The best-known works were by the late Roy Porter, with his final published work entitled *Madness: A Brief History* (Oxford University Press, 2002). Porter's work has centred on the relationship between the mad and the society and culture in which they live, portrayed by the written word. Jane Kromm, as an art historian, addresses the same theme through the way in which madness was conceptualized and represented through visual images. She argues that because frenzy or mania was the most public, and therefore the most visible form of madness, its history 'can only be fully understood' through the study of visual image. Kromm attempts to prove her point through the interpretation of a wide range of materials, including engravings, altarpieces, asylum sculptures, royal decorative projects, political and social caricature, and medical illustrations. Unfortunately, although Kromm has clearly spent a great deal of time and effort researching and writing her book, she is unable fully to support her argument. This may simply be because of the futility of trying to justify the claim of one discipline's superiority over another. On the other hand, it may be linked to the fact that neither Kromm nor her publisher seem clear about what type of audience they are trying to reach. The title suggests that this will be a chronological study of the way in which frenzy was visually represented over the course of four centuries. Instead, it consists of an introduction and six chapters, beginning with 'mania in the classical tradition'. The following sections tend to focus on the relationship between politics and mania and come to an abrupt end, as the book does not contain a concluding chapter. While there is a great deal of interesting material on this relationship, particularly in regard to women, the claim on the back cover that this book will appeal to historians of art, politics, medicine and cultural studies is somewhat debatable. The Continuum website also classifies the book under 'art and architecture' and 'sociology' on the website. This perception of such a wide, potential readership makes the price of the work even more shocking. By charging £70.00 a copy, it seems unlikely that many copies will end up in the private libraries of the art historians for whom it seems to have been written.

University of Exeter LOUISE HILL CURTH

***Deforesting the Earth: From Prehistory to Global Crisis*. By Michael Williams.** University of Chicago Press. 2003. xxvi + 689pp. £49.00.

In this ambitious study, Michael Williams reminds us of H. C. Darby's conclusion that 'probably the most important single factor that has changed the European landscape (and many other landscapes also) is the clearing of the woodland'. Starting with the emergence of forests following the retreat of the Ice Age glaciers, Williams shows how, on a global scale, human communities initially manipulated the natural vegetation through the use of fire, but then began the long and seemingly endless process of its destruction that still continues in many tropical regions even today. The use of archaeological and palaeoenvironmental evidence has revealed the extent of prehistoric land clearance, and how this contradicts some classical writers who regarded areas such as Britain as still having been 'overgrown with forests'. Large parts of central and eastern Europe were, however, still extensively wooded and it was during the Carolingian period (*c*.700–950) and high middle ages (*c*.950–1300) that the major onslaught began. A frustratingly short section hints at regeneration in the centuries following the black death before Williams turns to the main focus of his study, the post-medieval and modern periods, and it is for this period that a world-view is achieved.

Williams carefully places each period in its wider socio-economic setting through discussions of the 'driving forces and cultural climates', which skilfully reminds the reader that the human exploitation of any one landscape or environment can only be understood within its wider context. His discussion of the prehistoric, classical and medieval provides a useful summary of existing research which will be of use to those new to the subject, but is very limited in its source material and the lack of recent archaeological evidence is disappointing. Williams also makes it clear that this is very much a study of the clearance of woodland, and very little reference is made to its management, which began well before the seventeenth century and Evelyn's *Sylvia: Or, A Discourse of Forest Trees* (1664). What Williams does achieve, however, is an extremely well-written and well-illustrated examination of the diverse forces behind deforestation from the dark forests of central Europe to the 'green gold' of Brazil. The rate at which this destruction is still continuing today makes for depressing reading, and those examples Williams provides of societies that have managed to do something with their forests other than destroy them are to be welcomed: let us hope that it is not too late to save our remaining areas of forest.

University of Exeter STEPHEN RIPPON

***War and Nature: Fighting Humans and Insects with Chemicals from World War I to Silent Spring*. By Edmund Russell.** Cambridge University Press. 2001. 315pp. £12.95.

In *War and Nature* Edmund Russell, Associate Professor of Technology, Culture, and Communication at the University of Virginia, cleverly traces the interaction between chemical warfare and pest control from the First World War to the Vietnam War. His central thesis is that war and control of nature have coevolved: 'the control of nature expanded the scale of war, and war expanded the scale on which people controlled nature' (p. 2). Based on his dissertation (University of Michigan, 1993), which won the Rachel Carson Prize from the American Society for Environmental History, Russell culled a wide variety of

recently declassified US government documents, business publications, and contemporary books and articles. Russell finds that the First and Second World Wars and the cold war forged close ties between military and scientific institutions, and efforts to maintain such links became hallmarks of the post-Second World War era. Scientifically and technologically, pest control and chemical warfare each created knowledge and tools that the other used to increase the scale on which it pursued its goals (p. 4). For example, on the eve of the First World War, there were few US chemical companies. They manufactured primarily low-profit bulk chemicals. In contrast, Germany had the best chemical factories and schools and had the largest output of sophisticated products. Eight German companies made up almost 80 per cent of the world's dyes (p. 18). However, the increased use of mustard and chlorine gas in the war boosted the demand by European allies for these chemicals from the United States. The Chemical Warfare Service was created within the US Army to employ civilian chemists to conduct research on war gases. This research also stimulated the invention of new insecticides to deal with such menaces as the boll weevil (attacking cotton crops), house fly (spreading typhus), the San Jose scale (damaging fruit trees), and mosquitoes (spreading malaria).

The use of chemicals in warfare is not new. Interestingly, Russell points out that the first recorded use of poison gas was in 428 BC, when Spartans besieging Plataea attempted to kill its defenders by burning wood soaked in pitch and sulphur under the city walls (p. 4). However, chemical warfare increased throughout the twentieth century. Whereas about 90,000 people were killed in the First World War by gas, an estimated 350,000 were killed by gas in the Second World War, including the victims in Hitler's gas chambers. Russell skilfully shows through cartoons how federal entomologists and chemists used insects in their propaganda as metaphors for human enemies. One cartoon depicts a conversation between two worms, one of them exclaiming: 'What! Me sabotage that guy's victory garden? What do you take me for – a Jap?' (p. 100).

This increased use of chemicals as weapons of war produced a backlash in world public opinion. The Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 sought to exclude gas from warfare and define the rights of combatants. After the Second World War, the Chemical Warfare Service and other chemical companies lobbied Congress vigorously, stressing the need to develop war gases as insecticides, for which increased funding was required. Noted chemists testified before Congress, claiming also that chemical and biological warfare was 'more humane' than conventional warfare. According to Russell, who interviewed several of these chemists, Chief Chemical Officer William Creasy argued in 1958 that 25,000 American casualties on Iwo Jima could have been avoided had the US military employed chemical weapons (p. 208). Miracle 'psychochemicals' were promoted, such as LSD-25, that could temporarily incapacitate troops but not permanently harm them. Russell cites a US Army propaganda film produced in 1958 in which a cat chased and caught a mouse, inhaled an unnamed gas, and then cowered from another mouse (p. 208). This publicity campaign persuaded Pentagon authorities to increase the US Army's budget to $80,000,000 for chemical research.

Research to fight insects increased simultaneously with the development of chemicals to fight humans. As thousands of families moved to the suburbs in the 1950s, gardening became a popular hobby and stimulated the desire for pest

control. Pesticide manufacturers such as Du Pont and Dow increased their marketing to this group of consumers, while federal crop dusting programmes using DDT were initiated. Russell shows how Rachel Carson's publication of *Silent Spring* in 1962 galvanized the American environmental movement, leading eventually to the ban on DDT in 1972. This immediate bestseller detailed the noxious effects of DDT on plants and animals and characterized pest control as a self-defeating form of warfare (p. 229).

Reading this book, one is struck by the immense irony of the twentieth century and the causal interaction of peace and war. Never before have so many human lives been saved (thanks to pesticides killing disease-carrying insects and increasing crop yields) and so many destroyed (due to chemical weapons and incendiaries). Americans got better at saving lives partly because they got better at taking them, and vice versa. While *War and Nature* is almost too dazzling in its rich detail, the book breaks new ground in its connection of two traditionally disparate fields of inquiry, environmental and military history. It should be required reading in college courses in both security studies and environmental science.

Stanford University JOHANNA GRANVILLE

***Healing Arts: The History of Art Therapy*. By Susan Hogan.** Jessica Kingsley Publishers. 2001. 336pp. £25.00.

Recent histories of psychiatry have tended to focus on local institutional and national policy developments, particularly those forged during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Apart from occasional attempts to explore the history of occupational therapy and physiotherapy, and apart from sporadic forays into this area by Roy Porter in some recent works on the history of madness, the professional and theoretical evolution of various remedial therapists working with the mentally and physically ill have not received substantial historical treatment and certainly not in more modern times. This interesting book by Susan Hogan, which emerged from her doctoral studies, is an attempt to rectify that neglect by focusing carefully on the history of art therapy.

One of the central arguments of Hogan's work is that art therapy has a much longer history than is suggested by the official coining of the term in 1942. Accordingly, Hogan starts her journey with the emergence of 'moral therapy' in the late eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries, pointing particularly to the impact of utilitarian philosophies and nonconformist religious traditions on therapeutic practices. Utilizing a range of published and archival sources, Hogan then traces in more detail the evolution of art therapy in various specific contexts: Victorian and Edwardian preoccupations with degeneration and formulations of psychopathology; the use of art in the treatment of tuberculosis in sanatoria; the role of art in mental institutions such as the Maudsley and Netherne; the first art therapy community at Withymead; and the foundation of the British Association of Art Therapists in the 1960s.

Tracing the lives and works of leading art therapists as well as the ideological and institutional roots of modern art therapy, *Healing Arts* will be of interest not only to historians of psychiatry and medicine but also to art historians and to practitioners interested in the theoretical, political and professional roots and boundaries of their discipline.

University of Exeter MARK JACKSON

***Commonplace Books: A History of Manuscripts and Printed Books from Antiquity to the Twentieth Century.* By Earle Havens.** Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library. 2001. 100pp. $50.00.

This beautifully produced volume functions both as the accompanying catalogue of an exhibition at Yale University's Beinecke Library and a general introduction to the history of printed and manuscript commonplace books from classical times to the twentieth century. It is a lavishly illustrated survey of the development of a literary genre which sheds considerable light on the development of western epistemology, illuminating the manner in which knowledge was organized, retrieved and indeed created in the past. Regarded as a kind of artificial treasury or storehouse of information, the commonplace book opens a window onto the evolution of the art and culture of memory over two millennia. Here Havens traces the origins of the commonplace book back to the philosophical and rhetorical writings of Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, and other Greek and Roman authors, who inaugurated the tradition of *loci communes* and the collection of *sententiae*. He links these practices with the medieval art of compiling *florigelia* ('books of flowers'), collections of excerpted passages of a theological and moral character, before turning to the Renaissance heyday of the genre, when humanist scholars like Erasmus and Melanchthon revived and popularized the genre for a variety of purposes. Such texts became a standard method of preserving, assembling and sorting literary compositions and legal precedents; they occupied a key place in the polemical arsenals of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations and they were also adapted by leading natural philosophers like Francis Bacon who pioneered the 'new science' and empirical methodologies. Havens also explores the continuing vitality of the genre in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, showing how it was transmuted and transformed into the cognate forms of the personal and often autobiographical album and scrapbook. In addition he offers a brief discussion of the manuscript examples of the genre which exist in large numbers in libraries and archives. In this regard the volume usefully complements Ann Moss's *Printed Commonplace Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (1996). This exhibition catalogue also reinforces the insights which have emerged from the work of Roger Chartier, Anthony Grafton, William Sherman and other scholars, reflecting growing interest in a body of texts which exemplify the point that reading is never a passive act of absorption but rather an energetic, interactive and creative process.

University of Exeter ALEXANDRA WALSHAM

***International Relations: A Concise Companion*. By David Weigall.** Arnold. 2002. vii + 256pp. £12.99.

Teachers, students and general readers interested in twentieth-century international history and world affairs will find this an invaluable and easy-to-use reference tool. Organized as an A to Z dictionary it has 1,500 separate entries starting with 'ABC states' and ending with 'Zones of turmoil'. The entries are concise and very factual. Most are only a few sentences in length, but topics such as 'Cold War' and 'Vietnam War' are given considerably more space. Biographical entries are not included. The information contained is invariably accurate and reliable, though this reviewer would take issue with

the statement that the Monroe Doctrine was invoked during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis.

University of Exeter JOSEPH SMITH

***The First World War: The Essential Guide to Sources in the UK National Archives*. By Ian F.W. Beckett.** Public Record Office. 2002. xiv + 288pp. £19.99.

Anyone contemplating a visit to the Public Record Office to investigate any aspect relating to Britain and the First World War will be indebted to Ian Beckett for compiling this excellent guide to the available records. The work identifies relevant files and briefly describes their contents. There are four main chapters. The first is on 'the Higher Direction of the War' and lists files from the Cabinet Office, War Office, Admiralty, Foreign Office and so on that will be of particular interest to the diplomatic historian. The second chapter is entitled 'New Ways of War' and deals with materials drawn from several government departments on the different ways that the war was fought on land, sea and in the air. This includes guides not only to files on military operations but also less well-known intelligence activities and developments in chemical warfare. Chapter 3 is called 'The Nation in Arms' and refers to the huge amount of documentary material relating to recruitment and war service records. The final chapter is on 'War, State and Society'. The titles of the subsections indicate the wide range and richness of the documentary material on this particular aspect of the war: Growth of Government, Finance, Industrial Mobilization, Labour, Women, Food Supply, Social Values and Leisure, State Welfare, The Management of Morale, Aliens and the Enemy Within. In addition, the editor also includes in each chapter a brief and interpretative introduction to every subsection.

University of Exeter JOSEPH SMITH

***The Rough Guide Chronicle: China*. By Justin Wintle.** Rough Guides Ltd. 2002. 480pp. £7.99 (pb).

***The Rough Guide Chronicle: England*. By Robin Eagles.** Rough Guides Ltd. 2002. 544pp. £7.99 (pb).

***The Rough Guide Chronicle: France*. By Ian Littlewood.** Rough Guides Ltd. 2002. 416pp. £7.99 (pb).

***The Rough Guide Chronicle: India*. By Dilip Hiro.** Rough Guides Ltd. 2002. 400pp. £7.99 (pb). (Series editor Justin Wintle.)

Overall, these Rough Guide Chronicles, the first in a continuing series, are well planned and well produced. They are sufficiently informative, easy to use, and nicely designed. The timeline format (from prehistory to the beginning of the present century) means that they are more suited to 'dipping in' than reading from cover to cover. Indeed some of the early pages are little more than a slightly tedious list of kings and conquests. Nevertheless, some interest is always maintained by the frequent 'sidebars', which give more details about important people, events and concepts, as well as some competent analysis. The chronicles have numerous illustrations, comprehensive bibliographies and – of benefit to the traveller – are pocket-sized.

Tiverton, Devon PAUL J. PROSSER

Medieval

***Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World*. By Bonnie Effros.** Penn State University Press. 2002. xiii + 253pp. $45.00.

The study of death and burial in the middle ages has been something of a growth industry in recent decades. In the early medieval period, however, not very much of this output has been interdisciplinary in approach. More significantly, the study of burial in earlier Anglo-Saxon England has remained resolutely – one might say wilfully – insular in its outlook. Bonnie Effros's new volume represents a welcome addition to the literature on the subject on both counts. Work on documentary historical sources, archaeology and epigraphy is all trawled for information on the changing ways in which the dead were buried and commemorated between the fifth and eighth centuries. Although concentrating upon Merovingian Gaul, Effros also shows an awareness of work on early Anglo-Saxon burial practice and strives to place that in comparison with developments on the mainland.

Chapters examine the symbolic use of clothing, the regulation of grave-goods, epigraphic commemoration of the dead, contemporary thinking about membership of the kingdom of the elect, liturgical commemoration and exchanges between the living and the dead. Effros demonstrates clearly that the commemoration of the dead was a dynamic field of social expression, and that the changes that took place cannot crudely be assigned to changes in religious belief or to increasingly thorough Christianization. Anglo-Saxonists interested in changes in burial practice between 400 and 700 need to be made aware, as Effros makes clear, of comparable changes taking place at the same time in Gaul. This fact calls into question many of the explanations currently in vogue.

The absence of any detailed, sustained empirical work means that the book does not present a radical new contribution, and also at times has deleterious implications for the arguments offered. Nonetheless, as a commentary upon modern analyses of the subject, a great deal of very valuable information is presented, thoughtfully and critically. Sometimes a little care is needed. Arguments of secondary sources are occasionally misrepresented. There is a sprinkling of minor errors. Gaugeric of Cambrai, for example, did not, as claimed (p. 82), have a Roman name but German parents; his name is Germanic and his *vita* is explicit on the Romanness of his parents. Paulinus of Nola did not write the *Life of Ambrose* (p. 176). There are glitches with the transcription or translation of Latin. This is niggling but has little or no effect on the thrust of the argument. More serious mistakes occur in the chapter on epigraphy. The numbers of epigraphs are misrepresented, and the decline in the habit in the late Merovingian period underestimated. It is claimed (p. 94) that the people of Vienne differentiated themselves from the neighbouring Lyonnais by the incorporation of consular dating. In fact a substantial number of inscriptions from Lyons also employ consular dates. The interesting point, as Mark Handley has shown, is that after 541 the Lyonnais and the Viennois chose to date their inscriptions from the consulates of different consuls.

Minor criticisms (and they *are* minor) aside, this is a very valuable book. It deserves a wide readership and will be very useful for teaching. Above all, it is to be hoped that archaeologists of Anglo-Saxon England read it. Perhaps it will

finally dispel the notion (admittedly first dispelled over twenty-five years ago by Bailey Young) that grave-goods are indicative of paganism, or that their abandonment was a result of conversion to Christianity.

University of York GUY HALSALL

***The Carolingian Economy*. By Adriaan Verhulst.** Cambridge University Press. 2002. 160pp. £13.95.

I was delighted to be asked to review this book, since the Carolingian economy is a subject of particular interest, and, as the publisher's blurb rightly says, it is over twenty years since a full-length study appeared in English. My delight turned to dismay, however, when I started reading the book. It is written in a convoluted academic franglais which is at times all but unreadable. What is so strange is that Verhulst's other recent work, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe*, was also published by Cambridge University Press and is perfectly cogent and clear. This, by contrast, is a volume of which the publisher should be ashamed.

Lest I am being too harsh, let me cite a few examples, though there are so many in such a short book that it is hard to know where to begin. With the confusing triple negative on p. 40 perhaps, or the triple prepositional phrase, 'of from about' five pages earlier? With such odd usages as 'hasted' for 'hastened', 'down and upstream the river', or 'upheaval' used to mean 'upturn'? Or by citing the 15,000 'mud' of wine, translating the French *muid* (Latin *modius*, used correctly elsewhere)? As the latter example shows, this can lead to unexpected delights for the reader: Carolingian 'estate agents', for instance, a 'concrete mixer' set up, goods obtained 'by trucking' and 'merchants and boaters'. There is one particularly bad patch, where Lothar becomes 'Lotharius', St Mark's in Venice 'St Marc', purple dye from Tyre is referred to as 'purpur from Tyrus' and (a schoolboy classic) 'actual' is twice used to mean 'present-day', all in the space of just two pages. All such errors should have been edited out.

What about the book's content? This, too, I found disappointing, though that may reflect too high an expectation from a work which seeks to survey the whole Carolingian economy – trade, industry, agriculture and money – in just 135 pages. This invariably leads to significant omissions, including the almost total lack of reference to Brittany, including the important Redon Cartulary (see p. 54). Despite the lengthy bibliography, there are also many other works which one would expect to see cited: Reuter on plunder, for instance, Martindale on the Aquitanian fisc, Lafaurie on Carolingian coinage, or any of the important series of articles accompanying the 799 exhibition in Paderborn. All in all, this is a most disappointing book.

Worthing SIMON COUPLAND

***A Large-Scale Slave Society of the Early Middle Ages: Slaves and their Families in Early Medieval Bavaria*. By Carl I. Hammer.** Ashgate. 2002. xiv + 148pp. £37.50.

Slavery is all too often a neglected aspect of early medieval social history. In this new and interesting survey, Carl Hammer, author of a number of valuable studies of various aspects of the social history of eighth- and ninth-century

Bavaria, quite rightly draws attention to the euphemisms and wilfully erroneous translations employed by historians to evade acknowledging the existence of this inhuman institution. Generally, historians of the period have been of the opinion that slavery was declining in numerical and economic significance. Hammer's concern is to rectify this trait and bring to the foreground the existence of slavery on a significant scale.

Hammer's book, really an extended essay with supporting documents, considers terminology, 'institutional ecology and general conditions of slavery', sources of slaves, manumission and freedmen, 'ultimate slaves' (that is to say slaves employed in important social positions where their political importance outweighed their institutional unfreedom), and quantitative evidence, before concluding. A wide range of translated documents are appended, which ought to make this book a useful teaching resource making early medieval primary sources (some of which are fairly obscure) accessible to undergraduates without Latin or German.

The thesis is that slavery was very significant within Bavarian society and economy. Using a framework provided by Orlando Patterson's *Slavery and Social Death*, Hammer suggests that probably about 33 per cent of the population (though it could be half that number) need to be slaves for a society to count as a 'large-scale slave society', and he presents suggestive evidence that this might have been the case in Bavaria. Obviously the early middle ages are a statistician's nightmare and there is rarely anything like decisive evidence to support such estimates. Nevertheless, Hammer's estimate, from recorded estates, is well worth consideration. Indeed, whether or not one agrees with it all, Hammer's thesis is carefully considered and clearly presented throughout. Given that some contributions to the study of post-Roman slavery have descended into ill-informed, sentimental rants, a thoughtful, scholarly and even-handed analysis of a chronologically and geographically specific situation is most welcome.

Of course, there are issues which are difficult to explore but which have a bearing on Hammer's argument. His argument depends largely on the assumption that great estates were the norm in Bavaria. As ever, Hammer presents his argument carefully but other conclusions are possible, and if there were oceans of free smallholdings between the documented large estates, that could (as he regularly admits) affect the picture considerably. Other issues concern the terminology. Did an early medieval slave really fall completely within the category of non-person defined by Patterson? What was the relationship between the fluid and mutable pattern of everyday social working relationships and institutional theory? A slave might be theoretically defined as a genealogical isolate, or 'socially dead', but in practice, having to deal effectively with slaves on a day-to-day basis (and the requirements of the Church for days of rest, not to mention the Church's admission that even a slave had a soul, an important change as Bloch long ago noted) may well have made the early medieval slave something quite different from the classical 'instrument with a voice'. These are thorny and often intractable issues, which Hammer often recognizes. Whether one agrees with all of Hammer's thesis or not, this is a most thought-provoking and valuable book that deserves close reading and considered response.

University of York GUY HALSALL

***France in the Central Middle Ages 900–1200*. Edited by Marcus Bull.** Oxford University Press. 2002. xi + 237pp. £37.50 (hb), £14.99 (pb).

What was France at this period? It a question to which this book provides some answers. The growth of its identity is ably discussed by Bernd Schneidmüller, who emphasizes the development of both monarchy and dynasty under the first Capetians and the awareness of France as the home of God's chosen people. Geoffrey Koziol analyses the political culture of the time, insisting that there was greater co-operation between crown and magnates than has been claimed in the past, as the opposition which united them against the emperor Henry V in 1124 clearly showed. That the monarchy was stronger than is often admitted is also emphasized by Constance Bouchard who, in her essay on the rural economy, sees this as a period of growth assisted by better climatic conditions and the development of a new kind of plough which greatly improved agriculture yields. Her plea that the misleading term 'feudalism' should once and for all be dropped is echoed by Linda Paterson, who writes a very welcome essay on 'the south', underlining its growing self-awareness as the Occitan, with its particular courtly culture so favourable to the troubadours, its own language and, although perhaps less welcome, its own heresy, Catharism. The editor writes interestingly on the Church, but has to admit that its sole achievement as a specifically French church was the vital part it played in encouraging the first schools of the nascent university of Paris. In the final essay, 'The French Overseas', Jonathan Phillips discusses what was undoubtedly a major contribution to the period 1050–1200: the active part played by 'Franks' (the term used to describe 'Frenchmen' abroad, irrespective of their geographical origins) in Sicily and southern Italy, in the Holy Land and, finally, in Cyprus. This excellent piece incorporates themes mentioned in previous contributions, not least France's relationship with the 'reformed' papacy, which helps to round off the book. All the contributions are well written. Some, naturally, contain more new ideas or novel interpretations than others. One regrets that, in Paterson's case, not all work cited and sometimes contested can be identified, either in the book's grudging footnotes or in the lists for further reading. Perhaps this could be rectified at the time of reprinting. Such a small blemish does not spoil this enterprising collection, which suggests some interesting answers to the question with which this review began.

University of Liverpool CHRISTOPHER ALLMAND

***The Crusaders*. By Norman Housley.** Tempus. 2002. 192pp. £16.99.

Norman Housley is a very well-known figure in modern crusader scholarship, particularly because of his seminal work on the crusades in the later middle ages. In this volume he addresses a different audience from that of his previous studies: a general readership whose interest in the crusades stems from current events in the middle east and the threat of fundamentalist Muslim terrorism. His intention, as stated in the preface, is to use four classic texts written by and about crusaders as the basis for a discussion of crusader psychology, answering such questions as who the crusaders were, what they were fighting for, and how they perceived themselves and their enemies. Housley concludes that 'Islamic fears of a resurgence of crusading are without foundation, for it was the product of a society whose values, aspirations and anxieties have almost totally

disappeared' (p. 182). Yet, some would argue that a desire for economic or political domination, or a 'missionary fervour' to spread democracy throughout the world, have replaced the religious fervour of medieval crusaders; modern parallels which will make this book of interest to a wide general readership. The extent to which the crusaders' motivations are revealed varies with each text under discussion, for as each writer had his own message to impart and his own particular interpretation of events, it is far from certain that they described crusader motivations accurately; they tell us what they wanted their audience to believe about crusader motivations, not necessarily what crusaders actually believed themselves. The discussion of each text is situated within an overall narrative of medieval crusading, so that the book provides a useful short account of crusades in the middle ages. The target audience may consider, however, that the list of further reading is too brief – a selection of additional primary sources in translation would probably have been appreciated, so that readers might pursue the subject for themselves, as well as more secondary surveys of the crusades. It is surprising that the publisher was not prepared to invest more in the presentation of this book: the illustrations are disappointing, given the audience at which the book is aimed. This said, the book has been well received by undergraduate students at this university, and will surely reach a wide readership.

Cardiff University HELEN NICHOLSON

***The Teutonic Knights: A Military History*. By William Urban.** Greenhill Books of London and Stackpole Books, Pennsylvania. 2003. xiii + 290pp. £18.95.

This narrative history of the Teutonic Order, from its foundation to its present existence as a minor order of the Catholic Church, fills an important gap in English writing on crusading history. Urban is a distinguished historian of the Christianization of the Baltic in the period between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, and gives us a general history of the order and of the great process of conversion in which it played such a major role. Therefore the subtitle, *A Military History*, is rather odd. The author explains how the order arose at the time of the Third Crusade, sets it in its crusading context, and describes the Temple and the Hospital which were its exemplars. Urban is at pains to dispel many of the myths which have gathered around the order. Although it was involved in the Baltic by 1230, the Holy Land remained its focus for another eighty years. It was certainly German, but hardly racist in its attitudes, and no more greedy or rapacious than any contemporary organization. Urban stresses the religious commitment of the order and the persistence with which it pursued its goals. Urban demonstrates the complexity of the order's relations with the many powers of the area and emphasizes the feud with Poland, culminating in the defeat at Tannenberg, which arose from its determination to hold Prussia. It was less this defeat, he suggests, than this preoccupation with territorial power that doomed the order because it failed to find a new focus for crusading activity. The plethora of (to English-speakers) strange names of places and peoples is confusing, but helpful maps are supplied. Overall the books does its job well and it is enlivened by Urban's occasional acerbic remarks, as exemplified in his bibliography: 'Some well-known works have been omitted because their only worth is for propaganda in disputes now long forgotten or for providing the author's income' (p. 283). It is a pity this comment was not expanded to

consider the historiography of the order. Perhaps more importantly, this is a book without footnotes: suggestions for further reading for each chapter rather than a single bibliography would give the reader more opportunity for exploration.

University of Wales Swansea JOHN FRANCE

Inquisition and Medieval Society. Power, Discipline and Resistance in Languedoc. **By James B. Given.** Cornell University Press. 1997. xiii + 255pp. £31.50.

This is an excellent book, which I recommend unreservedly to anyone interested in the history of the medieval Inquisition. It deals with the period 1275–1325 when the inquisitors had developed standard procedures and when the records of their work in Languedoc are plentiful. Their success seems beyond dispute, for in those years south French Catharism died out, while the Waldensian church was marginalized. Given addresses the problem of how 'A relative handful of Dominican heresy hunters, assisted by a few bishops, confronted the task of policing an extensive region inhabited by well over a million people' (p. 169). He admits that the Inquisition was not an institution in any normal sense, but rightly maintains that it may be treated as a unity because all the inquisitors were papal judges delegate, charged with enforcing the same body of anti-heresy laws, and all used the same methods. Nevertheless, they had few resources: they received no training in their work; they were given no budget, but relied entirely on the goodwill of secular authorities; their ancillary staff was minimal; and the support which they received from royal and seigneurial agents was fitful.

Given explains how, unlike the civil authorities at the time who amassed records but did not know how to use them, the Dominican inquisitors kept their records in a way which helped them to keep track of suspects. He also suggests that they might have benefited from being trained by their order in the art of memory, a suggestion which would repay further investigation. Given explains how the inquisitors, who stood apart from the rest of Languedocian society, were skilled in manipulating the politics of that society at all levels. He justly affirms that 'Languedocian inquisitors only rarely used torture to extract confessions' (p. 54), and recognizes that they conceived 'of their work as therapeutic, as a reconciliation of sinners to the Church' (p. 219). My own view is that the presence of several thousand Dominican and Franciscan friars, engaged in the work of pastoral ministry in Languedoc during the period under consideration, made as great a contribution to the collapse of heretical movements there as the tribunals of the Inquisition did; but this suggestion is not intended in any way to detract from Given's achievement in describing how so puny and ramshackle an organization as the Inquisition came to exercise real power in Languedoc.

University of Nottingham BERNARD HAMILTON

The Great Rising of 1381: The Peasants' Revolt and England's Failed Revolution. **By Alastair Dunn.** Tempus. 2002. 175pp. £16.99.

Despite a scholarly apparatus, this book is apparently addressed to an undergraduate and popular readership. It is a brief, lively, occasionally vivid account of the events of 1381 seen against the background of long-standing social tensions

exacerbated by recent political and military failures and heavy, regressive taxation. The government's attempt to counter systematic evasion of the third and most patently unfair of the three poll taxes levied between 1377 and 1380 finally provoked a rebellion which initially paralysed the ruling classes and threatened to 'turn the world upside-down' for a few brief days in June 1381. The main characteristics are deftly sketched: the leadership of the revolt, the military discipline of the rebels, their execution of 'traitors' (but otherwise minimal blood-letting), the almost complete absence of signs of class hatred, the determined destruction of administrative, judicial and manorial records, and occasional examples of opportunistic score-settling by criminal elements. Some features could have been given more prominence, particularly the evidence of co-ordinated planning by the rebels in Essex and Kent between 30 May and 12 June. Rather too much use is made of colourful but unreliable chronicle sources (notably Walsingham), and there is a sprinkling of errors or implausibilities: that Richard II was a strident class warrior (p. 139) or a ghoulish voyeur of decaying corpses (p. 147); Sir Richard Lyons a Fleming (p. 90); Wat Tyler a Kentishman (p. 58); and the constable of Pontefract castle an unchivalrous coward (p. 143). Astonishingly, there is no discussion of the one undoubted achievement of the revolt, the end of poll taxes and the marked decrease in direct taxation after 1381. In sum, a readable but not entirely reliable account.

University of Hull J. J. N. PALMER

***Arthurian Myths and Alchemy: The Kingship of Edward IV*. By Jonathan Hughes.** Sutton Publishing. 2002. xiii + 354pp. £30.00.

This curious work attempts a radical reassessment of the reign of Edward IV by means of a dazzling display of erudition. The intention is to rescue a 'hard-working, hard-drinking and womanizing' Edward from the common room of a provincial university where he had been left by the historians of the 1960s and to attempt to understand him in the terms of his own time. Edward is presented as a creation of the intellectuals of fifteenth-century England; alchemists, notably the *éminence grise* George Ripley, genealogists, historians, physicians, poets, illuminators and scribes combined in 1461 to instil in the young earl of March a sense of destiny as the redeemer who could heal a divided nation. The Camelot of the first reign was, however, short-lived as Edward dissipated his energies in sexual excesses, the victim of the malign power of his wife and mother-in-law, the descendants of Melusine, the serpent woman of Arthurian legend. Exile in Burgundy enabled Edward to rediscover his self-image and led to his rejuvenation in 1471 as an heroic, charismatic leader, 'sustained by a potent combination of religion, myth, genealogy and alchemy'. In his second reign Edward identified with Augustus rather than Arthur and there was an attempt, inspired by a growing interest in Roman antiquity, to rebuild the nation on 'more pragmatic, rational, scientific principles'. After the disaster of the French expedition Edward's 'misplaced negative energy' led to addiction to alcohol, food and women and he abused alchemy in a vain search for the elixir of lost youth. With that 'dark, demonic force' Richard of Gloucester waiting in the wings, the family of York finally 'imploded' on the death of the deeply depressed Edward in April 1483. This attempt to provide in 300 densely packed pages an intellectual

dimension to the Wars of the Roses is intriguing for its quirky scholarship, but the reassessment of Edward IV is ultimately unconvincing. The chronology is often confused and there is too much of 'it seems probable that . . .' or 'it is likely that . . .' and familiar sources such as the Second Crowland Continuation and Mancini's account of the usurpation of Richard III are used in a selective and uncritical fashion. The massive bibliography, with nearly 250 manuscripts in twenty libraries and record repositories listed under primary sources, is, however, an invaluable guide to the alchemical works and genealogical and heraldic rolls of the period.

University of St Andrews ANN J. KETTLE

The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R.B. Dobson, Proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium. **Edited by Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford.** Shaun Tyas. 2002. xii + 398pp. £49.50.

The notable contribution which the English medieval church made to the cultivation of learning and education is perhaps overlooked in an era of 'post-Enlightenment' and advanced technology. The twenty-three essays which form the proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton conference explore aspects of this multi-faceted theme. Benjamin Thompson examines the life of Archbishop John Pecham and his combination of the roles of administrator and academic, while Nicholas Vincent reassesses the life of Master Elias of Dereham and his place in English medieval architecture. The education and training of monks is analysed by James Clark, with particular emphasis on evidence from library catalogues, inventories and surviving books, which are also utilized by Martin Heale in his study on books and learning in the dependent priories. A. J. Piper's essay on the oldest inmates of Durham cathedral-priory indicates that they continued to be occupied with administrative duties, which for some included an interest in books and learning. The popular notion that the London Charterhouse consisted solely of 'martyrs, saints, and scholars' (p. 104) is challenged in Andrew Wine's examination of the accounts of Philip Underwode (1492–1500), a Carthusian with a flair for business. Learning in the cathedrals features in Compton Reeves's essay on 'creative scholarship', which he argues was not a priority for the cathedral clergy, while David Lepine demonstrates that 'there was an active scholarly community' (p. 195) amongst the canons of Hereford in the fifteenth century. The connections between astronomy, astrology and medicine are examined by Joan Greatrex in the manuscripts of Norwich cathedral-priory, and Carole Rawcliffe explores the use of hospitals for educational purposes. The role of the regular clergy in the universities is discussed in Patrick Zutshi's essay on the mendicants at Cambridge and John Barron examines the contribution of the Augustinian canons at Oxford and St George's College. Virginia Davis's survey of university-educated secular clerics suggests, perhaps controversially, that the quality of pastoral care in parishes was not enhanced by them, while Jeffrey Denton's essay on parish clergy in the thirteenth century concludes that 'the notion of clerical ignorance and lack of learning is a suspect construct' (p. 285). Books and libraries are also examined in Fiona Kisby's analysis of London parishes before 1603, Claire Cross's essay on the York clergy in the early sixteenth century, and in Alexandra F. Johnston's fascinating study on the composition of the York mystery plays. Joel T. Rosenthal provides a thought-provoking analysis

on book bequests in northern clerical wills, and the activities of the laity and clergy in London and Bristol are examined by Clive Burgess. Other essays include an assessment on Higden's *Polychronicon* and the 'Treasurer's Cadaver' in York Minster. It is unfortunate that the volume has no index, but its contents are of the highest academic standards. These essays encompass such a large area of the medieval Church that they form an important contribution to the subject in general and are essential reading for historians of the middle ages: a truly fitting tribute to the scholarship of Professor Barrie Dobson.

University of York JOSEPH A. GRIBBIN

Early Modern

***The European Renaissance, 1400–1600*. By Robin Kirkpatrick.** Longman. 2002. xviii + 385pp. £25.00 (pb).

This is a significant addition to the expanding body of work on the Renaissance as a European phenomenon. At no point is there any sense of a subject that the author has worked up under the burden of synthetic obligation. Its comprehensive survey of literary developments (ch. 6) and of music (ch. 7) will be particularly welcome for their clarity and authority. The final chapter (of eight) makes the works of Shakespeare at once integral to the Renaissance and critical of it. Whether the emphasis on the Renaissance as 'European' is justified remains open to question. Some readers may feel puzzled (or even frog-marched) by subheadings that purport to make the point by grouping together two or three obviously significant individuals from different regions and different generations (e.g. Leonardo, Van Eyck and Vesalius, pp. 145–9; Tasso, Camões and Spenser, pp. 250–60). The work is part of a series on 'Arts, Culture and Society in the Western World', and history teachers should be aware that the emphasis is strongly western and that the social contextualization (chs. 1–4) is confined to elites (clearly affirmed only on p. 315). This may make technicalities such as 'the brief chromatic resolution of bars 47/48 moves the music on to the homorhythmic almost-resolution of bars 55–9, with its heightened chromaticism leading to the final canonical imitation' (p. 312) even harder for some of us to follow. It is a handsome book with a strong binding and beautiful illustrations. However, there are far too many misprints. Some of these appear to be the result of the repositioning of line breaks (e.g. p. 64: 'six-teenth', p. 218: 'Renais-sance', p. 255: 'ex-perience'), but the author's predilection for the dash sometimes leads to a riot of hyphens (e.g. pp. 200, 242, 273, 282, 318). There are no numbered references, and this is regrettable, not least because there are mistakes in the bibliographical notes, while the main bibliography strangely lists literary sources alphabetically according to translator (*Don Quixote*, *The Life of Saint Teresa*, *The Spanish Bawd* and *Gargantua* all appear under 'Cohen, J. M.', on p. 372). 'Savanarola' and 'Melancthon' are wrong throughout the text, and the index is dismal. Something as jarring as 'one of the principle expressions' (p. 128) at once distracts from the argument and sets an appalling example to the student reader. As the author eloquently reminds us, 'books in the Renaissance proved to be not only a refuge but also a source of unexpected advancement' (p. 73). Publishers, please note.

University of Edinburgh RICHARD MACKENNEY

***The Anointment of Dionisio: Prophecy and Politics in Renaissance Italy*. By Marion Leathers Kuntz.** Penn State University Press. 2001. xviii + 446pp. $55.00.

In the subtitle of this interesting book Professor Kuntz declares her intention of taking on the extremely complex world of Renaissance Italian politics in one of its most complicated and fluid aspects, that of the interaction between religion and politics during the Council of Trent. As her privileged vantage point on that complex world she has chosen to concentrate on the hitherto neglected figure of the flamboyant French preacher who referred to himself as Dionisio Gallo and began preaching in Venice in 1566. With striking erudition Professor Kuntz does an admirable job of reconstructing the life of this preacher from scant evidence prior to his arrival in Venice, subsequent trial by the Inquisition and banishment. Born in Gisons, France, at some point Dionisio moved to Paris where he became rector of the Collège de Lisieux. In 1563 he underwent a mystical experience in which he was anointed by the Virgin Mary and charged with reforming Catholic society and combating the heresy of the Protestants. Dionisio apparently had access to the king and court and, given his radical message and inflammatory delivery, he managed to estrange the country's most powerful political and religious figures. Insensitive to political necessity in a time of religious tension and civil war, he was first imprisoned and then forced to flee. He left France for Italy, passing through the Duchy of Savoy, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Duchy of Ferrara before reaching Venice. The book continues with a detailed account of his preaching in Venice, as well as the intricate relations he was able to cultivate both before and after being imprisoned. A long final section is then dedicated to the prophetic content of Dionisio's writings, placing them in the tradition of Joachim of Fiore, a tradition to which several sixteenth-century humanists were drawn.

An enormous amount of research has clearly gone into the making of this book. Dionisio's relations with the various rulers and important figures in Venice shed a fascinating light on the workings of the politics of the day, just as his role in the contemporary religious debates in France and Italy illustrate the variety of positions still possible within the Catholic world in the 1560s. Perhaps the book's greatest shortcoming lies in the author's intention of following in the footsteps of Carlo Ginzburg and making Dionisio the equivalent of *The Cheese and the Worms*' Menocchio. While obscure, the 'minor' figure of Dionisio Gallo can hardly be regarded as typical. An eccentric seen by his contemporaries as eccentric, he would offer a precious insight into sixteenth-century society even without being portrayed as representative of an improbable and elusive category of 'itinerant exiled humanist cleric royal counsellors cum reforming prophets'. This study of his experience opens a broad array of windows onto his world.

New York University in Florence, Italy THOMAS KIRK

***Penitence, Preaching and the Coming of the Reformation*. By Anne T. Thayer.** Ashgate. 2002. xiv + 226pp. £49.50.

Anne Thayer's ultimate aim in this detailed and carefully written study is to show why the Reformation took root in some parts of Europe but not in others. From 65 'best-sellers' identified among model sermon collections printed between 1450 and 1520 she has selected ten of the most popular to indicate the essence of the teaching of the late medieval Church on penitence. While all ten

dealt with the same penitential process (contrition, confession, satisfaction and absolution) they differed in the importance they attached to the various elements in it. Which element or combination of elements was crucial in securing forgiveness? Depending on the way in which this question was answered, it is possible to distinguish three groups of sermon collections, two of which (the 'rigorist' and the less stringent 'moderate') emphasize the responsibility of the penitent in securing forgiveness for himself, while the third (the 'absolutionist') transfers the onus to the priest who applies the spiritual benefits available through confession and absolution. Where the initiative is with the penitent he is required to be completely contrite and make full satisfaction. The printing histories of the sermon collections show that the 'rigorist' sermon collections were popular in the Netherlands, southern France and the Empire (the area in which the Reformation took root); the 'absolutionist' in Italy and northern France (where it did not); and the 'moderate' in England, Switzerland and central France (where the outcome was mixed). Thayer's claim is that these correspondences are not coincidental: the nature of late medieval penitential preaching, where the preacher was often the confessor, was an important factor in the uptake or otherwise of the Reformation. The argument to support this claim is in two stages. First, it is shown how the 'rigorist' version of the penitential process in which Luther had been reared shaped his views, sometimes positively as in the '95 Theses', where his position on indulgences and satisfaction was continuous with the 'rigorist' position, and sometimes negatively as in his later fundamental re-evaluation of the whole sacrament of penance. Secondly, it is argued that Luther's theological reflections on the late medieval penitential system 'made sense to many people with similar religious roots and encouraged vigorous regional movements of reform' (p. 181). In other words, the uptake of the Reformation depended primarily on the intellectual assent of a sufficient number of those who heard Luther's message, though political and socio-cultural factors were also important.

University College Chichester PATRICK PRESTON

Henry VIII, the League of Schmalkalden and the English Reformation. **By Rory McEntegart.** The Royal Historical Society/Boydell. 2002. x + 244pp. £45.00.

England's dealings with the confederation of German Lutheran princes that comprised the League of Schmalkalden have traditionally been seen as a pragmatic desire to gain allies against Francis I and Charles V rather than a genuine interest in the league's theology. It is this orthodoxy that McEntegart seeks to challenge in this important study of diplomacy and politics during the early years of the English Reformation. England's initial overtures to the league may have been conditioned by the diplomatic situation, but by 1537 the dynamic force was the king's genuine interest in exploring common theological ground. That no lasting agreement was achieved was due to Henry's unwillingness to accept unconditionally the Confession of Augsburg and the Germans' reluctance to send a major theological embassy, led by Philip Melanchthon, to England.

As well as painstakingly detailing the diplomatic and theological contacts between England and the league, this study is also an important addition to our understanding of politics in the 1530s. McEntegart, using both German and English archival sources, identifies a group at the Henrician court, led by

Thomas Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer, who both encouraged the Germans in their contacts with England and counselled Henry towards a Schmalkaldic alliance. Ranged against them were the conservatives at court, exemplified by Bishops Tunstall and Gardiner and the duke of Norfolk. This much is well known, but it is McEntegart's nuanced analysis of the dynamic of court politics which is this book's most important contribution to Tudor history. The picture of a court driven by factional politics in which the king was relegated to the role of a cipher is rejected, but so is the more recent portrait of Henry VIII as a kind of 'absolute monarch' formulating policy without regard to his councillors and courtiers. Instead, McEntegart paints a convincing portrait of a king responsive to the advice of counsellors and of ideologically driven factions competing for the ear of a monarch who could be persuaded, but who, in the final analysis, was always the arbiter of policy. Thus in the summer of 1538, while Cromwell was incapacitated by illness, Bishop Tunstall emerged as Henry's key theological adviser and the progress of Anglo-German relations suffered accordingly.

This book is a model of balanced scholarship and deserves to be read by every student of the early English Reformation. It is also the most important comment on the nature of politics under Henry VIII to appear for some time.

History of Parliament DAVID GRUMMITT

***Power and Politics in Tudor England: Essays by G. W. Bernard*. By G. W. Bernard.** Ashgate. 2000. vi + 240pp. £47.50.

In a mixture of previously published, substantially reworked and new material, G. W. Bernard takes us through a survey of his views on Tudor politics, administration and society. Bernard first provides new insights in a reworked version of the account of the power of the early Tudor nobility which first appeared in his *The Tudor Nobility* (1992), denying that any significant decline or taming of the nobility took place or was necessary, given the overwhelmingly supportive attitude of the vast majority of the nobility to the crown. He then turns to politics at the centre, explaining the fall of Wolsey and of Anne Boleyn as the result of the policy of the crown and (especially in Anne's case) the victims' own actions, and not as a consequence of factional conflict. His essay 'Elton's Cromwell' dismisses all arguments that Cromwell was in any real sense an independent actor, still less architect of a revolutionary policy of his own. We then have a brief review article on court and government that tackles the debate of the late 1980s between Geoffrey Elton and David Starkey, when Starkey used arguments of the continuing informality of Tudor governmental activity, particularly in the privy chamber, to question Elton's 'Revolution in Government' thesis. Bernard attempts to avoid the polarity he sees in the debate, between politics and administration, viewing them rather as points on a spectrum, and urging the importance of purely administrative activity (*pace* Starkey), and the mixed politics and administration in the middle (*pace* Elton). A discussion of the fall of Sir Thomas Seymour brings together some of the themes of noble power and central politics of the previous chapters, explaining this event as showing the roots of power in Tudor England, with the king and his kin, but also (although in Seymour's case only potentially) in fortified bases in the marches and in alliances with the greater noble counsellors of the king. Bernard's account of Amy Robsart, a new piece, emphasizes the chances that Robert Dudley was

indeed behind his wife's death. Then, in a piece on the relationship between architecture and politics, he questions easy equations between the evidence of ministers' and courtiers' houses and the nature of their power in the monarchy, before moving on to his work of recent years on religion and politics in 'The Church of England, *c*.1529–*c*.1642'. Once again, he returns to a key theme, the power of the monarchy and of the individual monarch.

If there is an omission in this otherwise well-balanced collection of essays, it is something on Bernard's view of the world beyond the court and the world of the great nobility, an omission that can only be rectified by reference to his work on the Amicable Grant (which appears more than a few times in footnotes). Given this omission, *Power and Politics* offers us arguments that focus our gaze a little too strongly on power in the monarchy and a largely compliant aristocracy. It is interesting to note in the introduction a willingness to compromise this in terms of influence on (although categorically not manipulation of) the monarch, and the pressure of external events. To explore this aspect the reader may have to go further, both in Bernard's work and beyond it.

The book concludes with a new piece that in many ways acts as a commentary on the whole. Bernard expresses his ferocious contempt of postmodernism in historical scholarship – and the whole book is a boisterous reassertion of a profoundly empirical way of doing history. Again and again, Bernard demonstrates his pride in his ruthless pursuit of incorrect reading of sources and of inappropriate or superfluous theorizing on that evidence. This has great value, not least as a teaching tool when manifestos of postmodernism are more easily obtained by most undergraduates than recent expositions of empiricism; and his criticisms of some modes of postmodernist arguments are telling, though the reader will still be left wondering how to deal with issues of interpretation where the cold realities of administrative record leave us to fend for ourselves. Bernard emerges from the book as an exponent of continuities in the early modern polity, and as a ferocious hunter of error and pugnacious but polite controversialist. The historiography of the period is richer for this.

University of Huddersfield TIM THORNTON

***Self-Defence and Religious Strife in Early Modern Europe: England and Germany, 1530–1680*. By Robert von Friedeburg.** (St Andrews Studies in Reformation History.) Ashgate. 2002. xii + 278pp. £55.00.

In this study, an English version of his *Widerstandsrecht und Konfessionskonflikt* published in 1999, the author embarks on a comparative examination of the concept of self-defence in early modern Germany and England. When Protestants were faced with the difficult task of squaring their religious beliefs with the duty to obey secular rulers, they needed to devise arguments for legitimate resistance to 'heretical' policies, while avoiding the charge of treason. Von Friedeburg traces the development of notions of self-defence through an impressive range of printed pamphlet literature and comes to a number of valuable conclusions. He can show how strongly German thought reverberated across the Channel, albeit in forms compatible with the specific contexts of the English and Scottish constitutions. While the 'curious dispersal of rights of sovereignty' (p. 233) in the Empire allowed various forms of self-defence within the framework of statutory law, imperial courts and the hierarchy of inferior

magistrates, theories of resistance proved more polarizing and explosive in England. Here, seventeenth-century pamphleteers either extended the right of resistance to wider social groups or denied it altogether.

After an introduction to the state of research (where the vast German literature on 'popular' resistance is conspicuously absent), the book follows the chronological development of the German debate ('Part One: The rule of law vindicated') and its reception in England ('Part Two: The rule of law disintegrated'). Throughout his argument, von Friedeburg emphasizes the existence of a broad consensus about the need for order, strong secular government and social hierarchy. He is at pains to disentangle religious resistance from notions of sedition or even revolution. Pamphleteers did not represent a contemporary dichotomy between 'oppressive' and 'libertarian' visions, but engaged in 'casuistry on the legality of violence' (p. 25).

In the end, the examination of all this casuistry leaves two lingering questions, one relating to the author's basic assumptions and the other to the wider significance of his findings. While notions of subordination and political inequality were undoubtedly prominent features of early modern discourse, do the relatively egalitarian 'Federal Ordinance' of the German Peasants or the 'Agreements' of the English Levellers not point to the existence of fundamentally different constitutional models? Furthermore, what exactly does this analysis of Protestant viewpoints entail for the general history of early modern resistance, i.e. how does it fit into the complex matrix of medieval, Catholic and popular political thought? Here, readers await further guidance.

University of Warwick BEAT KÜMIN

***John Foxe and his World*. Edited by Christopher Highley and John N. King.** Ashgate. 2002. xix + 297pp. £55.00.

John Foxe and his World is the third collection of essays to arise from a series of international colloquia linked with the British Academy John Foxe project. Incorporating contributions by both younger and established British and American scholars, this volume reflects the expanding horizons of academic scholarship on Foxe and his famous *Actes and Monuments* and the increasingly blurred boundary between the disciplines of History and English Literature. The parameters of this volume extend beyond the martyrologist and his great book itself to consider a variety of contemporaneous authors and texts and to reassess aspects of Foxe's legacy and influence in the light of fresh trends in recent research. In particular, there is an emphasis on the instability and multivocality of the *Book of Martyrs* – upon the extent to which the production of this monumental work of Protestant history and martyrology was a collaborative venture, in which printers, illustrators, abridgers, editors and readers (both sympathetic and antagonistic) all played a critical role, shaping and reshaping its meaning to serve the purposes of each successive age. Prefaced by an overview of current and emerging scholarship by Patrick Collinson, the contributions are grouped under five headings: historiography, history of the book, visual culture, Roman Catholicism, and women and gender. No less than seven of the essays explore aspects of the iconography of the *Book of Martyrs* and the Catholic murals, prints and engravings produced in part in polemical riposte to it. The key role of Richard Verstegan in the latter enterprise emerges from several

contributions and Lori Anne Ferrell's discussion of figurative diagrams in a catechetical tract by William Perkins is a spirited attempt to carve out a space for a Calvinist aesthetics. But the best essay in this subset is Andrew Pettegree's persuasive explanation of why the *Actes and Monuments* is the only one of the major European Protestant martyrologies to contain illustrations. Pettegree suggests that Foxe's book was created in 'a narrow window of opportunity' (p. 144) between the delayed maturation of the English printing industry and the rise of a climate of growing Reformed hostility towards the pictorial medium. Other essays illuminate the textual and editorial practices of Foxe and his precursor Bale, further underlining the tension between their pretensions as historians and their preoccupations and priorities as propagandists, and David Kastan offers a fascinating survey of 'Little Foxes' – the abbreviated versions of the book which appeared in succcessively smaller and more affordable formats in the course of the seventeenth century. Dale Hoak adds an interesting new twist to the ongoing debate about the origins of the trope of Elizabeth I as the Virgin Queen, presenting John Aylmer as an 'unacknowledged architect' (p. 76) of this aspect of her cult, and Benedict Robinson concisely traces the process by which Foxe and his Catholic rivals competed to appropriate the Anglo-Saxon past and assimilate it into alternative accounts of the origins of English Christian history. In a short review it is possible to do no more than highlight a few of the more original and significant contributions. Not all the essays in this volume are of equal quality, but overall this is a collection which helps to edge the industry of Foxe studies forward in a range of new directions, as well as to strengthen the case made by David Loades in the afterword for a fully digitalized CD-ROM edition of the book or rather series of books we refer to as 'Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*'.

University of Exeter ALEXANDRA WALSHAM

***Plagues, Poisons and Potions: Plague-Spreading Conspiracies in the Western Alps, c.1530–1640*. By William G. Naphy.** Manchester University Press. 2002. xi + 242pp. £16.99.

The city of Geneva was not unusual in experiencing frequent and virulent outbreaks of plague in the early modern period, or in the methods which the authorities used to combat the spread of disease. However, its repeated prosecution of groups of individuals as plague-spreaders is remarkable. Previously, this phenomenon has only been commented upon as a peculiar extension of the increasing prosecutions for witchcraft which characterized the period. William Naphy's study provides the first systematic attempt to place the plague-spreaders in their proper context, to explain why the Genevan authorities reacted as they did, and to demonstrate how this apparent conspiracy extended into adjacent territories. Those prosecuted for plague-spreading were chiefly poor, foreign, female workers employed by the magistracy to clean the homes of plague victims. They were accused of using substances derived from infected bodies or belongings to grease doors and windows. The motive was profit; by prolonging the disease, they would continue to benefit from the high wages which they were paid for this unpleasant and dangerous work, and increase the opportunity to steal the possessions of those whose homes they disinfected. Initially, the operation was believed to be directed by male medical practitioners employed in the

plague hospital. The authorities' reaction to rumours of plague-spreading was not driven by panic, but by pragmatism. Even after the initial prosecutions of 1530, there was no automatic assumption with each subsequent outbreak of disease that plague-spreading was involved. It was to be another fifteen years before such a conspiracy was again suspected, leading to a further wave of prosecutions.

The most fascinating part of the book involves the close examination of the trials and interrogations of the plague-spreaders. These extraordinary records allow the reconstruction of the details of the alleged conspiracy. Most alarming to the authorities was the oath taken by the conspirators to execute their designs, counter to the one that they had taken to the city to protect it from plague. As a consequence, their activity was viewed as seditious rather than demonic, despite some suggestion of witchcraft, which Naphy sees as an additional rather than integral factor in their prosecution. Nevertheless, by the time of the next round of accusations, in 1571, he identifies a permanent shift in attitude. Thereafter, there was a far greater association with witchcraft, plague-spreading was now the result of individual pacts with the devil rather than a group conspiracy. In a final chapter, Naphy compares outbreaks of alleged plague-spreading in nearby Lausanne, Neuchâtel, Savoy, Lyons and Milan. Through comprehensive examination of the surviving documentation, Naphy succeeds in illuminating a little-understood episode in the history of early modern Europe, revealing both its differences and links with the more widespread witchcraft trials of the period. The topic is fascinating and raises many interesting issues, but the brief concluding analysis does not do justice to such a rich archival study. Nevertheless, this work adds an important new dimension to our existing knowledge of the prosecution of marginal groups.

University of Warwick PENNY ROBERTS

***Politics, Religion and Popularity: Early Stuart Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*. Edited by Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake.** Cambridge University Press. 2002. x + 304pp. £45.00.

This is a remarkable and unusual tribute to a great historian. It is difficult to exaggerate Conrad Russell's influence in fundamentally revising the history of early seventeenth-century Britain during the last quarter of the twentieth century. What is remarkable about the essays in this book is that, although most of them are written by Russell's ex-students to mark his 65th birthday, nearly all of them depart significantly from his revisionist view of the period. Admittedly, the editors are keen in their introductory essay to explain that the revisionism pioneered by Russell and others has often been misrepresented; as they rightly say, revisionists have not 'eschewed long-term structural analysis or ignored issues of ideology' (p. 9). But revisionists like Russell were at pains to play down the importance of parliament as a focus of opposition to the royal government. Puritans were said to be firm supporters of the crown. According to them there was little sign of principled opposition to the early Stuart monarchy, and most members of the landed elite were more concerned with local than national concerns. All these assumptions are questioned in this book. Nicholas Tyacke, once himself an advocate of revisionist views, finds evidence of a Puritan opposition at the very start of James VI and I's reign. Although this opposition failed

to effect its reform programme, Tyacke, in words that owe more to Sir John Neale than Conrad Russell, claims that 'a new kind of adversary politics was born' (p. 44). From now on 'the broad outlines of an alternative politico-religious platform to that of the government henceforth existed' (p. 44). Another essay, by Pauline Croft, using the diaries of MPs (principally that of Sir Richard Paulet) concludes that early Stuart MPs while at Westminster formed links that 'powerfully reinforced a new-found conviction that it was the Commons, not the king, that properly understood the concerns of "England as a whole" ' (p. 83). Peter Lake's essay on Cheshire in 1641 is also cast in similar post-revisionist language as he shows how 'national political issues . . . came to frame and colour what might appear at first sight to have been quintessentially local focuses of loyalty, identity and concern' (p. 288). Jacqueline Eales, too, in a splendid analysis of the political role of preaching during the English Civil War, departs from her ex-teacher's views by showing that parliamentarians were far from cautious about making an ideological case against royal power in the early 1640s. It would be misleading, though, if this review gave the impression that the contributors to this book reject totally Russell's views. On the contrary, they all build on them. Notable in this respect are Richard Cust's explanation of Charles I's ineptness in terms of the king's fear of popular conspiracies, Andrew Thrush's comparison of the rule without parliament from 1611 to 1621 (the short-lived Addled Parliament of 1614 apart) with the more famous personal rule of his son in the 1630s, and the essays on early Stuart religion by J. F. Merritt and Anthony Milton. The end result is a book that is not anti-revisionist, but one that paves the way towards a new post-revisionist agenda for early Stuart politics. In that respect it is an apt tribute to Conrad Russell.

Birkbeck College London BARRY COWARD

***Cromwell and the Interregnum*. Edited by David L. Smith.** Blackwell. 2003. viii + 226pp. £16.99.

David Smith's volume on Oliver Cromwell for the Blackwell's 'Essential Readings in History' series brings together eight of the most influential recent essays on aspects of the Lord Protector's career. Several of the pieces are well known and none is particularly inaccessible, but their publication in one paperback volume is none the less welcome, and will prove extremely useful to students and their teachers. In his short introduction, Smith stresses how the most recent writings on Cromwell have pointed to the fundamental importance of religion as the key to understanding his personality and career. He argues that, despite a tendency to self-deception, Cromwell was sincere in his belief that he was the instrument of God's purposes and spent much of his life in the dual tasks of deciphering God's instructions and attempting to act upon them.

Several of the contributors support and expand upon this contention. Philip Baker and John Morrill argue persuasively that Cromwell's study of scripture had led him to conclude as early as the autumn of 1647 that Charles I should be removed from the throne, even if it was only later that he decided that his execution was also both necessary and politically possible. Blair Worden's classic article on the sin of Achan shows how as ruler Cromwell was obsessed with nagging thoughts that his personal ambition was the 'accursed thing' referred to in the Book of Joshua that might be sabotaging the godly cause. Colin Davis's analysis

of Cromwell's religion strongly emphasizes the providentialist and antiformalist dimensions to his beliefs, and David Smith himself illustrates how it was above all else differences of religious outlook that drove a wedge between Cromwell and the MPs of the first Protectorate Parliament and did much to render that assembly a serious disappointment to both the government and the political nation.

Three of the remaining four contributions seek to defend Cromwell's regime from some of the more unfair accusations levelled against it in the past. Peter Gaunt shows how the protectoral council played a full part in administration and was far from being a mere rubber-stamp for the Lord Protector, and Austin Woolrych marshals an array of evidence to counter the claim that Cromwell was a military dictator, though ultimately this issue depends greatly on the definition employed. Anthony Fletcher gives a balanced account of the major-generals and shows that they were far from being the monstrous gauleiters of legend. Finally, David Stevenson is knowledgeable, fair and dispassionate in his outlining of Cromwell's highly emotive dealings with Scotland and Ireland. As a complex, frequently disturbed and always deeply religious man, Cromwell is not a figure the modern world finds particularly easy to understand, but those setting out on this task could do much worse than begin their explorations with this volume.

St Mary's College, University of Surrey CHRISTOPHER DURSTON

***William III*. By Tony Claydon.** Longman. 2002. xxi + 202pp. £15.99.

One of the latest volumes in the 'Profiles in Power' series, this short introduction to the stadholder-king starts with a useful chronology of his life and career in both the Dutch Republic (1650–88) and England (1689–1702). The brief chapter on the Dutch period is somewhat constrained by the necessary reliance on traditional and obvious English sources, but succeeds in setting the context for the main argument of the book, by highlighting some of the tensions of political identity which faced William in his management of affairs in the Dutch Republic and in England. Dr Claydon's earlier book on *William III and the Godly Revolution* (1996) contributed to current debates on the Glorious Revolution, and was explored further in the recent conference 'William III: Politics and Culture in International Context', when he offered a more ambiguous rationale behind English interpretations of William's religious identity. The publication of this introductory study has therefore come in the period while he was reflecting on responses to his more major work.

A profile is essentially two-dimensional, and while this may be an advantage for the student new to William III, it may miss more complex depths which provide the material for genuine historical debate. The four self-contained essays in part two of this study each look at the whole reign within a separate theme: the English constitution, political parties, the English state and the Three Kingdoms. They provide a basic background to William III's achievements; students grappling with the complexities of the emergent English political parties should welcome the cogent outline on pages 86–7. At a basic level this work provides an introduction to the reign of William III; at the next a clear picture of the modernization of the English state and constitution; but at the third level this short 'profile' attempts to reintroduce William III as an important figure in

British history who should be as 'visible' as Elizabeth I, Nelson and Wellington (p. 188). William's expertise in political compromise, in which he schooled himself in the Netherlands, was enhanced in England by his Orangism and foreignness, seen by Claydon as reasons for both his successes and his later neglect by British history. The assertion that William's achievements were due to his policy of 'securing consent', again a lesson he learnt in his formative Dutch years, needs to be tempered by an understanding that such a policy admits that strength is meeting strength. The strong, conscious, political engagement of both the Dutch and British states should not be sidelined in a celebration of William III, however merited this may be.

University of Kent ELIZABETH EDWARDS

Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture 1696–1722. **By Justin Champion.** Manchester University Press. 2003. Viii + 264pp. £49.99.

This study of John Toland aims at setting him in the context of the English commonwealthmen of the Augustan era, and also to depict him as a leading figure in 'the crisis of Christian culture'. Toland's association with Country Whigs like Robert Molesworth, the third earl of Shaftesbury and even, stretching a point, Robert Harley is well documented here. Their intellectual interaction, visiting each others' libraries, borrowing each others' books and manuscripts, and engaging in learned correspondence, is convincingly exploited to build up the picture of a coterie of like-minded men continuing the republican tradition and ideas of religious toleration. Thus, Toland edited the works of Harrington, Holles, Milton, Monck and Sidney, as well as a curious version of Ludlow's Memoirs which stripped the original of its Puritanism and transformed him into a Country Whig before his time. He thereby transmitted commonwealth notions into the eighteenth century, adapting them to the changing political circumstances of post-revolution England. Toland along with other commonwealthmen claimed that the limited monarchy established in 1689, and subjected to further limitations by the Act of Settlement of 1701, was compatible with republicanism. He was particularly enthusiastic about the Hanoverian succession, enjoying close relations with the dowager electress Sophia. In 'The Danger of Mercenary Parliaments' he put forward a classic Country Whig case that corruption threatened the liberties established in the revolution settlement and should be eliminated. Where Toland went out on a limb was in his notorious tract 'Christianity not Mysterious' (1696). This manual in how to read scripture without clerical intervention outraged the Anglican clergy, who condemned it in Convocation in 1701, thereby exercising the priestcraft Toland inveighed against. It also led some of his associates to back off, notably John Locke, whose own *Reasonableness of Christianity* sailed close to the wind but was not similarly censored. Dr Champion claims that Toland was involved in 'the composition and circulation of the most dangerous clandestine work of the period, the Traité des trois imposteurs', and concludes that he 'took the radical arguments of the Traité right into the heart of the British establishment'. This conclusion underscores the main thesis of the book, that Toland and his circle were not marginal intellectuals but influenced 'core debates in both the public and private sphere'.

University of Northumbria W. A. SPECK

Vital Accounts: Quantifying Health and Population in Eighteenth-Century England and France. **By Andrea A. Rusnock.** Cambridge University Press. 2002. xvi + 249pp. £45.00.

This authoritative and well-written book considers certain distinct but related aspects of the use of quantification in the study of medicine and population in eighteenth-century England and France. After an initial chapter on English political arithmetic in the seventeenth century, Rusnock examines the use of tables in controversies over smallpox inoculation in the two countries in the following century. She then moves on to show how quantification was used in this period to examine the impact of weather, place, age and sex on mortality. *Vital Accounts* concludes with a discussion of the debates on depopulation and overpopulation in the *ancien régime*, and how these set the context for the subsequent development of state censuses in the nineteenth century. The book is based on an impressive range of primary and secondary sources, and is illustrated with a considerable number of original tables taken from the works of the authors Rusnock discusses. The latter are very helpful in enabling readers to appreciate the sophistication, or otherwise, of eighteenth-century medical and demographic statisticians. In general *Vital Accounts* is extremely well researched, although outside Rusnock's main period the scholarship is less up to date. When discussing Gregory King, for example, she draws mainly on Karl Pearson's *History of Statistics*, and she misses some important recent works on the early English censuses.

Rusnock provides us with a fascinating description of the work of a number of eighteenth-century statists, and is careful to place this in the context of their ongoing debates. This is a reworking of a doctoral dissertation, however, and Rusnock does not consider fully some of the wider implications of her detailed research. More might have been said about why English medics were more prepared to accept quantitative proof than their French counterparts, and why overpopulation was debated by private citizens in eighteenth-century England but by state officials in France. The author begins to broach some of the institutional factors responsible for these differences, but more could have been done. Similarly, the book makes little attempt to explain why medical statistics were a private concern in the eighteenth century but a state activity in the Victorian period. The author's discussion of changing nosologies is also somewhat cursory. Hopefully, Rusnock will consider such issues more fully in subsequent works.

University of Essex EDWARD HIGGS

George III: King and Politicians 1760–1770. **By Peter D. G. Thomas.** Manchester University Press. 2002. ix + 262pp. £24.50.

Under the influence of Lewis Namier's *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (1929), eighteenth-century Britain was once commonly viewed as relatively stable and free of substantial ideological conflict. Historical attention was focused on the self-interested patronage politics of aristocratic parliamentary factions. With a great broadening of scholarship, the eighteenth-century is now recognized as having been wracked by religious, political and social tensions, and Namier's picture of politics is seen as having limited applicability outside the period of factional instability that followed the crowning of George III in 1760. Peter Thomas, Namier's last research student, pays homage to his mentor in

choice of subject and general approach, and has drawn on a lifetime of research to compose a masterly narrative and analysis of parliamentary politics in the 1760s.

Thomas resists attempts to discern the origins of modern political parties or popular politics in the 1760s. He begins with a clear and concise outline of the structure of the political system, and acknowledges that there was a noticeable expansion of popular political radicalism surrounding the cause of 'Wilkes and Liberty', fuelled by the growth of print culture and coffee-house association. He maintains, however, that 'when the furore had died down, the political world was still dominated by the King and the Parliamentary factions' (p. viii). Popular protest was increasingly vocal and organized, but it was 'the politics of impotence, unless a cause was taken up at Westminster' (p. 20). Lobbying was equally effective, or ineffective, depending on the disposition of those in power.

This said, the bulk of the book is devoted to charting a decade of complex high politics. The slight regard Thomas has for ideological motivations is reflected in the fact that he hardly addresses the issue of religion or ecclesiastical policy. His politicians are primarily concerned with the post-Seven Years War problems of empire. Thomas observes that while the language of party was revived in the 1760s, it was the language of opposition and used to 'denote attitudes not men' (p. 30). He allows, however, that 'in one sense an embryonic party system did exist' (p. 240). The key factions differed to some extent in style, opinion and motivation; and pride led them to stick by and harden their support for policy decisions originally made as pragmatic responses to circumstances. Lord Rockingham and his followers, most notably Edmund Burke, are seen by some historians as preserving the language and traditions of 'party' and forming the basis of the modern Whig party. Thomas argues that the Rockinghamites were a large and loose faction clustered around some key aristocratic families who had no better claim to a Whig heritage than some of the other factions, and that their policies stemmed from specific motives and connections rather than broad principles. In general, Thomas sees use of the term 'party' as distorting the real nature of a fluid and factionalized political environment, which contemporaries discussed in terms of 'administration' and 'opposition'. With parliament consisting of 558 MPs and some 200 peers, even an 'analysis of these men into categories of placemen, political groups, and independents was both tentative and arbitrary. Compilation of lists was the stuff of politics for George III's ministers and their opponents' (p. 240).

Rather than seeking to expand royal power, as traditionally charged by Whig historians, George III sought only to assert the right of the monarch to choose his ministers. He succeeded in doing so with the appointment of Lord North in 1770. George III emerges as a king more interested in men than measures; wanting a prime minister he could respect and who could manage the parliament, rather than one attached to any particular set of policies. If not the definitive study, this is at least a fine last word on the high politics of the 1760s from the school of Namier.

University of Tasmania ANTHONY PAGE

Prince of Europe. The Life of Charles Joseph de Ligne 1735–1814. **By Philip Mansel.** Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 2003. xiv + 338pp. £25.00.

This book profitably brings together Philip Mansel's great skills in dissecting and explaining court and aristocratic societies and his mastery of Europe in the

century 1750–1840. A member both of the aristocracy of the Austrian Netherlands and of the princely cousinhoods of Europe, Ligne entered Habsburg service in 1751 as a chamberlain in the imperial court and thereafter followed a Europe-wide career which took him as far as the Crimea in 1787. He made this journey in company with Catherine II and Joseph II, listening to the monarchs boast of the size of their empires and their armies. Catherine said of George III's loss of the Thirteen Colonies, 'Rather than sign the separation of thirteen provinces like my brother George, I would have shot myself'. Catherine gave Ligne an estate in the Crimea, although financial problems led him to sell it in 1794. When he visited the estate in 1787, Ligne felt sufficiently distant from his familiar world of courts to censure its frivolity. He then swiftly returned to St Petersburg. Ligne was a favourite with both Catherine and Joseph and one of the few chamberlains whom the emperor continued in his service. Mansel skilfully uses Ligne as a point of departure to consider many aspects of European history including aristocratic sexual mores, the various courts, such as that of Catherine the Great, which Ligne visited, and the conflict in the Balkans in 1787–91. This revealed his sympathy for the Turks, against whom he was campaigning, and for the Moldavians. As Mansel points out, 'Ligne was immune from the condescending contempt so often shown towards the smaller countries of Europe' (p. 121). At Versailles, where the influence of Marie Antoinette gained a military post for his second and favourite son in 1781, Ligne's debts increased as he spent to pay for his pleasures. In 1776, his Paris tailor obtained an order for his arrest because he had not paid his bills and he was obliged to leave for Brussels in a hurry. The following year, Ligne handed control of his financial affairs to his unloved wife. In 1778, he campaigned in Bohemia in the War of the Bavarian Succession. He enjoyed the risk but wrote longingly about the pleasures of Paris. Napoleon horrified Ligne: he disliked his taste and his territorial ambition alike, but he was also fascinated by Napoleon's personality and eagerly sought details of his conversation. Mansel finds Ligne great in his open mind and open heart. He was certainly interesting and this skilful work is a fine example of the biographer's craft.

University of Exeter JEREMY BLACK

Late Modern

***The Age of Cultural Revolutions: Britain and France, 1750–1820*. Edited by Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman.** University of California Press. 2002. xiii + 293pp. £18.95.

This volume of essays stems from a conference held in 1997. Some of the contributions, therefore, have been superseded by the more substantial publications of some of the authors (such as the subsequent monographs by David Bell and Paul Friedland). Yet together, the articles present cutting-edge scholarship on the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in France and Britain. The premise of the volume rests upon the revision of Eric Hobsbawm's suggestion that this period witnessed two contemporaneous revolutions which shaped the modern world: the industrial revolution in Britain and the social revolution in France. Scholarly scepticism about both, combined with the so-called 'linguistic turn', has stimulated cultural approaches to the history of both countries. Unfortunately,

the analytical tools of such approaches occasionally include an obscurantist vocabulary. One sympathizes with students who must deal with such sentences as 'Saussurian linguistics is now opposed to situational semantics and the multiplicity of worlds of action is preferred to the causal effects of habitus' (quoted from the *Annales* school in this volume). None the less, cultural approaches seem to be most fruitful where they intersect with more 'traditional' work in social and political history. This collection has many fine examples of this sort of scholarship, including Carolyn Steedman's essay on English servants, which is reminiscent of William Sewell's study of French labour. Sara Maza's work on the lack of a bourgeois consciousness in revolutionary France is especially stimulating and makes the helpful point that anti-noble rhetoric has been too easily associated with class ideology, rather than a more direct hostility towards privilege. A 'Marxist' historian might argue that one should look not so much for the language of class in the 1790s, as for legislation and action by the Revolution which cleared the way for 'capitalist' development (if, indeed, capitalism can be associated exclusively with a bourgeoisie at all!). David Bell's discussion of the French response to the brutal killing of Jumonville and Kathleen Wilson's exploration of Captain Cook's apotheosis in Britain are good examples of how attitudes towards the 'other' can shed light on national identity. Building on her earlier work on women's writing, Carla Hesse offers a critique of the prevailing view that women were excluded from the public sphere in the French Revolution. Women writers challenged the 'scientific' notion that women did not share the capacity for reason attributed to men. Barbara Taylor is convincing when she argues that Mary Wollstonecraft was not a misogynist, as Susan Gubar has provocatively argued, but that her resentment was directed at the high-living noble 'lady'. This is a rich collection, offering stimulating examples of cultural approaches to a period which, if it did not see a dramatic economic and social transformation, seems now to have witnessed a cultural and political revolution. It is also good to see historians of France and Britain collaborating: we should get together more often.

University of Stirling MIKE RAPPORT

***Liberty and Locality in Revolutionary France: Six Villages Compared, 1760–1820*. By Peter Jones.** Cambridge University Press. 2003. xiv + 306pp. £45.00.

We are all familiar with fine examples of micro-history, that historical genre which finds in a close-grained investigation of space and time the answers to much broader questions. What is unusual about Peter Jones's outstanding new book is that he seeks to combine such a micro-historical approach with comparative history, by synthesizing research into six villages across the dramatic decades of *ancien régime*, revolution and empire. The villages are from six very different regions: Lorraine, the Ile-de-France, Brittany, the Gévaudan region of Languedoc, the Rhône valley, and Gascony. While judiciously chosen, however, Jones stresses that they cannot be seen as somehow 'representative'.

What are Jones's conclusions about the village experience of these decades of upheaval? To begin with, his evidence does not support Tocqueville's dictum that the institutions of village life were moribund before the Revolution. To the contrary, he notes the lively sense of municipal identity in most villages, while agreeing with Tocqueville that an outcome of the Revolution was indeed greater

centralization and bureaucracy. Jones's other conclusions reinforce the findings of Lefebvre, Markoff and others about the social impact of the Revolution: while the weight of seigneurialism varied widely, the abolition of seigneurial dues and other rights, and of the tithe, then the introduction of justices of the peace and widespread land sales, had a direct, material impact on every village. The abolition of privilege and the call to participation in national elections underpinned the central cultural and political change: the assumption by villagers that they were equal in the eyes of the law and ultimately the sovereign people. Nevertheless, there are debates which Jones does not directly consider. Recent research on the economic impact of the Revolution in the countryside is not addressed, although Jones notes in passing that he found little change in land use – as opposed to land ownership – in any of his villages. Nor does he consider the argument about whether the Revolution accelerated a demographic transition to lower birth-rates and longer life-expectancy.

Jones draws on meticulous research in eighteen national and local archives, and today's villagers and archivists were evidently helpful with and intrigued by his researches. Those familiar with his earlier work will not be surprised that the book is characterized by a deep familiarity with both national politics and 'the Revolution in the village', expressed in succinct, lucid prose. Jones has a gift for unravelling the minutiae of village politics and writes compellingly of the ways in which the revolutionary decade underpinned a sea-change in how rural people understood their place in the world. He properly insists, however, that such 'politicization' was neither unilinear nor necessarily durable, just as the Revolution was a mixed blessing: the tone of his micro-history is as sceptical as it is affectionate.

University of Melbourne PETER McPHEE

***The Making of Modern Woman: Europe, 1789–1918*. By Lynn Abrams.** Pearson Education. 2002. x + 323pp. £15.99.

Lynn Abram's elegantly written book traces the changes women faced over the long nineteenth century throughout Europe. This is no easy task. It requires her to evaluate a dozen different countries and their responses to new demands from women to reframe their roles in the face of fresh ideas about the nature of man, transformed modes of work due to the industrial revolution, the shift from rural to urban life, the rise of imperialism, and many other events of the period. She does this neatly, balancing early shifts in Britain to an industrial culture with rural Scandinavia's very different rhythm of change.

The book is organized in three main sections. The first deals with the way women were regarded as a group in the late eighteenth century by religious organizations, philosophers and *philosophes*, and the way women were expected to conduct themselves in these years. She explores the general assumptions which grew out of scientific, religious and philosophical treatments of women and how these generally located women somewhere within a domestic environment. Although Abrams notes that not all women internalized this stress on domesticity, she emphasizes how femininity was constantly paired with this domestic ideal. This stress on women's location securely within the sphere of the home organized much of the public debate on women over this period.

The second section focuses on the day-to-day realities of women's lives: marriage, motherhood, sexuality, work. Here Abrams balances working-class

and middle-class women's experiences to call attention to their daily struggles and joys. For example, she explores how shifts in marriage from being a partnership to one based on romantic love implied new relationships between husbands and wives which were not always achieved. Furthermore, marriage was more likely to be a central fact amongst most women's lives across Europe in the nineteenth century than in earlier periods when up to a third of women might never have married. Marriage was crucial, Abrams argues, because it structured so many women's lives. Other dimensions are interrogated as she considers family size, child-rearing practices, kinship ties, and finally the demands of work on women's lives. Work was a central experience of most women's lives – in its paid or unpaid form – and Abrams argues that the role of women was crucial to industrial society. Across Europe women were employed in factories but generally were hemmed in by restrictive legislation that prevented them from working at certain times or under certain conditions. In the latter part of the century, as Abrams comments, women moved into service industries as commercial culture expanded and finally had entered office work by the beginning of the twentieth century.

In the final section of the book, Abrams examines feminism, the suffrage movement and finally the impact of the Great War in transforming women's lives. As she notes, what is remarkable is how first-wave feminism emerged across Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, first emphasizing legal reforms and the expansion of educational reforms before moving on to the question of the vote. Abrams does not neglect the critique by socialist feminists who saw women's problems as irrelevant until all workers were freed; she places these analyses in context and reveals how they nevertheless enriched feminist debate. The final chapter, on the Great War, unpicks the question of whether this war was a catalyst of change for women.

Abrams weaves all these themes together and her treatment of the variety of practices across Europe has a deftness of touch often lacking in such works. Her inclusion of a discussion of empire is an additional bonus as she demonstrates how central women were to the imperial moment both as guardians of the race, nation and culture and as enforcers of these ideas in both imperial and domestic settings. This book provides an excellent introduction to the subject of women's lives in Europe's long nineteenth century.

Middlesex University KELLY BOYD

***Marching with Sharpe: What it was like to fight in Wellington's Army*. By B. J. Bluth.** HarperCollins. 2001. 208pp. £14.99.

Ever since the Napoleonic Wars, Wellington's peninsular army has attracted near hero-worship among devotees of British military history. In the age of empire this was but natural: Wellington was a national hero second only to Nelson, whilst success on the battlefield was an essential part of what made Britain great as well as tangible evidence of the assumption of cultural and racial superiority that lay at the heart of empire. But in the post-imperial age the fascination has survived. Once again, the reasons are obvious: in an era of contraction and retrenchment, the Peninsular War made an inspiring tale, just as in an era of collective guilt and reassessment it was also a 'good war'.

Evidence for this phenomenon is widespread, by no means the least impressive being the immense success that has been enjoyed by the Sharpe novels of

Bernard Cornwell. A common soldier who gains a battlefield commission by saving the life of the then Sir Arthur Wellesley at the battle of Assaye, Sharpe goes on to serve throughout the Peninsular War and, after many adventures, ends up in command of his regiment. As such, there is nothing to complain of here. Cornwell's books are lots of fun, whilst the author has undoubtedly made a considerable contribution towards the vogue which history currently enjoys with the general public. But as Cornwell himself is the first to admit, the Sharpe novels are not works of history, and it is therefore slightly disconcerting to find a work on Wellington's army entitled 'Marching with Sharpe'. These initial doubts are reinforced by Bluth's treatment of the subject. Based, as he admits, on the technique he calls 'stitching passages', it consists of a series of direct quotes from the many letters, diaries and memoirs left behind by Wellington's forces joined together by the close paraphrase of other passages from the same sources. In consequence, we have a work that is almost wholly devoid of contemporary input, the story rather being told wholly through the eyes of Sharpe's real-life predecessors. To proceed in such a fashion is hardly satisfactory, however. Aside from anything else, many of the works concerned were written many years after the war had ended, so that they were inevitably influenced by the passage of time or the publication of other works which gave the author a 'lead'. This is all the more unfortunate because Bluth provides no footnotes, so that there is no way for the uninitiated to discover the sources in use at any given time. And at the same time, little attempt is made to correct the obvious bias of many of the writers.

In short, this is not the most helpful of primers on Wellington's army. Though it covers most aspects of the British experience in Spain and Portugal, it does so in a manner that can only be described as distinctly lacking. If Bluth's work encourages some military buffs to explore the primary material which he has examined more extensively, then all well and good. But a substitute for earlier contemporary writing on the subject it most certainly is not.

University of Liverpool CHARLES J. ESDAILE

***Nobody's Perfect: A New Whig Interpretation of History*. By Annabel Patterson.** Yale University Press. 2002, xii and 288pp. £19.50.

The title and subtitle sum up the main thesis of the book, that just because politicians do not remain consistent to their professed ideals is not conclusive proof that their professions are insincere. Those who in the eighteenth century subscribed to notions of liberty and progress, but who failed to live up to them, were not necessarily hypocritical. Their beliefs, in Professor Patterson's view, give the lie to Herbert Butterfield's criticism of the Whig interpretation of history. However, he was not only concerned with the 'presentism' of the Whig interpretation, but with the arrogation of the credit for progress exclusively for members of the Whig party. Concentrating just on Whigs, therefore, does not discredit his thesis entirely. To do so it would be necessary to show that their Tory opponents were resistant to change. There appears to be an ideological agenda hidden in the book, which occasionally surfaces in such statements as '*whenever* arguments for public safety are used to abrogate civil liberties, we are in danger of moving backwards' (p. 28). The notion that we move forwards and backwards, with Whig advances followed by conservative reactions, is precisely the kind of teleological Whiggism Butterfield was at pains to denounce.

The Whigs that are paraded before us were indeed susceptible to charges of changing their ideological stance. The classic case is that of Edmund Burke, who supported the American Revolution against the British but deplored the French Revolution. Some have seen consistency in his attitude on the grounds that the first was a constructive revolution while the second was destructive. But Patterson does not share this view, and she shows that many contemporaries did not share it either. John Almon, on the other hand, was accused of selling out by them, whereas she defends him from their charges of inconsistency. Sir Joshua Reynolds was berated by Blake for defending conservative principles in his *Discourses on Art*, yet as Patterson shows 'Reynolds was a whig'. Even Erskine, of whom she writes 'there is no "Erskine problem" in liberal historiography', has a blot on his Whig escutcheon. Though he defended Paine when he was prosecuted in absentia for publishing *Rights of Man*, Erskine was prepared to act as counsel for the prosecution of Thomas Williams in 1797 for selling copies of Paine's *Age of Reason*. The final study is of Wordsworth, the 'lost leader'. Whether he was ever a true Whig is open to debate, though Patterson makes out a strong case for his being a consistent republican. She also sustains her thesis that, for all their faults, the men she chose to illustrate it did advocate a view of progress over time close to the Whig interpretation of history characterized by Butterfield.

University of Northumbria W. A. SPECK

***Jane Austen and the Theatre*. By Paula Byrne.** Hambledon and London. 2002. xiii + 283pp. £25.00.

Paula Byrne's aim, in her erudite study *Jane Austen and the Theatre*, is to take on a critical orthodoxy dating back to Lionel Trilling, which assumes Austen's abhorrence of the theatrical in all its forms. Her attack takes place on several fronts, exploring Austen's personal experiences of drama, her literary deployment of dramatic allusions and conventions, and her thematic explorations of the notion of 'acting' in the social and interpersonal spheres. Whilst her success is not entirely unmixed, Byrne interweaves the different senses both of 'the theatre' and of 'Austen' (as historical figure and body of texts) to make a plausible case for the conjunction her title effects.

In biographical and socio-historical terms, the depiction of Austen as enamoured of the stage, both in private family theatricals at Steventon and as a theatre-goer in Bath and London, is illuminating. The novelist emerges as engaging discriminatingly in contemporary debates about different acting styles (Kean vs. Kemble), and as supporting unlicensed theatres such as Astley's in their battle against the monopoly of the patents. Compelling, too, is Byrne's uncovering of hitherto unacknowledged dramatic allusions in the novels and juvenilia. Her reading of the affinities with Sheridan in *Sense and Sensibility* is convincing in its thesis that Austen finds precedents for her critique of sentimentality in the *dramatic* paradigm of the sentimental novel reader, epitomized by Lydia Languish in *The Rivals*. Similarly productive are Byrne's patient rereadings of the function of Kotzebue/Inchbald's *Lovers' Vows* within *Mansfield Park*. Whereas Marilyn Butler has argued that the play is contextually linked with, and implicitly condemned by Austen for, dangerously Jacobin ideologies, Byrne suggests that Austen's treatment of the play is more complex, and that

at certain points *its* morality is held up as the standard against which her characters' is found wanting.

If Byrne's book has a flaw, it is that too eager a prosecution of its main argument leaves insufficient room for the *ambivalences* of the responses to the theatre in Austen's work. Addressing Austen's treatment of the idea of acting as a social phenomenon, Byrne argues *contra* Trilling that, far from endorsing the 'authenticity' of a pure, non-theatrical mode of behaviour, the social self for Austen 'is always *performed*' (p. 224). This is a valuable corrective, but in its presentation of a drama-loving novelist competently in control of all the ironies around acting in her texts it disallows the ethical and philosophical contradictions which arise when 'Austen' confronts 'the theatre', contradictions which are perhaps the source of the earlier view of an author who repudiated the dramatic.

The Queen's and Merton Colleges, Oxford CLARE CONNORS

***Venice and Venetia under the Habsburgs, 1815–1835*. By David Laven.** Oxford University Press. 2002. x + 256pp. £ 45.00.

This reviewer can feel only empathy and admiration for a scholar with the courage to attack the Whiggish myth that envelops the history of the Italian Risorgimento. David Laven's book is such a study, and deserves a hearty welcome for its long overdue assault on the 'black legend' that has unfairly clouded Austrian rule in the Italian territories of the Republic of St Mark. Laven is a careful researcher, and it is no small irony that the reputation of Francis I has been restored by one as attentive to detail as its subject. By no means the smallest merit of Laven's work is its integration of Venetian and Austrian archives, to present a balanced picture of the imperatives of imperial policy, alongside conditions in the Venetian provinces. This, together with its realistic periodization – which refutes the lazy tendency among historians of all the countries of restoration Europe to lump the years 1814–48 into an artificial whole – marks the book as an important contribution to the literature. He also stresses the significant differences between Lombardy and Venetia, all too often obscured. Laven's shrewd use of the Viennese sources is also an important reminder that linguistic range is invaluable for historians, not just an 'added extra'.

Laven's goal is to see the period on its own terms, not as a long, reductionist prelude to the revolutions of 1848, and his choice of categories reflects this. By first setting Austrian rule in the context of the immediate past, rather than of the immediate future, Laven points out that the utter chaos of Napoleonic rule in Venetia gave the Habsburgs not only a clear advantage during the first years of their rule, but for a long period thereafter. By then concentrating on taxation, law and order, conscription and social control, Laven achieves a balanced view of Austrian rule. Its weaknesses were not those of arbitrary tyranny, but of 'consultative monarchy', a theory much in vogue with the House of Savoy, by the 1830s: the Austrians gave their Italian subjects honest, professional government, if at the expense of being responsive to pressing crises. Laven finally 'normalizes' a period of history still in thrall to dated propaganda. If the book has a cardinal fault, it is in its conclusion, which tends to underplay many of the book's own findings, in favour of surrendering to conventional stereotypes. Laven has shown the reality of what, long ago, Ernst Wangermann wisely called 'the Austrian achievement'.

King's College, University of Aberdeen MICHAEL BROERS

***The Fragile Empire: A History of Imperial Russia*. By Alexander Chubarov.** Continuum. 1999. xii + 244pp. £16.99.
***Russia in the Age of Alexander II, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky*. By Walter G. Moss.** Anthem Press. 2002. vi + 295pp. £18.95.

Writing the history of Russia has been transformed over the past twenty years as the traditional focus on politics has been supplemented, and in many cases replaced, by a new concentration on social and cultural history. Chubarov's book eschews these new approaches, instead providing a political narrative of Russian history from Peter the Great to the abdication of Nicholas II in 1917. The great majority of the book deals with the post-1800 period, concentrating on monarchs and on the opposition that was displayed towards them. This focus leaves much of the history of Russia largely untouched and makes it difficult fully to understand the reasons for the collapse of tsarism. In particular, the peasantry, who formed more than three quarters of the population of the empire, are discussed only through the prism of politics. Chubarov's approach does not allow for discussion of the heterogeneity of Russian society, instead viewing each social group as a monolith with clear and united interests and aims. His analysis of the revolution of 1905 is especially problematic, with its references to an 'opposition movement' (p. 146) and its insistence on the significance of revolutionary political parties. These parties, however, counted their adherents in thousands and, in a population of more than 140 million, had neither the opportunity nor the strength to develop any form of overarching anti-tsarist movement. The 1905 revolution was an inchoate affair, leaderless and uncoordinated. Analysis of the social history of imperial Russia would have revealed the complexity and diversity of both rural and urban populations. Late imperial Russia cannot easily be understood simply as a dichotomy between government and opposition. By drawing on the many volumes of recent scholarship that have analysed the history of Russian society and culture, Chubarov could have produced a less one-sided account of Russian history.

Moss's book seeks to analyse the reign of Alexander II (1855–81) through the biography of key individuals. This approach has many merits and can demonstrate the richness of the historical experience. Late nineteenth-century Russia offers great opportunities for this type of history, since the strength and richness of the people who populated its historical stage is considerable. Moss identifies the tsar himself, along with a range of writers and revolutionaries, as the key figures in the Russian historical drama and he attempts to weave their lives together to give a comprehensive portrait of Alexander II's Russia. Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Turgenev and the poet Nekrasov all make appearances, while Herzen and Bakunin also receive attention as representatives of the opposition to the tsarist regime. Moss see the dichotomy between government and opposition as forming the centrepiece of Alexander II's reign, leading to its almost inevitable denouement in 1881, when the tsar was assassinated by a terrorist's bomb. His approach is more extensive than Chubarov's, since Moss recognizes the central importance of cultural figures in the history of tsarist Russia and seeks to draw a picture of the everyday life of these people. He writes well and his prose is lively and evocative, giving insights into the characters of the men and women whom he depicts. Moss, however, spreads his canvas very wide and his cast of characters is large. At times, this makes it awkward for the reader to gain a full understanding of each of the people whom Moss introduces and a greater

concentration on a smaller number of individuals would make the book more accessible for the general reader. Moss's focus on individuals who formed part of Russia's political and cultural elite makes it more difficult for the reader to appreciate the complexity of Russian society and the key issues that faced Alexander II's government. The emancipation of the serfs – one of the defining moments of the tsar's reign – is only briefly discussed, while the peasants themselves, who formed more than three quarters of the empire's population, receive attention only as the objects of theorizing by revolutionary-minded intellectuals. This is especially disappointing given Moss's focus on Tolstoy, since the great novelist wrote about and engaged closely with the peasantry. Both these books provide a traditional view of tsarist Russia. Moss's work is the more lively and readable, but neither allows the reader to gain a complete understanding of the full complexity of imperial Russia in its final decades.

University of Sunderland PETER WALDRON

***Defining Germany: The 1848 Frankfurt Parliamentarians and National Identity*. By Brian E. Vick.** Harvard University Press. 2002. x + 283pp. £33.50.

The German National Assembly (GNA) sought to construct and implement boundaries and constitutional arrangements for a nation-state. Although it failed, its debates and decisions illuminate mid-century attitudes toward nationality. Historians contrast these attitudes: west/east, civic/ethnic, political/cultural. The first term stresses political choice, the second ethnicity. Whether one sees the GNA as predominantly civic or ethnic, evenly divided, or opportunistically adopting one or other as convenient, the distinction remains fundamental. Vick questions this distinction and engages in an original kind of cultural history to present an alternative interpretation.

Vick examines the 'culture of nationhood' in pre-1848 Germany, focusing on men who would become GNA deputies. In this complex of shared ideas, language, customs, descent and broad racial groupings interact in a history of striving and struggle, cultures clash and intermingle, politics, especially modern public and participatory politics, shape and are shaped by culture. There are no fixed identities determining politics though politics are bound up with aspects of nationality formed outside the political sphere. Struggle is central but could take peaceful ('civilizing') as well as violent forms. Honour, above all defending rights, applies collectively to nations as well as individuals. These ideas were part of a broader culture of *Bildung* in which, for example, classical learning and historicist linguistics were central. (Vick does *not* consider the absence of specifically Christian ideas, e.g. biblical notions of elect nations, in this thought world.)

Vick then turns abruptly to the GNA. Chapters on Jews and 'non-German Germans' considers internal uses of nationality concepts; chapters on boundaries and honour consider their external deployment. The GNA was unequivocal in granting civic and political equality to Jews and defining German citizenship in political terms. Civic nationalism? Vick argues that these measures were culturally informed. The *public* culture of the new state would be German. This culture – modern, urban, bourgeois, 'high' (emphatically not folk culture) – could assimilate and integrate Jews and non-German speakers. The same assumptions inform views of boundaries. Vick teases out the mixed criteria used to justify claims to Schleswig with distinctions between public language and

private dialects, or to envisage Slavs being peacefully Germanized. The *klein/großdeutsch/Mitteleuropa* conflicts were based on different constitutional and power considerations, not different views of nationality. Honour was linked to liberal concerns about rights. It would be dishonourable not to defend national rights and for this one needed power. Thus bellicosity normally associated with 'ethnic' nationalism is closely bound up with 'civic' conceptions of nationality. Vick concludes that the 'culture of nationhood' underpinned GNA debates and decisions and cannot be grasped in terms of the civic/ethnic distinction. A final section suggests this is not peculiar to Germany but applies generally to nineteenth-century European nationalism.

The book is a much shortened version of a dissertation. I assume this explains the omission of essential detail. If one is unfamiliar with the Malmo armistice or the Directorial party, one will not understand sections of the book. The lack of a bibliography – generally regrettable – makes it difficult to see how wide and representative a range of sources Vick used. These are really criticisms of the publisher. Lack of political context links to a more serious point about how politics shapes language. Building political coalitions and making deals with powerful groups forced deputies away from preferred values of nationality. Trying to unify states by constitutional means privileges some languages of nationality over others. Stress on a shared culture means political disagreements are intepreted as arising from other sources. Maybe the civic/ethnic distinction helps when seen in terms of metaphors about choice or lack of choice which political actors adopt according to circumstances which, if consistently patterned, themselves shape political culture. Perhaps the culture of nationhood should be seen as a fund. One cannot draw on funds that are not there (ideologies are not 'invented') but the more varied the portfolio, the greater the range of political investments in nationhood.

Good books raise questions. Were deputies from different parts of a highly regionalized 'Germany', who had never met before, really bound together by a common education rather than separated by local experiences? Vick points to the more 'plastic' view of nationality held by Austrians compared to north Germans, something one can relate to the different worlds they occupy, but would not an accumulation of such differences gradually undermine the stress on shared values? Vick cautiously criticizes the fashionable approach to national identity which stresses the role of 'Other'. Assumptions about broad racial distinctions (Romance, Teuton, Slav) and a west–east cultural gradient, ensure that anti-French and anti-Russian sentiments have very different textures; views of the Danes contrast with those of the Slav. I would put the argument less cautiously. There is no dominant 'Other' about which Germans are obsessed. Rather there is a complex culture which constructs positive notions of German nationality which have implications for a varied set of international relations. One might argue that German nationalists in Posen, the Rhineland, Schleswig and Bohemia all obsess about an 'Other' but clearly this will be a different Other in each case and common political action will make it necessary to marginalize such differences. Either way – a shared culture or a shared political challenge – the focus on 'Other' does not persuade.

Vick effectively conducts an original approach to the history of ideas and political culture which enables him to make close connections to the world of political action. The arguments are persuasive and important. The result compels

us to look afresh at nationalism not only in mid-nineteenth century Germany but more generally in Europe.

University of Birmingham JOHN BREUILLY

***The New Biography: Performing Femininity in Nineteenth-Century France*. Edited by Jo Burr Margadant.** University of California Press. 2000. x + 298pp. $55.00.

'New' biography apparently aims to reconstruct the complexity and uncertainties of the individual, surely the purpose of all biography. These six writers display the ambivalence of their chosen elite women, playing a traditional 'feminine' part while behaving 'subversively'. The editor, Jo Burr Margadant, tries to rescue the duchesse de Berry from the charge of being political inept and of doubtful morals. She is shown as a loving wife and mother, unusual for her rank. That in 1820 she had to expose her body to courtiers with umbilical cord intact, to attest to the legitimacy of the new heir to the throne born several months after her husband's death, is antediluvian. In 1832, against advice she led an unsuccessful legitimist rising. Imprisoned, she gave birth again, having married the father fewer than nine months earlier. The conclusion that her motherly qualities made legitimism more alluring is unconvincing. Marie-Amélie, fecund and faithful, was no help to Louis-Philippe when his throne shook in 1848. Susan Grogan writes once more on Flora Tristan, self-styled pariah and 'messiah'. Tristan was unbelievable, whether in a feminist or socialist role. She was never the unique lone voice that she claimed. Her *tour de France*, reminiscent of Saint-Simonian recruiting tours in the early 1830s, was made possible by the Fourierists she despised, including Eugénie Niboyet. There was a large Icarian worker socialist movement that included women in the early 1840s. Whitney Walton tries to assess how far the republican politics and unconventional family lives of George Sand, Marie d'Agoult and Hortense Allart were due to limited paternal influence. Mary Pickering provides a compelling account of the ambiguous relationships manipulated by Clotide de Vaux, an abandoned wife holding only the 'feminine' card, with Auguste Comte and Armand Marrast. Both men sought sexual liaisons and dangled the satisfaction of her financial need and literary ambitions as bait. Mary Louise Roberts reveals why Marguerite Durand, who established a team of women to run *La Fronde*, a women's daily paper at the turn of the century, annoyed other feminists by being a 'blonde bombshell' and a businesswoman. The combination of traditional and subversive poses is also the theme of Elinor Accampo's chapter on Nelly Roussel. She sashayed around European lecture halls preaching the gospel of women's choice to procreate. People listened to her sympathetically at a time when French death rates frequently surpassed births because she successfully packaged herself as a loving mother and wife, even though she spent very little time with her adoring husband and children. This volume is designed for university courses in biography. Students of gender and social history will be intrigued by these snapshots. However, lack of space leaves much unasked and unexplored. The authors will achieve their aim of making historians rethink the nineteenth century, above all to reinforce what we all know: that financial independence shouts loudest whatever the gender.

Royal Holloway, University of London PAMELA PILBEAM

***Rural Women Workers in 19th-Century England: Gender, Work and Wages*. By Nicola Verdon.** Boydell. 2002. viii + 232pp. £45.00.

In recent years there have been a number of local studies on various aspects of the position of women within the nineteenth-century rural labour market. This book both builds on and adds to different aspects of this debate. The main discussion is over how far the industrial and agricultural revolutions reduced the economic and social importance of rural women's employment. This is done in six chapters, the first of which provides a standard but thorough survey of the historiography of the literature on female work. There follows a chapter on the mainly printed sources and the third and fourth chapters deal with female farm servants and female day labourers. Chapter 5, on their alternative employment opportunities, concentrates on domestic industries, and the final chapter is a discussion of the role of rural women in the informal economy. The author has wisely taken the decision not to look at rural women's role in domestic service, or their employment in local industries, but concentrates on their waged and unwaged labour in the rural economy (p. 5).

But even thus simplified some of the ground covered is difficult territory. For a start, many of the printed source materials are fragmentary and others are contradictory. As a great deal of these consist of parliamentary reports and Royal Commissions set up to inquire into particular issues and social problems, they contain inherent biases of gender and class in which the urban, male, middle-class view of rural women is presented. Some female employment is under-represented in the censuses and the extent and nature of women's employment also varied over time and between regions. But if the identification and measurement of rural women are both difficult in the waged economy, they are even greater in the informal economy. The chapter on this subject is particularly useful in guiding the reader through what has so far been a particularly under-researched aspect and also makes some very useful comparisons with urban women. For all of these reasons, as the author makes abundantly clear, it is hard to summarize the experience of the typical woman worker. Nor does it seem possible, given the nature of the source materials with their dearth of personal testimony, to rescue entirely the woman worker from the marginal position to which most writers have relegated her. Nevertheless, this is an important study of what has been a neglected aspect of gender history. Part of its strength is that it also points to some of the directions in which this topic can be investigated further, particularly with more regional studies. In the meantime there is no doubt that this book will remain the standard work on the subject for some years to come.

University of Aberdeen RICHARD PERREN

***Electoral Reform at Work. Local Politics and National Parties 1832–1841*. By Philip Salmon.** The Royal Historical Society Studies in History/Boydell. 2002. x + 302pp. £40.00.

In the debate on the effects of the 'Great' English and Welsh Reform Act of 1832, Dr Salmon's outstanding book tips the scale firmly in favour of change rather than continuity. His starting point is the least studied of the Whigs' objectives – the removal of the shenanigans at elections which impaired

rational choice – and, in particular, the practical results of two requirements: first, that all voters had to register their vote before an election and have their qualifications scrutinized annually by parish overseers and others – a practice similar to one well-established in Ireland but new to Britain; and second, that the new £10 household voters should be up to date with their payment of local taxes. These requirements, Salmon demonstrates, had far-reaching consequences. They made qualifying for the vote a much more complicated and potentially expensive business, with the result that the number who registered in the immediate aftermath of the Act was far fewer than had been anticipated. Local party activists therefore took the initiative in sponsoring the registration of their own supporters and challenging that of their opponents at the annual registration courts. Registration quickly became a highly partisan process and apart from leading to a rapid increase in the number of registered voters at the 1835 and 1837 elections, it also helped to produce a far more partisan electorate than hitherto. Registration was therefore 'an essential component in the process of politicisation' (p. 39), with the initiative being taken not by the party leaders and their London-based agents as used to be thought, but by their local zealots – the Tories being much more effective in this respect than the Whigs. Further important points are made in detailed sections on county and borough politics. In the case of the counties, Salmon shows that not only did registration weaken gentry influence but that deference to the gentry played only a minor part (10–15%) in explaining voter preferences. County elections, he concludes, were 'contractual, rather than coercive' (p. 145). As for the boroughs, the making of the new franchise dependent on the prompt payment of taxes (apart from ensuring that the old franchises retained their attractions) played a major role in the politicization of local institutions. Membership of parish vestries, poor law unions and the reformed town councils became crucial to the question of who got the parliamentary vote. The general effect was to hasten the politicization of local administration along parliamentary lines and the 'emergence of a distinctively "reformed" local political culture' (p. 241). Overall, this is one of the most important books to appear on nineteenth-century English politics in recent years and one to whose riches it is impossible to do justice in a short review. Suffice it to say that it shows that the epithet 'Great' was justified after all.

The Queen's University, Belfast PETER JUPP

***Palmerston and the Politics of Foreign Policy, 1846–55*. By David Brown.** Manchester University Press. 2002. x + 239pp. £14.99.

The life and work of the third Viscount Palmerston has received considerable attention. This lively and detailed study of a crucial turning point in his career, when he went from being one of the political crowd to the leader of the pack, remains valuable in spite of that. The main argument of this book is that Palmerston used foreign policy to attract the attention of those outside of parliament, and used the weight that this gave him to place himself at the head of the government. With Britain facing the major crisis of a war with Russia, it was only Palmerston who seemed capable of leading the country out of its difficulties. The work begins with an in-depth look at the structure of politics between 1846 and 1850, and Palmerston's struggle to gain effective control of foreign policy. It then surveys Palmerston's time as foreign secretary in Lord

John Russell's ministry, followed by opposition, to both Lord John and his Tory successors, and as home secretary in the coalition ministry of the earl of Aberdeen. The crisis in Palmerston's career was reached in the last of these periods, when he was able to gain the ascendancy over Russell. This book looks at a crucial period in nineteenth-century British politics from a somewhat different angle from his predecessors, laying stress on the role of foreign policy throughout this time. Even when Palmerston had no official responsibility for it, it was clear how much reliance his successor, Clarendon, placed on Palmerston in his early days at the foreign office. Dr Brown makes careful use of sources of material outside the collections of leading politicians. He has consulted twelve newspapers and periodicals and over thirty contemporary pamphlets, which has given him access to a wide range of ideas. But he has not ignored manuscript collections and secondary sources that help construct this persuasive scenario. This is a detailed, well and clearly written, and well-presented book. Those with an interest in Palmerston, or in nineteenth-century British politics, will enjoy it and derive great benefit from it.

St Mary's College, University of Surrey MICHAEL PARTRIDGE

***The Liberal Party in Rural England, 1885–1910: Radicalism and Community*. By Patricia Lynch.** Oxford University Press. 2003. x + 262pp. £45.00.

This is a slim volume on a large subject. Lynch's approach is to focus on three constituencies in the quarter-century following the Third Reform Act, which extended household suffrage to the counties. The Holmfirth division of the West Riding of Yorkshire is a questionable choice, for though nominally a 'semi-rural' seat its population consisted mainly of miners and textile workers living in industrial villages. With its strong tradition of religious dissent, it is hardly surprising that a Liberal MP was returned throughout the period. North Essex, a rural constituency badly affected by the agricultural depression, where dissent was also a powerful influence, elected a Liberal on every occasion except January 1910. In contrast, the rural-suburban southern division of Oxfordshire, which had far fewer dissenters, only returned a Liberal in the party's landslide victory of 1906. On the basis of these case studies, Lynch seeks to locate the Liberals' initial success in the English counties generally – they won 80 out of 158 rural and semi-rural seats in 1885 – within a tradition of popular radicalism embracing Luddism, the Swing Riots, Chartism and agricultural trade unionism, which aspired to the economic and social emancipation of the labourers. She makes bold claims for the extent to which the party's organizational structures and political agenda were radicalized as a result of the creation of a mass electorate. However, the difficulty arises of how to account for the much poorer showing made by the Liberals at subsequent elections apart from 1906. For instance, in 1895 they won only twenty-nine of the rural and semi-rural seats. Lynch's key argument is that the anti-aristocratic and anti-clerical rhetoric adopted by Liberal candidates brought them into conflict with an entrenched rural culture, which was suspicious of the socially divisive effects of partisan political warfare and cherished the ideal of the harmonious local community. She also asserts that the Liberal Party nationally managed to alienate many rural voters, through Gladstone's obsession with Irish Home Rule and the failure of his successors to develop a programme of radical reform. Some readers may feel

that these explanations are too paradoxical to be convincing and that Lynch simply overestimates the importance of rural radicalism, particularly amongst the agricultural labourers. It appears from her account that many voters were concerned with material issues, such as food prices in 1906 and 1910. Nevertheless, Lynch has made a stimulating and readable contribution to a neglected area of historical inquiry.

History of Parliament T. A. JENKINS

***Science, Reform, and Politics in Victorian Britain. The Social Science Association 1857–1886*. By Lawrence Goldman.** Cambridge University Press. 2002. xv + 430pp. £50.00.

Lawrence Goldman has produced an immaculately researched and lively account of the history of the short-lived but highly influential National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (SSA). In its brief lifespan of less than thirty years, this institution counted politicians, scientists, feminists and aristocrats among its members. It had a direct input into the legislative process, providing expert knowledge on legal and social reforms and, perhaps more than anything else, it symbolized the Age of Equipoise of mid-Victorian Britain. The fact that almost 120 years have elapsed between the last meeting of the organization and the production of this, its first dedicated academic history is surprising, given the considerable influence it wielded in its day. Other similar institutions, notably the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS), have attracted more historical interest, but potential chroniclers of the Social Science Association may have been deterred by the lack of an institutional archive for the association. In this study Goldman has relied upon the personal correspondence of prominent society members and upon its voluminous *Transactions* to reconstruct the activities of the association from its foundation in 1857 through to its years of decline in the 1880s.

The comparison with the BAAS, established over two decades before the SSA, is instructive, and one to which Goldman frequently returns. Both were conceived as umbrella organizations providing some directive force and central cohesion to burgeoning provincial interest movements in the sciences and social sciences. Both held annual meetings in different locations around the country – events which, in their heyday, were highly prized opportunities for civic image-enhancement. Both organizations also attracted their share of criticism and ridicule in the press, for the difficult balance of academic rigour and popular appeal that they tried to achieve. The Social Science Association, however, differed from its predecessor in a number of key respects. A generation on, it took a more enlightened attitude than the BAAS towards female membership, encouraging women's active participation in meetings and discussions. By the 1870s it was common practice for women to deliver papers at the annual congresses, and Goldman claims that the SSA came closest in this era to providing institutional representation for middle-class women. Its influence in the passing of the Married Women's Property Act in 1875 illustrated the way in which it could provide a bridge between social reformers and the legislative process. Its deliberations on other issues such as penal reform, public health, legal reform, education and social policy also fed into some key legislative landmarks including the Public Health Act of 1875 and the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1871.

Ultimately though, the SSA was a product of its time. Born in the period of stability and increasing prosperity that succeeded the class conflicts of the 1830s and 1840s, its period of influence was abruptly curtailed in the 1880s. The fragmentation of the social sciences into increasingly specialized sub-disciplines made it difficult for such a broad organization to retain credibility. Equally, the rise of a professional civil service to advise on government business brought an end to its input into the legislative process. The political climate was changing too, against a background of economic depression, rising class tensions and new unionism. This study of the life and work of the Social Science Association, then, is more than just an institutional history. It provides a valuable insight into the particular conditions and concerns of mid-Victorian Britain and will undoubtedly prove essential reading for the considerable academic audience on this period.

University of Wales Swansea LOUISE MISKELL

***The Victorians: An Age in Retrospect*. By John Gardiner.** Hambledon and London. 2002. xii + 292pp. £25.00.

John Gardiner does not himself attempt to portray 'the Victorian Age' in a manner tackled classically by G. M. Young or, more recently, by A. N. Wilson. The key to his project lies rather in the words 'in retrospect'. He seeks to unpeel the processes by which a succeeding generation or generations comes to terms with the values, beliefs and mores which, collectively, had come to define a particular era. Given the duration of the queen's reign and the unprecedented changes which it witnessed, it is not surprising, as Gardiner puts it, that the epithet 'Victorian' became filled out, stretched, over-stretched and continually reinvented in describing characteristics of its teeming life. There was, of course, great complexity and diversity. Even so, at the close of the reign, coinciding as it fortuitously did with that urge to make a 'new beginning' which seems to characterize the dawn of new centuries, there was an accumulated incubus which, somehow or other, had to be overthrown. Taking the destructive darts of Lytton Strachey as the starting point, Gardiner examines this process initially through a series of themes. His point is that there was never an all-embracing anti-Victorian assault. Different writers and critics seized on those facets of Victorian life or culture which they found most disagreeable – even if they did not quite know what should replace it. Debunking became the name of the game. By definition, to be 'modern' was to be anti-Victorian. By 1934, the Supplement to the *Oxford English Dictionary* was equating 'Victorian' with prudishness and strictness. Something Victorian was 'old-fashioned' and 'out-dated'. However, over subsequent decades, at least some aspects of the Victorian achievement regained stature. In this respect, historians themselves, as Gardiner points out, have been no mean moulders of form and pillars of fashion. In taking us through these themes, he has many acute observations to make, though he would probably admit that he has sketched aspects of the Victorian heritage rather than dealt comprehensively with all its aspects. The second part of the book examines how these societal changes in mood and perception have been reflected in the way biographies of eminent Victorians have come to be constructed. Summarizing, if too simply, we might now say that massive honesty is 'in' and brilliant flippancy is 'out'. The subjects examined through their evolving biographies are Victoria

herself, Dickens, Gladstone and Wilde. These detailed chapters give particular substance to the contentions advanced in the first part of the book. Engaging with the Victorians is still a rewarding business.

University of Wales, Lampeter KEITH ROBBINS

***Social Investigation and Rural England 1870–1914*. By Mark Freeman.** Boydell. 2003. xi + 217pp. £40.00.

Drawing on a wide range of original sources and secondary works, this book considers the way in which English rural life was examined by Victorian and Edwardian social investigators. It begins with an account of the development of investigative techniques in the hundred years prior to 1872, before moving on to their application and development in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. Social investigation is defined broadly to include government inquiries, newspaper reports, systematic sociological surveys, and the cultural study of rural life. Subjects covered include agricultural trade unionism, rural depopulation and poverty, the condition of rural housing, and the land question. This book fills a gap in our knowledge, since most historians of social investigation have concentrated on surveys of *urban* conditions. This is a pity since some of the men and women who undertook rural inquiries, such as Charles Booth, Sir Henry Rider Haggard, and Seebohm Rowntree, were national figures.

The author argues persuasively that the outlook and methods of rural investigators constrained, to a considerable extent, the results they obtained. Drawing on Catherine Marsh's contrast between investigation based on informants (mainly employers and professional men), and those based on working-class respondents, he shows how very different pictures of rural life could be drawn depending on who was asked for information, and what questions they were asked. To some extent the book is about how social investigation created an ideologically inflected vision of the countryside, in golden or more sombre hues, rather than being a 'collection' of facts. The construction of the stereotype of 'Hodge', the dull, abject and ignorant farm labourer, lies at the heart of the exposition. Hence, this is a history of social investigation *and* rural England, rather than the social investigation *of* rural England.

Given the need to retrieve much of the subject matter from relative obscurity, the book concentrates on the details of social investigation rather than on its broader context. Some issues that could be explored further are the reasons for the rise of the official inquiry and of investigative journalism, and how these fitted into the development of parliamentary government and of public opinion. The relationship between imperial crisis in the period and fears of degeneration might also have been given greater prominence. However, the fact that the book raises such issues shows its importance.

University of Essex EDWARD HIGGS

***Big Business in Russia: The Putilov Company in Late Imperial Russia, 1868–1917*. By Jonathan A. Grant.** University of Pittsburgh Press. 1999. 203pp. $45.00.

Since most studies of Russian industrialization tend to examine the capitalist system as a whole and downplay the role of individual firms, Jonathan Grant's *Big Business in Russia* fills an important niche. Originating from his PhD dissertation

(University of Wisconsin, 1995), this in-depth study of the St Petersburg-based Putilov Company, imperial Russia's largest arms manufacturer, advances our understanding of Russian industrial history at the micro level. The few specialists who have explored business activity in imperial Russia have focused either on firms established by foreigners or on non-industrial firms (e.g. banking, publishing or insurance). Grant, now an assistant professor of modern Russian history at Florida State University in Tallahassee, poses the question: 'Did Russian businessmen conduct their affairs in a unique way based on an essentially different understanding of the market and state, or did they pursue strategies for growth that would have been intelligible to their contemporaries in Britain, France, Germany, and the United States?' (p. 1). Grant concludes that Putilov's market behaviour did not differ from that of the key western arms manufacturers such as Krupp, Skoda, Vickers and Schneider-Creusot. Thus, Grant maintains, Russian business behaviour was not 'deviant'. The board of directors at the Putilov Company followed expansionist strategies as aggressive as any of its western counterparts, hesitating neither to jettison old product lines, nor to invent new ones based on market forecasts. Hence Grant's study shows that the state's role in the Putilov Company – still extant today as the Kirovsky Zavod – has been exaggerated.

Because the Putilov factory had experiences typical of other industrial enterprises in late imperial Russia, Grant's choice of a case study is ideal. Originally purchased and owned by Nikolai Ivanovich Putilov (1817–80), the factory was dependent on the tsarist state, then sold out to foreign investors, whence it became a joint-stock company (p. 4).

Grant's wide use of foreign archival documents contributes to the book's uniqueness. He draws extensively on the Putilov factory's correspondence with banks and government offices from the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA) in St Petersburg, as well as its correspondence with the tsarist army and navy from the Russian State Archive of the Navy in St Petersburg and from the Russian State Military-Historical Archive in Moscow. For the discussion of Putilov's armaments production in chapters 2 and 3, Grant used the records of the Main Artillery Administration (*Glavnoe Artilleriiskoe Upravleniye*), as well as British Admiralty intelligence reports located in the British Public Record Office. In addition, he found the company's published annual account books, housed at the Moscow-based Lenin Library, to be largely reliable, despite rumours by a Soviet scholar that they may have been falsified (p. 15).

While Grant defends admirably his argument about the Putilov Company, one wishes he had extended it a bit further. If 'the image of Russia as fundamentally exceptional in its economic development should be discarded', and if Russian capitalists before the Bolshevik Revolution were just as astute as their western counterparts, what made Soviet Russia so vulnerable to the mythology of Marxist economic and political theory?

Stanford University JOHANNA GRANVILLE

***The History of Family Business, 1850–2000*. By Andrea Colli.** Cambridge University Press. 2003. v + 100pp. £9.95.

Family business has become a growth industry, as Colli's comprehensive bibliography demonstrates. He describes how it began with the contributions of

historians in search of empirically based generalizations at the national level, followed by social scientists in pursuit of theoretical models, and how more recently the family firm has attracted the attention of students of business and management interested in the possibilities and problems presented by enterprises in which, to varying degrees, ownership and control resides with a family. Research on family firms has not only been multi-disciplinary but global. Consequently, in accordance with the intention of the series, the author's task involves synthesizing and simplifying the contrasting methodological approaches employed in studying the family firm, the immense variation and complexity of the phenomenon throughout the world, and the chronological process of the formation and role of family firms over a period of 150 years, during which two or three 'industrial revolutions' occurred and economies underwent transformation from underdeveloped to modern industrialized societies. The questions posed in the introduction are: how family firms contributed to the evolution of contemporary industrial capitalism, the reasons for the decline and persistence of family business, how it evolved historically, the different forms it has taken over time, and how it has contributed to the growth of single economies. Chapter by chapter, the literature relating to each of these themes is subjected to close analytical scrutiny, striking a balance between theory and empirical research which some may feel leaves historians short-changed. For example, the Italian experience figures significantly in this survey yet the author refrained from using secondary literature to explore to what extent and why the Italian case was exceptional, comparing sectors or industries with the same in other countries and over time. The concluding chapter reflects the outcome of the author's thoroughgoing scrutiny of the literature which (understandably) leads him to emphasize diversity, though some of the generalizations in the literature which he challenges were discarded long ago. It is disappointing, too, that an author clearly in command of the historical literature should conclude by quoting a platitude delivered by an economic 'theorist' and model builder describing the family firm as 'a valuable member of the set of institutional forms available to entrepreneurs within a market economy' (p. 76).

University of East Anglia ROY CHURCH

***Europe 1900–1945*. Edited by Julian Jackson.** Oxford University Press. 2002. xii + 254pp. £12.99.

The view that the history of Europe in the first half of the twentieth century was one of unending catastrophe in which war and its destructive effects were the central features, has some purchase in the popular history of the period. Millions dead in two world wars, numerous other grisly religious, ethnic and ideological conflicts, genocide, refugees and political repression add up to forty-five years of calamity by any standard. This, the penultimate volume in the 'Short Oxford History of Europe' series, argues however, that war is only one of a number of narratives which provide an understanding of the period's history.

War does, as the editor notes in his excellent introduction, present a 'grim unity' to the first half of the twentieth century and the chapters on the international relations of the period and the European empires cover the way Europe twice took the road to war. But the economic disaster that was the great depression is another defining theme, as is the role of the state's response to it, issues

which are covered in chapters on the economy, politics, society, and culture. The depression led the state to assume an economic and social interventionist role in most of Europe, the effects of which were mixed. Not all was disaster. While the shadow of war hung over Europe, life expectancy across the continent rose, health improved, the role of women expanded. Intervention brought welfare programmes, but with these came also regulation, bureaucracy and the policing of morality as liberal democracy was challenged in most of western Europe from the political right. But the volume eschews any idea that the history of the period can be written in terms of the eventual triumph of liberal democracy over the forces of totalitarianism. Not only was Stalinism consolidated by 1945 but, as the chapter on politics indicates, the division between liberal democracy and fascism in the inter-war years was at times less than clear.

In spite of this apparently inexorable movement of the state, the authors argue that it was not all one-way traffic. The beginnings of a mass culture, a predominantly American one, which traversed nation-state borders and was resistant to state control could be seen by the 1930s, and even under Stalinism and fascism the population showed an unwillingness to accept fully the state's demands on how to live. The book thus questions whether totalitarian is an appropriate description of Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany. Yet one might want to argue that even if these regimes could not fully control their people, they had sufficient dominion over them to inflict on Europe the barbarism of war and genocide with which we so often associate the first part of the twentieth century. This very readable volume has a selection of maps showing the changing borders of Europe and the decline of its empires, a guide to further reading and a short chronology of major events.

University of Central England EDWARD JOHNSON

A Force More Powerful. A Century of Nonviolent Conflict. **By P. Ackerman and J. Duvall.** Palgrave. 2000. xv + 544pp. £14.99.

This book is ambitious and interesting. It is a global history of the twentieth century which offers a stimulating grand theory. Ackerman and Duvall argue that popular movements, using non-violent strategies, have risen to be the decisive force of historical change. Non-cooperation, strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience and mass demonstrations have shown themselves capable of overthrowing even the most brutal dictatorship. The authors draw on a wealth of case studies. In the section 'Movement to Power' they begin with the 1905 revolution in Russia before taking in India's independence movement and Poland's Solidarity. 'Resistance to Power' addresses Germany's resistance in the Ruhr in 1923, Danish resistance to Nazism, popular protest in El Salvador in 1944, plus Argentina and Chile in rather more recent years. 'Campaigns for Rights' deals with the southern states of the USA, South Africa, China and more. Finally the authors discuss myths about political violence and the methods of achieving power without it. There is much to applaud here. The book is suffused with enthusiasm and contains a mass of information. Surely there is something for everyone. A book of this scope, however, obviously invites a probing of its limits. For instance, some might say that the Nazi dictatorship was actually based on substantial popular mobilization and the Holocaust was implemented in the face of substantial public apathy. Where was popular resistance when it was so

badly needed? Others might complain that not everything about all the old empires was bad. Austria-Hungary, for instance, at least gave rise to progressive thinkers about nationality such as Renner and Bauer. Maybe the book lacks balance; but the authors wanted to write a different kind of study. As a result, they have produced something which makes you want to argue. All credit to them for that.

University of Bradford MARTYN HOUSDEN

The First World War. **By Michael Howard.** Oxford University Press. 2003. xix + 154pp. £8.99.

There has been a publishing deluge of late in beginner's guides to the Great War. Yet few have dissected the corpulent body of the Great War so neatly as Michael Howard's *First World War*. The book may only present the bare bones of the subject, but most of the skeleton is here. The high-political machinations that pushed Europe towards the abyss; the generalship, strategy and tactical evolutions that dragged her armies from movement, through prolonged stalemate, and finally towards breakthrough; the social dislocation and upheaval that resulted from this 'total war'; and the attempts to make peace that followed victory and defeat, are all dealt with in a chronologically driven narrative that is both concise and highly readable. The narrative is complemented by a set of maps delineating the major theatres of war, and the book closes with a short guide to further reading. Some of the expected shortcomings of such a necessarily terse treatment are evident. The need for brevity requires the distilling of complex debates into clear and palatable prose. Indeed, the author readily admits that 'behind almost every sentence in the book lies a scholarly controversy' (p. v). Yet this courteous disclaimer is largely unnecessary because the author steers a cautious path away from historiographical storms. There are the occasional drifts into troubled waters. Howard's contention that the British High Command in 1917 'discouraged the kind of initiative at lower levels of command that was now commonplace within the German army' (p. 99) will raise a few eyebrows amongst Britain's 'New Military History' men. Paddy Griffith, Peter Simkins, Gary Sheffield and others have persuasively challenged the wisdom of always giving the German army the tactical and strategic high-ground over its British adversary. Howard does hint that the BEF were ascending a 'learning curve', yet in his retelling theirs was a little more elongated than the German model. But the deep waters of controversy aside, I would have liked to have read more about pre-war European mentalities. The *ius ad bellum* and ferocious longevity of the Great War become more comprehensible if we dismiss the notion of pre-war Europe as a halcyon *belle époque*, and witness the destructive influence of nationalism and social Darwinism upon European thought. But what is left on the cutting-room floor and what makes the final edit is, of course, very much down to personal tastes. Others, for instance, may prefer less time spent upon the battlefields and more within the home fronts. These are the quarrels of the Great War devotees. The new reader, versed only in the myths and prose of 'Lions led by Donkeys' and *Dulce et decorum est*, will find this book a highly propitious jumping-off point into the muddy academic waters of the 'war to end all wars'.

University College Worcester JAMES ROBERTS

***A War of Individuals: Bloomsbury Attitudes to the Great War*. By Jonathan Atkin.** Manchester University Press. 2002. vi +250pp. £15.99.

Dr Atkin, who describes himself as 'a bookseller and occasional journalist', apparently believes that 'Bloomsbury' sells books, and therefore incorporates it into the subtitle of the published version of his doctoral thesis even though only one of his seven substantive chapters focuses on the group itself. The others cover Bertrand Russell, writers generally, writers in uniform, women, 'obscurer individuals', 'three individuals', and 'public commentary'. This expansion of scope has some advantages: because it is hard to say new things about an over-exposed coterie, or even about other major figures such as Russell, H. G. Wells, Lowes Dickinson and Vera Brittain, the book is made the more interesting for including the likes of H. S. Innes, one of the 'three individuals' sharing the penultimate substantive chapter, whose wartime career is recreated from records in the Liddle Collection at the University of Leeds. However, the resultant diffuseness raises questions as to what the book as a whole is about, particularly as the blighting effect of the Great War upon the lives of sensitive individuals is scarcely a novel theme. The author summarizes his argument as follows:

> Bloomsbury, perhaps typically, reacted to the Great War on an individual basis. Other people also based their objection to the conflict on aesthetics, or humanistic grounds and did so from a wider cross-section of the cultural landscape. Although most of these people were from the educated middle-classes, similarly linked anti-war reactions occurred throughout the war and beyond and emanated from differing contexts; from the equally well-known to the obscure, from male to female, from those who fought to those who did not. (pp. 224–5)

As this bland formulation implies, the book lacks a clear analytical thrust, and shows that good research needs a significant question to answer as well as lots of material. Some of Atkin's generalizations are either odd ('The value of life to a soldier at the front could become grossly exaggerated amid the constant danger of extinction': p. 184) or trite ('In addition to a dawning comprehension of what had occurred, the chief legacy of the Great War was change': p. 224). Pacifism and anti-war feeling are sometimes treated as if they were synonymous. And the reference to 'the almost 4,000 declared conscientious objectors' (p. 10) may mislead an unwary reader since the total was in fact 16,500.

New College, Oxford MARTIN CEADEL

***The Last Years of Austria-Hungary: A Multinational Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe*. Revised and expanded edition. Edited by Mark Cornwall.** University of Exeter Press. 2002. xiii + 228pp. £15.99.

The original edition of this book, published in 1990, made a welcome addition to the growing literature on the Habsburg monarchy's demise. Contributions by scholars from the former Habsburg lands as well as Britain covered foreign and military policy and domestic political issues in the period 1908–18. This new edition is a genuine revision: all the contributors have updated their references and substantially rewritten their articles. The extra space permits a lengthier historical perspective, while the notes reflect the explosion of scholarly interest in this period since the collapse of communism. Thus, F. R. Bridge on foreign policy contrasts the monarchy's dangerous aggression after 1908 with its traditional

management of weakness, in the nineteenth century, by persuading other powers of its indispensability to the European balance. Lothar Höbelt provides a useful summary of politics in Cisleithania which makes clear that 'The nationality problem would not tear the Monarchy apart on its own but it made sure that it would not survive a revolution.' In place of Z. A. B. Zeman's article on the Austrian censuses, which was on the short side and decidedly under-referenced, there is an excellent new article by Catherine Albrecht on the Bohemian question, which offers an understanding of just how intractable the Czech–German antagonism must have seemed to contemporaries by 1914. F. Tibor Zsuppán on Hungary convincingly demonstrates why the nationalities question there was exacerbated by the blinkered nationalism of Hungarians themselves. Janko Pleterski gives a good picture of the complexity of the South Slav question, reminding us of how influential the emergence of a Slovene voice was in this area. Rudolf Jeábek highlights the damage done to the monarchy by its own wasteful and incompetent generalship during the war, as well as the impossible strategic situation it faced. And the editor not only provides, in a new introduction, a judicious survey of the recent literature, but in his own contribution analyses the causes of the monarchy's final collapse: a blend of military and economic exhaustion, paranoia and laxity on the part of the authorities, loyalty divided between dynasty and nationality, and external as well as domestic pressures for change. The inclusion as an appendix of the protocols of the last few common ministerial councils is a final garnish on this eminently illuminating collection.

Staffordshire University IAN D. ARMOUR

***British Intelligence in Ireland, 1920–21: The Final Reports*. Edited by Peter Hart.** Cork University Press. 2002. vi + 109pp. £7.50/€12.00.

This publication offers ready access, at an affordable price, to substantial extracts from two documentary sources that, in combination, deal directly and comprehensively with British intelligence operations in Ireland during the most intensive period of the Anglo-Irish War from January 1920 until the truce of 11 July 1921. A concise, informative introduction (16 pages) by editor Peter Hart, chair of Irish Studies at the Memorial University of Newfoundland, puts these documents clearly into context, providing unique insights into the *modus operandi* and performance of the military and police intelligence agencies charged with protecting the interests of the British crown in Ireland at this time.

The more complete and controversial of the two documents presented here was prepared early in 1922 by Colonel Ormonde Winter, Deputy Chief of Police and Director of Intelligence in Ireland. Entitled 'A Report on the Intelligence Branch of the Chief of Police from May 1920 to July 1921', it explains the problematic situation Winter inherited when he took on this post with the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC), the many challenges he had to face as a consequence and, also, the range of initiatives he took – successfully in his opinion – in response. 'O', as he liked to style himself, had been promoted to this post in the RIC from the army where, as an artillery officer, he had risen to the command of a division on the western front, but had never been in a position to gain any direct experience of intelligence or police work. A small, dapper character in appearance, with a monocle over his right eye and a cigarette almost permanently

between his lips, Winter's approach to the task, as Peter Hart has observed, 'caused friction' with others in the British intelligence community in Ireland, who criticized him as being 'out of his depth'. So, in accordance with Hart's assessment, this document certainly may be read not only as a report by Winter of his branch's performance, but also as a personal 'defence of his record' and an 'apologia' to the critics (p. 7). The other document on offer has been extracted from volume II of the 'Record of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1920–1, and the Part played by the Army in dealing with it', which was compiled and printed in May 1922 at the General Headquarters of the British Army's Irish Command in Dublin. This document provides a detailed and generally well-substantiated account, from the Irish Command's perspective, of the activities overall of the intelligence organizations operating on both sides of the Anglo-Irish War. And in this regard, it certainly gives a 'more authoritative' version of events than Ormonde Winter's report (p. 8). Whether it is 'the single most important – and by common consent the most trustworthy – source we have' on the subject, however, as Hart also claims (p. 6), would be open to debate.

In an editorial note at the end of his introduction (p. 16), Hart explains that 'for reasons of space and relevance', substantial extracts rather than the complete documents have been reproduced in this publication. It is patent that, in determining 'relevance', he has chosen to include only those portions of these two documents concerned directly with the British side of the intelligence war in Ireland. Thus, of the eight chapters comprising Colonel Winter's original report in the Public Record Office, London (PRO, WO35/214), all but the last chapter – providing historical background on the Irish Republican Brotherhood – have been included. Similarly, with respect to the Irish Command's account of the situation – the original of which is among the papers of Sir Hugh Jeudwine at the Imperial War Museum (Box 72/82/2) – only segments from chapters 2 and 3 of this six-chapter printed document (about 35 per cent overall) have been reproduced. Such a selective approach on the editor's part may limit the appeal of this publication to some extent, with readers requiring a fuller account of the intelligence situation in Ireland at this time still being compelled to consult the original documents. None the less, as one of a series of 'Irish Narratives' from Cork University Press, this publication certainly fulfils the stated aim of the series editor, David Fitzpatrick, in making available to a wider audience than would otherwise be possible source material that provides 'unrivalled insight into the day-to-day consequences of political, social, economic or cultural relationships' (p. ii) of the time to which they relate.

Queensland University of Technology JOHN AINSWORTH

***Making the Peace in Ireland*. By Jeremy Smith.** Longman. 2003. xx + 267pp. £19.99.

Dr Smith's third book in four years is essentially an attractively produced chronological study of conflict and peacemaking in Northern Ireland that is aimed at general readers and students rather than specialists. It is stronger on factual content than on analysis. It is based entirely on published sources. Paul Dixon and Thomas Hennessy have produced recent works that cover much the same ground. Dr Smith has the problem of all contemporary historians in that what he seeks to describe (in this case, the peace process) is still evolving.

He seeks to mitigate this problem by taking the long view in describing the conflict between unionism and nationalism in Ireland. More than half the book concerns itself with a concise short history of that conflict between 1600 and 1987 (pp. 1–140). What most observers would consider the present peace process (i.e. from 1987 onwards) is the subject of the remainder of the book (pp. 141–243).

Dr Smith clearly and coherently outlines the key parts of the peace process. The hunger strikes of the early 1980s allowed Sinn Fein to build up its electoral strength. However, continuing violence placed a limit on its support and was being seen as increasingly counter-productive. At the same time due to the increasing closeness of the relationship between Britain and Ireland (symbolized by the Anglo-Irish agreement of 1985), some unionists were being forced to consider compromises previously thought unpalatable. The unionists conceded considerable ground to nationalists on power-sharing institutions during talks in 1989–92, and as Smith notes, 'the pre-embryonic and watery outlines of possible areas of compromise were becoming visible' (p. 157). The garlands for the seismic shifts in the attitude of Sinn Fein/IRA towards a compromise agreement that saw it give up its most cherished demands and the end of its campaign of violence are given to the Adams/McGuinness leadership and the political courage of John Hume, the leader of the SDLP. The Irish and the British governments reacted with imagination to the peace-feelers put out by Sinn Fein, notably by the Downing Street declaration, which they hoped would give enough rope for republicans to hang up their guns without alienating unionists. This allowed an IRA ceasefire in 1994. David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, was able to make a deal with Sinn Fein and the SDLP that allowed a peace agreement in 1998. All parties were subjected to massive British, Irish and American pressure. Dr Smith, in conclusion, rather contentiously notes that the agreement with its preservation of Northern Ireland but with its machinery for reunification is reminiscent of the aims of the 1920 Government of Ireland Act (pp. 242–3). In general, this book makes a reasonably useful starting point for anyone who wishes to read an easily digested history of the conflict and peace process. Unfortunately, it does not and cannot tell us the end point of that process.

National University of Ireland, Maynooth ROBERT McNAMARA

***British Shipbuilding and the State since 1918: A Political Economy of Decline.* By Lewis Johnman and Hugh Murphy.** University of Exeter Press. 2002. viii + 246pp. £16.99.

This book is justifiably claimed as the first to offer a full treatment of the industry over most of the twentieth century, drawing on both government and employers' sources. Unlike its subject, it may well enjoy a long run with little or no serious competition. The introduction begins with an appropriate reminder that what had happened before 1918 provided few clues as to what would follow. Centuries of state-sponsored growth had raised British shipbuilding to international dominance, and then in the free trade era of 1850–1914 the industry had proved itself highly adaptable, in technology, organization and location, as it succeeded in confirming its superiority in a new age of iron and steel and steam. After 1918, it went mainly downhill, and the focus of this study is necessarily on a process of decline. If the arguments of the book seem repetitive at times, especially in emphasizing the severe shortcomings of management, this is not the

fault of the authors. The only period which attracts the judgement 'creditable performance' is the Second World War, when output was just sufficient to maintain the Royal and Merchant navies, although not by a large margin. Unlike the First World War, 1939–45 opened up possibilities of post-war expansion. The next important chapter is, however, entitled 'the missed opportunity'. The two periods of most concentrated decline were the inter-war years, especially the 1930s, and the last three and a half decades of the century. The obvious difference was that in the first case world demand was very depressed, whereas in the second it was for much of the time buoyant. In the inter-war years, the industry perhaps did no worse than might have been expected, given the harsh economic context and the belated and marginal nature of government assistance. The authors suggest that the industry owed its resilience at this time to its atomized and individualistic character and outmoded system of production. In the late twentieth century, in contrast, the extent and speed of decline took almost everyone by surprise, and the same industry characteristics contributed strongly to this outcome. As the authors rightly stress, it took less than thirty years from the beginning of post-war state support, the Credit Scheme of 1963, for the industry to disappear as a volume producer. Management seemed to act consistently in its short-sightedness and indifference to, and underestimation of, every significant new development in the international industry, and in its reluctance to invest in new capacity even when markets were promising. State intervention, and eventually nationalization, much of which was on terms laid down by the industry, failed to provide a solution, but was obviously a result rather than the cause of decline. Privatization finished off most of what was left, at considerable financial cost, and failed even in its aim of introducing competition in the supply of warships. Johnman and Murphy are highly informative about these events, and will be more likely to disappoint readers by supplying excessive, rather than inadequate, quantities of example and detail (e.g. on the post-Geddes grouping). More contextualization, including some comparisons with other industries and discussion of changing government economic policies, would strengthen the analysis, but no doubt this could be achieved only at the cost of a longer book.

Canterbury Business School, University of Kent GERALD CROMPTON

***George Lansbury: At The Heart of Old Labour*. By John Shepherd.** Oxford University Press. 2002. xix + 407pp. £35.00.

It is half a century since George Lansbury's son-in-law, Raymond Postgate, wrote his biography of the Labour stalwart; it is only now that it has been supplanted as the standard life, although an honourable mention should be made of Jonathan Schneer's excellent short life published in 1990. John Shepherd's biography is an outstanding work, offering a well-researched, thorough and even account analysing its subject's life. The strengths of the book are manifold. Shepherd offers a full view of Lansbury's many roles: thus we get serious treatment of his role as a skilled political organizer for the Liberals and the Social Democratic Federation in the late nineteenth century, and of his work as editor of the *Daily Herald*, as well as more familiar material. In one of the chapters in the book, he also offers – as Postgate did not – a serious analysis of Lansbury's efforts for peace after his retirement as Labour party leader in 1935. Shepherd is very good on tracing the development of Lansbury's pacifism, and

its relationship with his occasionally wavering (and surprisingly changing) religious faith. Shepherd also follows Schneer and others in putting feminism at the centre of Lansbury's early politics, although Shepherd seems to lose sight of this somewhat for the period after the First World War. There is also a real texture to the volume: for example, the Lansbury family is accorded due attention, forming as it did such a key element of George's own political career and thinking. And Shepherd's writing can be highly evocative – one can almost smell and touch Lansbury's East End, for example, so vividly does Shepherd describe it. Inevitably, there is room for debate in respect of some of Shepherd's interpretations. This reviewer felt that there was room for a rather more critical discussion of the nature of Lansbury's pacifism. In particular, his sympathy at various stages with syndicalism and later communism sits rather ill with orthodox views of Lansbury as a Christian pacifist – and while Shepherd goes some way towards re-evaluating that orthodoxy, he seems to hold back from the more critical constructions that might be put on Lansbury's views. At times, indeed, it seems that Lansbury is being given the benefit of the doubt a little too frequently; conversely, there is a certain unwillingness to accept that Lansbury's opponents or critics were themselves sincerely motivated. Those who suffer in this way include Ramsay MacDonald, whose behaviour in the 1931 crisis, whatever else it was, was not 'pusillanimous' (p. 276), and Ernest Bevin, whose denunciation of Lansbury in 1935 was not intended simply to be a 'cruel' and 'odious' 'sneer' (pp. 325–6), but was conceived as being a crucial contribution towards preventing the disintegration of the party in the run-up to a general election. All told, however, this is an excellent biography of a very significant figure in Labour's history; and it is to be hoped that other historians will follow Shepherd's lead and offer new full-scale lives of other key figures in the party's past.

University of Exeter ANDREW THORPE

***The Neville Chamberlain Diary Letters, Volume 3: The Heir Apparent, 1928–1933*. Edited by Robert Self.** Ashgate. 2002. xi + 446pp. £77.50.

This volume continues Robert Self's excellent edition of Neville Chamberlain's regular and detailed letters to his sisters, Hilda and Ida. As the overall title suggests, the letters acted in effect as a diary of Chamberlain's activities, political and personal, over the period. This volume is, in many ways, more revealing than the two that preceded it. In part, this is because Chamberlain was now moving to the very centre of British political life: as minister of health (1924–9 and 1931), party chairman (1930–1) and chancellor of the exchequer (1931–7). It is also because no modern biography takes Chamberlain's life beyond 1929. Yet this was a crucial period in his career. In 1928 he was not 'the heir apparent'; as late as early 1931 there was doubt whether he or Lord Hailsham (or, less likely but more worryingly for the party's managers, Winston Churchill) would succeed Stanley Baldwin as Conservative Party leader if a vacancy arose. By 1933, however, he was clearly the next leader in waiting and, to a large extent, the driving force within the national government. This volume does not merely chart Chamberlain's rise, however. It also shows his central role in the health and local government policies of the second Baldwin government, the travails of the Conservatives in opposition to the second Labour government, the 1931

crisis, and the thinking behind the economic policy of the national government. Increasingly, the last of these roles involved him taking a closer interest in foreign affairs, since there was still some hope that international agreements could help economic recovery; and so the themes that came to dominate the final years of his life are already becoming apparent here. Of particular interest is his damning view of the Americans and especially of Franklin D. Roosevelt (who became US President in 1933), whom he describes as having some similarities with David Lloyd George (the ultimate anathema for Chamberlain). Throughout, Chamberlain presents himself as the most clear-headed figure on view, battling against the obscurantism and bloody-mindedness of colleagues and opponents alike. To some extent this reflects a brother boasting to his sisters, but it also appears to suggest increasing self-confidence – and at times hubris – on his part. This growing assurance can also be seen in his changing attitude towards his older half-brother, Austen: the letters from 1928 still reveal traces of awe for the more experienced man, but by 1933 there is a somewhat patronizing tone. All in all, this is a superb edition of the letters, which invites eager anticipation of the final volume, and of the biography which must surely follow on the basis of Self's excellent introductions.

University of Exeter ANDREW THORPE

***The Heidelberg Myth: The Nazification and Denazification of a German University*. By Steven P. Remy.** Harvard University Press. 2002. xi + 329pp. £26.50.

Forty years ago this reviewer spent part of an undergraduate summer at Germany's oldest university, and thus found himself directly exposed to the force of what Dr Remy characterizes as 'the Heidelberg myth'. The first of its two main features involves a particular interpretation of the institution's history across the years from 1918 to 1945. According to this reading, the Karl-Ruprecht University had formed, during the years of the Weimar Republic, a bastion of liberal democracy and intellectual tolerance; in 1933 Hitler had swiftly destroyed its academic autonomy and placed in senior positions a small number of fanatical ideologues obsessed with injecting the 'German spirit' into higher education; thereafter, the response of the great majority of those teachers who did not suffer early dismissal was to keep their distance from such charlatanism, bravely exposing themselves to the risk of Nazi censure by upholding the best traditions of scholarly objectivity. This whole tissue of self-flattering fabrication rapidly unravels in the face of Remy's scrupulously documented presentation of a very different analytic narrative. It is one from which only a few figures, such as Alfred Weber and Karl Jaspers, might still retain some claim to be emerging as local heroes. In a sense, Remy is providing a detailed case-study that confirms and chronologically extends the main thrust of Fritz Ringer's seminal investigation of the national academic community from 1890 to 1933 (*The Decline of the German Mandarins*, published in 1969), to the effect that non-Jewish professors and students alike were generally all too ready to identify with most of Hitler's vision. The eagerness with which much of the curriculum was nazified at Heidelberg is a particularly telling element in Remy's account. The capitulation of the historians and jurists, for example, speaks volumes. So too does the cult of 'Aryan physics' promoted by the notorious Philipp Lenard, while even more sinister is the record of the medical faculty's

embroilment with the racist policies of the regime. Although these matters are handled astutely enough in Remy's earlier chapters, the greatest value of his book derives from its similarly impressive attack on the second major aspect of the Heidelberg myth. This is the image of a university speedily and totally denazified in 1945–6 through an efficient combination of professors untainted by Hitlerian values on the one hand and of enlightened American occupation officials on the other. Here again, and then running on well into the 1950s, the real story of Heidelberg's institutional and intellectual development is far more complex and much less creditable to many of those involved. In revising it Remy has made especially good use of the long-inaccessible records of the *Spruchkammern* (the civilian tribunals to which much of the denazification process was delegated), which reveal that 'professors constructed remarkably similar narratives regarding their relationship to National Socialism and supported each other in a densely woven web of mutual affidavits' (p. 244). Remy argues convincingly that all this served the purposes of 'whitewashing the ivory tower', and of encouraging 'a culture of forgetting' that has wider implications for post-war German history as a whole. He concludes by asserting that, even now, 'The Heidelberg myth remains a formidable, though not unbreachable, edifice' (p. 245). While it is true that first-rate scholarship cannot by itself remove such structures, the author of this fine monograph has none the less made a substantial contribution towards completing the long-overdue task of demolition.

University of Reading MICHAEL BIDDISS

***National Bolshevism: Stalinist Mass Culture and the Formation of Modern Russian National Identity, 1931–1956*. By David Brandenberger.** Harvard University Press. 2002. xv + 378pp. $49.95.

In *National Bolshevism*, David Brandenberger (assistant professor, University of Richmond) argues that Stalinist ideology was actually more Russian nationalist than it was proletarian internationalist. To mobilize Soviet society for the Second World War and for other reasons, Stalin and his entourage had to construct and resurrect nationalist myths and downplay conventional communist slogans about international proletarianism and class struggle. The book consists of fourteen short chapters organized temporally in three main parts: 1931–41, 1941–5 and 1945–53. Brandenberger combs Russian archives extensively to show not only how Stalinist ideology was constructed and disseminated between 1931 and 1951, but also how it was received by the masses. He argues that most studies have tended to focus exclusively on theory, national elites or newspapers. This is unfortunate, he says, because one cannot 'automatically conflate the construction and dissemination of ideology with its reception . . . Audiences rarely accept ideological pronouncements wholesale' (p. 3). Individual chapters address various dimensions of the communist party hierarchy's strategy for social mobilization and the inculcation of a popular sense of patriotism. Brandenberger details the way mass agitation in the state schools and party study circles was reinforced by focusing on the same themes in official Soviet mass culture (literature, the press, film, theatre, museum exhibitions, etc.). Brandenberger differs from key scholars of communist culture such as Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm and Miroslav Hroch in that he attributes a larger role in the formation of national identity to the state and

political entrepreneurs. After Stalin's death in 1953, some of the 'extremism' that characterized Stalinist leadership was reduced, including a gradual rollback of the cult of personality. Brandenberger argues, however, that even after the dictator's death, the policy of 'relentless russocentrism' continued (p. 240).

A key strength of *National Bolshevism* is the wide array of archival documents it employs. These include documents not only from the most well-known Russian archives, such as the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Noveishii Istorii, or RGANI) and the Russian State Archive of Social Political History (Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Sotsial'noi i Politicheskoi Istorii, or RGASPI), but also from archives in far-flung Russian cities like Arkhangelsk, Irkutsk and Kaluga. It contains detailed notes and illustrations, but, unfortunately, lacks a bibliography. Brandenberger's book is a welcome contribution to the extant literature and would fit well in graduate courses on Soviet culture. In small doses, undergraduates would appreciate the book as well.

Stanford University JOHANNA GRANVILLE

***The Spanish Republic at War, 1936–1939*. By Helen Graham.** Cambridge University Press. 2002. xiv + 472pp. £19.95.

Helen Graham, already a well-published expert in the field, has added a highly detailed and densely argued contribution to the long-running historical debate about the nature of the wartime Spanish republic. Graham takes careful aim at those previous historians, most notably Burnett Bolloten, who saw wartime Spanish republican politics as communist-dominated. She takes every opportunity to play down the role of the communists, arguing that the course of republican politics owed far more to the legacy of pre-war factionalism and the exigencies of war than to communist machinations. She provides a valuable corrective to earlier accounts, which were often influenced by cold war polemics, drawing on a mass of archival and memoir material. However, her case is overstated and, indeed, much of her evidence reinforces the view that Moscow's influence in the republic was overt and disproportionate. In addition, her choice of language fails to acknowledge the damage that communist excesses could inflict on the republican cause. The Comintern-inspired crackdown on the dissident POUM and their non-Spanish allies, for instance, surely invites a more robust description than 'ethically unattractive' (p. 296) – we are, after all, dealing here with defamation, abduction, torture and even murder. At the heart of a book that deals primarily with high politics lies a fascinating comparison between the two leading socialists who served as prime minister of the wartime republic. Graham heaps scorn on the veteran trade unionist Francisco Largo Caballero (prime minister 1936–7), who is presented as clueless, incompetent and, after his fall from power, disloyal to the war effort. Conversely, she seeks to rescue the reputation of Caballero's successor Juan Negrín from the widely held view that he was a weak politician who allowed – and possibly encouraged – the republic to become a virtual satellite of the USSR. She portrays the uncharismatic and camera-shy Negrín as tough and principled, determined to rebuild the republican state on the basis of liberal and constitutional values. Negrín's strategy of political and economic normalization represented, in Graham's view, the only answer to the republic's predicament, and it was a happy coincidence that he found the

Communist Party in full agreement with him. However, even if she rescues him from some of the worst canards of his enemies, the Negrín that emerges from this book is still deeply flawed. He is presented as a staunch centralizer, contemptuous of Catalan sensibilities, and as the dogmatic proponent of an 'orthodox capitalistic order' (p. 158) that was guaranteed to alienate the left. Worst of all, according to Graham, in October 1938 this supporter of constitutionality advocated a trial of the POUM leaders as a 'symbolic punishment designed to cauterise the real fifth column' (p. 384). Ultimately, it seems, in order to protect republican democracy it was necessary to destroy it. This is a significant and at times passionate book which, alongside other recent research, will require a re-evaluation of the exact role played by communism in the Spanish Civil War. But it is not necessarily the best starting point for those coming new to the moral and political complexities of wartime Spanish politics.

Kellogg College, Oxford TOM BUCHANAN

***Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorusssia.* By Jan T. Gross.** Princeton University Press. 2002. xxiv + 396pp. $44.89.

According to the Polish national anthem, 'Poland is not dead whilst we live. What others took by force, with the sword will be taken back'. Both Nazi and Soviet occupiers must have taken these words to heart as they set out thoroughly to crush the Polish population between September 1939 and June 1941. In *Revolution from Abroad: the Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorusssia*, Jan T. Gross (New York University) draws on documents from Polish, German, Israeli, and US archives to show with camera-like precision how ordinary Polish citizens at the grassroots level experienced the Soviet occupation of Poland and the mechanisms Soviet authorities used to induce their participation. US citizens who have never known the horrors of foreign occupation will find this study especially sobering. Polish citizens never knew when a few Soviet soldiers might enter their houses and apartments, live there for several days or weeks, eat their food, and steal their possessions. If they resisted, they faced arrest, torture, and/or execution, often in full view of loved ones. As Soviet soldiers explained to the newly adopted Soviet citizens, 'There are three categories of people in the Soviet Union: those who were in jail, those who are in jail, and those who will be in jail' (p. 230). Gross points out that, in sheer numbers, more Polish citizens suffered under Soviet occupation in the first two years of the Second World War (i.e. before the Nazis' mass annihilation of Jews began) than under German occupation. Whereas the Germans killed approximately 120,000 Poles, the Soviet security police (NKVD) nearly 'matched that figure in just two episodes of mass execution', viz. the mass murder of Polish prisoners of war in the spring of 1940, and the evacuation of prisoners in the western Ukraine and western Belorussia during June and July 1941 (p. 228). However, despite the Soviets' greater victimization of Polish citizens in terms of loss of life, suffering inflicted by forced resettlement, and material losses through confiscation, Gross argues that, to the Polish and Jewish citizens, the Soviet occupiers seemed less 'oppressive'. They lacked the 'discriminatory contempt' and '*Übermensch* airs' that the Nazis evinced so imperiously (p. 230). The author explains that perhaps one reason why the Soviet army seemed less

oppressive at first is that it claimed to 'liberate' Poland. Generally, the population was confused about Soviet intentions, and indeed 'nobody had warned the local community and the authorities that a Bolshevik invasion was possible and what to do in case it occurred' (p. 22). The deceptive slogans of national liberation soothed millions of wishful-thinking Polish citizens – Jews, Ukrainians, Belorussians – who 'could meet fellow ethnics' in the Red Army or the Soviet administration (p. 230). The stark contrast between soldiers in the Wehrmacht and those in the Red Army – the latter in coats of assorted lengths, with rags wrapped around their shoeless feet – also made the Soviet occupiers seem less intimidating. Still another reason for the Red Army's cloddish image is the febrile rapaciousness with which the soldiers bought and consumed Polish goods. Expecting to hear discussions of lofty communist ideals, Poles instead saw 'in the marketplace how these Soviet people ate eggs, shell and all, horseradish, beets, and other produce. Country women rolled with laughter' (p. 46). In a restaurant 'a Red Army soldier might order several courses or a dozen pastries and eat them all on the spot' (p. 46). In comparison to Nazi Germany, then, the Soviet Union struck the Poles as a petty and materialistic 'spoiler state'.

In addition to these colourful descriptions in the first part of the book, Gross also raises a serious, but long neglected, topic in his final historiographical essay ('A Tangled Web'): Polish–Jewish relations during the Second World War. Why didn't more Polish citizens try to help the Polish Jews? To be sure, one faced severe penalties – torture and execution, often in front of one's family members. However, ignorance persists among Poles today about the ultimate fate of Polish Jews. Gross cites an opinion poll in which Poles were asked who suffered and died more, the Poles or Jews, during the Second World War? About 30 per cent thought it was roughly equal. Almost no one realized that nearly all Polish Jews were killed. Gross also explains how antisemitism prevailed in Poland during the war and even after Oświęcim (Auschwitz) was revealed in all its horror (p. 248).

Revolution from Abroad thus makes an important contribution to a growing body of literature about the ignorance of the populations in Warsaw Pact countries of their countries' Nazi pasts. The Soviet-imposed myth about 'communist heroes of resistance' enabled them for decades to avoid the painful questions faced long ago by other western countries, West Germany in particular.

Stanford University JOHANNA GRANVILLE

***Hitler's Arctic War: The German Campaigns in Norway, Finland and the USSR 1940–1945*. By Chris Mann and Christer Jörgensen.** Ian Allan. 2002. 224pp. £18.99.

Despite its title, this book offers a lot more than just a survey of the actions of German forces in the Arctic area during the Second World War, as it is almost equally concerned with the operations of the Soviet forces, and, to a lesser extent, those of Finland. Aimed at a popular audience, it discusses a topic usually left out of popular histories of the eastern front, and contains much that its target audience will find unfamiliar. Germany's interest in the Arctic predated its Norwegian campaign. During the Finno-Soviet Winter War, Hitler remained neutral, although he clearly favoured the Soviet side and hoped for a quick Red victory. His discovery of the Allied plans for intervention in this conflict led to

the German attack on Norway, and his observation of the weakness of the Red Army in the initial stages of the war led him to believe that Soviet forces would offer only paltry resistance in any German invasion of the USSR. This assessment was a mistake, of course, the first of many which Mann and Jörgensen draw attention to in the course of the narrative. The Barbarossa offensive, joined in its early stages by the Finnish army, seeking redress for the painful settlement inflicted on Finland at the end of the Winter War, soon ground to a stalemate on the Arctic front. By 1944, however, the Red Army was ready to unleash a massive offensive in the area, almost destroying the Finnish army. Through a combination of luck and excellent leadership, the Finns were able to avoid their country being overrun by the Soviet forces, but it came at the price of having to turn their guns on their erstwhile German allies. The Finno-German war in Lapland is one of the strangest episodes of the Second World War, and one of the least known to the general public. Its inclusion here is one of the many highlights of this book, with others including a chapter which integrates the naval war in the Arctic Sea with the wider military campaign, an assessment of the Norwegian contribution in the war (for both sides), clear and useful maps, and dozens of excellent photographs. This book is aimed at a popular readership but it will also appeal to academic historians looking for a well-written and well-argued book encompassing the entirety of the Second World War as it affected the Arctic area.

Liverpool CRAIG GERRARD

***Germany and the Second World War. Volume V: Organization and Mobilization of the German Sphere of Power. Part 2: Wartime Administration, Economy, and Manpower Resources 1942–1944-5*. By Bernhard R. Kroener, Rolf-Dieter Müller and Hans Umbreit.** Oxford University Press. 2003. xli + 1142pp. £175.00.

This, the latest volume in the series produced by the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Research Institute for Military History) in Potsdam, assesses the attempt to support the German war machine. The preceding part of volume V, also by the same authors, had taken this strand to the end of 1941 and shown that there were already readily apparent signs of serious deficiencies. The new book is a clear depiction of mounting failure, particularly the structural weaknesses of the Nazi state. No attempt is made to conceal the harshness, both in Germany and in the occupied territories, that the determination to persist in the war, in the face of these weaknesses and the strength of the opposition, led to. Will was no substitute. Indeed, the thorough scholarship in this weighty volume is a comprehensive indictment of the multiple deficiencies of the Nazi regime. The Wehrmacht is not absolved from the blame: 'With every month that protracted the war, the Wehrmacht leadership was increasingly becoming an accomplice of a criminal system that was also waging its war of destruction against its own people' (p. 1069). Violence was part of a process of hasty improvisation that could not act as a substitute for the rational crisis management required by the Germans. Speer sought to provide the latter, but, as the book shows, he faced multiple sources of opposition, some of which were systemic to the regime, but some of which were due to the attitudes of the Wehrmacht. Tensions over manpower repeatedly emerge. The authors argue that there was no genuine acceleration of long-term developments in the technological field,

and they are unimpressed by the V-rockets. The volume is supported by helpful diagrams and maps and offers fascinating insights on a range of related topics, including operations against partisans. For example, the discussion of the U-boat attack on North Atlantic trade castigates an inadequate setting of priorities in early 1942 as Raeder decided to meet the shortage of shipyard workers for U-boat maintenance by drawing on new U-boat construction. As a consequence, a useful short-term increase in the number of operational U-boats was achieved at the cost of cutting new production, which made it impossible to match advances in Allied anti-U-boat defences.

University of Exeter JEREMY BLACK

***Holocaust: A History*. By Debórah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt.** John Murray. 2002. xx + 444pp. £25.00.

Dwork and van Pelt's most recent collaborative publication is the best introductory text on the Holocaust that I have read. In what is an accessible and punchy historical overview, Dwork and van Pelt draw effectively on their individual research interests. Van Pelt is an expert on the planning of Auschwitz and Dwork an accomplished social historian of the Holocaust. The result is that *Holocaust: A History* does what relatively few surveys of the Holocaust manage to achieve – it draws together the stories of the perpetrators with those of the victims. As well as outlining the development of Nazi measures against the Jews, the victims' experiences of those measures are elucidated, in part through a series of oral history interviews undertaken by Dwork. However, Jews are not simply painted as passive victims, but active agents who not only experienced, but also responded to, antisemitic actions. Thus, Nazi initiatives at making German culture *judenrein* are interwoven in the text with descriptions of the establishment of the Jewish Cultural Association. Similarly, Holocaust ghettos are not simply reduced to elements of the destruction process, but are also shown to be places of richly varied Jewish life. The ambition of examining this history from both the perpetrators' and victims' perspective is matched by the ambitious attempt to deal with the full chronological and geographical complexity of the Holocaust. In two initial chapters, background themes such as modern nationalism and the First World War territorial settlement are sketched out. In subsequent chapters, Dwork and van Pelt trace the rise of National Socialism, the radicalization of anti-Jewish legislation and measures, the outbreak and twists and turns of the Second World War, the shift to mass killings, the construction of the death camps and attempts to rescue Europe's Jews. In a closing chapter, they reflect briefly upon the absence and presence of the Holocaust in the post-war era. Within this essentially chronological framework, they range far and wide, covering the more familiar ground of Germany and Poland, but also reaching into the full geographic scope of the Holocaust as a European-wide experience. What is so impressive about this snappily written single-volume introduction to the Holocaust, is that it effectively manages to bring so many disparate strands together within a compelling narrative without falling into the trap of oversimplification. More detailed reflection upon historiographical disputes within the text or in the footnotes would have been valuable, but as a readable introductory history of the Holocaust this book is unrivalled.

University of Bristol TIM COLE

After the Holocaust. Polish–Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War II. **By Marek Jan Chodakiewicz.** Columbia University Press. 2003. viii + 265pp. £24.50.

In the highly contentious and complex field of Polish–Jewish relations in the first half of the twentieth century, it is most refreshing to have at long last a monograph which eschews partisanship in favour of dispassionate, reasoned and perceptive analysis and argument on the basis of an impressively diversified spectrum of archival and printed material. By impugning the facile assumptions, misrepresentations and dubious conclusions that have characterized so many recent contributions, including those by historians such as Yisrael Gutman, Shmuel Krakowski and Jan T. Gross, Dr Chodakiewicz's outstanding study inaugurates a new era of objective, balanced scholarship on this theme.

It is shown compellingly that the widely disseminated allegations of Polish antisemitism as the primary motive behind the killing of between 400 and 700 Jews in Poland between 1944 and 1947 are unfounded. Instead, a host of influences were at play, of which anti-communism, that is, the vehement hostility of the overwhelming majority of Poles to the forcible imposition by the Soviet Union of a tyrannical communist regime at the end of the Second World War, was by far the most significant. Because Jews were, proportionate to their numbers (about 250,000) in the population of Poland at that time, conspicuously over-represented in the most powerful organs of the new regime, particularly in the secret police, army, militia, judiciary, Communist Party and media, they were inevitably the target of the patriotic, anti-communist and anti-Soviet Polish independentist movement, which was itself brutally repressed by the communists. In other words, these Jews were invariably killed by Polish patriots, not because of their ethnic or religious status, but rather because they were active, indeed often zealous, supporters, informers and agents of the hated regime and its Soviet overlords. Even so, the violence could also be occasioned by more mundane matters, such as disputes over property. In any case, the same Jews were just as likely to have been killed by other groups, such as common criminal bands, Soviet and Ukrainian partisans, deserters of various armies, fellow-Jews intent on settling personal vendettas and by Polish communists. Nor should it be overlooked that Jewish communists, fuelled by polonophobia as much as anti-fascism or anything else, were directly responsible for the murder of some 7,000 Christian Poles during the same period. Consequently, in the eyes of most Poles, the spectre of a Jewish–communist conspiracy (*Żydokomuna*) against Poland had become a frightful reality that had to be resisted in legitimate self-defence. As is rightly indicated, only a minority of Jews were communists, but many more were passively supportive of a communist regime dedicated to the wholesale Stalinization of Poland. Both Poles and Jews became entangled, therefore, in a vortex of retribution and counter-retribution.

While definitive answers to some of the issues raised in this book will be possible only when Soviet and Polish communist secret police archives are opened to independent scholars, the abiding merit of Dr Chodakiewicz's painstaking research is that any evaluation of this crucial period in Polish-Jewish history must now extend well beyond the anachronistic, intellectually bankrupt cliches of 'Polish antisemitism'.

University of Stirling PETER D. STACHURA

***A Conspiracy of Decency: The Rescue of the Danish Jews During World War II.* By Emmy E. Werner.** Westview. 2002. xii + 212pp. $26.00.

The 'Holocaust Industry' continues to grow at a phenomenal rate leading to the publication of all manner of books dealing with the fate of Jews throughout Europe. The volume by Emmy E. Werner examines the fate of one of the two Jewish groups which survived the Nazi invasion of their country, those of Denmark (the others consisting of the Bulgarian Jews). Werner does not provide the first account of Danish Jewry during the Second World War and neither does she provide the best one. The volume simply represents an addition to the existing literature on the subject. For historians it will prove of limited value because the author is not a historian. This should not automatically bar Professor Werner from writing a good book, but the methodology simply does not impress. She has used virtually no primary sources, which means that she seems to have made few journeys to Denmark. Her bibliography stretches to just five pages. Her only worthy sources consist of personal communications and interviews, suggesting she did spend some limited time in Denmark. We have no indication that she can speak Danish. Emmy Werner describes herself as a 'developmental psychologist'. Had she used the analytical or methodological skills which this background provides her, she may have offered some unique insights for historians and others. Unfortunately, she does not. A book of 212 pages contains 166 pages of pure narrative, simply describing what happened to the Danish Jews without any analysis at all. The author does not interpret the evidence she has gathered. Chapter 10 is the only useful chapter in the whole book, when Professor Werner finally tries to offer us insights into why virtually all of the Danish Jews survived by fleeing to Sweden in 1943 with the help of the populations of both countries and the knowledge of the occupying authorities. In her sixteen pages of analysis (the pages which follow consisting of footnotes, bibliography and index), Professor Werner touches on the size of the Jewish community of Denmark, the proximity of neutral Sweden, the democratic traditions of the Danish nation-state and, most interestingly, the types of people who saved Jews throughout the continent. Despite these minor insights it proves difficult to recommend this book.

De Montfort University PANIKOS PANAYI

***The Battle for Children: World War II, Youth Crime and Juvenile Justice in Twentieth-Century France*. By Sarah Fishman.** Harvard University Press. 2002. xi + 303pp. £34.50.

Sarah Fishman's book explores a relatively unknown topic for scholars of Second World War France: juvenile crime. Commentators of the day were appalled by the increase in juveniles coming before the courts and this under an authoritarian regime that set itself the task of regenerating a nation consumed by the spectre of its rapid military defeat. Yet, paradoxically, reforms discussed and implemented under the Vichy regime were influential for the post-war reorganization of France's youth justice system. Changes post-1945 shifted the treatment of juvenile delinquency from one of correction and punishment to a therapeutic view of rehabilitation. One of the major innovations of Fishman's study is to chart why and how such reformist views gained currency in Vichy France. She begins by outlining French attitudes to juvenile delinquency from

the early nineteenth century onwards and proceeds to analyse how the justice system dealt with youth offenders prior to the Occupation. Chapters devoted to the war years focus on the institutions and legislation that shaped public policy, as well as the contribution of individual campaigners and experts in the field. However, perhaps the most interesting aspect of the study is Fishman's debunking of the narratives used to explain the wartime youth crime wave. Using court registers and case files from Paris and three provincial centres, Fishman gives a fascinating insight into wartime conditions and effectively scotches the commonly held view that an absent prisoner-of-war father was the key factor dictating juvenile delinquency. Instead, she offers a convincing alternative: that the economic hardships of Occupation induced both adults and children to flout the law for personal gain and survival. With a final chapter taking the story of French juvenile reform up to the present day, Fishman compares the treatment of juvenile delinquents in France and the USA. Here, the subtext of her book is at its most explicit as she condemns the current US-style punitive system, advocating instead the French therapeutic model detailed in her study. As a scholarly contribution to the history of the Occupation, *The Battle for Children* will appeal mainly to specialist readers. However, it draws on debates that recommend it to a wider readership interested in issues of juvenile delinquency in the twentieth century.

Cardiff University CLAIRE GORRARA

***Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France*. By Fabrice Virgili, translated by John Flower.** Berg. 2002. vi + 329pp. £16.99.

Most studies of collaboration in wartime France concentrate on what collaborators did, or are supposed to have done. In one instance, though, the punishment is better known than the crime: the shaving of women's heads at the Liberation has developed iconic status, because of the striking photographic evidence, much of it collected by Allied forces. Speculative approaches from feminist or cultural history have been tried, by Claire Duchen, Corran Laurens and Alain Brossat for example. But until recently, little serious documentary material had been collected. Even such data as numbers and distribution of such incidents were thought to be impossible to find.

Fabrice Virgili belongs to a new generation of historians at the Institut d'Histoire du Temps Présent, who are interested in the social, gender and cultural history of twentieth-century wars. His study *La France 'virile'* (2000), here available in English, draws on a variety of published and archive sources (police files and trial dossiers, local press reports, etc.) and sets out to question common assumptions. His findings suggest that head-shaving took place in at least 87 of the 90-plus French départements, and he proposes a rough figure of 20,000 individuals affected, mostly women, but some men as well. The usual presumption is that this punishment was administered for 'sleeping with the enemy', and that head-shavings took place as a spontaneous explosion of popular (or Resistance) anger at sexual misdemeanours. Virgili is able to demonstrate that, while many did take place in August–October 1944, such incidents were in fact spread out over a longer period, between 1943 and 1946. Possibly only half of these women had actually had sexual relations with German troops: others were stigmatized for political collaboration, denunciation of neighbours, voluntary work in

Germany, or contact with the occupying forces through their work. He concludes therefore that head-shaving was not so much a punishment for sexual collaboration as a *gendered* punishment, directed against women, at a time of threatened virility – not only in France, but across Europe. The historical silence which has shrouded the topic has its origins in deep anxiety about acts retrospectively seen as shameful by those who carried them out, often resisters. But as Virgili points out, simple good–evil models are not helpful. It was possible to be *both* courageous and heroic in resistance, *and* to be swayed by anger, emotion and social pressures into acts one might later regret. This is an important, scrupulous and extremely well-researched book. Unfortunately, it has not been too well-served by the English publisher. Typos and misspellings are frequent and irritating: 'misogamy' for 'misogyny' and 'martial' for 'marital' are unfortunate; 'Boche' is spelt several ways. And alas, the translation is in places unreliable, both lexically and syntactically. Among the more amusing slips, a 'demi-mondaine' is not a 'semi-fashionable woman'.

University of Stirling SIÂN REYNOLDS

***The British Isles since 1945*. Edited by Kathleen Burk.** Oxford University Press. 2003. xiv + 277pp. £35.00.

This book is the latest addition to 'The Short Oxford History of the British Isles' and essentially consists of six articles, written by experts in their field, who attempt to provide an overview of their topics. John Turner deals with 'Governors, Governance, and Governed', a review of political developments from Attlee to Blair, which raises issues such as the emergence of the modern welfare state and nationalism and devolution within Britain. Jim Tomlinson examines the 'Economic Growth, Economic Decline' of Britain, suggests that it is an exaggeration to suggest that Britain will become a 'third-world country', and further suggests that government has less control over a nation's economic development than is often supposed. Jose Harris has written an excellent chapter in 'Tradition and Transformation: Society and Civil Society in Britain, 1945–2001' which charts the enormous changes from the drab existence of the immediate post-war years to the enormous variety of life and experiences of the modern consumer society. However, she maintains that there is a strong element of continuity which means that the inequalities of society are currently as markedly unequal as they were in the 1880s. Peter Mandler, in 'Two Cultures – One – or Many?', highlights the insularity of British working-class and elite cultures in the 1960s; the falling barriers of the 1960s which saw the emergence of 'swinging London'; the movement to 'Cool Britannia', which is associated with New Labour's flirtation with youthful, modern coolness; the emergence of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport, in place of the National Heritage department; and the flow of lottery money to cultural activities. David Reynolds, in 'Britain and the World since 1945: Narratives of Decline and Transformation?', deals with Britain losing an empire and finding a role in the world, through Europe and its close association with the United States. Dermot Keogh, in 'Ireland 1945–2001: between Hope and History', examines the Irish problem, the breakdown of peace in the late 1960s, and the recent hopes of re-establishing peace in the province. Although there is an air of finality in what is written, presented at the risk of occasionally losing some of the current historical debates, this volume is

excellently written and provides the type of overview essential for undergraduates and good A-level students.

University of Huddersfield KEITH LAYBOURN

***North Wales Miners: A Fragile Unity, 1945–1996*. By Keith Gildart.** University of Wales Press. 2001. xvi + 277pp. £25.00.

Over the years, many works have been published on life and labour in British coalfields. However, these have tended to concentrate on the larger fields. In Wales, in particular, attention – scholarly and otherwise – has tended to focus heavily on South Wales, resulting in a significant and important literature. But there was also a coalfield in North (or, more accurately, north-east) Wales, in Flintshire and Denbighshire, and Keith Gildart's important and scholarly work represents the first serious attempt to offer an academic account of the development and decline of a labour tradition in that community during the post-war period. The book, which originated as a University of York PhD thesis, is extremely well researched. And, although Gildart himself grew up in the area and was himself a miner, he manages to maintain a proper scholarly distance from his subject matter. The result is an outstanding work, which it is hard to imagine will be superseded for many years. Gildart shows very effectively how North Wales was different – a much smaller field than South Wales, but also one where the miners' presence was less pervasive. Indeed, as he points out, only one settlement – Rhosllannerchrugog – could be described as an 'archetypal pit village' (p. 7). Although Gildart offers a very full empirical account, he is always keen to draw out the broader implications of his work, and argues that although in the coalfield Labourism was 'a mobilizing force for working-class advance' (p. 4), it represented only a 'fragile unity' – in short, class solidarity, although real, was shallow, and meant, for most, little beyond voting for the Labour Party at elections. This meant that such solidarity as there was could not survive sustained attack from state and employers during the 1984/5 strike; and a tradition of Labourism, which was already under assault, effectively collapsed at that point. This is a compelling thesis, superbly researched and carefully argued. The book has implications far beyond the lost world of the North Wales coalfield, however, and should be of use to all historians interested in mining communities, labour, and the social and political history of the post-war British and Welsh working classes.

University of Exeter ANDREW THORPE

***Ralph Miliband and the Politics of the New Left*. By Michael Newman.** Merlin Press. 2003. x + 368pp. £15.95.

Ralph Miliband (1924–94) established an international reputation as a socialist academic largely on the basis of two books which he wrote while teaching at the London School of Economics: *Parliamentary Socialism* (1961), a critique of the British Labour Party, and *The State in Capitalist Society* (1969), which provoked a revival of academic interest in the study of power within liberal democracies and generated debate on the explanatory ability of Marxist theories.

He arrived in Britain a convinced socialist, a refugee from occupied Belgium, aged just 16. Eighteen months later he became a student at the LSE where he formed a close personal and intellectual relationship with Harold Laski. By

1970 Miliband had filled the space created by Laski's death – at once a popular teacher, Marxist academic, political activist and controversialist. He campaigned for the Bevanites in the 1950s and helped found Victory for Socialism in 1958, but was keen to support any developments that could promote the socialist case. Miliband was a prominent New Left activist, a founder of *New Left Review* and the *Socialist Register*. By 1965 he had abandoned all hope that the Labour Party could be converted to socialism and was soon involved in attempts to create alternatives. When these projects foundered he did his best to arrest the political and intellectual disarray of the left in the 1980s. By the end of that decade he realized that social democracy was the only available alternative to Thatcherite conservatism. He died in the year social democracy became unacceptable to Labour's parliamentary leadership.

Miliband was undoubtedly an independent-minded thinker. He nevertheless took seriously the idea that the Soviet Union – which he perceived as a progressive force in world politics – could evolve into a socialist democracy. He thought that the communist parties could become more potent agencies for socialism and only abandoned these illusions after 1968. Newman misses an opportunity to explain the tenacity of these ideas within the non-communist left, chiefly because he neglects to analyse the cultures of the left in the post-war years. But we do get a sense of Miliband's personality, his honest engagement with ideas and his lifelong capacity to learn. His distaste for the theological, structuralist Marxism of Louis Althusser was evident in his debates with Nicos Poulantzas in the 1970s when he championed clarity, evidence and historical reality against the opaque abstractions of his rival. Though he never wavered from Marxism he did emancipate himself from most of the Leninist ideas which had dominated his milieu. While Laski's work left liberal and Marxist ideas in uneasy juxtaposition, Miliband's later writings show a better integration of these traditions. Newman, whose previous work includes biographies of Laski and John Strachey, is well qualified to explore these developments. What emerges from this portrait is the strength of Miliband's critical intelligence rather than his originality as a thinker.

University of Wolverhampton JOHN CALLAGHAN

Adenauer's Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration. **By Norbert Frei.** Columbia University Press. 2002. xv + 479pp. £24.50.

Professor Frei's book originally appeared as *Vergangenheitspolitik* with C. H. Beck in 1996. It is a meticulous, scholarly treatment of how politicians and others in the early Federal Republic approached – or conspicuously failed to approach – the political, ethical and practical legacies of the Third Reich. Not a simple read, and over-reliant on blow-by-blow accounts of correspondence, debates and legislation, it is none the less a compelling picture of the reluctance in post-war German society and politics to face up to the reality of what had just happened. Far too often the period of 'state collapse' in 1944–5 and the problems of the occupation years were deliberately conflated into a general interpretation of difficulty for and injustice to the German people. True recognition of National Socialist crimes would come only many years later. Through a succession of important case studies Frei investigates the balance between 'amnestying and integrating former supporters of the Third Reich on the one hand, [and] completing a normative separation from Nazism on the other'

(p. 303). Early chapters deal with what was thought to be the burning issue of amnesty from 1949 to 1954, the last phases of denazification, and the restitution of the civil service in relation to Article 131 of the *Grundgesetz*. There follows a long analysis of the debate on war criminals, during which there was a concerted, spurious attempt by politicians, lawyers and the clergy to differentiate between the patriotic soldier obeying orders and the common violent sociopath. Meanwhile former Nazis reoccupied positions in the civil service and judiciary in large numbers. The final part of the book treats three intriguing responses to neo-Nazi activity in the early 1950s: the trial of Wolfgang Hedler, the banning of the Socialist Reich Party, and the British arrest of Werner Naumann. The overall impact of the study is profoundly dispiriting, until one appreciates that the injustices, hypocrisy, self-pity, aggressive nationalism, Nazi careerism, corruption and continuing antisemitism did not ultimately stand in the way of the establishment of democratic practice in the Federal Republic. There were honourable persons engaged in German politics in this era, whose pragmatic, compromised choices should be properly understood against this imperfect background.

Professor Frei is of the opinion that he has found a good translator. He is mistaken. An admittedly complex German original has been turned into prose which is over-literal and convoluted, thesaurus-dependent, and often painful to read: 'Anyone listening only to the radicals would have gained the impression of witnessing a competition to find the most pejorative epithet describing an in-any-event defunct venture' (p. 28); 'The basis for a palpable stir – naturally registered by the press – had now been laid' (p. 35); 'this undertow of portent would turn out a skillfully prepared ingredient for evoking expectations and curiosity' (pp. 124–5); 'furnished with stiffer backbones by the Heidelberg circle, the churchly shepherds were freshly determined' (p. 125). The list of odd formulations continues: 'the chase after human beings' [*Menschenjagd*] (p. 22); 'My ladies and gentlemen' (p. 152); 'In urgently coached words' (p. 153); 'the military prominents' (p. 223); and 'psychic burden' [*psychische Belastung*] (p. 112) for 'psychological burden'. Surely 'durchsichtige Loyalitätsadresse' should be something like 'transparent declaration of loyalty', rather than 'easily perusable loyalty statement' (p. 255). The occasional colloquialisms are also out of place: 'anything but sissies' (p. 256) ['wenig zimperlich'] and 'to the politically savvy' (p. 282) ['dem politisch Bewanderten']. There are errors: the name Kutscher is spelled three different ways in nine lines (p. 246); the DRP (Deutsche Reichspartei) suddenly becomes the 'German Rightist Party' (p. 298); and the 1961 Bundestag election is described as the third such, rather than the fourth. Throughout, the KPD is rendered as 'German Communist Party', which would not matter much, had there not later been a DKP. Columbia University Press must take some blame for this lamentable text. Those wishing to benefit from Frei's excellent research would be well advised to return to the original edition or – if necessary, and rather than subject themselves to this tortuous prose – to learn German.

Cardiff University JONATHAN OSMOND

***The Rise and Fall of the German Democratic Republic*. By Feiwel Kupferberg.** Transaction Publishers. 2002. xi + 228pp. $39.95.

The textbook-like title of this book is rather misleading. This thematically compact monograph by Feiwel Kupferberg (associate professor of sociology at

Aalborg University in Denmark) mainly focuses on the source of the difficulties of German reunification. Kupferberg argues that they stem not so much from the economic transition, but from the discrepancies in the ways the West Germans ('Wessies') and East Germans ('Ossies') have viewed their Nazi past. Whereas the West Germans grimly faced it, atoned for it, and transformed their half of the country into a prosperous, free democracy that valued both individual freedom and responsibility, the East Germans absorbed the Soviet-made myth that East Germany was the 'victor of history' that successfully resisted the fascists. They blamed their western compatriots for the Nazi atrocities, because West Germany – like Hitler's Germany – was, after all, a capitalist economy. Contrary to popular belief, many Ossies have done quite well economically, precisely because they tend to be more obedient and less opinionated than Wessies, the author states (p. 19). While reunification has been difficult for both German groups, the East Germans have blamed West Germans for closing down their factories and trying to reclaim land that was lost during the Second World War. This is ironic, given the fact that the East Germans clamoured for reunification the most strenuously and have contributed the least amount of wealth to Germany. According to the author, the Kohl government decided to move quickly on reunification because the piecemeal exodus of East German refugees was irritating local mayors and jeopardizing the reunification policy altogether. It was better to push the policy through, open the floodgates, and then get on with the real business of assimilation (p. 28). In contrast to the petulant East Germans, inwardly resentful West Germans – who footed the hefty bill of reunification – generally restrain themselves from criticizing their eastern neighbours, deeming this 'politically incorrect'. Kupferberg points to the interesting parallel here with West Germans' ginger treatment of Jews just after the Second World War: it was also politically incorrect to criticize them. Indeed a 'philo-Semitism' developed. Jews in post-war Western Germany 'were elevated overnight from sub-humans to model citizens', he writes (p. 25).

Kupferberg offers profound insights about the long-underestimated effects of the communist culture on East Germans, which became clear only after re-unification in 1989, when the differences in attitudes to the Nazi past emerged. He articulates well the thesis that the rigid communist system in the GDR inculcated passivity, helplessness and amoral pragmatism in its citizens. By depriving them of a panoply of individual freedoms – of creative expression, foreign travel, etc. – the system also relieved citizens of individual responsibility and necessary risk-taking. They were trained to look to external sources for cradle-to-grave security. From this perspective, it is not surprising that East Germans also blamed an external source – the West Germans – for their post-reunification troubles.

As Kupferberg explains, the Soviet occupiers after 1945 were shrewd to promulgate the above-mentioned 'victors of history' myth. Indoctrinated to view themselves as communist resistance fighters who defeated the Nazis, East German citizens never had to ask or answer tough moral questions about their complicity in Hitler's regime. It was easy to blame West Germany for the Second World War and the Holocaust, given the presence of officials with Nazi pasts in Chancellor Adenauer's government and intelligence service (originally General Gehlen's Organization) as well.

Not only historians, but also political scientists and sociologists will find this book well worth reading. Not all East Germans were as brainwashed as

Kupferberg suggests, however; for that reason serious students of German reunification should also consult Christian Joppke's *East German Dissidents and the Revolution of 1989: Social Movement in a Leninist Regime* (New York University Press, 1995).

Stanford University JOHANNA GRANVILLE

***The Stones of Balazuc: A French Village in Time*. By John Merriman.** Norton. 2002. xix + 422pp. $27.95.

Village histories are legion and often attract the condescension of the professionals. What possible contribution can simple 'plough and cow' accounts, or chronicles rooted in genealogy compiled by amateur investigators, make to an understanding of the grand narratives of the past? John Merriman, however, is an experienced professional historian who needs no reminding of the need to think 'big' when studying 'small'. Balazuc may have been a physically isolated village until the arrival of the railway and the throwing of a bridge across the Ardèche river (in 1876 and 1884 respectively), but it was not a world unto itself. The author disentangles three powerful economic ties that have linked the villages – whether they wished it or not – to the society that enfolded them. From the 1730s, or thereabouts, the production and marketing of raw silk facilitated an escape from the stagnation of a land-based subsistence economy. But the planting of mulberry orchards in order to sustain the silkworms scarcely brought prosperity. The population of the village rose, but it is far from certain that individuals and individual households lived better as a result. The switch to vine monoculture, as silk production went into a protracted decline from the middle decades of the nineteenth century, brought similar vulnerabilities. By 1897 the phylloxera bug had reduced wine output to only one-sixth of what it had been in 1874. Mass tourism is now having an effect that is in some ways comparable, according to Merriman. The strain on village infrastructure since the 1980s has been considerable, yet the economic benefit to the bulk of the inhabitants seems marginal at best. However, the arrival of city-dwellers and good-lifers has at least arrested the demographic decline of Balazuc. The new, cling-wrapped *village de caractère* is no longer threatened with biological extinction. As a new resident himself, Merriman naturally wants to know how the villagers' sense of community has shifted in response to these challenges. In a region once riven by sectarian rivalries, he finds that Catholicism no longer provides the frame of reference for communal life. Rather it is the village elementary school that has been co-opted to play this role. Paradoxically, an institution conceived originally as the pre-eminent instrument of state centralization has become, instead, the principal locus of the villagers' own identity.

University of Birmingham P. M. JONES