# Book Reviews

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***REVIEW ESSAY***

# "CRUSADES SCHOLARSHIP"

*The Experience of Crusading Volume 1, Western Approaches*. Edited by Marcus Bull and Norman Housley. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp. xvi, 307. $60.00.)

*The Experience of Crusading Volume 2, Defining the Crusader Kingdom*. Edited by Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Pp. xv, 311. $65.00.)

The field of crusade studies is today one of the most vibrant in medieval scholarship. No one is more responsible for that than Jonathan Riley-Smith, whose own work has sparked the imagination of a generation of scholars and whose students have taken their place among the most important historians in the field. Despite this scholarly boom, there has been no journal dedicated to the subject until the recent launching of *Crusades*. For many years, the best articles appeared in edited books, frequently based on a conference or organized as a Festschrift. To be truthful, even *Crusades*, which is a hardcover volume published annually, has not broken with the tradition entirely. Given this customary venue for crusade scholarship, one would expect that a *Festschrift* dedicated to Riley-Smith himself would be bigger and better than any that have come before it. Weighing in at two volumes, it is certainly bigger, and the overall quality of the scholarship represented is also among the very best.

Editors of *Festschriften* are usually faced with the daunting task of herding a diverse array of articles into some sort of organizational theme. Reviewers often acknowledge the effort but declare it a failure nonetheless. In this case, the four editors have indeed made a good effort, separating the volumes into *Western Approaches*, which refers to articles dealing with Europe, and *Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, referring to those articles set outside Europe. Further subdivisions appear in each volume. The organization, although, is ultimately beside the point. What all of these articles have in common is a desire to honor a man who changed crusade studies for the better. Nevertheless, faced with the task of reviewing so rich a feast, this reviewer's article will follow the editors' format.

Both volumes begin with retrospectives on Riley-Smith's career and writings. Volume 1 then opens with a section on "The Crusades and Crusading." Turning to the First Crusade, Christopher Marshall contributes an excellent overview of Italian involvement as well as a postscript on the Venetian Crusade of 1122. Marshall joins a revisionist school of thought that argues against the traditional view of medieval Italians as motivated only by a desire for profit. Instead, he contends that they were crusaders led largely by religious piety, just as others were. Also interested in motivations, Marcus Bull provides a preliminary examination of a few miracle stories and

the light they can shed on this question. However, his article is overly long, encumbered by a corpulent and jargon-ridden introduction. Two articles in this section deal with the Second Crusade. In a short but perceptive article, Giles Constable makes use of the three sources on the conquest of Lisbon in 1147 to demonstrate that contemporaries saw it as part and parcel of the larger crusade, while Jonathan Phillips offers a careful analysis of Odo of Deuil as a source for the crusade, pointing out the ways in which Odo's personal interpretations have biased modern conceptions of the enterprise. Next there are two articles on the Fourth Crusade. James M. Powell makes the startling suggestion that Pope Innocent III's original intention had been to enlist the Byzantine Emperor Alexius III into his new crusade. In a particularly important study, John H. Pryor examines the Venetian fleet of the Fourth Crusade and finds that it was uniquely designed for an armed invasion of Egypt, a fact that further cripples theories that the Venetians planned to divert the crusade to Constantinople from the beginning. Finally, Norman Housley discerns that the shift away from the general passage and toward particular naval expeditions in the fourteenth century was largely because of the raising of funds necessary for the crusades.

The second section of the first volume, "The Catholic Church and the Crusade," begins with Anna Sapir Abulafia's examination of Joachim of Fiori's *Adversos Iudeos*, which is only tangentially related to the crusades. James A. Brundage then offers an interesting think piece on the use of violence by clerics. Penny J. Cole expertly examines an unpublished manuscript on crusade preaching by Humbert of Romans. This manuscript, which Cole is preparing for publication, represents an important medieval interpretation of the First Crusade and the perceived need to recreate its successes. H. E. J. Cowdrey then takes on the knotty problem of the relationship between the just war and holy war in medieval thought. He finds that although they were initially quite separate, they increasingly became interwoven as a result of the crusades. In a compelling critique of the Erdmann Thesis, John France demonstrates, through the use of saints' lives and a few other sources, that the idea that warfare could be sanctified was already developed in Europe before the eleventh century. Finally, Christoph Maier explores the theme of crusading in the famous bible moralisée.

In part three of the first volume, "The Military Orders," two articles find knights in unexpected places. Anthony Luttrell describes Hospitaller houses in Constantinople during the twelfth century. These houses, elusive in the sources, were apparently used for pilgrims and Hospitallers taking the overland route to the Holy Land. Helen Nicholson then examines the military orders in Ireland. She finds that the close relationship between the military orders and the king of England was mutually beneficial. The king used them as loyal administrators to strengthen his control there. The military orders, for their part, believed that, because the king was devoted to the cause of the Holy Land, service to him was equivalent to service to Jerusalem. Volume 1 closes with two articles under the heading "Retrospective." Both of these catalog modern perspectives on the crusades, with Elizabeth Siberry examining the nineteenth century and Susan Edgington doing the same for twentieth-century novels.

Volume 2 opens with a section entitled "People and Politics," which includes articles that each examine one particular person. Jonathan Shepard provides a rather

speculative look at one Odo Arpin, who took part in the First Crusade. In a careful and revisionist study, Thomas Asbridge casts new light on Alice of Antioch, the daughter of Baldwin II of Jerusalem who fought to control the principality of Antioch for six years. Using a diverse body of evidence, Asbridge convincingly shows that William of Tyre's biased assessment clouds her achievements. Equally interesting is Malcolm Barber's analysis of the career of Philip of Nablus, who was at various times a soldier, a monk, and a diplomat. Rudolf Hestand likewise explores the career of Geoffrey, the first abbot of the Templum Domini in Jerusalem.

Part two of Volume 2, "Re-reading the Sources," begins with Benjamin Z. Kedar's fascinating look at a largely neglected source, the *Life of St. Ranieri of Pisa*, by Benincasa. Kedar expertly mines it for a host of interesting observations on Jerusalem and the Holy Land during the twelfth century. Amazingly, Ranieri eventually came to believe that he was not only blessed by God, but that he was indeed the Son of God! Here, Kedar notes, he was not unlike some of those today who visit the holy sites and become convinced that they are Christ or other assorted biblical figures. In a meticulous study, Bernard Hamilton compares the *Eracles*, an Old French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*, with the original, demonstrating not only the ways in which it was changed for its audience, but also the new information that it contained. Artistic sources are not neglected in this section. Jaroslav Folda examines the *Freiburg Leaf*, which appears to have been part of a sketchbook of sorts taken to the Holy Land. The only pictures remaining are both on one leaf. The older drawing on the top portion of the page is an artistically unique depiction of Jesus and Zachaeus. The bottom drawing is of St. George and St. Theodore, military saints popular among crusaders. The section closes with Peter Edbury looking again at the *Book of the Assises*.

"History and Historiography" is the title of the third part of Volume 2, which seems to consist of those articles that did not fit anywhere else. Nevertheless, they are all excellent. Denys Pringle gives a splendid assessment of the number and distribution of churches and monastic houses in the crusader kingdom based on his own extensive research on the subject. It is a first-rate piece of scholarship. Hans Eberhard Mayer then offers a microstudy of ten houses in Jerusalem that belonged to the king but were situated in the patriarch's quarter. An otherwise little known knight born in Tyre, John Gale, is the subject of Jean Richard's contribution. He, indeed, had a fascinating life. After finding his lord in bed with his wife, John killed the former and then fled to avoid punishment. He served Saladin for a number of years before double-crossing the sultan and returning to the Christian side. Richard makes a good argument that John was subsequently at Hattin in 1187, where he gave advice that might have saved them all, and then at Acre in 1191 (Given its subject, it is not clear why the editors did not place Richard's contribution in part one). Peter Jackson then examines Hülegü Kahn and his alleged pro-Christian sympathies, placing them into a larger context of Mongol strategic and diplomatic considerations, as well as Christian wishful thinking. Finally, Robert Irwin relates the fascinating history of attempts to gather, translate, publish, and use Arabic sources for the crusades from the Maurist monks of the seventeenth century to the present day. He concludes rightly that much more needs to be done, not only to understand better the crusades and the Muslim response, but also to assess properly how important the crusades were at all in the

landscape of Muslim history. As he perceptively points out, "... it is almost as if Muslim Syria and Egypt with all their inhabitants were periodically hung up in a wardrobe until the crusaders next needed to fight in those places again" (230).

In the last part of the second volume, entitled "Commerce in Context," Michel Balard takes on the daunting task of assessing the economic effects of the crusades on Europe. Not surprisingly, he focuses on the Italians, and, in so doing, he provides a good example of what Christopher Marshall argues against in his contribution in the first volume. The Italians, Balard maintains, were primarily interested in protecting their business, and so did not respond "immediately and with the same enthusiasms as the first French pilgrims to Pope Urban II's appeal for a crusade" (235). As proof, he notes, "In July 1099 Venice belatedly armed a fleet, which was to prove ineffective" (235). In fact, the fleet of some two hundred vessels—the largest single contribution to the First Crusade—was *launched* in July 1099. The Venetians had been preparing it for more than two years. As for its effectiveness, it took part in the conquest of Haifa. Ultimately, however, Balard has set himself an impossible task. The question he asks would require a monograph at least. As a result, his suggestion, based on scattered commercial documents and stating that the crusades had an impact on Europe's economy, is not convincing. Also in this section, David Jacoby provides a meticulous examination of some unpublished archival materials in Venice and Padua that shed some light on Acre and Tyre during the years just before and after the War of St. Sabas. For his part, Nicholas Coureas explores the role of the military orders in Cypriote commerce just after the fall of Acre. While interesting, David Abulafia's examination of the little port of Piombino in the Tyrrhenian Sea during the fifteenth century has nothing at all to do with the crusades.

It is a cliché for reviewers to describe articles in collections like this as "uneven." Yet, in this fine tribute to Riley-Smith, the overall quality is both surprisingly even and amazingly high. This is just as it should be.

*Saint Louis University* Thomas F. Madden

## *AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST*

*Searching for a Different Future: The Rise of a Global Middle Class in Morocco*. By Shana Cohen. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004. Pp. xiii, 177. $21.95.)

As in many other countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the process of Moroccan integration into the global market began in the 1980s and has been characterized by measures—the introduction of neoliberal economic reforms, pressures for transparency in state management and corporate governance, and the deregulation of the labor market—designed to create a liberal market economy and to attract high levels of both foreign and domestic investment. These elements are supposed to contribute to enhanced levels of competition and consumption and to generate an overall environment of economic expansion that is conducive to diminishing social and economic inequities and to the transformation of both state and society. Based on three years of research in Morocco in the late 1990s, much of it in the form of extended interviews with government workers, professionals, and business persons, Shana Cohen argues that the globalization agenda has spawned a new socioeconomic contingent—the global middle class—that seeks to join the international market economy at precisely the time that the very same agenda has eroded the state's once highly developed capacity to advance the interests and well-being of the middle class. Widespread and persistent unemployment, underemployment, and temporary employment among secondary school and university graduates has severed the connection between the middle class and the nation, leaving educated young Moroccans angry, frustrated, and unable to identify with older conceptualizations of the state.

For the historian, the most useful components of this sociological study are two important chapters. The first of these chapters allows Cohen to focus on "National Development and the Formation of the Modern Middle Class," the term she uses (in contrast to "global middle class") to describe the postcolonial bourgeoisie of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s when development policy and nationalist ideology produced a correlation between that group's pursuit of education and the provision of employment opportunities and material security by the state. In the second, Cohen considers "New Social Groups for a New Era" and examines the attitudes of contemporary middle-class Moroccans. The latter's perception that their economic and social welfare cannot be assured by participation in the civic activity traditionally associated with nationalism and national identity underscores the rupture between them and the nation. Cohen asserts that in the transition from nation-state to globalization, the state's ability to "shape better individuals for a better society has fallen apart, so that the state is still held responsible internationally and domestically for economic growth and joblessness, but individuals must manage their own advancement distinct from any notion of society" (109). Instead, an intense feeling of melancholy has crystallized as the unifying element of this group and the basis for its social action. The result is what Cohen labels a "generation of *fuyards*" (runaways) whose hopes for fulfillment lie exclusively outside the nation.

The author concludes with a discussion of the potential political ramifications of a growing global middle class, particularly in the areas of economic insecurity and social formation. What holds true in the Moroccan case certainly has parallels elsewhere, making this well-documented study worthy of the attention of students not only of that country, but also of the many others currently undergoing one stage or another of the globalization experience.

*University of South Carolina* Kenneth J. Perkins

*God's Rule: Government and Islam, Six Centuries of Medieval Islamic Political Thought*. By Patricia Crone. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004. Pp. x, 462. $39.50.)

In her study of Islamic political systems of thought during the first six centuries of Islam (the seventh to thirteenth centuries AD), the author notes in her introductory remarks that in the ancient Middle Eastern and Mediterranean societies the Arab Muslims conquered in the seventh and eighth centuries, there was no fusion of the religious and political spheres. Paradoxically then, Islam from its very beginnings, by postulating the notion of *umma* as "the community of believers," had in one stroke brought together state and society as a coherent whole. Islam formed a single polity, whose original guide was the prophet himself, and a mission that was subsequently delegated to the first four *caliphs*, all of whom belonged to the prophet's tribe of Quraysh and were kin related to Muhammad personally.

Up to that point, the preeminence of the prophet and the four-*caliph* thesis created a consensus among the community of believers, the *umma*, despite early signs of dissent, in particular among the 'Alids (followers of the fourth *caliph*, 'Ali, son-in-law and cousin of the prophet, who became known as the Shi'is). Further dissent came along with the first civil war, *fitna*, when the 'Alids battled the then-emerging clan of the Umayyads (also from Quraysh), and when a Kharijite killed 'Ali in Kufa in 661, abruptly ending his rule. Subsequently the Umayyads transferred the caliphate from the Mecca–Medina axis to Damascus, right into Christian territory that had been conquered from the Byzantines by the second *caliph*, 'Umar, only a few decades earlier. By transforming a caliphate, which had just been acquired by force, into a quasi-hereditary monarchy, the Umayyads voluntarily set themselves apart from the early *caliphs*. A pattern began to emerge, which consisted of a caliphate that was caught up into more political intrigues and bloodshed. When the 'Abbasids came to power after a bloody revolution in 750, they were among the last *caliphs* to claim legitimate descent from Quraysh. Even though the 'Abbasids in the first century brought preeminence to Arabic literature, arts, the sciences, and architecture, political stability was short-lived. In 861, the 'Abbasid *caliph* al-Mutawakkil was assassinated and slave soldiers took over. When in 945 the Shi'i Buyids took control of the capital at Baghdad, the caliphate had already fragmented into several rival political entities, such as the Fatimids in Egypt and the Umayyads in Spain, both of which declared their own autonomous caliphates.

The original Islamic political thought of its first century or so was based on the oneness of the *umma* and the state, and assumed pious and legitimate political leaders (*caliphs* and *imams*). By the tenth century, with the increasing militarization and fragmentation of political rule, such idealistic notions became harder to maintain in practice. Two different communities emerged *de facto*: the religious *umma* and the political profane rulers. The solution to such a crisis, however, differed greatly from one sectarian group to another. The majority portrayed individuals and groups finding their own tortured ways to salvation under brutish political dynasties.

In twenty-two brief chapters, some of which track the various ideologies of sectarian milieus while others are thematically organized, Patricia Crone gracefully covers the first six centuries of Islamic political thought from a large reservoir of primary and secondary sources. Her book will appeal to specialists and laymen alike.

*Loyola University, Chicago* Zouhair Ghazzal

*Warlords and Merchants: The Lebanese Business and Political Establishment*. By Kamal Dib. (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 2004. Pp. 333. $49.50.)

The author of this study, a Canadian economist of Lebanese origins, has written a somewhat disjointed account of what he terms Lebanon's "warlordism," a phenomenon that he sees as central to the country's economic and political history. That this has been the standard view at least because Arnold Hottinger's classic article, "Zu'ama in Historical Perspective," does not seem to bother him.[1] Nevertheless, to write in such a loose fashion and without reference to previous works on the subject takes away most of the few advantages that the author seems to possess. Nor does it help that Kamal Dib's story more or less comes to an end in 1992 with the appointment for the first time of the late Rafiq Hariri as prime minister, a turning point in Lebanon's contemporary history and one that has still not been the subject of comprehensive analysis.

What is left is a number of chapters of potted history followed by a more interesting, if highly anecdotal, account of some of the main economic features of the civil war period, 1975–1989, which obviously draws on the author's growing personal involvement with his former country. Much of this is already quite well known from other accounts of the same period by Boutros Labaki, Nasser Saidi, and others.[2] Dib also has his own particular take on that strange creature, the Finance Company of Lebanon, established by the major private banks in the crisis conditions of 1982 to assist the Central Bank in the execution of such vital tasks as public borrowing, the stabilization of foreign exchange rates, the identification of investment opportunities at home and abroad, and so on.

1. Leonard Binder, ed., *Politics in Lebanon* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), 85–106.
2. Boutros Labaki and Khalil Abourjeili, *Bilan des guerres du Liban 1975–1990* (Paris, France: L'Harmattan, 1993); Nasser H. Saidi, *Economic Consequences of the War in Lebanon* (Oxford, UK: Centre for Lebanese Studies, September 1986); and so on.

This and a second chapter on the shady activities of the financier Roger Tamraz, who used his close connections with President Amine Gemayal to build up a huge business empire in the 1980s before losing it again once Gemayal's term came to an end, offer a tantalizing glance of what a more focused examination of the links between warlordism, banking, and politics might have provided. Clearly many things changed during and just after the civil war with respect to this particular equation, with the old warlord and banking families being largely replaced at the top by new entrants, like Hariri himself, in association with a coalition of wartime militia leaders, entrepreneurs, and others who now form Lebanon's twenty-first-century political and business elite.

*Harvard University* Roger Owen

*Dhows and the Colonial Economy of Zanzibar, 1860–1970*. By Erik Gilbert. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004. Pp. xiii, 176. $26.95.)

Dhows are a name given to a variety of sailing vessels of the western Indian Ocean whose significance is well-known to historians of East Africa. Exploiting the regular seasonal monsoon trade winds, dhows have been the foundation of cultural and economic contact between eastern Africa, the Arabian peninsula, and India for at least two millennia. This book examines the persistence of the dhow trade, centered on the East African island of Zanzibar, in light of a variety of assaults on the vessel from the mid-nineteenth century to the recent past. During this period, dhows were castigated variously as carriers of slaves, as brakes on colonial modernity, and as threats to modern notions of national identity. In spite of competition from Atlantic traders, steamships, and colonial legislation designed both to regulate and marginalize the dhow economy, these vessels and their trade persisted and occasionally even thrived until Zanzibar's independence in 1964. At that time, a combination of political violence and monopolistic state policies drove dhows into obscurity. The emergence of oil regimes in the Persian Gulf from the 1970s spelled a further, although not final, blow to dhows as regional carriers of commodities and culture.

Erik Gilbert examines the history of the dhow through a variety of lenses, including cultural, environmental, economic, and even labor history. In so doing, he takes us on a journey that includes the local dhow trade from the eastern African mainland to Zanzibar, the regional trade from Zanzibar to the Arabian peninsula, and the long-distance trade as far afield as India. Along the way, he examines differences in sailing vessels and their crews and cargoes. The environment is an important facet of this story. The ecological distinctions between the arid Arabian peninsula and the tropical eastern African coast provided the initial rationale for trade contact, and the monsoon winds made the dhow (as Gilbert tells us, an invented term to describe a variety of sailing vessels) the ideal ship to unite these disparate regions. Local eastern African environments made dhows well-suited to penetrate the mangrove swamps that made it's tree a major item of commerce in the western Indian Ocean during the twen-

tieth century when colonial-era steamers monopolized commodities of higher value. Even the clove economy that formed the backbone of Zanzibar's prosperity relied on dhows to carry the crop from the myriad transhipment points on Pemba Island, where most of the crop was produced, to Unguja Island for transhipment by steamer to points farther afield. In spite of colonial efforts to legislate the dhow to the backwaters of the colonial economy, the dhow held on because of its low cost, its ability to find niches in the economy—including smuggling, and the unrealistic expectations of colonial modernity from the start. The dhow persisted because it could master the "backwaters" in a very real sense. Shipping shortages during World War II and a postwar economic boom revived the dhow trade and finally made colonial officials aware of its fundamental importance to the economy, even as they became wary of dhow crews who did not respect national boundaries at a time of late-colonial political disturbances and Cold War fears.

This work should appeal to historians of eastern Africa as well as to world historians and historians of technology. Although the history of the lands connected by monsoons has often been told for earlier periods, Gilbert's work provides an important view of the more recent past and is in many respects a history of the rise and fall of colonialism in Zanzibar through the lens of the most identifiable material symbol of the western Indian Ocean.

*Colorado State University* Thaddeus Sunseri

*The Steamer Parish: The Rise and Fall of Missionary Medicine on an African Frontier*. By Charles M. Good Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. Pp. 487. $30.00.)

Scholars of central African missionary studies will remember the legendary exploits of the indomitable Scottish pioneers and their famous lake steamer, *Illala*. Charles M. Good Jr. has added to this list of legendary exploits the work of the Anglican missionaries and their lake steamers, the *Chauncy Maples* and the *Charles Janson*. Good, a geographer, patiently and meticulously documents the evolution of three interrelated phenomena: 1) the lives of an amazingly resilient African people; 2) the nearly incomprehensible strides made by a handful of missionary heroes; and 3) the neglect on the part of British colonial administration. The study's focus is driven by the trials and tribulations of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) as it attempted to bring Christianity, commerce, and industry to rural populations in the central region of Africa from 1885 to 1964. Good, in *The Steamer Parish*, attempts to raise the Anglican contribution to the level previously enjoyed solely by Scottish missionaries.

The author's most significant contribution lies in his attempt to balance the contribution of the Anglican missionaries in health, education, development, and technology with the negative racism that accompanied their otherwise good works. He makes it clear that the UMCA missionaries had a more condescending attitude toward Africans than their Scottish counterparts working in the same area. However, there

were three missionaries who became immersed in African culture and regarded Africans as their soul brothers and sisters.

The steamer served to bring distant African settlements within the reach of the Anglican UMCA, as well as spread the missionaries' reach. The African people, who grew to rely on the steamers for evangelism and medicine, were frequently let down because of chronic financial constraints, mechanical malfunctions, and ecological and geographical limitations.

Good produces an uncomfortable dichotomy. He weaves a somewhat romantic nautical narrative alongside a horrific tale of tragedy and oppression. Detailing the accounts of missionaries who often gave up lives of luxury for abject poverty in their quest to bring God and medicine to a congenial, fearful people, he vividly describes the fresh healing air of the Shire highlands region surrounding Lake Malawi. Although a beautiful landscape, Good contrasts this backdrop with the region's wretched living conditions. The drinking water, as well as water used for bathing and for toilets, could be infected by deadly and disfiguring diseases, such as bilharzias, malaria, dysentery, and typhoid, as well as other exotic maladies.

In the last chapter, Good reveals that despite the missionary's self-sacrificial lives, they were affected by racism. By 1917 separate worship sites for Europeans and Africans became official. European racism became an obstacle to further evangelization, especially when Islam provided an alternative lifestyle. Good exposes the complacency and racism of the administrative hierarchy of the UMCA and their consistent refusal to supply adequately the missionaries. He documents that medical facilities were continually rundown; medical staff and supplies were in short supply; and those relatively few doctors and nurses who met the stringent requirements for missionary work were severely overworked. At times one doctor would be responsible for an area covering hundreds of square miles.

Seven grammatical mistakes detract from the otherwise readable narrative. Nevertheless, Good provides a significant, comprehensive, and authoritative case study of the UMCA, a missionary effort inspired by the famous David Livingstone. Its exhaustive detail and repetition may discourage the freshman reader. It is, however, a goldmine for research scholars.

*Lander University* Robert Stevenson and Ken Mufuka

*Rethinking Nasserism: Revolution and Historical Memory in Modern Egypt*. Edited and with an introduction by Elie Podeh and Onn Winckler. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. Pp. xii, 365. $59.95.)

The fiftieth anniversary of Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser's 1952 coup-turned-revolution, accompanied by films and literature on the Nasser era, created an uptick of interest in Nasser's legacy. Elie Podeh and Onn Winckler, themselves intrigued by these developments, assembled a team of scholars to provide fresh reflection on Nasser and the notion of Nasserism. The result is a book that is ambitious in scope. Beyond the editors' substantial introduction, it contains fourteen articles that are divided into five

sections. Three sections treat respectively the images, political and social aspects, and cultural dimensions of Nasserism; the remaining two cover Nasser's socioeconomic policies and achievements, as well as his foreign policy.

In their introduction, the editors note the failure of most works on Nasserism to analyze the subject within a sound comparative framework and convincingly argue that the extensive literature on populism is particularly promising in this regard. Curiously, and somewhat lamentably, the authors of other articles do not follow suit, and no analytical thread ties the book together. *Ma'lesh* (never mind), beyond this deficiency, the book delivers a fine set of articles, nearly all marked by a very high level of scholarship and objectivity.

Collectively the articles stand as testimony to just how revolutionary the changes wrought by Nasser and his regime were. No matter what the embourgeoisement of Nasserite and post-Nasserite elites, or even a Gamal Mubarak succession of his father, there will be no return to the pre-1952 order. Nasser's authoritarianism primarily targeted rival political elites and their cadres, not the downtrodden. His call to the masses to "lift up your head, brother," has not been forgotten, and the spirit of this call remains potent, continuing to present itself in certain domestic and foreign policy demands (as acknowledged by Meir Hatina), in cultural forms (film and music—as beautifully depicted by Joel Gordon), in today's courtrooms (as cogently argued by Nathan Brown), and in the realm of sport (as discussed by Yoav Di-Capua).

Podeh's article on the pitfalls of the Israelis' demonization of Nasser is highly informative, as is David W. Lesch's piece on U.S.–Nasser relations. As Lesch observes, efforts to paint Nasser with a fixed ideological coloration and foreign policy orientation are unlikely to pay off. Alongside being more "conspirator" than ideologue, Nasser was a devotee of Machiavelli and a player of chess—in the end, what was most important was for Egypt to win or make progress, not which path one chose to get there. This, more than anything, may account for the difficulties of characterizing Nasserism, as well as a large part of the regime's failure to "get there."

At first blush, this book made the reviewer think of *kushari*, a simple dish that offers a mix of rice, pasta, and lentils and provides an alternative to *fool* (beans) as a staple for the Egyptian masses. In the final analysis, it is much more like a delectable, intellectual *mezzeh* (a Middle Eastern appetizer), most appropriate for consumption by advanced undergraduates and graduate students.

*Simmons College* Kirk J. Beattie

## *THE AMERICAS*

*Audacity Personified: The Generalship of Robert E. Lee*. Edited by Peter S. Carmichael. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004. Pp. xxi, 174. $24.95.)

In his foreword, the editor of this collection of articles justifies this volume as an effort to break away from the paradigm of scholarship that has produced what he consid-

ers to be a stale rehashing of arguments over the merits of the generalship of Robert E. Lee. The core of the interpretive problem, in Peter S. Carmichael's view, is the tendency of many recent studies to begin with assumptions based upon generalizations made over seventy years ago in Douglas Southall Freeman's works, then to use Freeman's own evidence to challenge his conclusions. Carmichael suggests that a new scholarship might emerge if scholars return to primary Lee-related manuscript sources. The six articles that follow are unified by that effort, beginning with the contemporary Lee rather than the Lee created by Freeman.

The fruit of Carmichael's approach may be seen readily in this book's articles. Perhaps it will encourage others to do the same, especially in a field where a ready-made audience with a voracious appetite for practically anything written makes it all too tempting to produce just another biography or battle history with little new research. Carmichael's own article, an investigation of Lee's propensity to use aggressive offensive tactics, yields some of the most original results and shows how additional insights may be gained even in a subject as often covered as this Southern leader. Taking on scholars who have attributed Lee's tactics to personal psychology or physical illness, Carmichael builds upon the work of Emory M. Thomas, Richard McCaslin, Gary Gallagher, and Joseph L. Harsh to show more precisely how Lee's actions derived from his beliefs that victory depended on the pursuit of a battle that would annihilate the enemy and that only offensive operations would sustain Southern morale in a protracted war. Going further, however, the author sees limits in Lee's generalship, showing his inability to change these tactics as conditions changed and experience showed the impossibility of annihilating an army in battle.

New perspectives offered in the other articles are equally interesting. William J. Miller reassesses Lee's strategy in the Seven Days fighting of 1862, concluding that the general's goals changed during the battle and that his hope of annihilating McClellan's army emerged only after the campaign was already underway. Gordon Lee challenges the traditional view that Lee easily surmised the intentions of his enemy, showing how the general repeatedly misconstrued Federal intentions in the Overland Campaign. Robert E. L. Krick reexamines the conclusion that Lee failed to organize an efficient staff system and finds that he actually carried out significant staff innovations after taking command in 1862. Max R. Williams, studying Lee's relationship to Governor Zebulon B. Vance of North Carolina, disputes theories about Lee's relationship with civilian authorities, while at the same time providing a different view of Vance's relationship to Confederate authorities. Finally, an article by Mark Bradley looks at Lee as general-in-chief, criticizing him for his failure to apprise President Jefferson Davis of the hopelessness of the military situation, yet praising him for creating a command situation that motivated General Joseph Johnston to fight, an accomplishment that suggests Lee might have achieved greater success had he been elevated to this role even earlier.

The author offers a richer perspective on the life of Lee than many previous works and should encourage others to reexplore primary sources for the historical treasures that might be found there.

*University of Arkansas at Little Rock* Carl H. Moneyhon

*The Regulars: The American Army, 1898–1941*. By Edward M. Coffman. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004. Pp. vi, 519. $35.00.)

The author of this study is a noted scholar of the U.S. Army. His masterpiece, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898* [1986], reconstructed the everyday life of the officers and enlisted men of the U.S. Army in its first century, when soldiers spent most of their careers stationed in small garrisons, most of them lonely outposts on the frontier. War was an irregular punctuation of this norm. Drawing extensively on diaries, letters, and other primary sources, Edward M. Coffman vividly recreated the military culture that sprang to life in this inhospitable environment. A notable strength of his work has been his descriptions of the experiences of the women and children who shared the lives of their husbands and fathers in garrisons, and thus helped shape the world of "the Old Army." The result was institutional history at its best, a tapestry made vibrant by the luxuriance of its human detail.

Coffman's latest contribution is a continuation of this story in both chronology and methodology. Only the pace quickens, as the army finds itself fighting a war in the Caribbean, building an empire in the Philippines, and facing the challenges of two world wars. These new challenges demanded wrenching changes in the army. What had been a frontier constabulary had to transform itself into a force capable of engaging and defeating the most redoubtable modern army of Europe. This transformation did not come easily. In 1898 the bureaucracy that had governed the army throughout the nineteenth century was still firmly in place. The shock of the Spanish–American War precipitated reform. The army won its battles despite massive bureaucratic muddle. This inspired a managerial revolution in the army, led by Secretary of War Elihu Root in the early years of the new century. A general staff was created with an Army Chief of Staff at its head. The existing educational system of the army experienced renewal, and a War College and other schools were created to train officers for the complexities of modern war. There is nothing original in Coffman's emphasis on the significance of this managerial revolution. The great value of this book lies in the author's concrete illustration of this process in the lives of soldiers like George Marshall and George Patton. Coffman also succeeds in brilliantly evoking the quotidian experience of army life in the period between San Juan Hill and Pearl Harbor. His arsenal of sources is enhanced by many personal interviews; Coffman once more weaves a rich narrative out of the stories of officers, enlisted men, and their wives and children. *The Regulars* and his earlier work *The Old Army* will together long form a landmark in American military history.

*Hanover College* Daniel Murphy

*Brothers One and All: Esprit de Corps in a Civil War Regiment*. By Mark H. Dunkelman. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004. Pp. xii, 344. $39.95.)

The author of this book has spent a lifetime studying the 154th New York Infantry Regiment, and for good reasons. Mark H. Dunkelman had an ancestor in that Civil

War unit; he himself grew up in the region where the regiment was formed. Even though the 154th New York did not come into being until eighteen months after the war began, its gallantry and sacrifice were outstanding. Most importantly, a full 10 percent of those soldiers wrote letters or kept extant diaries. Such a research base is extraordinary, even in the well-mined field of Civil War history. In this, his third study of the New York regiment, Dunkelman focuses on attitudes rather than activities.

Every Civil War military historian knows that the regiment was the soldier's morale base—his home away from home and his source of pride. However, Dunkelman makes a sharp distinction between *esprit de corps* and morale. "While *esprit de corps* specifically refers to the spirit of loyalty and pride among the members of a group, morale generally signifies the psychological state of an individual or groups in reaction to current states of affairs" (226).

The author clearly regards *esprit de corps* as the more important of the two. This book, he asserts, is the first concentrated study of how *esprit de corps* fluctuated in a single regiment.

Dunkelman states

> already bounded by community, occupational, ethnic, and family ties friendships came easily to the soldiers of the 154th and offered a fertile ground for the growth of *esprit de corps*. . . . Soldiers who were separated from their comrades by legitimate means—illness, wounds, capture, detached duty—expressed *esprit de corps* when they wrote of their loneliness, their displeasure at being away from the regiment, and their desire to return to its ranks. (75, 90–91)

Just as the deathbed was where the family circle closed upon its own, so too did dying soldiers look to their surrogate family—the regiment—to be there at the deathwatch and to mark their graves.

Drawing upon scores of contemporary accounts by soldiers in the 154th New York, Dunkelman shows the bonding effect of county pride, common English background, and common careers in farming. The unit's first battle was Chancellorsville, where it suffered 40-percent casualties. Two months later, at Gettysburg, 77 percent of the participants were killed or wounded. Hence, all of the emotions of fear, anxiety, battle zeal, and heartache quickly cemented a one-for-all relationship within the regiment. Such feelings existed among the survivors to the grave.

This book abounds with soldier quotations extending through the duration of the war. Fresh opinions flow forth on everything from early enthusiasm to solemn resignation, from officers and rations to medical treatment and camp life, from soldier descriptions of President Abraham Lincoln and General Joseph Hooker to instances of pranks and affirmations of faith.

Obviously, Dunkelman incorporates every aspect of Civil War army life under the umbrella of *esprit de corps*. That may not always be applicable, but this study is a path-breaking work as well as a good read.

*Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University* James I. Robertson Jr.

*Why the Electoral College Is Bad for America*. By George C. Edwards III. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. Pp. 198. $26.00.)

The last two presidential elections in the United States have caused concern and debates about the way Americans select their presidents to resurface, mainly because of the closeness of the two races—including one in which the candidate who got the most popular votes did not become president. In this study, the author provides a wonderfully accessible discussion of every aspect of the system by which presidents are elected in the United States. George C. Edwards III not only provides a thorough description of how the electoral college works, he takes on the justifications for retaining it. Edwards also discusses options that have been suggested to reform the system and illustrates why many of these are also problematic. He also makes a case for one option that he sees as the best way to elect a president—a direct popular vote.

Edwards's description of the operation of the electoral college is informative, even to those who are familiar with the system. He provides a clear and detailed look at the process from election day through the inauguration, which is illuminating and informative. Edwards also points out rich examples from past elections that capture the subtleties and intricacies of the electoral college, which will engage the reader.

Edwards's thoughts on the electoral college are clear from the title of his book. His central concern is that the electoral college violates the principle of political equality by not giving every person's vote the same weight. "Political equality," he argues, "is central to democratic government, and any mechanism for selecting the president must be evaluated against it" (34). He concludes that the electoral college violates political equality because of the winner-take-all system, the provision for contingent elections in the U.S. House and Senate, and several other factors. Edwards argues in many ways that the electoral college "favors some citizens over others, depending solely upon the state in which voters cast their ballot for president," and that it "aggregates votes in an inherently unjust manner" (52).

Edwards's book is well researched, as evinced by the many revealing examples throughout the study. One section that is particularly informative is his discussion of the origins of the electoral college. Edwards does a fine job of taking the reader back to the Constitutional Convention to explore the reasons behind the creation of the electoral college. His analysis illustrates that "[t]he electoral college was *not* the result of a coherent design based on clear political principles . . ." and that "[t]here certainly was no theory articulated to justify political inequality" (90).

The most important part of Edwards's work, however, may lie in his examination of the justifications for the electoral college that the defenders of the system use to argue for its continued use. The critique of the electoral college Edwards provides is strengthened by his careful analysis of the alleged benefits of the current system, including that candidates will be attentive to state-based interests and racial minorities, and that it is a central key to the federal system in the United States. In short, Edwards finds no justification for these claims and argues that they are based on "faulty premises" (121). Moreover Edwards includes in his critique an assessment of alternatives to the electoral college. He even takes on the objections defenders of the

current system have of his preferred method of selecting the president—direct election. He finds that the electoral college does not provide many of the benefits that its supporters claim and, more importantly, that these assumed benefits would not be harmed by a direct election.

In sum, Edwards's book will be of interest to scholars and instructors focusing on the presidency (both currently and historically), as well as campaigns and elections. It is sure to spark debates in classes among all readers as Edwards does a fine job of covering both sides of the debate. However this book should be read by every concerned citizen, as it will inform them of what really happens on election day. Although the debate itself is not new, this is an important contribution to our understanding of how presidents are selected, thanks to the author's careful consideration of the inner workings of the system and the arguments for and against its continued use.

*Oakland University* David A. Dulio

*Slavery in the Development of the Americas*. Edited by David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis, and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. ix, 372. $75.00.)

This *Festschrift* to Stanley L. Engerman is composed of an extensive introduction and eleven articles by fifteen economists and historians from five countries. Engerman has been a leading figure in the historiography of the economics of slavery in the Americas. In 1974, Engerman, with Robert W. Fogel, published the controversial *Time on the Cross*, a model of quantitative analysis applied to slavery in the United States. The authors argued that slavery was a highly profitable and productive institution, in which slaves in the American South, responding to a system of punishments and rewards, exhibited a diligent work ethic. In 1975, Engerman extended his quantitative approach, editing with Eugene Genovese the comparative study, *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere*. Since the appearance of those notable studies, Engerman has been prolific, writing or editing fourteen books and hundreds of articles and reviews on international economic history and slavery.

The essayists point to enduring themes in Engerman's work—the profitability of slavery and the similarities in the economics of slavery in the Americas. In their introduction, the editors boldly assert that during the heyday of slavery, from the mid-1600s to the mid-1800s, the Caribbean plantation economies were the most prosperous regions in the world. Slavery did not retard the development of the Americas. Nonslave areas would only begin to display similarly high rates of economic growth during the Industrial Revolution. In their article on the prices of African slaves in the Americas from 1673 to 1865, David Eltis and David Richardson found that slave prices, reflecting rising production and demand, rose steadily throughout the period. James R. Irwin confirms those findings in his analysis of wealth accumulation in Virginia from 1760 to 1860. He writes that "the Virginia wealth data remind us that slavery in the United States was a very successful institution from the owners'

point of view" (287). Such a conclusion, in Irwin's view, underscores Engerman's contribution to scholarship on the economics of slavery.

Comparing slave prices and the expansion of slave-based agricultural activities in the United States, Brazil, and Cuba in the 1850s, Laird W. Bergad emphasizes the "striking parallels" in the economics of slavery in the Americas (220). Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein demonstrate that slaves in nineteenth-century São Paolo grew more than coffee, producing nonexport food crops such as corn, rice, and beans. In *Time on the Cross*, Fogel and Engerman had also discovered that slaves on large cotton plantations in the South grew their own food. The essayists concede, however, that, whereas the economic aspects of slave labor are similar, other features of slave life and culture in the Americas are strikingly different.

The innumerable tables and mathematical equations used to support the conclusions of the essayists might be seen as obscuring moral questions surrounding slavery. In his study of the poor in early America, Philip D. Morgan notes that some slaves in the Chesapeake region might have had more material benefits than some destitute whites. Nonetheless, Morgan reiterates the famous observation of the scholar, Orlando Patterson, that slavery was "social death" (323).

*University of Texas at Dallas* Stephen G. Rabe

*Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*. By John Lewis Gaddis. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004. Pp. vi, 150. $18.95.)

A political science axiom suggests that when governments do not know what to do, they do what they know. John Gaddis, the distinguished historian of the Cold War, has examined the relevance of this insight with respect to the surprise terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. In an extended article that connects 11 September to the British burning of Washington in 1814 and the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, Gaddis argues that when confronted with unexpected dangers, Americans have "tended to expand rather than contract our sphere of responsibilities" (37). He identifies a historic pattern of response that features unilateralism, preemption, and hegemony. Following the War of 1812, for example, the danger that neighboring "failed states" might tempt European intervention prompted John Quincy Adams and his successors to seek continental hegemony "by unilateral means where possible, through preemptive action when necessary" (108). Whether it was Spain's inability to police the Florida border, or Mexican cavalry provoked into crossing the Rio Grande, or even Commodore Dewey's preplanned attack on Manila Bay, U.S. leaders could justify their preemptive, expansive, and unilateral reactions by claiming that the enemy had fired the first shot. Not until World War II did FDR and subsequent presidents abandoned unilateralism for alliances that defeated Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan and contained the Soviet bloc, eventually creating an informal empire on a global scale that resembled Jefferson's "empire of liberty."

Regarding 11 September, Gaddis writes admiringly of "the most surprising transformation of an underrated national leader since Prince Hal became Henry V" (82).

He applauds George W. Bush's pledge of preemption ("we cannot let our enemies strike first") as a strategy that John Quincy Adams would have approved. He even suggests that victory in Afghanistan, followed by an "Agincourt on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates," might have produced enough "shock and awe" so as to democratize the Middle East (93). Unfortunately, by invading Iraq in the absence of a "first shot" or "smoking gun," as well as opposition from NATO allies, the United States very quickly exchanged its "reputation as the principle *stabilizer* of the international system for one as its chief *destabilizer*" (101). For Gaddis, what was "in every sense a *grand* strategy" failed because of poor tactics (94).

Perhaps the failure was more fundamental. Despite Gaddis's learned efforts to place American response to attacks within a benign narrative tradition, one can read the historical record differently. John Quincy Adams did warn against going abroad in search of monsters to destroy, just as he later opposed the war against Mexico because an "empire of liberty" meant the expansion of slavery as well. Americans may have assumed the compatibility of democracy and empire, but successful transformations to democracy, as in the occupations of Japan and Germany, have been exceptions rather than the rule. However benevolent the goal of deterring terrorism by toppling Saddam Hussein and democratizing Iraq, the prevailing image of Americans in the Middle East will be likely imprinted in the torture photographs from the Abu Ghraib prison.

*University of Connecticut* J. Garry Clifford

*Puritans in the New World: A Critical Anthology*. Edited by David D. Hall. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Pp. xvi, 370. $19.95.)

This collection of articles explores the experience of being Puritan in America. It tells the story of the authoritative, yet tumultuous, culture that went on an "errand into the wilderness." The anthology presents Puritans in their own words, using many familiar representative classics from the seventeenth century, and sheds light upon the concept of Puritanism as a "lived religion."

David D. Hall, one of the greatest living Puritan experts, selected the text for his anthology around four basic questions. Was Puritanism a coherent and clearly organized movement? Were the Puritans distinctively authoritarian, prone to censorship and intolerance? How do we understand religion as a creed and practice? Finally, what is the relative and changing importance of religion in people's lives?

The author links the appropriate primary sources with insightful chapter introductions, which provide a running commentary on Puritans in seventeenth-century New England. These introductions serve the author's stated purpose to steer an objective path between those who see Puritanism as "an important source of our democratic tradition" and those who condemn it "as hypocritical and prudish" (xv). If we do either, Hall contends that "[t]he risk we run . . . in appropriating Puritanism for contemporary ends or in tarring it with so broad a brush is that we take the movement out of context" (xv). The introductions read well, but the absence

of an afterword abruptly ends the book, leaving the reader searching for some sort of closure.

Although Hall's credentials cannot be questioned, his success in accomplishing his goals must receive mixed reviews. Like those who precede him, Hall has an inclination toward the Puritans that turns a "critical anthology" into an uncritical one. Although Hall writes that "we will hear other voices [than the Puritans] as well," they are filtered through the voices of their Puritan adversaries or overwhelmed by a twenty-nine to one ratio in chapters. The author mentions Quakers in one of the introductions, but their voices are never heard. To quote Hall, "We hear the same words the Native Americans heard, listening to missionaries bring them the Christian message," but never once do we hear the words of the Native Americans themselves (ix).

Although Hall has followed in the footsteps of others—Perry Miller, Alan Heimert, and Andrew Delbanco, to name a few—his is the first study to approach Puritan writings primarily from a historical rather than a literary perspective. Hall wisely does not try to duplicate these books, but in trying to be unique, he has left out some essential Puritan figures. Absent are the works of Cotton Mather, Nathaniel Ward, and Michael Wigglesworth, among others.

In spite of this, Hall's work is a solid anthology, which deserves a place alongside its illustrious predecessors. This is a thoughtful book that will most benefit those interested in history, religion, or early American literature.

*Bluegrass Community and Technical College* Steven Jay White

*The Second Great Awakening and the Transcendentalists*. By Barry Hankins. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004. Pp. xx, 200. $45.00.)

In this volume, the author provides a general overview of the "religious fever" that swept through the United States in the years prior to the Civil War. In a clear style, Barry Hankins describes the theological background and tenets of the Second Great Awakening, the major events associated with the revivals, and the leading actors whose efforts brought religious intensity to the country. He adds transcendentalism to the religious landscape of the nineteenth century, noting the clerical backgrounds of many transcendentalists, like Theodore Parker, George Ripley, and, of course, Ralph Waldo Emerson. Hankins asserts that "Transcendentalists . . . believed they had found the truth, or at least the proper path toward it" (23).

Like most interpreters of American intellectual and cultural history, Hankins links these two movements to the reform impulses that affected the country during the antebellum period. He provides chapters linking the Second Great Awakening and transcendentalism to abolitionism and feminism. Beyond these two major reforms, however, there is little recognition or treatment of the widespread demand and effort for change, and other reform movements are largely ignored. He does, however, include a chapter on the revivalist and reform sentiments within African American churches.

Hankins moves beyond a simple recitation of the "story" of the religious and reform life of the United States in two short sections of the book. He evaluates the contributions of Nancy Hardesty to the historiography of women and reform. The author also compares and contrasts the different pictures of urban revivalism presented by Paul Johnson and William Sutton, giving precedence to the interpretations of the latter. These sections provide readers with a view of how historians "do" history.

In addition to his narrative of events and people, Hankins provides some useful "extras" in this book: a chronology of the period; biographies of some of the major figures of the Second Great Awakening, transcendentalism, and the reform movements; a selection of twelve primary documents from the period; and a glossary of important terms. The book also includes a modest annotated bibliography covering both classic works and more recent scholarship. These features might help readers not already familiar with the period or these movements.

The editors of the Greenwood Guides to Historic Events series claim that it focuses "on events, from 1500 to 1900 that have shaped the world" (ix). That may be a reach for this topic and volume. Hankins bases his text exclusively on secondary research, and his interpretation does not break any new ground. Specialists, or even advanced students, in nineteenth-century American history may find little that is new in this book, but others may find it a handy introduction to the subjects with which it deals.

*Duquesne University* Michael Cahall

*Armies without Nations: Public Violence and State Formation in Central America, 1821–1960*. By Robert H. Holden. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. x, 336. $55.00.)

The overriding theme of this book is the emergence since independence of coercive public authority and its gradual conversion to a single national army in each of the five republics of Central America. The author maintains that patrimonial conflicts and the ambitions of *caudillos* during this process failed "to create a genuine sense of national purpose or identity . . ." (5). The principal thesis appears to be that public violence in the formative years following independence so dominated Central American political life that no sense of nationhood emerged in any of the five republics. In chapters on each of the countries, Robert H. Holden focuses sharply on political/military figures and their readiness to use violence to keep or win office. A second thesis, outlined in the latter half of the book, is that militarization accelerated rapidly following World War II, with substantial support coming from the United States' anti-Communist policy.

Undermining the book's primary thesis is the condescending descriptive language that casts doubt on the possibility that any political leaders took political ideology seriously or had any sense of public service or patriotism. Two examples must suffice: "But the thirst for immolation [in El Salvador] was scarcely limited to either military men or large landowners" and "In Honduras, perhaps the most nakedly anarchic of

all five republics . . .” (58, 109). It is further undermined by highly selective quotations from political leaders, commentators, and historians who criticize Central American political processes. Anyone with knowledge of Central American political leaders would not have difficulty producing an equal quantity of countervailing quotations. Repeatedly citing the opinions of unsympathetic United States observers does not help. For example, Holden states, “The U.S. government, correctly identif[ies] Zelaya as the region’s main agent of international violence and intrigue . . .” (87). Thus Holden adopts the tired and now discredited charge that Nicaragua’s José Santos Zelaya, a liberal positivist and nationalist of Nicaragua, was the chief troublemaker of the region.

In the introductory section of the book, entitled “Historical Dimensions of Public Violence in Latin America,” Holden sets the tone that Latin America has uniquely failed to curtail public violence and to develop working democracies. The author believes “that the enormous potential for violence embedded in patron-client politics is so great that it overshadows ideology or class interests, or regional, familial, or ethnic identity, as independent sources of public violence” (10). As a theoretical discussion of political and sociological theory, this section is provocative, and the citation of the theoreticians is impressive. What is missing in the main parts of the book is recognition that there were actually Central American political leaders who preferred elections to *golpes*; who granted amnesty to prisoners; and who were genuinely patriotic, willing to compromise, and gave other indications that they favored negotiations over violence. Furthermore, to base one’s conclusions about national identity on public violence, leaving out educators, cultural leaders, and popular cultural practices and beliefs, is to misread the structure of national identity.

*University of Kansas* Charles L. Stansifer

*An Absolute Massacre: The New Orleans Race Riot of July 30, 1866*. By James G. Hollandsworth Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001. Pp. xviii, 168. $28.95.)

This new book is an examination of the bloody events of 30 July 1866, in New Orleans, in which white mobs and the city’s all-white police force killed some three dozen black men and several white Republicans (the exact number of deaths was probably much higher) and injured hundreds more. The author explores the long- and short-term origins of the massacre and provides a detailed description of the massacre itself, which marked a major turning point in the history of Reconstruction.

James G. Hollandsworth Jr. traces the origins of the massacre to President Abraham Lincoln’s effort to create a Unionist government in Louisiana in order to undermine the Confederacy. The capture of New Orleans by Federal forces in the spring of 1862 provided the opportunity for the city’s Unionists, acting under guidelines established by Lincoln and in conjunction with military authorities, to organize a “loyal” state government and write a new constitution abolishing slavery. Although the Louisiana constitution of 1864 abolished slavery, it did not grant legal or politi-

cal rights to the state's black population, nor was the new state government representative, because the large majority of white Louisianians supported the Confederacy. When Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, ascended to the presidency following Lincoln's assassination, he implemented a conservative Reconstruction policy that returned former Confederates to office only months after the war. In New Orleans, the unapologetic ex-Confederate John T. Monroe was elected mayor, and he removed Unionists from the city's police force and restaffed it with former Confederate soldiers. Now out of power, Louisiana Unionists and their "carpetbagger" allies, reconstituted as Republicans, undertook the legally dubious step of reconvening the 1864 constitutional convention, two years after it had adjourned, in order to implement black suffrage and bar ex-Confederates from office, which would have resulted in a political revolution in the state. When the convention tried to meet at noon on 30 July, it was broken up by the New Orleans police, who killed a number of white delegates and their black supporters. Angry white mobs, numbering in the hundreds, enthusiastically joined in the butchery, and the situation degenerated into a racial and political pogrom. Only the arrival of Federal troops later in the afternoon restored order and prevented further bloodshed.

This compelling study is sure to become the definitive work on the massacre, but this reviewer takes issue on two matters. First, Hollandsworth details the origins of the massacre and the massacre itself, but he provides only a cursory look at its consequences, which warrant further analysis. Second, Hollandsworth states in his introduction that "there were no villains and no heroes, for everyone who participated in the deadly affair was both victim and instigator" (4). Hollandsworth is to be credited with maintaining scholarly objectivity, but there were, in fact, a number of villains in this story. Moreover, although certain of the dead and maimed bore some responsibility for instigating the massacre, it is difficult to agree with Hollandsworth's assertion that those who engaged in the cold-blooded slaughter of defenseless American citizens were themselves "victims."

*Louisiana State University* John C. Rodrigue

*Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It*. By Alison Isenberg. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. Pp. xv, 441. $32.50.)

This work continues the fine reputation of the series in which it appears, and as such, it is not a simple history of the rise and fall of a once great place. It is an exciting, complex study of downtown America that shows diversity and change over time. It brings to life the history of an important civic, commercial, and social place. Alison Isenberg discards sappy nostalgia for sincere historical investigation. She demonstrates the importance of place to an understanding of U.S. history. She focuses not on an individual city, but on numerous cities throughout the United States. Isenberg proves cities are living, breathing organisms, showing that they react to those who interact with them. She carefully examines the decades of the twentieth century. Isenberg presents the numerous stages of cities, from the heyday of Main Street in the Progressive

Era to the innovations of the Great Depression and World War II, the flight to suburban malls, urban renewal, civil-rights disturbances, vacancy, and finally, preservation. She weaves throughout her work the close connections between downtown as a material place and the people who shaped it: developers, planners, retailers, government leaders, architects, real-estate appraisers, civic clubs, political activists, consumers, and postcard artists.

Isenberg argues that "sometimes the creative artifice of twentieth-century urban commercial life has accomplished its objectives, and sometimes it has not, but the actor has always been human initiative of one kind or another, not a natural or organic condition" (317). Simply stated, Isenberg contends people are the dynamic force that shape cities. She persuasively illustrates the conflicts and strong influences of race, class, ethnicity, and gender in forging the direction of the life of cities and their vitality. Isenberg convincingly proves the multifaceted nature of decisions. Numerous and varied sources abound to support the theory that things did not happen inevitably or haphazardly, but deliberately to redirect, revitalize, reinvigorate, or romanticize the downtown streetscape.

Isenberg's bibliography traces the historiography of the best scholarly works of urban historians. Her work utilizes a wealth of sources to include postcard collections, appraisal records, conference transcripts, women's club papers, department store reports, chamber of commerce scrapbooks, urban planner's papers, and pamphlet collections. She skillfully uses nearly one hundred illustrations to corroborate her argument. Isenberg's superb style enlightens as well as entertains.

This study opens a doorway of intellectual curiosity for many who are interested in urban, intellectual, cultural, and social history. It is also highly recommended for urban planners, sociologists, economists, and the general reader. This examination greatly contributes to our understanding of the centrality of the city as a distinct place and the myriad of actors who helped shape that place; it is a "must read" for all who are interested in urban change and the forces of that change.

*University of Wisconsin, Marathon County* Cornelia F. Sexauer

*Singing in My Soul: Black Gospel Music in a Secular Age*. By Jerma A. Jackson. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Pp. xii, 193. $15.95.)

The role and influence of Christianity on popular music of the twentieth century is a rich and varied study. Most scholars in the field recognize the inherent influence of the church as performance and training space for those who would make their mark in ragtime, jazz, country, blues, and rock. Jerma A. Jackson takes the analysis one step further in *Singing in My Soul* by examining the intersection of religious ideology and modernity as manifested in the rise and commercialization of gospel music. Rooted in the emotional appeal for salvation that was part of many slave societies, the rise of the sanctified Church of God in Christ in the early part of the last century represented the starting point for modern gospel music. Guided by the likes of Thomas Dorsey and Sister Rosetta Tharpe, gospel music would eventually become both a

popular and profitable genre in its own right in the period after World War II. It is gospel's success and the theological struggle its popularity brings that is the focus of Jackson's examination and as such provides a compelling study of empowerment, the marketplace, and religion in modern American life.

Jackson establishes a framework for the study by outlining the rise of the Church of God in Christ within the larger social and racial context of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. In doing so, the author posits that the desire for acceptance encouraged many traditional black churches to abandon the more emotional singing and participation of slave-era worship in favor of more acceptable (to the white majority) smooth singing and organized liturgy. This tendency alienated some worshipers who began to seek out other, more emotional ways to encourage the spirit, as manifested in the rise of the Holiness Movement. Gospel music became a part of the celebration of the spirit with its emotional singing style and varied musical accompaniment, from pianos to washtubs and guitars to trumpets. The music assisted in bringing the word to people and worked to create the emotional connection the church believed was essential to salvation.

The rise of gospel and of the sanctified church also allowed women to assume a more prominent role in the African American church. Prevented from assuming the pulpit even as they represented the majority of worshipers, women became the missionaries of the message and literally hit the city streets of places like Chicago, New York City, Los Angeles, and many other areas where large numbers of black migrants came to reside. The Church of God in Christ owed much to Sister Rosetta Tharpe, Sallie Martin, Katie Bell Nubin, and many other women who used the music to spread the good news and to carve out a space for them within the church.

Much of gospel's success came through the use of recording technology, which brought up the complex relationship between the religious and the secular. One central issue was how gospel could operate within the context of capitalism. When Arizona Dranes, Tharpe, and Thomas Dorsey began to witness the spread and success of their musical enterprises, it brought new debates to both the church and the music. Gospel purists worried that the desire to make the music legitimate (on an even par with the more smooth spiritual style) and widen gospel's appeal would dilute the message. They also worried that the drive for profit, at the heart of any recording venture, would supersede the drive for salvation. Guided by the likes of Martin, Dorsey, and Tharpe, gospel music would navigate this narrow divide between popularity and mission; between the forces of modern society and the desires of God; and between individual celebrity and the collective nature of worship. Tharpe, for example, began playing in nightclubs in the latter part of the 1930s and defended her actions by arguing that she was bringing the music to the people. She also liberally distributed the profits from these activities within the church and the black community. Yet many accused her of using the music for her own celebrity. Dorsey also had to navigate this fine line. As Georgia Tom, he had been part of the great blues team with Tampa Red in the 1920s and had written some of the best (and most ribald) blues songs of that era. Now "saved," he turned his prolific and skilled song-writing talents to gospel and enjoyed great success with songs like "Take My Hand, Precious Lord."

The popularity of gospel expanded throughout the Depression and World War II eras and after 1945 emerged as a "full-flown agent of commerce and part of a mass commercialized culture" (105). Increasingly then, the debate over commercial decisions and religious ones took on more intensity, represented in the formation of the National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses, which sought to preserve and protect the music from the debasing tendencies of the marketplace. Radio stations, concert promoters, and record companies cashed in on the proliferation of the music, while some singers like Sam Cooke, Della Reese, Sarah Vaughan, and Cissy Houston—who developed skills in the sanctified church—applied it to the secular field. Pure gospel singers like Mahalia Jackson and the Clara Ward Singers remained true to the music and also enjoyed great commercial success. The tension between the two sides has never been rectified fully and remains part of the duality that identifies gospel as both a popular music and a religious music.

Jackson presents an interesting, if brief, examination of the complexity of culture in a modern society. Begun as a way to build unity and identity within the black community and the sanctified church, its emotional appeal in both lyric and music captured the imagination of the larger society. Made available through technology, the pressure of the marketplace affected both the production and acceptance of the music and forced the church more clearly to define the role of gospel. Those who would not conform to these standards took the same ideas that drove gospel within the church and applied them to the secular realm, helping to spur the music to even greater cultural acceptance. Jackson abruptly ends the analysis in the 1950s just as gospel was beginning to inspire a whole new generation of singers and musicians—white and black and on both sides of the Atlantic. The interconnection of gospel to the rise of soul and even the singer-songwriter tendency in rock music has not been fully explored, but one hopes that with the author's foundation, other scholars will continue to explore the role religious music has had on popular music in the modern age.

*Kent State University, Trumbull* Kenneth J. Bindas

*The Nation's Crucible: The Louisiana Purchase and the Creation of America*. By Peter J. Kastor. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. Pp. xiii, 311. $35.00.)

This new work does not deliver what its expansive title promises. In *The Nation's Crucible*, the author provides a fresh account of how and why the United States acquired Louisiana from France, but its focus is the incorporation of the Territory of Orleans, which is the present-day State of Louisiana, into the Union. The claim that Louisiana was the "crucible" that "helped Americanize the United States" seems overwrought, because Peter J. Kastor makes little effort to place Louisiana in the context of the history of contemporary and subsequent American territories (15). Despite his rhetorical exuberance, however, Kastor has produced a major work that should help us rethink the relationship between national and local politics in the early republic. He also restores the Old Southwest to the trans-Appalachian West. In combination with a series of recent histories of frontiers north and south of the Ohio River, Kastor's

account paves the way for a new interpretation of what was once called the "First American Empire."

This study of Louisiana from 1803 to the Transcontinental Treaty, negotiated in 1819 and ratified by the United States in 1821, is an exploration of nationalism and nation-building on the ground. Whereas previous scholars have emphasized expansion in space as key to the success of the republican experiment, Kastor argues convincingly for the significance of demographic expansion. Nation-building rested on the incorporation of territories as states, and nationalism on the attachment of frontier populations to the republic as citizens. With its French and Spanish imperial heritage, as well as multiracial, slave, and free-native and foreign-born populations, which were untutored in republican principles, Louisiana posed an unprecedented challenge to notions of citizenship and statehood dependent on social, cultural, and racial homogeneity. The attachment of Louisianans to the United States proved less a matter of ideological instruction than of the pragmatic provision of the means for them to participate as citizens in territorial, and then state, government.

In charting this process, Kastor makes two points that help us to reenvision the "First American Empire." First, although the incorporation of Louisiana ultimately depended upon racial exclusion and the consolidation of white political, social, and economic supremacy, there was nothing inevitable about this process. Indeed, Creole and foreign-born whites, slaves and free blacks, and Native Americans all had their own notions of what citizenship might entail. Second, Kastor provides an invaluable look at Republican politics by taking seriously territorial administration, a subject to which no one has paid much attention for over a generation. He reminds us that it was the literal creation of government on the frontier that built the nation and engendered local attachment to it. In this sense, Kastor's title is not hyperbole. Moreover, by showing the linkages forged by such officials as Territorial Governor William C. C. Claiborne between local and national politics, Kastor opens the door to a reconsideration of the significance of a host of figures in the trans-Appalachian West, the significance of which was once confined to the "frontier."

*Arizona State University* Susan E. Gray

*The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race and Respectability in New Orleans, 1865–1920*. By Alecia P. Long. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004. Pp. xv, 282. $39.95.)

This fine book fills a very important gap that overlaps and intertwines with a range of fields, providing a social and cultural history of prostitution in New Orleans from the conclusion of the Civil War to the end of the Progressive Era. As Alecia P. Long points out, New Orleans presents us with a fascinating case study. The city has long had a reputation as a hub of sexual freedom, indeed positively of libertinism, in the middle of the conservative South. Long explains exactly how and why this has been so, using state-of-the-art insights drawn from feminist scholars and from examinations of sexual culture in other cities, such as George Chauncey Jr.'s *Gay New York*.

Long interweaves her narrative of statutes, political maneuvers, and policing with individual case studies that illuminate the intersections between the personal and the political. She opens with the story of the Mathis brothers, whose parents, having immigrated from Alsace-Lorraine, built up a property and hotel business in the city. Long illustrates the racial and sexual boundaries in the city by uncovering the marriage of one of the brothers, Joe, to a woman of color, Adeline, a union that inspired the ire of Joe's brother, Louis, yet which nevertheless survived until Joe's death in the 1880s. This case study serves to highlight, as Long states, "the changing nature of race relations in the period between the Civil War and the rise of Jim Crow in the 1890s" (59). For a brief while in the 1870s, Adeline was able to prosper amid unprecedented openings for people of color in the South.

By this time, New Orleans's commercial sexual culture had grown. Here, as Long states, "sex and socialization across the color line remained a constant, though contested, feature of the city's culture of commercial sexuality" (61). However, just as the Supreme Court declared in *Plessy v. Ferguson* the principle of "separate, but equal," so city leaders set up the segregated "Storyville" vice district in 1897. The background to this statute exposed all the racist assumptions of the time but also reflected male-defined views of the double standard. Although white women should be protected, sexualized black women should be available for the pleasure of white men. Such a sexual system was to be tolerated. Long does not mince her words on this matter: "The stereotype of inherent black sensuality provided a rationalization for the rape of black women by white men, purportedly at the invitation of the victims" (130). "Storyville" became a place where the double standards over gender, class, and respectability in the American South were played out.

The author delineates the development of "Storyville" during the Progressive Era. An intriguing chapter explains the phenomenon of the "Octaroon," the mixed race prostitute that emerged at this time, and how efforts were made to sweep such folk away. Yet the district survived, attracting visitors from all over the Bible Belt. Long shows brilliantly how a myth grew up about "Storyville" that belied its roots in segregation and the double standard and that claimed it was even part of the more tolerant city—both racially and sexually—that New Orleans has become. Long thus manages to produce a compelling and original contribution to the histories of sexuality, of women, of race relations, and of the American South that transcends its origin as a local study.

*University of Portsmouth* Kevin White

*The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict*. By John Missall and Mary Lou Missall. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. Pp. xxii, 255. $29.95.)

In this book, the authors provide an overview and place in broader scope the three Seminole Wars fought between 1817 and 1858 during Florida's Spanish, United States territorial, and early statehood periods. Within two hundred years after European contact, most of Florida's aborigines vanished from diseases, warfare,

and forced labor. Within the first forty years of U.S. control, most Seminoles were shipped west.

The United States used ineffective diplomacy with Florida's Indians. Andrew Jackson and others wanted to make Spanish Florida a U.S. territory after Indians there provided homes for African Americans and aided Great Britain in the War of 1812. A war began in November 1817 when Seminoles killed some U.S. soldiers after troops failed to capture Chief Neamathla. Early the next year, General Andrew Jackson and his troops moved into Spanish Florida and burned, looted, and destroyed major towns, making the Seminoles swamp refugees. Spain, unable to control the violence, sold Florida to the United States through the 1821 Adams-Onis Treaty. Soon the five thousand Seminoles, who lived in settlements scattered mostly through north Florida, were starving and unsure of where to live; no U.S. officials could tell them. After the 1823 Treaty of Moultrie Creek required them to concentrate in central Florida, forfeit other land, and receive provisions from the government, most Seminoles hesitantly settled there, while Congress argued about feeding them.

Following Andrew Jackson's election as president and passage of the Indian Removal Act, the 1832 Treaty of Payne's Landing required Seminole removal west, which resulted in a second war. Some chiefs agreed to removal, others resisted. By late 1835, King Philip and Mikasukis had raided sugar plantations south of St. Augustine; Micanopy's group had killed Major Francis Dade and troops traveling to Fort King; and Osceola and his warriors had killed agent Wiley Thompson there. Later Micanopy, Jumper, and others accepted removal; by 1838, most Seminoles and their blacks were forced west. The navy and army searched the Everglades, and when others surrendered, the war ended in August 1842. Almost one thousand and five hundred troops died in this costly guerrilla war in which soldiers sometimes ate their horses to survive; no records exist for volunteer, militia, or Indian losses.

Most Seminoles were now with Chief Billy Bowlegs and Chief Sam Jones in south Florida, where conflicts continued. A third war began in December 1855, after a small U.S. force destroyed some banana trees of Billy Bowlegs, causing his group to kill and wound a few soldiers. Small Seminole groups kept attacking, and in early 1857, U.S. troops began offensive operations. Captured Indians were sent to Egmont Key for shipment west. When Billy Bowlegs agreed to removal, only Sam Jones and about one hundred-fifty Seminoles remained in Florida and the Seminole wars ended.

This easily read book, with helpful maps and figures, is primarily a good synthesis of the Second Seminole War with limited coverage of the first and third wars. Detractions include no exhaustive primary research and overuse of *ibid* in the notes. Research in the papers of soldiers such as William Tecumseh Sherman would have enhanced the volume's value. Nonetheless the authors correctly conclude that it was tragic for Americans to give Native Americans so little time to adapt after such a clash of cultures. Today the Seminoles are a major asset to Florida's history and culture.

*Hamilton, Mississippi* Jane F. Lancaster

*The Meaning of Independence: John Adams, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson*. By Edmund S. Morgan. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004. Pp. ix, 91. $19.95.)

Since its original publication nearly thirty years ago, Edmund S. Morgan's *The Meaning of Independence: John Adams, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson* has become a standard short work on the American Revolution. In this updated edition, Morgan adds a new, brief preface summarizing the impact of the independence movement on the founding generation. The fresh material is slight (about six hundred words) and readers in possession of the first edition will not require an updated copy. For the uninitiated, however, Morgan's ruminations on the first three presidents offer valuable insights into how the Revolution ministered to the social, emotional, and public needs of the elite men who supported it. "In them," Morgan writes, "we may perhaps see writ large some of the hopes and fears that independence brought to their countrymen" (4).

The proud and quarrelsome John Adams discovered in the Revolution the path by which to transform his personal vanity into national ambition. He made, in other words, a virtue of a vice. The cold and distant George Washington wedded his commitment to private interest to the Independence movement's need for national heroes and public honor. Morgan finds much to praise in both men, but he reserves a special sympathy for Thomas Jefferson who, he argues, carried the idea of the Revolution out of an American context by applying it to the world. Man overcomes his past, Jefferson believed, and renounces superstition, aristocracy, and the more mystical teachings of the church in order to find a private fulfillment in republican government. While Adams operated from ambition and Washington from honor, Jefferson proved to be the best man of the three, Morgan insists, for only he moved intellectually beyond the provincialism of an American-centered world. Only he grasped that the values of freedom and democracy that sustained the Revolution were both basic and eternal to humanity. "He too was a great American," Morgan writes of Jefferson, "but above all he was a friend of man" (84). That the exportation of *freedom* and *democracy* could be interpreted as a fresh American chauvinism is an important question left untreated in this text.

One learns a great deal in this concise book about the personal nature of politics in the early republic. The earthy Adams delighted in intellectual roughhousing with his peers; but that removed any mystery from his persona, and enemies were able to take his measure without great difficulty. Washington and Jefferson, by comparison, stood off to the side inspiring respect and, at least in Washington's case, a certain anxiety. Their personalities were more suited to the deferential republican principles of the times than Adams, a single-term president who never cultivated a large following and remains a founder without a monument.

Specialists of early America will discover little new material here. Students, however, will profit from these articles, for they provide a solid and imaginative foundation to more detailed studies. They are, in fact, an excellent preface to the recent

work of Joseph Ellis, who in the last twelve years has given us three very good books on the men sketched by Morgan.

*Elizabethtown College* David S. Brown

*Glory, Darkness, Light: A History of the Union League Club of Chicago*. By James D. Nowlan. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2004. Pp. 290. $29.95.)

Civic-minded businessmen founded The Chicago Club of the Union League of America in December of 1879, renaming it the Union League Club of Chicago (hereafter, ULCC) in 1882. With no connection to the Civil War Union League, this organization began with the ideals of patriotism and honest, efficient government. To flourish as a proper club, the ULCC acquired a clubhouse, which functioned as bar, hotel, and restaurant. Seemingly then, it was a typical downtown gentlemen's club of the Gilded Age. Yet certain members consistently supported and often organized campaigns to improve safety, sanitation, and government. During its first fifty-five years, they contributed to such worthy causes as the World Columbian Exposition of 1893, defeat of tycoon Charles Yerkes, creation of the Sanitary and Shipping Canal, impeachment of Senator William Lorimer, and the jailing of Al Capone. In 1886 they built a grand clubhouse, designed by William LeBaron Jenney, replacing it with one still grander in 1926. They developed a large collection of paintings and founded two Boys Clubs and a summer camp for boys in Wisconsin.

Such achievements fill the first eight chapters and explain the first word in James D. Nowlan's title, "Glory." In the next three chapters, "Darkness," the author reviews the checkered record of the ULCC regarding Jews, African Americans, and women. From founding member Dankmar Adler to Sears, Roebuck CEO and humanitarian Julius Rosenwald, Jews were among the most prominent leaders, yet in the 1930s the club began rejecting Jewish nominees on the basis of religion (or ethnicity) alone. In 1940 the club began refusing admittance to African Americans, even as guests of invited organizations such as the YMCA. This provoked a national scandal in 1951 when the manager barred Dr. Percy L. Julian from attending a luncheon meeting for notable scientists. In its early years, the ULCC was comparatively liberal toward women: wives of members had access to separate rooms, plus a private entrance and elevator. They could also dine with their husbands. By the 1970s, pressure was mounting to admit women as equal members. Led by the frequent users of athletic facilities, most members resisted until the Board welcomed women as full members in July 1987. Two years earlier, Fred Ford, a black member admitted in 1969, became club president for the standard one-year term, and the Boys Clubs became Boys and Girls Clubs; there are now four of them.

In chapters twelve through eighteen, "Light," Nowlan concludes the book with a survey of the ULCC's recent and current accomplishments. Membership benefits from the reinvention of downtown as a place to live for rising young executives. ULCC's standing committees support scholarships, the fine arts, and music, while expanding

support for underprivileged children. If the ULCC is a bastion of wealth and privilege, it has also proved through its membership and its members' activities that humble birth is no bar to success in Chicago and that *noblesse oblige* can be good for the city.

Nowlan writes with vigor and sound judgment. There are twenty glossy pages containing thirty-six photographs.

*University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign* Robert McColley

*Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874–1947*. By Michael J. Pfeifer. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004. Pp. x, 246. $35.00.)

This monograph argues that lynching declined mainly because many of the goals of those who engaged in lynching began to be realized by the substitution of increasingly unfair, arbitrary, and even more numerous governmental executions. Yet this is not mere reductionism, for the author touches on some of the more traditional explanations, such as increased antilynching activities by government authorities, avoidance of bad publicity that would inhibit economic growth, and desire for social order.

In the era after the Civil War, lynching as a form of "rough justice" became much more common. Michael J. Pfeifer argues that the greater amount flowed largely from a revolt against the rise of the due-process model of criminal justice that focused on prisoner rights and limitations on capital punishment so that retribution and community involvement were eschewed. Eventually, however, businessmen and their middle-class cohorts made a compromise with rough-justice advocates so that a swifter, more racial, and deadlier state control of "justice" would virtually eliminate lynching, with its excesses and negatives, to the economic and moral benefit of their communities.

The word "compromise" perhaps suggests too much because there was no one on the rough-justice/lynching side officially to agree to anything. Rather, the "compromise" came about through gradual pressure, change, and acceptance.

The assertion that the enormous increase in postbellum lynching came mainly from hostility to the due-process model, strikes this reviewer as too limited, marginalizing the legitimation and inculcation of violence spawned by the Civil War, as well as the need perceived by many whites to replace the lost racial controls of the slave system with new ones after emancipation.

If lynching declined as the number of legal executions increased, why did lynching not increase after capital punishment became less common in the late 1900s? To answer that is to emphasize again that there was not just one reason for the reduction in the number of lynchings.

The book is well researched, has a plenitude of informative endnotes, and includes a valuable appendix of "Confirmed Lynchings and Near-Lynchings, 1874–1947," in the seven states/territories Pfeifer examines in detail (California, Iowa, Louisiana, New York, Washington, Wisconsin, and Wyoming).

Resting the analysis on data from seven states may not be a problem, but the choice of these particular seven jurisdictions may be. The most obvious question is raised by

the inclusion of just one Southern state from what was by far the most lynch-prone section of the nation. Surely if the contiguous states of Iowa and Wisconsin, which were not so different, were both deemed valid parts of the database, then at least one of the most deadly lynching states (Mississippi, Georgia, and Texas) would be an even more obvious candidate, not to mention other Southern states that were more geographically or culturally separated from Louisiana.

The old maps on pages 16–21 cover only 1900–1931, but much of the text deals with nineteenth-century lynching. New maps incorporating Pfeifer's statistics for 1874–1947 could have been created.

This is a stimulating and valuable study, which effectively argues its premise.

*Montana State University, Billings* Norton H. Moses

*Inside the Pentagon Papers*. Edited by John Prados and Margarett Pratt Porter. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004. Pp. xi, 248. $29.95.)

This collection of articles has its origins in a 2001 symposium sponsored by the Vietnam Veterans of America. The symposium was intended to commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the stunning appearance of these classified documents in the *New York Times*; the volume itself goes beyond the original purpose. In addition to the transcript of the original panel sessions, *Inside the Pentagon Papers* contains concise introductions explaining the issues explored by each panel, a nuanced account of Richard Nixon's shifting response to the publication of the papers (including transcripts of Nixon's phone conversations with his intimates), and a meticulous evidentiary analysis by John Prados of the legal brief Nixon's solicitor general, Erwin N. Griswold, presented to the Supreme Court arguing that publication of the papers endangered national security, as well as the brief itself.

It is always a pleasure to read Nixon transcripts, and the set included here is no exception. In the midst of deciding how to respond to the publication of the papers, Nixon calls his aide Bob Haldeman with a brainstorm: "[I]t occurred to me this morning that this is something we might put off, if you get Colson, Magruder, and all the rest to really to, uh, zero in on it. Why don't you start a campaign, through letters . . . at the highest levels . . . to have . . . NBC have a rerun of [Tricia's] wedding in prime time, what do you think" (107)? Rather more darkly, Henry Kissinger informs Nixon that Walt Rostow had called on behalf of Lyndon Johnson and "said that it is Johnson's strong view that this is an attack on the whole integrity of government. . . . And he said if the president defends the integrity, any action we take he will back publicly" (106).

It is startling to learn that the originals of the *Pentagon Papers*, despite their publication in several forms, remain classified to this day. As Prados points out, "this represents the norm, not any aberration, in the operation of the declassification system" (10). Years after he had argued the case, Griswold came to the same conclusion: ". . . [T]here is massive over-classification and . . . the principal concern of the classifiers is not with national security, but rather with governmental embarrassment of one

sort or another" (147). Finally, the book includes a major article by Michael J. Gaffney on the way the legal and constitutional issues posed by the publication of the papers continue to resonate today, as the government, under cover of protecting the country from terrorism, expands its efforts to use the classification system to hide information that might embarrass it.

The embarrassment in the case of the *Pentagon Papers* was that their publication enabled the public to follow, from within the government itself, the decisions that led the country into a disastrous war unsupported even by those high government officials who continued to prosecute it. To many who had followed the war closely, the documents held relatively few surprises. It does not at all detract from the importance of Daniel Ellsberg's brave action and certainly not from the value of this excellent book to conclude, with Mel Gurtov, that the release of "secret documents could hardly have endangered national security inasmuch as all of the important information was already in the public domain. The secret materials merely lent further credence to what had already been said in the press and in academic studies" (25). One longs for a contemporary Ellsberg to lend similar credence to what is being said in the press and the academy today about the war in Iraq.

*New York University* Marilyn B. Young

*Franklin D. Roosevelt*. By Patrick Renshaw. (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2004. Pp. xxx, 223. $26.99.)

The author of this book has provided an authoritative addition to the literature on Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR). The series in which it appears emphasizes the arc of power, and Patrick Renshaw does not disappoint, pointing up his intention by using the word "power" in the title of every chapter. In a democratic polity, the study of power becomes a study of leadership, and Renshaw thoughtfully explicates those qualities that made Franklin Roosevelt the preeminent political leader of twentieth-century America. Here was a figure who was confident of his abilities and of his right to govern, hardened perhaps by his fateful collision with polio but unfailingly ebullient, indeed, even "boyish." At ease alike with Harvard professors and ordinary folk, personally charming, and fortified by a remarkable marriage, it was "not his mind but his personality," says Renshaw, echoing Oliver Wendell Holmes's celebrated judgment, that allowed Roosevelt to use power with zest and effect (84). He was the great communicator of his generation, always alert to the importance of appearance and presentation, inveterately pragmatic, yet steadfastly committed to the public good. Renshaw shows us a man who was consciously working towards the presidency from early in his career, who always retained the values of the Progressive era politics of his youth, and whose success owed something both to luck and to the talented people he gathered around him: most notably his wife Eleanor, Louis Howe, and Harry Hopkins.

Renshaw's broad strategy is a narrative one, taking the reader through the successive stages of Roosevelt's life and career in succinct chapters. The author devotes

over a third of the book to the years before Roosevelt's presidency, although he is also alert to those early experiences that were to inform FDR's performance in the White House, such as his immersion in Progressive reform. A distinguished labor historian, Renshaw is at his most insightful in discussing economic and labor history, as in his explication of the Wagner Act and of Roosevelt's gradual conversion to Keynesian policies. He is also convincing on Roosevelt's consummate skill as a wartime president. Naturally there are judgments in this study with which one might differ and aspects that perhaps deserved fuller treatment. There is more to be said about the distinctive features imparted to the American welfare state by the Social Security Act, as Linda Gordon and others have shown. Given the crucial nature of his relationship with his wife, just what was it that attracted Franklin to Eleanor in the first place?

The main drawbacks of the book belong not so much to the author as to the publisher. A small font is used, and the margins are distinctly mean, so that many words are packed densely into each page. This does not make for easy reading, and trying to hold the book open risks damage to the spine. This author, like some others in the series, deserves better.

*Rothermere American Institute, Oxford* M. J. Heale

*Minding the Machine: Languages of Class in Early Industrial America*. By Stephen P. Rice. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. Pp. xiii, 230. $49.95.)

During the four decades following 1820, a group of Americans, which included labor leaders, ministers, college professors, journal editors, and writers and lecturers from various backgrounds, employed a discourse on mechanization to construct their view of a class society, with themselves positioned in the middle. They conceptualized their view of the proper relation between proprietors and managers, on the one hand, and wage earners in the factory, on the other hand, and they extended this to society. Following an introductory chapter on the popular antebellum discourse on mechanization, Stephen P. Rice organizes his discussion into four chapters: head and hand (the mechanics institute movement), hand and head (the manual labor school movement), mind and body (popular physiology and the nation's health), and human and machine (steam boiler explosions and the emerging profession of engineering).

In each discourse, these articulate Americans emphasized how the components worked together, even as the head provided coordination and management to those working with their hands. This working together helped defuse potential class antagonisms. Mechanics institutes brought mental activity to manual workers; manual labor schools helped young people with few resources to obtain an education; the popular physiology movement used the machine metaphor of the body to advocate physical activity as a benefit to workers who used their minds; and the debate over steam boiler explosions became a venue to advocate that professional engineers tend complex machines. Nonetheless, Rice maintains that the deeper claim was the superiority of the proprietor/manager over the factory laborer.

This carefully researched book draws extensively on primary sources. In a lucidly written, logically organized argument, Rice portrays the views of the emerging middle class. They constituted a group apart from average citizens: they were highly educated, good writers, and persuasive, popular lecturers. They self-consciously identified with each other because they were aware of what their peers were thinking. Some of them had been proprietors or managers of factories, or they knew these individuals through social, religious, or political connections.

Nevertheless, their experiences with factories and mechanization of industrial processes were highly circumscribed to factory visits or secondhand information obtained through lectures, newspapers, pamphlets, and discussions. The vast majority of factory owners and managers did not participate in this discourse, and this emerging middle class consulted few factory laborers. The division of labor within factories was more complex than that between proprietors/managers and manual laborers. A large textile complex underwritten by Boston's wealthy, for example, might have a machine shop headed by a master machinist as foreman, skilled machinists who headed teams of mechanics, and unskilled helpers, as well as mills with their supervisors and legions of female machine tenders. This complexity carried across many industries, implying that manual laborers included a wide range of occupational specialization.

These caveats aside, Rice offers a major contribution to our understanding of the intellectual and social discourses about industrialization during the later antebellum years. This was not merely a prelude to the large-scale industrial expansion after 1860. The urban agglomerations of many leading manufacturers of that period began earlier, thus implying that their social and economic organizations became structured in important ways that influenced subsequent industrialization.

*Brown University* David R. Meyer

*Women at the Front: Hospital Workers in Civil War America*. By Jane E. Schultz. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Pp. xiv, 360. $39.95.)

Anyone who has ever lectured on Civil War medicine will find this book to be a godsend. Recent years have brought forth a bumper crop of published accounts by nurses, and some of these (such as the new edition of Louisa May Alcott's *Hospital Sketches*) have excellent scholarly introductions. But Jane E. Schultz's long-awaited *Women at the Front* is the first book to scour systematically all of the available primary sources, Union and Confederate, and to offer a comprehensive study of female "hospital workers." The very use of such a designation is one of Schultz's principal contributions—the term encompasses the shifting and overlapping categories of nurse, hospital matron, cook, and laundress.

Schultz makes a compelling case that previous scholarship has woefully underestimated the number of women who served as hospital workers in the North and the South. She alone has assiduously mined a treasure trove of statistical information—namely the Carded Service Records of Union hospital attendants, which the U.S.

Record and Pension Division compiled in 1890 in the midst of Congressional debates over granting pensions to nurses. These records list the names of some 21,208 women and provide information on their backgrounds and the types of work they performed. Thus Schultz is able to provide demographic context for the literary sources by female hospital workers. She finds, for example, that roughly 10 percent of the workers in the Carded Service Records were African American women, but that they were overrepresented among those classified as laundresses and cooks (rather than as nurses or matrons). Prejudice relegated black women to low-level positions in the medical hierarchy. Nonetheless, their pension records reveal many found themselves nursing patients and treating diseases and wounds. For those of us who have assigned their students the one-of-a-kind published memoir of escaped slave and Union camp follower Susie King Taylor, who was classified as a regimental laundress but found herself drawn into service as a nurse, Schultz's book is a revelation. We can now say with certainty that there were hundreds and hundreds of African American women whose stories were similar to that of Taylor.

Schultz has no equivalent of the Carded Service Records for the Confederate side, but she draws on firsthand accounts and hospital records to provide a nuanced picture of Southern hospital workers. She is able to make some interesting distinctions between Union and Confederate women. Most Northern women worked in urban general hospitals, she finds, while white Southern ones more often served in makeshift hospitals in private residences. Despite the local nature of their service, Southern women generally met with more resistance than Northern ones from men who thought hospital work to be inappropriate for "ladies." Schultz discloses the complex interplay of race and class in the setting of military hospitals, showing, for example, that while elite white Northern women prided themselves on the bonds they developed with working-class and African American soldiers, these same women were typically condescending and even dismissive in their treatment of African American female coworkers. Elite Confederate women, for their part, were no less inclined to serve than their Northern counterparts, and often held the position of hospital matrons. As they were more accustomed to interracial labor than Northern women were, class tensions within hospitals loomed larger in their experience than racial tensions did.

Schultz devotes a third of her book to the postwar legacy of women's hospital work, and finds that there was "little group momentum" among women after the war; surprisingly few attempted to acquire additional training and establish careers in medicine (147). Instead, reform-minded hospital workers channeled their energies into teaching and social service, thus hewing to the "prewar script of helping others" (148). Yet, Schultz explains, female hospital workers did effect a sea change in the way that the government perceived women. They waged a tenacious and ultimately successful campaign to become eligible for pensions, and thereby to achieve for hospital work a kind of symbolic parity with soldiering. Schultz elucidates the politics of pension claims, explaining, for example, that black women who had been narrowly classified as custodial hospital workers had a heavy burden of proof in establishing that they had served as nurses. Yet Schultz also details the federal government's

surprising responsiveness to women's demands that the pension system be modified to make it more democratic.

The only flaw in this excellent book is one of omission: Schultz does not say quite enough about the era's medical practices to permit this book to stand on its own as comprehensive. The overlap between categories of hospital workers clearly reflected the primitive state of Civil War medicine, and however gruesome, more details on how disease, wounds, and injuries were actually treated would give readers additional insight into the learning curve of the era's nurses and other hospital workers. Overall, Schultz's superlative book is invaluable and should be read and considered by everyone interested in the Civil War.

*Temple University* Elizabeth R. Varon

*Bound by a Mighty Vow: Sisterhood and Women's Fraternities, 1870–1920*. By Diana B. Turk. (New York: New York University Press, 2004. Pp. v, 245. $20.00.)

The author of this study notes that people are rarely neutral on the subject of women's fraternities (also referred to as sororities) and says she has felt pushed and pulled to take a position for or against these institutions. She has tried to do neither, to remain as balanced as possible, and to assess critically the positive and negative aspects of the subject. The result is a careful book, which introduces the reader to the beginnings of the white women's fraternal system in the United States and shows how it developed through its two generations, evolving from a system intended to support struggling first-generation female college students to one concerned primarily with the social life of female students. Indeed, by 1920 the fraternal life she describes seems to have had little educational value or connection and was instead a way for students and college administrators to organize campus social life.

In 1870, four women at Asbury College in Indiana who felt isolated and barely tolerated at the college formed Kappa Alpha Theta to support one another's academic endeavors. They established strict academic standards for their female membership and embraced values of "high-thinking and simple-living" (75). Although only a small number of women belonged to private societies in the 1870s, by 1920 the Greek system counted 77,800 women. By then the early academic focus had diminished considerably. As Diana B. Turk tells it, the second generation of fraternity women exhibited greater concern with social rank, manners, and skills; they "jettisoned their academic and literary work in favor of social activities" (47). Much to the consternation of the first generation, the second generation focused more on organizing dances and parties. Pledges gained acceptance because of their "looks, amiability and social performance" (67).

Turk contends that it would be wrong to see these institutions as exclusive, but her focus is primarily on the arguments among women about the requirements for membership. By the 1920s, a more diverse population of women was attending college, while at the same time the fraternities were expanding their chapters across the nation. Fraternity sisters had to confront their own prejudices, and they increas-

ingly argued over the requirements for membership. Turk chronicles the debates about whether to admit Catholic and Jewish women, but also shows how other social divisions played out. Chapters investigated one another to insure that members conformed to the accepted standards of sociability. Albion College had its charter revoked because members made "poor impressions" (90). Exactly what constituted the basis for this judgment is unclear. Often assessments had to do with the socioeconomic status and background of the women being judged.

This is primarily an institutional history with the author concluding that women's fraternities acted conservatively to reinforce prevailing standards of womanhood. Although this is reasonable, more attention to individual stories might have suggested more varied ways in which women used these networks of friendships for larger social projects, transcending the narrow focus on sociability, or how they challenged, or even transgressed, the rules that were intended to enforce exclusivity.

*Hofstra University* Susan M. Yohn

*Race, Nation, and Market: Economic Culture in Porfiran Mexico*. By Richard Weiner. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004. Pp. xi, 167. $39.95.)

Revisionist scholars have begun to rethink Porfirio Diaz and his thirty-five-year dictatorship. Once seen as the lackeys of American capitalists, Diaz and his *científico* advisors have been partially rehabilitated, presented as nationalists pursuing Mexico's interests and resisting subjugation to powerful foreigners. Richard Weiner contributes to this new scholarship by reexamining the economic philosophies of elite Mexicans, both inside and outside the government. According to Weiner, historians have simplistically portrayed the Diaz administration as having been "guided by a laissez-faire philosophy." In fact, he argues, the Porfirian elite rejected liberal "notions like individualism, economic man, and laissez-faire . . . [and] stressed the collective, racial hierarchy, and the state" (4). For Weiner, this explains the nationalist policies pursued by the regime especially after 1900.

Weiner places the "symbol of the market" at the center of his analysis. Developmentalist liberals (Diaz and the Científicos) were ambivalent on whether the market could positively transform Mexico. Market forces were critical, they believed, in providing the economic opportunities on which Mexico's political stability depended. The market was not sufficiently powerful to reform backward Indians on whom the liberals believed "economic incentives were lost." Instead, liberals "championed forms of coercion and indoctrination to forge a labor force" (33). State intervention (coercion, reeducation, immigration, etc.) was imperative to help overcome Mexico's "inferior races." These racialist, social Darwinist philosophies of the Científicos were a departure from orthodox Smithian liberalism. Liberals even attacked *hacendados* for their allegedly feudal behavior and resistance to technology.

Weiner further argues that the regime rejected true comparative advantage, fearing that unfettered commerce would allow foreigners to dominate Mexico. State intervention protected Mexican sovereignty from the more advanced nations with which

Mexico traded, nations whose "economic superiority stemmed in part from racial superiority" (49). Yet Mexico needed foreign investment, the liberals maintained, for "foreign blood, money, and technology would bring economic prosperity and thus strengthen the country's position in the international economic war" (49).

Weiner also examines the market philosophies of Diaz's opponents, specifically Trinidad Sánchez Santos's social Catholics and the Flores Magon brothers' Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM). The social Catholicism movement condemned liberalism's individualism and materialism, blaming it for the breakdown of morality in Mexico, especially the erosion of the family. Despite a rhetoric of equality, liberalism instead "invented methods to make the rich richer and the poor poorer" (73). Social Catholicism sought to infuse the economy with Christian morals, to force "capital and labor to focus on their responsibilities to society as opposed to their individual desires" (77).

The PLM blamed market expansion for impoverishing Mexicans by erecting coercive labor systems. Until 1906 the PLM advocated political liberalization to effect economic reform to alleviate the misery of Mexico's working class. After 1906, however, the PLM radicalized, embracing anarchism and painting the market as "an unambiguous symbol of oppression." Whereas the PLM had once proposed reforming the market, now "the beast could not be tamed. It had to be destroyed" (93).

This work takes a unique approach to understanding the complexity of the Porfirian economy. Sophisticated and carefully reasoned arguments make this book a valuable contribution to the evolving portrayal of this critical period of Mexican history.

*Ohio Wesleyan University* Jeremy Baskes

*The Origins of the Southern Middle Class, 1800–1861*. By Jonathan Daniel Wells. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Pp. xv, 321. $22.50.)

The portrait of an Old South composed of wealthy planters, yeoman farmers, and slaves retains a tenacious hold on Southern historians. By establishing the existence of a vibrant middle class in the antebellum South, the author complicates this view and in the process offers an ambitious and compelling argument about the coming of the Civil War and the origins of the New South.

Jonathan Daniel Wells addresses the complex problem of class formation with boldness, deftness, and sensitivity. He recognizes that class was simultaneously a question of economic and social status and an ideological construct. According to Wells, the most important factor shaping the rise of the Southern middle class was the influence of and the close interaction with the Northern middle class. Travel, trade, and the dissemination of print culture created strong intersectional bonds, which provided an incipient Southern middle class with the ideological and institutional tools for class formation. Like their Northern counterparts, Southern professionals created debating societies, lyceums, libraries, and historical societies. They heartily endorsed Whiggish notions of reform and progress, plunging enthusiastically into campaigns for public education. Yet, the Southern middle class had indigenous roots as well, consolidating

in conflicts with both planters and working-class whites. To urban middle-class professionals, the planter class clung to outmoded values of honor such as dueling that stood in the way of material and cultural progress. At the other end of the social spectrum, working-class whites were alienated by the middle class's inclusion of slave labor as an integral element of commercial and manufacturing growth. The Southern middle class thus adapted Northern ideas of culture and progress and "reshaped them to fit the particular needs of the region" (13).

Equally compelling is Wells's argument on the role of the middle class in the coming of the Civil War. During the 1850s, the South witnessed a rapid rise in modernization evident in urbanization, railroad growth, and increasing state expenditures for internal improvements. The Southern middle class's enthusiasm for a modernization process that included slavery led to growing conflicts and estrangement from their counterparts in the North. The perceived threat of Southern success, Wells contends, generated a concern among Northerners that the South would develop into "an economic and a political menace" (153). Careful in assessing causality, Wells maintains that this fear was one of the factors that hardened the Republican opposition to the spread of slavery.

Although this book rests on similarities between the antebellum North and South, it tends to conflate a society with a middle class with a middle-class society. The distinction between the two, this reviewer would suggest, better explains the growing sectional estrangement of the 1850s. In the North, the spectacular rise of the Republican Party on an ideology of free soil, free labor, and free men represented a real triumph of middle-class hegemony. Despite its vibrancy, the Southern middle class never successfully challenged the political power of Southern planters. Rather, the demise of the Whig Party led to an essential political monopoly of the proslavery democracy.

Nonetheless, Wells's arguments merit the attention of all antebellum Southern historians. His recovery of a dynamic and reformist Southern middle class should force all historians of the South to rethink the vexing question of Southern distinctiveness.

*Denison University* Mitchell Snay

*Chains of Love: Slave Couples in Antebellum South Carolina*. By Emily West. (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004. Pp. 184. $30.00.)

The author of this book seeks to fill a gap in historical studies of American slavery on the nature of the relationship between married slaves. Emily West, in *Chains of Love*, encompasses more than the limited scope of the term "slave couples," incorporating issues of familial relationships, male-female relationships, the community nature of slavery, and family as a theme of resilience. She speaks to the strength of the slave family and slave relationships despite adversity in their lives, and of the central role of familial affection in slave communities.

The heart of West's work is cross-plantation unions, which accounted for approximately 34 percent of the South Carolina slave households that have been studied.

Far from weak and nominal relationships, cross-plantation marriages point to the resilience of enslaved communities. West details the strength of "abroad" relationships and the importance of such unions to the larger slave community. In particular, West contends that "abroad" relationships had larger implications in that enforced separations, at least those on a local level, were not as devastating to the slave family as previous scholars have argued.

The topic of relationships between slaves is difficult to explore partly because of the intimate nature of those relationships and partly because of the paucity, and problematic nature, of source material. In addition to a wealth of secondary literature, West employs slave autobiographies, church records, plantation records, and family papers. The principal set of sources used in this study is the South Carolina Works Progress Administration slave narrative collection; to her credit, West acknowledges the problems inherent with the slave narratives and is careful in her analysis of them. Given the nature of the topic, the general scarcity of material, and the problems with various source materials, the author deserves praise for her cautious treatment of the source material. Nevertheless, other sources, including the Freedman's Bureau and the ongoing work of Ira Berlin and others at the Freedmen and Southern Society Project, could have been utilized more extensively given their valuable insight into familial relationships and struggles.

The strength of West's work is her insight into relationships from the perspective of both masters and slaves. Her primary emphasis is on slaves rather than white perceptions of slaves, but West spends considerable time dealing with owners' perceptions and perspectives, particularly to contrast them with those of slaves, thus showing how the worldviews of masters and slaves were at odds with one another.

West grounds her work in a larger historiographical setting in that she places her findings within a framework of previous studies. At times she reinforces the findings of others; at other times she presents contradictory evidence. For example, whereas Brenda Stevenson regards cross-plantation families as inferior to those that were nuclear in type, West contends that her evidence shows that "abroad" marriages did not emasculate slave fathers and that cross-plantation unions were highly resilient institutions. In the end, West concludes that the family and kinship relationships that the slaves cultivated and sustained substantially helped them to carve out a culture and community that were separate from the realm of their masters. *Chains of Love* firmly takes its place in the realm of community cultural study of American slavery.

*Radford University* Sharon A. Roger Hepburn

*Doomed to Fail: The Built-in Defects of American Education*. By Paul A. Zoch. (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004. Pp. ix, 237. $26.95.)

Who do we blame for the low expectations required of students in U.S. public schools? Is it the parents? Do we point fingers at the teachers? Should we perhaps critique the professors in the colleges of education? What about placing responsibility on the students themselves? In this new book, Paul A. Zoch examines how historical

developments in education during the last century shifted responsibility for learning from the student to the teacher. The author, a veteran teacher and classicist, argues against the unfair responsibilities placed on today's teachers. He believes that teachers in public schools are not only expected to entertain students, but also to maintain and increase their performance on various accountability measures. Students, in the meantime, have been led to believe that success "lies outside their own actions and character: someone else must 'achieve excellence' for them" (xvi). According to Zoch, this "built-in defect" in the public schools is the cumulative effect of decades of progressive philosophical, psychological, and social ideas. The author devotes the majority of this well-written and provocative book to a detailed examination of these progressive currents of thought that have so profoundly shaped American public schools. He concludes with alternative examples from private American schools and international settings that have pursued other paths to school reform and improvement, arguing that academic excellence can be achieved when responsibility rests squarely on students, not teachers.

Zoch traces the current underachievement in our schools to what he calls the "Progressive Paradigm," taking the reader on a tour of the leading thinkers in behaviorism, connectionism, progressivism, romanticism, and child-centered learning during the first half of the twentieth century. These influences, according to Zoch, contributed to an overromanticized view of child development and anti-intellectualism, encouraging professors in colleges of education to train teachers that pushing students too hard could lead to psychological damage. As a result of these child-centered beliefs, teachers have also been charged with the almost impossible task of discovering the correct learning style of each child in their classroom and implementing lesson plans accordingly.

In his narrative, the author also argues that elements of the Progressive Paradigm have been reified in the modern age. Brain-based learning, which utilizes our new knowledge of how electrochemical processes influence student learning and cognitive styles, and Howard Gardner's Multiple Intelligence theory also "share some educationist traits and ultimately betray their descent from the Progressive Paradigm" (114). Zoch criticizes the continuing reliance on progressive ideology in our colleges of education and teacher in-service programs in schools. He also faults social critics for their support of progressivism. In his opinion, heaping blame on teachers, not students, for underachievement is unfair and a pernicious outcome of progressivism.

What are the solutions? Zoch proposes that a national curriculum matched with national standardized examinations will shift the burden of learning to students. Such a test-based curriculum would permit parents, students, and other stakeholders to compare achievement objectively across the country. He also believes American society must change the cultural climate of public schooling. Students "must understand that going to school is their job" and take challenging academic courses (200–201).

Zoch is most persuasive in his early historical chapters that point out the ironic and unintended application of early theories in educational philosophy and psychology. Although the author's goal is to defend teachers, they are faceless and voiceless in this narrative. We learn more about what philosophers and reformers have stated

about teachers than their own beliefs. Despite these quibbles and the gloomy title, *Doomed to Fail* merits the attention of all those interested in a stimulating analysis of public education.

*Florida State University* Victoria-María MacDonald

### *ASIA AND THE PACIFIC*

*The History of New Zealand*. By Tom Brooking. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2004. Pp. xxxv, 250. $45.00.)

In recent years, New Zealand has been a popular destination for increasing numbers of American undergraduate students. New Zealand's "clean, green" reputation, its enthusiasm for extreme sports, and home to many of the picturesque locations featured in the *Lord of the Rings* have lured student visitors here, keen on an action-packed semester or two. This handsomely produced and engagingly written history of New Zealand perfectly taps into this market. This volume is part of Greenwood's "Histories of the Modern Nations" series, signaling New Zealand's status as a "modern nation" and its claim to sit alongside thirty-two other nation-states. The book comprises several teacher-friendly sections, including a timeline of historical events, a collection of noteworthy biographies, a glossary of Maori (indigenous language) terms, and a comprehensive bibliographic article. The main narrative itself is relatively concise, filling just 178 pages.

Most New Zealand historians would recognize the chronological structure of this book. Tom Brooking, a scholar of rural and environmental history and one of New Zealand's most respected historians, brings his extraordinary knowledge of history and a long teaching career to this publication. The book begins with a geographical overview and outlines patterns of early Polynesian settlement. The author moves through familiar narratives of European colonization and expansion, to later chapters tentatively nodding in the direction of "nationhood." Yet this is not a comforting tale of European conquest and Maori submission; it is instead a cautious and reflective account of a country and its peoples constantly grappling with new challenges. Some of this can be evinced in the chapter titles, of which "Building a Better Britain at Someone Else's Expense, 1840–1870" is the best example. Brooking's narrative engages with and is informed by the work of other New Zealand historians, thus weaving a historiographical dimension through the text.

Brooking has produced an excellent volume that deserves to be well read by its target American audience. This reviewer's only misgiving is that while the book would be hugely valuable to New Zealand students, the weak New Zealand dollar places it out of the reach of most. Even so, this book communicates the dynamism and energy of New Zealand history. This is, after all, the story of a geographically isolated thin archipelago, located twelve hundred miles from its nearest neighbor, Australia, from whom it constantly seeks to differentiate itself. Although New Zealand was one of

the last places on earth to be settled by humans and can boast a number of world "firsts," Brooking neither lapses into cliché nor is tempted towards stereotype. As if to underscore this point, the text ends on a quietly positive but hesitant tone. Looking ahead, Brooking concludes that for New Zealand to cope with the challenges of globalization, it will need "the extraordinary capacity of its indigenous people to cope with change, the ingenuity of its European settlers, and the entrepreneurial skills of its more recent Asian arrivals to prosper as a healthy democracy in the twenty-first century" (178).

*Victoria University of Wellington* Giselle M. Byrnes

*Stitches on Time: Colonial Textures and Postcolonial Tangles*. By Saurabh Dube. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004. Pp. xv, 259. $84.95.)

The author of this study is not shy about claiming dual disciplinary significance for his work. He writes, "I engage and extend the historical anthropology of colonial cultures especially explorations of colonizing peoples at the cusp of ethnography and history" (14). A bit later, Saurabh Dube narrows his scope to exploring particular issues underemphasized in South Asian scholarship, with evangelical entanglements featured prominently. Then he seems to define operationally this volume's grand plan in terms of the images of empire that missionaries held. Clarifying these images requires, asserts Dube, four sets of tasks: 1) defining "considerations of colonial cultures in dialogue with recent critical perspectives on evangelization and empire and Christianity and colonialism," particularly in imperial India; 2) tracing the process of blending of colonial and modern law, etc.; 3) exploring "forms of power and terms of hegemony . . . within everyday arenas"; and 4) attending "to pervasive mappings of social worlds . . . the haunting of the post colonial by the specter of the colonial" (16).

The quotations above offer a representative sample of the writing style found throughout *Stitches on Time*. The point of view is not infrequently autobiographical, as when the author explains the title and cover illustration. "Subaltern" and several similar terms serve to identify the language of this volume as an instance of the empire talking back to the metropole. Dube's South Asian peers no doubt comprehend his intentions. The phrase "the aggressive privileges of culture" warns, however, that Dube and the reviewer do not share a common definition of the key concept, "culture" (15). The phrases "scandals of the West" and "history without warranty" serve also to alert the reader to Dube's distrust of received wisdom (20).

This author discusses "colonial textures" in four chapters, and "postcolonial tangles" in three chapters, two of which are reviews of subaltern studios. When he does analyze historical information, the data and conclusions that he reaches are not always consistent with each other. Dube argues that "preparation, preservation, serving and distribution of food by the wives of missionaries were central to the valorization of the home as the focal site of the civilizing process" (41). On the preceding page, however, Dube quotes "a detailed and sensitive description of missionary

lifestyles," which explicitly states that the household "was operated by Indian servants" including a cook (40).

At the end of his section headed "Home-Cooked Hegemonies," Dube writes, "Such home-cooked hegemonies appeared articulated through cooks and cutlets, meats and marmalade, and arts of civilization and signs of enlightenment" (42). Like a missionary he cites, Dube wants to generalize on Christian conversion efforts throughout the non-Western world. The missionary family model that Dube proposes never existed, however, in the Spanish colonial empire in which the monarch subsidized missions to natives staffed by celibate Roman Catholic priests. Hired cooks could not and did not generate any home-cooked hegemony. A comparative perspective thus identifies the shortcomings in a purely South Asian historical interpretation.

*Edmond, Oklahoma* Henry F. Dobyns

*Pacific Places, Pacific Histories: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Kiste*. Edited by Brij V. Lal. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004. Pp. vii, 345. $57.00.)

In this collection of articles, the authors attempt to accomplish two goals. The first objective is to pay tribute to the person whose name bears the focus of the title. In this respect, this book celebrates the life and scholarly contributions of Robert C. Kiste, an established figure in the field of Pacific islands studies. As the editor reveals in the introduction, Kiste originally hailed from Indiana, at one time studying the Crow Indians of Montana and the Marshallese of Bikini and Enewetak Atolls in the 1970s. Kiste's initial involvement in the research of Marshallese culture, and in particular the medical, social, and political effects of American nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands, soon broadened his interest in the Pacific islands region. As these seventeen articles collectively illustrate, Kiste later aided in the professional development of journal and monograph publications, research libraries and institutions, and various community projects in the Pacific. The fruits of his labor are clearly evinced in the establishment of the Center for Pacific Islands Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

The second feature of this book allows its authors to reflect upon the role of "places" in shaping their personal and professional aspirations. As a result, these writers, all friends and colleagues of Kiste, dwell on the subject of Pacific places as environmental settings or as journeys among different geographical locations. This partly explains why the contributors devote their attention to topics and settings in the Pacific, some of which include alcohol use in Chuuk, navigation in O'ahu, local politics in Pohnpei, and sorcery in Maipa. Unfortunately the majority of the articles in this collection are autobiographical in nature, thus overemphasizing the secondary goal of this work. Their stories, as a whole, reflect nostalgically on the travails and tribulations of the different contributors, rather than exploring Kiste as a mentor, administrator, or even as a symbol of area studies in the Pacific. Instead much attention focuses on the ways in which places in the Pacific affected and continue to affect the maturation and intellectual growth of the authors. As contributor R. Gerard Ward

remarks, places and communities "shape people," as he too has been similarly shaped by the environment of Taupo Country in New Zealand (99).

The clear imbalance in the book's two-pronged approach to assessing Kiste as an individual and the Pacific as an idea of places leaves the strength of the work on the latter emphasis. In methodological terms, social historians, geographers, and cultural anthropologists may find these autobiographical articles on places revealing, if not rewarding. Questions regarding the politics of fieldwork, community activism, objectivity, pedagogy, and self-reflexivity immediately come to the fore. For those researching on the wider subjects of social change and cross-cultural contact, *Pacific Places, Pacific Histories* indeed merits their attention. To ponder further questions about Kiste may be more tedious, as one may have to ask the man himself.

*University of Hawai'i* Keith L. Camacho

*The Class of 1761: Examinations, State, and Elites in Eighteenth-Century China*. By Iona D. Man-Cheong. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004. Pp. xii, 298. $55.00.)

The imperial Chinese civil service examination was, from the perspective of the throne, a wondrously enabling instrument. It was a satisfactory means of bureaucratic recruitment, generating a steady supply of competent men to staff the empire's several thousand official posts. It provided, subject to the floor imposed by the financial capacities of the candidates' families, a reasonably successful vehicle for upward mobility of talented and ambitious men, the achievement of whose ambition necessarily made them direct clients of the throne. Not in the least, it ensured that the most substantial and influential individuals in every locality—whether or not they ever *passed* any examination—would voluntarily submit themselves to lifelong indoctrination in a curriculum that was uniform, steeped in the values of personal morality and public service, and approved by the ruling house. It was arguably this institution, more than any other single factor, that allowed the vast empire to remain intact over its final millennium; when it passed from the scene, in 1905, the empire itself did the same only a few years later.

In *The Class of 1761*, Iona D. Man-Cheong adds to a body of English-language scholarship that has grown progressively since the landmark studies of Ping-ti Ho in the 1950s. Man-Cheong's case for originality has not been helped by the publication, during the fourteen years it took her to transform a dissertation into a book, of Benjamin Elman's monumental *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* [University of California Press, 2000], which covers much of the same ground. Still, her very creatively researched book has a great deal to offer.

The particular "cut" Man-Cheong has chosen to take on the examination's history is to look collectively at the successful candidates in the highest, metropolitan examination (*huishi*) administered in a single year. This tactic allows her, first of all, to tell us more about the actual structure of the capital examinations, including the capstone "palace examination" (*dianshi*) and "court examination" (*chaokao*), than we have

learned from previous institutional histories. It leads her to a detailed reading of the examination papers of several of the year's most successful candidates, revealingly analyzing their answers to a single question to suggest how these reflected their differing cultural origins and intellectual affiliations. Her strategy allows her to interrogate the intricacies of court politics because the year 1761 was not arbitrarily chosen, but was in fact notorious for an incident of direct imperial intervention in the ranking of successful candidates. Whereas most previous scholarship has seen the Qianlong emperor's decision to elevate the Shaanxi-born Wang Jie over the Zhejiang-educated Zhao Yi as an attempt at affirmative action in order to bring representation to the academically weaker northwest, Man-Cheong reads the incident more as a contest of wills between the emperor and his increasingly autonomous body of privy advisors, the Grand Council.

Finally by offering a prosopography of the 217 successful candidates in the examination of 1761 and a more detailed study of several emblematic individuals among them, Man-Cheong is able to give us a fresh take on the pivotal era of the late eighteenth century. Among her more intriguing findings is that *wu* (martial) rather than *wen* (civil) talents seem to have proven more determinative of career success in this period of renewed imperial muscle-flexing on the empire's borders, but that this may have backfired on officials who had made their name this way when the military situation began to turn sour at century's end.

Throughout her book, Man-cheong makes two recurring arguments. The first is that, rather than a discrete test or even a series of tests, the examinations were a "practice," a continuous "disciplinary" process to which those on the inside subjected themselves on a lifelong basis. This seems a convincing and productive way to rethink our understanding of the system. The second argument is that the examinations were a critical component in forging a "proto-nation-space" (*guojia*) among Chinese literati drawn from throughout the empire, a space that was capable of surviving the disappearance of the non-Chinese ruling house that under the Qing served as its producer and custodian. This too is an intriguing argument, but one the author would need to elaborate upon with greater clarity and specificity to be truly useful.

*Johns Hopkins University* William T. Rowe

*The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom: Rebellion and the Blasphemy of Empire*. By Thomas H. Reilly. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004. Pp. xi, 235. $45.00.)

In this insightful and easily accessible monograph, the author examines the ideological basis of the Taiping Uprising [1851–1864]. The Taiping rebels proclaimed that the Christian God known as *Shangdi* (the Supreme God of ancient China) had anointed Hong Xiuquan to overthrow the Qing dynasty and establish a "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace" (*Taiping Tianguo*). By connecting Taiping Christianity with the culture of ancient China, Hong was determined to restore a political system that honored *Shangdi*.

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Christianity was an integral part of local Chinese society. The imperial officials treated Catholic communities as one of the heterodox sects. After China's defeat in the Opium War [1839–1842], the French government pressed the Qing government to recognize Catholicism as a foreign religion, thereby creating an association between the Bible and the gun in the eyes of Chinese elites.

Coinciding with this change was the Christian missionary expansion into China. Although the Anglo-American Protestant missionaries stressed individual salvation from sin, Hong Xiuquan was concerned with the national salvation of China. As with other Confucian literati, Hong was looking for the Original Way (*yuandao*). His understanding of Protestant Christianity was derived from his knowledge of Chinese classics. When he first saw the term *Shangdi* in the Old and New Testaments, he thought of the reference to *Shangdi* in *Shijing* (*The Book of History*). By Christianizing the ancient Chinese idea of *Shangdi*, Hong rejected the legitimacy of dynastic institutions and condemned the imperial emperors as blasphemous rulers. When Hong's ideas became the new religious and political orthodoxy, his followers regarded all Chinese religious and political icons as distracting and therefore satanic. There was an extensive scale of iconoclasm permeating the movement. Smashing idols and rebelling against blasphemous rulers were two sides of the same coin in the Taiping crusade.

However, after the Heavenly Kingdom fell in 1864, the Qing imperial government effaced all memory of the Taiping rebels. In a similar fashion, foreign missionaries refused to acknowledge Hong's efforts to integrate Christianity into Chinese culture. Instead, most missionaries associated the Christian faith with the military power of the West. Their obsession with the Bible and the gun betrayed Hong's goal of transforming Christianity into a driving force of national and cultural liberation in China.

*The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom* is thoroughly researched, clearly written, and strongly argued. This excellent work should find an audience with historians and religious specialists of modern China, as well as historians of world Christianity.

*Pace University, New York* Joseph Tse-Hei Lee

*Gandhi: Behind the Mask of Divinity*. By G. B. Singh. (Amherst, N.Y.: Prometheus Books, 2004. Pp. 355. $32.00.)

This study contains two central theses. First, the author argues that the bulk of the vast Gandhi literature represents an outgrowth of "the Gandhi propaganda machine," part of an overarching "Hindu propaganda machine," which, in turn, "runs under the aegis of the government of India" (25). This propaganda machine has "perfected the art of deception, relentless repetition, and deliberate misuse of Gandhi's 'holy' image" (22–24). Moreover, the author alleges that the Indian government has been using the gullible foreign press to promote Gandhi as a peaceful, morally infallible messiah figure, thus pursuing its strategic goals of both "selling its cultural image" and advancing its foreign policy objectives (24). The

second thesis promises to reveal the "real Gandhi," who, according to the author, was "a racist to the bone," "a pathological liar," a dictator worse than Hitler, and a sworn enemy of the outcastes.

If the author had managed to present credible evidence for both theses, his book would have been nothing short of a scholarly sensation, not only invalidating diametrically opposed assessments emerging from nearly eight decades of academic "Gandhiana," but also dismantling the Mahatma's popular image. In addition, Singh's study would constitute a valuable contribution to the existing social science literature on Indian politics.

Concerning G. B. Singh's first thesis, however, this reviewer could not find hard evidence for the sinister manipulations of the "Hindu propaganda machine." To be sure, there are occasional attempts by Singh, such as his justified debunking of some fictitious elements, and regrettable omissions in the Indian government-sponsored, Academy Award-winning, blockbuster film *Gandhi*. But how do these exaggerations rise to the level of deliberate deception? More importantly, how do they connect to the larger issue of the alleged conspiracy of political forces to advance their agenda? Singh's eagerness to accuse without raising or answering these questions is deeply disturbing.

With regard to the second thesis—Gandhi's supposed racism, dishonesty, autocratic streak, and presumptuous posture toward *dalits*—the author offers much better evidence. Perhaps one of the strongest sections of the book is the author's examination of pertinent primary and secondary literature revealing Gandhi's attitude toward black Africans during his two decades in South Africa. Investigating Gandhi's noncombatant military service during the Boer War [1899–1901] and the so-called "Zulu Rebellion" [1906], Singh marshals strong evidence for the young attorney's racist views, as well as for his dishonest attempts to hide them in his later writings when these attitudes had significantly softened. Moreover, Singh shows how a large number of Gandhi scholars omitted references to these episodes in their work—possibly to protect the Mahatma's reputation.

Numerous criticisms of Gandhi's moral flaws do exist; one only needs to consult pertinent works authored by Ved Mehta, Partha Chatterjee, Joseph Alter, or this reviewer. Yet, out of fairness, these authors balanced their critiques against Gandhi's impressive moral strengths. By launching a one-sided attack without offering the larger, more complex picture of Gandhi's ethical and political engagements, the book under review turns into a strident polemic, thus diminishing the considerable value of some of its criticisms.

*Illinois State University* Manfred B. Steger

*Relics of the Buddha*. By John S. Strong. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Pp. xxii, 290. $39.50.)

Once considered an embarrassing sideshow to the more weighty drama of the life and legacy of the Buddha, relics have increasingly moved closer to center stage in

scholarly appraisal of Buddhist history. Over the past few decades, Buddhologists have underlined the importance of relic worship in all parts of the Buddhist world from ancient to modern times. They have shown how cults to the bits of bones, teeth, hair, and nails of a wide array of holy figures have flourished throughout Buddhist history and continue to do so today.

In *Relics of the Buddha*, John S. Strong deftly synthesizes this recent body of scholarship, drawing as well on previously overlooked primary sources to examine the curious history of the most famous relics of all: those of the Buddha himself. Strong convincingly argues that a full biography of the Buddha should begin before the birth of Gautama and continue long after his *parinirvana*. In all three segments of the previous Buddha—life in the incarnations leading up to his birth as Gautama, in his life as Gautama, and in his posthumous career—relics play a role.

Hence Strong begins his book with chapters on relics of previous Buddhas and on relics of the Bodhisattva—including those from previous lives and from his life as Gautama—followed by relics such as hair and nails from the period before the Buddha achieved *parinirvana*, and concluding with chapters on the vagaries of his relics after his death. Fittingly, in the final chapter, the author discusses legends of the future of the Buddha relics, which will, one day, disappear as the *Dharma* declines during the long, grim period of darkness that marks at last the true end of the Buddha biography and paves the way for the advent of the next Buddha, Maitreya. The Buddha body—like his teachings, both the symbol and the source of his influence—is tied to the cosmic cycles that course through eternity.

Although scholars once hoped to consign relics to the activities of a crass laity unversed in the subtleties of Buddhist doctrine, Strong demonstrates in rich detail the sophisticated doctrinal speculation applied to various aspects of relics. For example, when the Buddha is in the presence of the relics of a previous Buddha, does this violate the principle that two buddhas cannot exist simultaneously? If relics are distributed out of compassion, do full-body relics of past buddhas indicate that they were somehow less compassionate?

Strong has a full command of the extensive secondary literature on the Buddha relics, and examination of the effusive interpretations of previous scholars is often as fascinating as the legends themselves. Relics are "memory sites," "metamorphoses of the double," "kernels of pure imaginaire," "hierophanies," "blazing absences," that "final and insensible scream that is the 'supreme affirmation of life'" (5). Although aware of these interpretations, Strong is more subdued in his approach, chiefly seeing in relics what he terms "expressions and extensions of the Buddha biographical process" (5, 229).

The focus of the book is on ancient legends of the relics of the Buddha from India and Ceylon, but Strong also discusses material from Burma and China, including the political use of relics in the twentieth century. Throughout its pages, *Relics of the Buddha* is clearly written and carefully documented. It serves as an authoritative and reliable overview of an important aspect of Buddhist devotional and, to an extent, intellectual life.

*Academia Sinica* John Kieschnick

*Taiwan's Imagined Geography: Chinese Colonial Travel Writings and Pictures, 1683–1895*. By Emma J. Teng. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004. Pp. 400. $49.95.)

This study is a carefully crafted, beautifully written, and often fascinating book that gives the reader new ways to think about Taiwan and its place in the sociocultural universe that was late imperial China. The book, like the island that is its subject, can be seen as a hybrid of sorts. The author successfully makes use of the methodologies of literary analysis and history to create a temporal portrait of the way that Chinese literati and government officials realistically described and also "imagined" about the land and the peoples, both indigenous and immigrant, of Taiwan. The book begins in 1684 when the Qing government conquered the island, and it ends with the Japanese taking over the island from the Qing Dynasty in the wake of the First Sino-Japanese War.

In the well-organized and tightly knit introduction that begins the book, Emma J. Teng begins with a traveler's account of the island, one of many such documents on which she focuses. She then informs the reader of what theoretical perspectives from literary studies—using both postmodernist and postcolonial theories—she has employed (or argues against) in her powerful and provocative concluding section. She also places her work within "Qing-as-imperium studies." This new and very important historiographical school was pioneered by Pamela Crossley and has been further developed by Evelyn Rawski and Edward Rhodes.

With this theoretical and historigraphical context firmly established, Teng begins the six-chapter-long core of her study. This reviewer believes that Teng wanted a wider audience for her book. The author inserted two tightly written "interludes" that cover the basic events of the major periods in the island's two-hundred-year span of Qing dominance because she realized that most of her readers do not have her own solid grasp of the basic narrative line of Taiwan's history. She places these at critical junctures in the metanarrative of a Taiwan both perceived and imagined that she lays out in each of the core chapters of the book.

In each of the formal chapters, Teng covers specific spans of years, and each marks a step in the increased knowledge that Qing literati or literati-officials have of the island. Although greater knowledge of the island does not translate itself into more objective portrayals of the island. The authors of the major articles often try to fit their observations and data into specific tropes or conventions found within the larger body of prose categories or forms—historical, philosophical, literary, or spiritual—that make up the classical tradition. Fitting the raw material into certain tropes led to what Teng sees as a series of imagined geographic portraits, each of which came together and coalesced into the "imagined geography" of the book's title. Such specific "imagined Taiwans" were useful constructs in the Qing government's debate over the place of the island in the evolving imperium. Even after the Japanese had conquered the island and were replaced by the KMT, such tropes made use of what must be seen as a "Taiwan of the mind."

One should comment on the sheer intellectual density of the book as well as its distinctive literary qualities. Each chapter, each paragraph, and each line contains its own special set of insights. Teng's book reminds this reviewer, in its grace and the power of its finely honed prose, of the historical novels of Phillip Roth. Those who think that such a comparison is too strong must read *Taiwan's Imagined Geography* and decide for themselves.

*Baruch College, City University of New York* Murray A. Rubinstein

## *EUROPE*

*Napoleon in Egypt*. Edited by Irene A. Bierman, with an introduction by Afaf Lutfi Al-Sayyid Marsot. (Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, 2003. Pp. v, 187. $49.50.)

The articles that compose this book were given at an international conference held in Los Angeles to discuss the French invasion of Egypt from an interdisciplinary and multicultural perspective, and, in particular, to give due emphasis to the Arab view of the invader. The result is a coherent collection, which owes much to Egyptian—and more generally to Arab—historiography over the last two centuries. For French and European scholars, it is this perspective, more than anything the authors say about France itself, that gives the collection its freshness and originality, along with the fact that it brings together two contrasting historical traditions and two discrete views of the world that came into close and violent contact at the turn of the nineteenth century.

The French occupation may have lasted for only three years, yet its significance should not be underestimated. Its impact on Islam left deep traces in later tradition and scholarly writing. Napoleon's legacy did not end when the last French soldiers had left. Indeed, throughout the following century, Napoleon's legacy constituted a dominant element in Arab representations of France and the West.

This book is not wholly about legacies, however; the author also seeks to place the Egyptian campaign in a broader cultural and geopolitical context that can give it greater meaning. Its timing proved crucial. The final decades of the eighteenth century had been "little short of disastrous for Egypt, as natural and man-made disasters seemed to follow one after another," with the Egyptians accepting Mameluke rule on the assumption that armed rulers would offer them protection, only to find themselves left exposed to the punitive Ottoman expedition of 1786 and, close on its heels, to invasion by the French (99). Significantly, the French were not equated with arbitrary cruelty, which local people associated with the Turks. They were seen as bringing administration, a system of justice, and more than a vestige of stability. They appeared to treat Islam with at least a grain of respect. They provided business for local merchants and brought Western learning and books on archaeology and science. The fact that their armies were accompanied by linguists, archaeologists, and scholars of religion and seemed to be fascinated by Egypt's ancient civilization left a deep and

positive impression on the local people. It was not just the French who would pore over the *Description d'Egypte* or would wonder at the sheer ambition of Napoleon's *mission civilisatrice*. Some Egyptian historians went so far as to see the French invasion as a necessary prerequisite of modernization and of the institutional reforms of Mehemet Ali. Others praised Napoleon as the father of modern Egyptology and saw the arrival of the French as a nodal moment in their history, a meeting between East and West that affected their culture just as profoundly as it enriched that of Europe. Their arguments provide further support for Edward Said's view that 1798 was formative in creating a new discourse of Orientalism.

*University of York* Alan Forrest

*Parliament and Foreign Policy in the Eighteenth Century*. By Jeremy Black. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. xiii, 261. $70.00.)

This splendid analysis of the sometimes difficult relationship of parliament with the executive in the construction of British foreign policy is but the latest of many volumes by Jeremy Black on the political, dynastic, military, cartographical, and diplomatic history of Europe during the long eighteenth century. Indeed, this reviewer had no more than finished the book when he saw a laudatory review of Black's *The Hanoverians: The History of a Dynasty* [London, 2004] in *The Sunday Telegraph* of 18 July 2004. Obviously, the discussion continues.

Black presents, as usual, an anti-Whig orientation on his subject. He resents the notion that only Whig foreign policy represented the national interest. He stresses repeatedly the continuing centrality of the royal prerogative in foreign affairs. He especially belittles the tendency of some modern diplomatic historians, influenced no doubt by their gender and social history confreres, to overdo the importance of the "public sphere," newspapers, pamphlets, and domestic agitation in the creation and sustaining of a viable foreign policy. Not outdoor activity but rather well-crafted, well-argued, persuasive parliamentary speeches were the key to influencing the making of British foreign policy.

It is Black's contention that many historians have had a difficult time assessing the quality of parliamentary speeches on foreign policy. This has led to a somewhat strange neglect of parliament's very real advisory role on international relations during the first century of British imperial greatness. Political historians too often lack those language skills, familiarity with European archives, and detailed knowledge of international relations that would allow a realization of whether the speakers were or were not presenting a sophisticated analysis. On the other hand, sometimes diplomatic historians are unable to judge the complicated nuances of domestic party and factional politics. Black has made it his life's work to master and reconcile the two fields of political and diplomatic history. Hence, in a manner reminiscent of Richard Pares' stimulating articles in *King George III and the Politicians* [1953], Black trolls through the eighteenth century, suggesting parallels in one paragraph between the Ochokov crisis of 1791 with the Dunkirk crisis of 1730, or in another, comparing the parlia-

mentary discussion surrounding the Peace of Utrecht in 1712 and 1713 with the Rockinghamite debate on the Address in 1770.

Perhaps the most interesting linguistic point Black makes centers on the increasing division in the mid-eighteenth century, so aptly reflected in parliamentary discussions, between George II, Carteret, and Newcastle, who were chiefly concerned with Germany, and those parliamentarians, such as Pitt, who looked increasingly towards a British imperial role in Asia, North America, and Africa. To the former, "Empire" meant Holy and Roman, and "Imperial election" meant the headship of that Empire; to the latter, "Empire" meant British, and "Imperial election" meant the providential call of Britain to greatness.

This reviewer's only negative comment on this book is to note that Black appears to have caved in to his critics regarding the regnal years of Philip V of Spain, a subject that once upon a time greatly agitated the readers of *The Historian* (21).

*University of Illinois at Chicago* James J. Sack

*The Great Deception: The Secret History of the European Union*. By Christopher Booker and Richard North. (New York: Continuum, 2003. Pp. xiii, 474. $39.95.)

Every political movement narrates history in its own way. This book is the story of European integration seen from the perspective of the European Union's staunchest British critics. As such, it is a skewed portrayal of what European integration has meant for the people of Western Europe.

This is not necessarily a bad thing. The literature on European integration is dominated by an uncritical historicism that implies that the superseding of the nation-state in Europe is both inevitable and culturally desirable. A skeptical narrative has long been overdue. It is unfortunate, however, that such a narrative has arrived in this form.

Christopher Booker and Richard North's central claim is that European integration has been one long deception—a "slow-motion *coup d'état*"—by Europe's elites to reduce democracy in Europe and institute technocratic governments (3). Unfortunately they fail to substantiate this charge. The idea that European integration has proceeded through the efforts of a handful of "inspirers" (the phrase is Charles de Gaulle's) such as Jean Monnet, Paul-Henri Spaak, Walter Hallstein, and Altiero Spinelli against the will of a bamboozled European public is not so much false as ludicrous. It is ludicrous for two main reasons. First, these individuals hardly disguised their intentions. Booker and North themselves quote Jean Monnet, stating that the 1952 European Coal and Steel Community was the beginning of the creation of the United States of Europe (60). There must be thousands of extant books and articles by these men and their followers in which the intention was clearly outlined. If this is a deception, it is a singularly inept one! Second, the two authors do not comprehend the extent to which the member states of the European Union have used European integration as a way of coping with a changing world environment. The euro, for instance, is less a sinister plot to subvert national monetary independence than

Europe's leaders' response to the disturbances caused to European trade and prosperity by the roller-coaster fluctuations of the dollar.

Where Booker and North are on more stable ground is in pillorying the British political elite for minimizing the implications for national sovereignty of British membership in the European Community in the early 1970s. In chapters eight and nine, which deal with the "real deceit" of Edward Heath, they marshal considerable evidence to show that the British people were denied the full facts when Britain joined.

The book loses whatever credibility it accrues in its better chapters by its persistently exaggerated language. For example, Booker and North conclude that European integration ranks alongside communism as one of the "great collective acts of make-believe of the twentieth century" and assert that when the project collapses it will leave a "wasteland" behind it (454). Europeans driving BMWs over what were once the wastelands left by war will take such rhetoric with a pinch of salt.

*University of Trenton* Mark Gilbert

*The Politics of the Poor: The East End of London 1885–1914*. By Marc Brodie. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. xii, 240. $95.00.)

The author of this study has returned to the nettlesome question of why East End Londoners tended to return Conservatives to Parliament. Marc Brodie reviews the central theses of Stedman Jones, Paul Thompson, and Henry Pelling, who argue that poverty made East Enders apathetic, anti-immigrant, and jingoist. Using the West End protectionist riots of 1886 as a case study, Brodie attempts to show that socioeconomic circumstances did not always correlate with political action.

After analyzing and comparing the *Booth Papers* and election registers, Brodie concludes that the "generally poorer occupational groups were not markedly underrepresented" in the election registers; however, they were underrepresented if they lived in one-room or two-room dwellings (54, 59). He also suggests that most East Enders were not too politically motivated to vote. He examines the political attitudes of the artisan, dockworker, laborer, and dosser and provides a very good analysis of the role that costermongers played in elections. He dissects the religious beliefs of business owners and supervisors and their hypocritical treatment of employees. In a matter-of-fact way he challenges the thesis that East Enders were godless heathens. He demonstrates that many were believers who were more likely to be attracted to Nonconformist rather than to Anglican churches. Even though they did not vote, they were concerned with the candidates' moral and personal character and were influenced by the Conservative Party's "electioneering lies" that implied that opposition candidates were freethinkers and atheists. Yet we still do not know what percentage of the poor who attended church were enfranchised and whether they exercised their right to vote or not.

Brodie's monograph is important for students not only of London, but English politics in general. He distills much of the historical work of the past twenty years,

including many monographs and articles; he exploits the wealth of local and parliamentary sources and local newspapers to support his conclusions. This use of diverse materials provides a model for examining labor-class politics and Parliamentary elections. This study opens the door to local elections at the parish and borough levels. While this is a fascinating book, it is frustrating to read. A reader might better evaluate the evidence if one reads the conclusions and introduction first, then the body. This complex and detailed study challenges many of the myths about East End voters. It argues that apathy and poverty were not the reasons why Conservatives won elections. It provides evidence that affluent workers and middle-class voters were Conservative. Yet one telling piece of evidence is the Booth Tables in Appendix I. In the seven census and constituency areas, the average of those in poverty was 39.1 percent; the high was St. George's-in-the-East with 48.8 percent, and the low was Mile End Old Town with 26.2 percent, where many of the middle-class families resided. Herein lies the weakness of this study: can we really find out how many of those in poverty were qualified to vote and voted? A better title for this study might be "The Politics of the Affluent."

*Ohio State University, Marion Campus* Vladimir Steffel

*Alexander the Great: A New Life*. By Paul Cartledge. (New York: Overlook Press, 2004. Pp. 352. $28.95.)

Biographies of Alexander the Great appear frequently, in part because the enigma offered by this provocative figure never loses allure and also because all students of Alexander reinterpret that enigma from their own unique perspectives. Paul Cartledge's Alexander, interpreted in an age all too accustomed to terrorism, is "something of a contradiction" (235). Stepping boldly forth as the "ruthless" executor of necessary yet "quite brutal actions" against foe and friend alike, at the same time he "seems positively to have respected the customs of other peoples" (193). This contradiction *is* the enigma and the allure of Alexander.

Cartledge departs from a strictly chronological retelling of political and military events by presenting his own reinterpretation of the Macedonian conqueror's brief life and multifaceted personality through a series of "in-depth systematic surveys" (10). He covers in twelve chapters many of the main issues in Alexander studies, while addressing such controversial topics as Alexander's "Greekness" and even his "greatness." In the process, Cartledge sacrifices comprehensive coverage of Alexander's campaign; nonspecialists will benefit from reading Arrian's *Anabasis* first.

In perhaps the finest chapter of the book (chapter two), Cartledge expertly describes the fourth-century political climate in Macedonia, Greece, and Persia, which is the background crucial for understanding Alexander within the context of his own times. The complexities of Alexander's relationship with the Macedonians (chapter four), the Greeks (chapter five), and the Persians (chapter eight) are explored separately. Cartledge refers repeatedly to Alexander's "reign of terror" after returning from India, highlights his "act of extreme political violence" against Thebes to cow his

dubious allies, and credits him with a major role in nailing the "coffin of Greek political freedom and independence" (111, 133).

A requisite survey of Alexander's generalship (chapter seven) emphasizes the conqueror's "luck" and "political terrorism," as well as his "leadership qualities" and the loyalty he inspired. The Battle of Issus is a notable omission from the survey. Cartledge also considers in turn Alexander the "man" (chapter ten), who has "one demonstrably overriding and abiding ideal, the power and glory of Alexander"; Alexander the "god" (chapter eleven), brilliantly demonstrating how the precedent of Philip (in addition to that of Brasidas and of Lysander) "puts the deification of Alexander in his lifetime in an entirely new light"; and Alexander the "hero of legend" (chapter twelve).

As Cartledge "hunts" for "what made Alexander tick," he clearly addresses popular culture. Scholars and specialists will recognize that he uses the ancient sources (reviewed in an appendix) selectively to support his view and does not always represent the true nature of the evidence (e.g., 147: that the account of Alexander's treatment of Batis is of highly dubious authority). Similar undocumented claims, such as the assertion that "there is no doubt but that [Alexander] intended from the first to conquer and rule all the existing Persian Empire—and then some" are debatable (48). The result is that Cartledge does not allow readers to discover the evidence for their own Alexander.

*Baylor University* Carol J. King

*The Long Sexual Revolution: English Women, Sex, and Contraception, 1800–1975*. By Hera Cook. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. xiv, 412. $55.00.)

According to the first, Whiggish generation of writers who chronicled the history of birth control, the popularization of contraceptives represented the simple triumph of rationality over ignorance. Scholars who broached the subject from the 1970s onward tended to be less sanguine. As even the advent of the oral contraceptive did little to free women from male sexual demands, feminist historians wondered what exactly one meant by the term "sexual revolution." Hera Cook intends to silence such wet blankets, especially those she characterizes as "Marxists," such as Jane Lewis, Jeffrey Weeks, and Elizabeth Wilson (296). She pulls together in a single study a history of contraception, female sexual pleasure, and fertility decline, to craft what she describes as "a story of progress towards the light" (317).

In the first third of her book, Cook provides a grimly familiar portrayal of a Victorian England plagued by prostitution, a sexual double standard, and (for women at least) increased sexual ignorance. "Mutual pleasure and tenderness was absent from these women's construction of marital sexuality" (111). She relates how those most intent on avoiding large families had to control their desires and police their passions, their vigilance akin to the sort of self-control associated with fear of masturbation. At the turn of the century, fertility was dramatically reduced, but Cook (following

Simon Szreter) argues that a large portion of the decline must have been accomplished by a decline in coital frequency.

Cook bases her account of twentieth-century developments largely on an exhaustive review of interwar sex and marriage manuals. If female restraint was hailed in the late nineteenth century, she suggests, it was because it was required when forms of fertility control were lacking in reliability. The appearance in twentieth-century literature of the sexualized woman was in turn both a cause and effect of the middle class's access to contraception. The birth rate indeed bottomed out in the 1930s. When it began to climb again in the 1950s, the result was a demand for even better forms of contraception. Countering those who viewed the appearance of the contraceptive pill in the 1960s as an extension of medical surveillance, Cook insists on the degree to which women demanded its availability. Although doctors, eugenicists, and population control theorists might have had their reasons for defending the pill, Cook argues that women were not simply passive victims of a controlling elite. She concludes by noting that modern contraceptives helped change the Western European marriage pattern. Whereas, in the past, sex, marriage, and childbearing were all necessarily linked, access to the pill meant this no longer had to be the case.

A wide range of historians will find something of interest in this ambitious study, even those who find portions of Cook's analysis somewhat simplistic. In essence, she asserts (although she cannot prove), that because of the lack of birth control, until relatively recently "many, if not most, women repudiated physical sexual desire" (62). Thanks to the pill, she claims, everything changed. Women's sexual activities no longer have "economic or social consequences" (337). Such a provocative account is bound to stimulate further debate.

*University of Victoria* Angus McLaren

*Athenian Democratic Origins and Other Essays*. By G. E. M. de Ste. Croix. Edited by David Harvey and Robert Parker, with the assistance of Peter Thonemann. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. vii, 464. $145.00.)

Despite the fact that the author of this collection laid aside these articles in the 1960s, the passage of time has not diminished their relevance, as many of the views that he challenged remain entrenched in current scholarship. The editors have wisely chosen to publish these articles in the form that they were received shortly after the author's death in February 2000, with updating confined mostly to short afterwords; it is striking how often subsequent scholarship has proven G. E. M. de Ste. Croix to have been correct.

Although the subject of the eleven articles is early Greek history, the *leitmotif* of the collection is methodology, for Ste. Croix offers radical reinterpretations of the evidence based on a combination of careful examination of the relevant ancient sources and judicious common sense. The first six articles serve as an extended discussion of the development of the Athenian democracy, in which the author emphasizes the good sense and the democratic nature of the reforms of Solon and Cleisthenes. Notably, for

Ste. Croix, Solon's reforms include the "fundamental step towards democracy" of the making of political decisions by majority vote and the creation of a Council of Four Hundred to give political experience to the *demos* (75). He demonstrates that Cleisthenes' constitution appears specifically designed to prevent individual political power (*contra* Herodotus 5.66–72) and was a positive step in the development of Athenian democracy. The Cleisthenic law on ostracism was a "thoroughly democratic procedure," intended to put an end to division within the state by temporarily depriving of its leader the faction with the least popular support (206). The opening of the archonship to lot in 487 BC, however, was not a "democratic" reform because the *strategoi*, who were elected on the basis of merit and could serve consecutive terms, replaced the archons as the chief military and political power. Pericles' citizenship law addressed the rapid increase in the citizen population by limiting the franchise to the children of lawful marriages.

In the seventh article, Ste. Croix analyzes the relationship between the *Politics* and the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia*, demonstrating that the *Politics* is more reliable where the two contradict each other, and he examines the sources for the historical section of the *Athenain Politeia*, arguing that Aristotle was the first to use documentary sources. In articles eight through ten, Ste. Croix demolishes anachronistic notions of the ancient economy in reference to the interpretation of the measures in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (1134b–1153a), the concept of trade as applied to Greek colonization, and the assumption that the ruling class of Aegina was a mercantile aristocracy. In the final article, Ste. Croix demonstrates that Herodotus' hostile portrait of Cleomenes obscures his achievements and his consistent anti-Persian policy.

In spite of (or perhaps because of) the varying states of completion of the individual articles (the more unfinished ones open a fascinating window into the thought processes of this great scholar), this collection is a valuable one. The volume is attractively produced, and any citations of Greek or modern languages are translated in the text (as is the Greek in the notes), making it accessible to anyone interested in early Greek history.

*University of Alberta* Frances Pownall

*The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France*. By Suzanne Desan. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. Pp. xiv, 456. $50.00.)

The author of this study restores the "revolutionary" aspect to Revolutionary France with her latest, well-documented piece of social and legal history, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France*. In the last thirty years, scholars have downplayed the impact of the Revolution by showing political continuities between the Old and New Regimes and by underscoring the ironic strengthening of patriarchy via the Jacobin dismissal of women to the home. From these accounts, the fall of the Bourbons was all one big, bloody disappointment, especially for women. In contrast, Suzanne Desan maintains the Revolution's greatest significance revolved around fundamentally reinventing the most basic and private relationships largely in favor of wives, daughters, sisters, and

mothers. Using the Calvados department of Normandy as a focal point within a context of countrywide sources, she notes that when French men and women thought of getting rid of arbitrary tyranny and of replacing it with expressive and economic freedoms, they cited their own immediate conjugal and familial experiences.

In her first two chapters, Desan samples and follows the polemical pamphleteering and speechmaking over an array of well-entrenched customs such as greedy parents assigning partners, insecure men lording over women, and miserable couples staying together without reason. This unleashing of emotion and sentiment informed policy. By late 1792, with the creation of the Republic, none of the time-honored inequalities within marriage and the family emerged intact, as the Assembly moved to allow much greater freedom of choice in both the beginning and ending of a union. Divorce became a leading indicator of revolutionary fervor.

Referring specifically to the Calvados and confirming earlier studies, Desan, in her third chapter, shows those men and women most likely to support the Republic—urban artisans and peddlers—were also those most likely to pursue divorce as a viable option. Most tantalizing here is the author's brief look at the effect of divorce upon child custody and support in Normandy, a discussion that was unfortunately limited by the number of available sources. With regard to inheritance, Desan chronicles the world turned upside down as sisters and baby brothers won more land and wealth from older brothers and fathers. In reference to illegitimacy and paternity, she shows a more complicated picture. Unwed mothers in France lost their right to file paternity suits until 1912 even as some of their bastards became citizens briefly. Overall, however, women benefited legally and culturally from the impact of the Revolution. Accordingly, she posits that the Napoleonic Civil Code, and not Robespierre's Terror, consigned women to endure unfair unions as well as unscrupulous brothers. Yet to Desan, "these reformers regarded the revolutionary family as both touchstone and taboo" (318). Despite the best conservative attempts to turn the clock back in perpetuity, the Revolution had permanently shifted marriage debates and family laws in a more egalitarian direction than ever before. This important contribution by Desan will do the same for the historiography of the Revolution.

*Norfolk State University* Charles H. Ford

*To the Scaffold: The Life of Marie Antoinette*. By Carolly Erickson. (New York: St. Martin's Griffin Press, 2004. Pp. 384. $17.95.)

The pathos of Marie Antoinette's vertiginous decline from the court glamor of Versailles to the brutal finality of the guillotine has always attracted biographers. The fifteenth daughter of the tough and hardworking Empress Maria Theresa, she was married off to the future Louis XVI in 1770 to seal a "diplomatic revolution" that had reversed centuries of hostility between Austria and France. She soon had ample reason to regret her fate, not just because of the weak personality of her new husband but also because of the complex and venomous court culture that she encountered at

Versailles. Despised as an "Austrian" by those who resented the new alliance, she was quickly subjected to derision because of the delay in producing a male heir as well as to the court rumor mill over her private life and pleasures. She lacked political acumen, was dragged down by the vortex of the court's collapse in the late 1780s, and finally guillotined in October of 1793.

Carolly Erickson's biography is a paperback reissue of a book first published in 1991. It is a readable but very traditional anecdotal narrative, best viewed as a romantic historical biography. It draws on standard source material, is less teleological than its title would suggest, and has some well-written sections on court life in Vienna and Versailles. Yet, although it will doubtless prove attractive to general readers, it is essentially a chronologically driven portrayal of Marie Antoinette as an unwitting victim of events beyond her control. There is little attempt to incorporate recent research on *ancien régime* court politics, misogyny, or political pornography, while the events of the Revolution are brushed into the background in the shadowy colors of royal legend. Louis XVI is portrayed as a feeble but amiable half-wit, while the Revolution itself emerges as a cascade of irrational violence. The October days were the work of "a horde of howling strangers who delighted in bloodletting," while the queen's days in the Tuileries were disrupted by crowds who needed to "slake their thirst for vengeance in regicide." This is classic romantic biography, conservative in its approach to the Revolution and sympathetic to its adopted heroine: a book for the coffee table rather than for the university library.

*University College Dublin* Hugh Gough

*George Sand*. By Elizabeth Harlan. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. Pp. xx, 359. $35.00.)

The author of this engaging new biography of George Sand (born Aurore Dupin), one of nineteenth-century France's most prolific and celebrated writers, brings an original perspective to Sand's much-examined life. Elizabeth Harlan stakes out a balanced ground between previous biographers who intensified the scandalous aspects of the writer's unconventional life and those who are so "in thrall to Sand's greatness" that they do not cast critical enough scrutiny on their subject (296). Placing Sand's life within the intergenerational context of her relations with her mother, grandmother, and daughter, Harlan unravels key issues related to Sand's identity as a woman and a writer.

Harlan draws on a variety of sources and builds her representation with a series of remarkable juxtapositions, such as contrasting letters written by family members and other key figures with Sand's own autobiographical writings, material in novels with autobiographical accounts, and nonfictional accounts of the same events written at different times. Comparisons between external perspectives and Sand's autobiographical writings uncover some "blatant discrepancies" that allow Harlan to show, for example, how Sand's depiction of her parents' relationship in her *Story of My Life* was much rosier than the actual situation (32, 94). Further, Harlan's careful reading of correspondence helps her to document one of her key insights: that Sand's aristo-

cratic father, Maurice Dupin, was likely not her biological father, as his letters suggest that he was away from her mother at the time she would have been conceived (95). Although Sand never addressed these questions regarding her identity directly in her writing, the material Sand did include in both her fiction and nonfiction suggests that writing provided her a means of self-discovery.

Harlan's evenhanded approach to her subject (providing clarification of misunderstood elements of the Sand legend while also underscoring the writer's faults as she sees them) is evinced in her treatment of Sand's love life. Harlan quotes a letter from Sand's husband, Casimir Dudevant, that portrays him in a more sensitive light than most characterizations of Sand's marriage (177). By staying attuned to repetition of family patterns from one generation to the next, Harlan offers a fresh interpretation of Sand's renowned maternal behavior toward her lovers by suggesting a kind of role reversal from a woman who "craved the love she had never received from her mother" (182). Although Harlan dismisses autobiographical interpretations of sexual frigidity in Sand's novel *Lélia*, she nevertheless asks the question, "Was Sand sexually inhibited in ways that disappointed her partners? By her own admission, it would seem so" (182). Interpreting Sand's puzzlingly strong rejection of female suffragists who, following the 1848 Revolution, proposed Sand as a candidate for the National Assembly, Harlan points to "Sand's conflict about women in general and her own female identity in particular" (255). Moreover, Harlan's exploration of issues of female identity lead her to pay special attention to Sand's troubled relationship with her daughter, Solange, in ways that help to correct the bias in previous accounts against the latter.

At once scholarly and highly readable, this thoroughly researched and documented biography will be of great interest to professional and casual readers alike for its sensitive psychological portrait of the writer and her *oeuvre*.

*Bowling Green State University* Deborah Houk Schocket

*A Social History of Soviet Trade: Trade Policy, Retail Practices, and Consumption, 1917–1953*. By Julie Hessler. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004. Pp. xvi, 366. $39.50.)

This richly researched study of Soviet trade in the early years of Communist power draws on a wide range of archival, memoir, and secondary sources. The book charts the vicissitudes of supplying foodstuffs to a population traumatized by war, revolution, and collectivization, as well as by a regime intent on achieving a cultural revolution in attitudes towards property and the exchange mechanism itself. The patterns of retailing that were established in this early period lasted until the end of Soviet power, including the ubiquitous queues and contempt for the consumer. Things were not meant to be like that, as Julie Hessler takes pains to demonstrate. At its best, Soviet retail trade sought to offer an alternate, but not worse, model than that practiced in the capitalist world. The emphasis from the start, however, was the abolition of private trade, although the regime was forced by various crises to make concessions to the exigencies of private marketing and retailing.

In these years, the Soviet economy alternated between two modes: the crisis model in which rationing, repression, and shortages were paramount; and a normalization model, which never quite turned into normalcy, in which the government tried to implement various ambitions to establish "cultured" trading patterns. Certain responses remained constant, however, including the reliance on repression as a method of economic management. Hessler reveals far more about the system than many more grandiose studies. Tensions within the regime between gradualists and revolutionaries became apparent, as well as exposing contradictions between long-term ambitions and short-term comprises. Josef Stalin emerges as genuinely committed to "cultured Soviet trade" in preference to the rationing mode of distribution. Whatever the utopian ambitions of the leadership, many of the changes in retailing in this period reflected global trends, as in the move away from small specialist shops towards larger multipurpose retail outlets. In the absence of market mechanisms, pricing remained an area in which little attempt was made to match supply and demand, hence the queues.

The author also examines the emerging patterns in consumption habits. From very early on, the new Soviet elite enjoyed extensive privileges, with special outlets for officials and higher rations than the norm. Moscow also enjoyed a special status and, like many capital cities, was parasitic on the rest of the country, in particular the countryside. In 1933, for example, Moscow had about 2 percent of the Soviet population but consumed between 6–12 percent of manufactured goods and about a quarter of certain key food items (194–195). Another interesting insight is the way that vodka production was increased in the early 1930s to make up shortfalls in budget revenues—a policy repeated by Leonid Brezhnev in the 1970s. Vodka, in Hessler's phrase, "became the motor of the Soviet economy" (164). The contradictions besetting retail trade reflected the tensions throughout the Soviet system. As Hessler puts it, "[T]he planned economy of the industrialization era generated a style of management directly at odds with the principles that produced it" (174). This also affected lower levels of society where shortages spawned a whole class of "fixers" (*tolkachi*) whose job, by means fair or foul, was to circumvent shortages.

This book is an excellent example of the work that can be done using access to the archives and sheds rich new light on the realities of Soviet power in daily life and in the fundamental processes governing the development of the system.

*University of Kent* Richard Sakwa

*The Deeds of Pope Innocent III by an Anonymous Author*. Translated with an introduction and notes by James M. Powell. (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004. Pp. xlv, 286. $ 59.95.)

The *Gesta Innocentii*, the anonymous account of the deeds of Pope Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), was probably written between 1204 and 1209. The *Gesta* is one of the most important sources for Innocent's early pontificate, which, with its emphasis on pastoral and constitutional reform, was a milestone in the history of the medieval papacy.

Although the author—possibly Peter of Benevento—clearly admired Innocent for his abilities as a reformer, statesman, and lawyer, the culmination of his policies came later with the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, after the *Gesta* were written. The *Gesta* shows us a pope still struggling to reform the Church in the face of political adversity.

Taking Boso's *Liber pontificalis* as his model, the author included several contemporary letters in his biography. This enabled him to narrate the events from the perspective of the participants, which contributes to the liveliness of the text. Much of the *Gesta* is dedicated to Innocent's efforts to establish his lordship over the papal patrimony and his regency over Sicily, which, after the death of Queen Constance, was left to Innocent's ward, the three-year-old Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. With this regency still contested, the author next turns his attention to some of Innocent's clearer successes: his measures to reform the Church and the *curia*, and his ruling on King Philip IV of France's controversial divorce from the Danish Princess Ingeborg.

The most fascinating aspect of the *Gesta*, however, is its treatment of the Fourth Crusade in 1204, which proved a huge embarrassment for the pope. Rather than allowing him to realize two of his political goals—the undoing of the failures of the Third Crusade in 1190 and the unification of the Eastern and Western Churches under undisputed papal leadership—this crusade was derailed by the economic and political aspirations of the Venetians; it ended with the sack of Constantinople in 1204. His hopes for a united Greek and Latin Church dashed, Innocent tried to make the best of it by supporting a Latin patriarchate of Constantinople, and reassuring the crusaders that their vows had been fulfilled, even though they had never reached the Holy Land. The resentment this episode caused in the Greek Orthodox Church has not completely subsided eight hundred years later.

The only generally available Latin edition of the *Gesta* is the one in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. The critical edition by David Wright, a Ph.D. dissertation from Bryn Mawr College [1981], which James M. Powell uses, has never been published. For the use of scholars, a Latin/English facing-page translation would have been a great bonus. Powell acknowledges this fact, but for a variety of reasons chooses to limit himself to the publication of the translation only. For its clarity and usefulness, this translation deserves high praise. It will be indispensable for anyone with an interest in papal history or the history of the Fourth Crusade, and especially for students or for classroom use. The book may be rather pricy for the latter, so we can only hope that a paperback edition will follow soon.

*Calvin College* Frans van Liere

*Procopius of Caesarea: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity*. By Anthony Kaldellis. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004. Pp. 305. $49.95.)

The Roman emperor Justinian I (r. A.D. 527–565) dominated the sixth century, a period of transition from the classical to the medieval world across the Mediterranean.

His contemporary, the historian Procopius of Caesarea, chronicled Justinian's reign in a *History* of eight books, the most important source for the age. He also wrote the notorius *Secret History* that excoriated the emperor and his court, and a more conventional panegyric, *Buildings*, that recorded Justinian's ambitious building program. Despite the importance of Procopius as a historian in the classical Greek tradition, only one extensive study in English has appeared in recent years: Averil Cameron's influential 1985 work *Procopius and the Sixth Century*. Anthony Kaldellis's book thus represents a welcome addition to scholarship. The author offers a vigorous reassessment of Procopius's work that often challenges received opinion, especially many of Cameron's premises and conclusions. Kaldellis both extends our knowledge of the historian and his age and stimulates considerable and welcome debate.

The study contains five chapters. The first and most problematic interrogates sixth-century classicism, a critical issue in this age of transition. Some of Kaldellis's arguments will draw fire because he invokes "the consensus" of opinion on this venerable topic as a straw man, and all scholars will not agree with his characterization of that consensus (if it ever existed) against which he shapes his arguments. In an original analysis in chapter two, Kaldellis shows how Procopius adroitly packaged historical truths in anecdotal form. The third chapter, in which the author makes a compelling case for the influence of Plato on Procopius's thought, is perhaps the most important in the book for showing the continuing influence of classical philosophy in sixth-century historiography. Kaldellis emphasizes that this topic has not received due attention in previous scholarship. In chapter four, he discusses Procopius's political thought, exposing his hatred of Justinian's manifold tyrannies and showing the close interconnection of Procopius's analyses in the *Wars* and the *Secret History*—as well as his fascination with political assassination. The final chapter explores Procopius's belief in *tyche*, or fortune, which Kaldellis presents as a deliberate rejection of contemporary Christian thought, in keeping with Procopius's doubts about theological debate and the very nature of divinity. Kaldellis invites reconsideration of the vexing problem of the integration of Christianity and secular culture in late antiquity by reconsidering where Procopius stood between the poles of orthodox Christianity and traditional paganism. The first of two appendices links the final chapters of the *Secret History* to various extant and lost imperial edicts. The second appendix outlines *Secret History* 6–18. The notes and bibliography are helpful and up-to-date, although there are some surprising omissions.

In short, historians of the sixth century will read this polemical and intelligent study with profit. Kaldellis advances our understanding of critical issues of historiography, religious and cultural change, and political thought in an age of tyrannical repression.

*Rice University* Michael Maas

*French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848*. By Steven Kale. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004. Pp. 308. $48.00.)

The structure of the salon changed remarkably little between the reign of Louis XIV and the Third Republic. A traditional salon featured a presiding (usually aristocratic) hostess, who established its "rules"; a private, domestic setting; a select guest list; and a variety of activities. The latter could include political discussions, philosophical and literary presentations, card and parlor games, musical recitals, dancing, refreshments, and a meal, all in an atmosphere of "mondaine sociability." Although the salon achieved its popular reputation as one component of the eighteenth-century "Republic of Letters," Steven Kale's monograph focuses primarily on its post-Enlightenment incarnations.

With the coming of the Revolution, some salons (like those of Condorcet or de Stael) emerged as private centers of liberal politics, but the association of salon society with aristocracy led to their virtual disappearance by 1792. Salons survived, albeit with a legitimist political sensibility, in *émigré* communities, although, and gradually reappeared in France after Thermidor. Napoleon's efforts to integrate his new aristocracy with the nobles of the Old Regime also encouraged this revival, although Germaine de Stael's eventual exile showed that salons and hostesses could also suffer from the emperor's concerns about possible sources of opposition.

Several developments produced the heyday of the nineteenth-century salon under the Restoration and the July Monarchy. A conservative constitutional state enabled aristocrats to combine the pleasures of genteel socializing with political influence, while restricted suffrage made salon guests members of the political elite. Cabinet ministers, peers, and deputies moved comfortably in Parisian salons, both legitimist (like those of the duchess of Duras or the marquise de Montcalm) and liberal (of Marie-Anne Rumford and the countess d'Agoult), where representatives of *le monde* gathered in elegant surroundings to seek office, influence policy-making, and exchange political gossip.

The same elite character that made the salon an important Restoration institution contributed to its decline as the century progressed. An essentially aristocratic establishment, it suffered from legitimists' "interior emigration" after 1830. Competition from political clubs and parties, cafes, dance halls, voluntary and professional associations, and even British-style private men's clubs offered a steadily expanding political class in an increasingly bourgeois society a far wider variety of public venues and leisure diversions than the private, and exclusive, salon. Kale argues that its decline inevitably diminished women's access to the political arena. Men took their political conversation and activities elsewhere, and *salonnières*, who had skillfully managed domestic spaces as forums for intellectual and political exchange, increasingly found themselves, like less elite Frenchwomen, prisoners of the nineteenth-century cult of domesticity, a cult that offered women no public space to express their views.

Kale's study is well-organized and informative, but dry. Although he expresses skepticism about contemporary literary works as sources, greater use of novelists' portrayals of salon life might have enlivened his narrative.

*Baylor University* David Longfellow

*The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503*. By J. L. Laynesmith. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Pp. xviii, 294. $52.00.)

This study is the first extended examination of the roles and responsibilities of the English queens during the Wars of the Roses. The central foci are Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Woodville, Anne Neville, and Elizabeth of York. Hitherto, the histories of their husbands—Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII, respectively—have overshadowed these women's careers. Drawing on a range of evidence, both historical and literary, including narratives of ritual and court practice, chronicles, city records, diaries, letters, visual images, and literary representations, J. L. Laynesmith presents a unique reevaluation of their activity and significance. Her central argument is that in the turbulent second half of the fifteenth century, when notions of legitimate kingship and royal authority were being violently contested, the ideology of queenship was also subjected to scrutiny and reformulation. In this period, the primary responsibilities of the queen were not limited to intercession or cultural patronage, but extended to incorporate a wide range of duties. Indeed, Laynesmith goes so far as to conclude that "the office of the queen was essential to the effective exercise of sovereignty by an adult king in the second half of the fifteenth century: indeed it was an integral part of the king's public body" (265). Laynesmith rejects the sort of conventional biography associated with accounts of monarchs and their consorts in favor of a more nuanced thematic and comparative approach.

The introduction to *The Last Medieval Queens* sets out the scope of the study, giving clear accounts of questions addressed, sources examined, scholarship to date, and the structure of the book. In the first chapter, the author surveys the criteria used for selecting a queen, arguing that this changed significantly in the period and set new precedents. Laynesmith looks in the second chapter at the fascinating topic of the late medieval rituals of queenship through which "the queen was written, painted, and acted into the role of consort to Christ's representative on earth" (130). The succeeding chapters address the issues of motherhood (in the case of a queen a specifically political role) and of the queens' wider families. With the exception of Margaret of Anjou, these were English-born queens, and as a consequence, their blood relatives "formed a unique and largely unprecedented factor in the English power structure" (27). The final chapter examines the court and the household, locations of political and religious, as well as social and recreational, activities.

Laynesmith sees through political propaganda and antifeminist stereotypes to provide insightful new analyses of four individual women at the same time as she offers the first full examination of the ideologies and realities of queenship in this period. In so doing, Laynesmith makes the convincing case that the exercise of sov-

ereignty in late medieval England cannot be accurately studied, as it has been hitherto, by concentrating on kingship alone. This work is a groundbreaking contribution to the otherwise masculinist political history of late medieval England.

*University of Wales, Aberystwyth* Diane Watt

*Ludwig Erhard: A Biography*. By Alfred Mierzejewski. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Pp. xv, 278. $49.95.)

When Chancellor Ludwig Erhard left office in 1966, he quickly faded into the background of the West German political scene. Although Erhard has been the subject of research by several German historians, the American historical community has largely been silent about him. In *Ludwig Erhard: A Biography*, Alfred Mierzejewski has written a positive biography of Erhard to bring his role in the German economic recovery into the growing English-language historical discussions of postwar reconstruction.

Mierzejewski is an expert on German business in the twentieth century. He bases his work on German secondary sources, with supplemental primary research. The book is intended for the general English-speaking audience, although it does engage specialists by addressing the major controversies in Erhard's career. Mierzejewski's work is not about economic theory; it is about Erhard's role in policy formation. In terms of economic policy, the author makes it clear throughout the book that he believes Erhard's ideas on the free market were correct and that those who disagreed with those ideas were misguided or incompetent.

The author concludes that Erhard was an able economist who lacked the disposition and desire for the dirty work necessary to be adept in the political arena. Erhard's leadership style reflected the same *laissez-faire* approach at the heart of his economic policies: he allowed subordinates to do as they pleased and intervened as little as possible. Erhard was more interested in discussing ideas than working for political goals that might get him more power. In contrast, Mierzejewski presents Chancellor Konrad Adenauer as the consummate politician: unscrupulous, power hungry, and lacking entangling ideologies. Like Erhard's rival economists, Adenauer is described as ignorant and shortsighted whenever he differs from Erhard.

Erhard was most influential from 1947 to 1951. In that period, he partially liberalized the German economy and used his economic influence to position himself for political appointments. Although Erhard continued to rise through political offices, his ability to influence the direction of the German economy waned throughout the 1950s. Despite his efforts, Germany moved away from free markets and towards state-economic intervention. Erhard's election to the chancellorship in 1963 did not represent his ascension to a new level of influence; rather, it was an office gained by his former accolades in the economic arena and his position within the government. By the 1960s, Erhard experienced isolation politically and economically, a relic of a former period. His chancellorship was rocky, and later his previous supporters ousted him.

Although somewhat one-sided in its portrayal of Erhard and his ideas, Mierzejewski's work is a welcome addition to English-language literature on postwar Germany and its political figures. Scholars with a general interest in postwar Germany will find it useful, but a more substantial work on Erhard in English is still needed.

*Florida State University* Christopher Griffin

*People and Politics in France, 1848–1870*. By Roger Price. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. x, 477. $95.00.)

The author of this book comes to the task he has assigned himself here as well prepared as any contemporary historian writing in any language. He is indisputably one of the world's preeminent scholars on the social and economic history of nineteenth-century France, particularly of the period from the creation of the Second Republic in the summer and fall of 1848 through the military humiliation and collapse of the ill-fated Second Empire of Napoleon III in September 1870. As with the author's previous works, this one will be invaluable to various students of France's Second Empire. He has consulted virtually every known archival and printed source. Taken together with his political history, *The French Second Empire*, this work proves far and away to be the best treatment of the period in English.

Roger Price starts off by noting that

> rather than taking an institutional or party political approach to political history, this book will consider how people experienced a quarter of a century of . . . change. In these complex circumstances, what motivated individual behavior? How did people perceive politics? (3)

In answering these questions, Price considers the impact of an expanding and modernizing economy on three major socioeconomic groups: the bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and the growing urban proletariat.

The author notes that, initially, the bourgeoisie supported the Empire, at least until the Free Trade Treaty with Great Britain (the Cobden-Chevalier Treaty), which was signed in January 1860. The French bourgeoisie felt that it could not successfully compete with the older and more efficiently organized British industry and that, by signing the treaty, Napoleon III was deserting them. Here, at least implicitly, Price follows the argument of Philip Nord (*The Republican Moment*, 1995), which he cites in both the text and bibliography.

The small—but growing—proletariat in such places as the suburbs of Paris, Lyon, Lille, and Saint-Etienne, from the very start of the Empire, never completely trusted or accepted "Saint Simon on horseback," as Napoleon III was sometimes styled. There were two good reasons for this. When he first seized power in December 1851, the (then) Prince–President caused the arrest or deportation of many participants of the Revolution of 1848, including labor leaders. Furthermore, Napoleon III appeared to give to the workers from the early 1860s onward (the right to form credit unions, burial associations, charitable groups, and the right to send del-

egations to the meetings of the International) while he at the same time forbade unions and even modest-sized labor assemblages. With regard to both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the emperor predictably failed to satisfy either faction because he tried to be all things to both of these socioeconomic groups; such is always an impossible goal.

Only the peasantry remained fundamentally loyal to the regime. Even here, the number of peasants who supported the liberal empire in the Plebiscite of May 1870, although still numerically overwhelming, was not what it had been previously. The reason for this basic peasant support is that the Empire saw relatively high prices for agricultural products, and this, in turn, meant that landless peasants (who in 1848–1850 were still the majority), could acquire some land, while small-holding peasants could (and did) add to their holdings. In either case, the majority of the peasantry felt that the Emperor had facilitated this, and they were thus grateful to him. Price concludes with the accurate and trenchant observation that

> political engagement, or indeed indifference, is explicable only once it is conceptualized (as fully as possible), that is, when social status, culture—in the widest sense of the word, and social relationships are related to political opportunity. It is also vitally important to identify diversity within, as well as between social groups, to emphasize the importance of the shared, in addition to conflictual interests, and to recognize the degree of consensus imposed upon individuals through membership of discrete communities. (430)

All serious students of the years 1848–1870 in France must pursue their inquiry into the period with this volume by Price and his earlier *The Second Empire*; to put the matter simply, taken together they are indispensable.

*University of Denver* Eric A. Arnold Jr.

*United We Stand: A History of Britain's Trade Unions*. By Alastair J. Reid. (London: Allen Lane, 2004. Pp. xvii, 471. $45.00.)

After a brief review of medieval guilds and early modern labor organizations, the author divides this book on the development of British trade unions into four periods: 1770–1820, 1820–1870, 1870–1920, and 1920–1970, with a concluding chapter on the years since 1970. Within each of the four periods, he examines what he terms "assembly workers" (members of craft unions, such as the tailors and boilermakers), "process workers" (especially coal miners and textile workers), and "general workers" (e.g., dockers and transport workers). Each of these laboring groups possessed special goals and needs. People in craft unions were more skilled, better paid, and generally able to control their own situations. Assembly workers, who often dealt with a single material like coal or cotton, ultimately depended on state regulation to improve their conditions. General workers, often the least skilled and the most vulnerable, eventually protected their interests by forming large "federal" unions. Alastair J. Reid brings personalities into his narrative by opening each chapter with a description of a labor leader.

Reid corrects what he regards as misunderstandings in labor history. He stresses that the Combination Act of 1800 was not as fiercely applied to laborers as is generally accepted, and was used more against cases of violence than to thwart normal trade-union activities. The author believes that syndicalism was not a primary cause of the increase in strikes after 1911 and that the influence of Communist labor leaders was due more to their union activities than to their political ideology. Although historians often cite strikes as a significant cause for problems in Britain's post-World War II automobile industry, Reid assigns considerable responsibility to poor management practices and the recovery of the German and Japanese economies and their subsequent export of cars.

In this well-researched book, based on a wealth of monographic literature, the author carefully spells out the relationships of the Conservative, Liberal, and Labour parties to the trade unions. There are adequate sections on women's expansion into the labor force and their unionization, as well as the impact of the two world wars on union development. The book is appropriate for readers interested in political and labor history. Reid fails, however, to explain the origin of the Trades Union Congress, and there are no photographs.

This is a valuable examination of a remarkably complex subject. Although clearly sympathetic to the cause of the worker and severely critical of Conservative Party leaders of the 1980s and 1990s, (the author refers to Margaret Thatcher's Employment Secretaries as "aggressively reactionary"), Reid does point out weaknesses of labor unions (398). Indeed, the title *United We Stand* is slightly misleading, as unions occasionally operated against each other's best interest. Keith Laybourn's *A History of British Trade Unionism c. 1770–1990* [1992] covers the same period as Reid's study. Laybourn's shorter book focuses on the historiography surrounding specific union issues. These two books, different in approach, complement one another nicely.

*Youngstown State University* Lowell J. Satre

*Max Weber: An Intellectual Biography*. By Fritz Ringer. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004. Pp. 307. $19.00.)

There exist several hundred books and articles on German social scientist Max Weber [1864–1920], and one may therefore ask if another book on this topic is needed and if the recent work by Fritz Ringer stands out in the crowd. As to the first question, it is actually the case that we do need more studies of Weber. There are several reasons for this, including the difficulty of penetrating and assessing many aspects of Weber's work and the often low quality of much of the secondary literature.

But does Ringer's book stand out in the crowd? In this reviewer's opinion, it definitely does. Few general introductions to Weber's work as a whole exist that are both of high quality and informative to the average reader; as this reviewer sees it, Ringer has produced a work of exactly this type. It holds its place very well next to Dirk Käsler's *Max Weber: An Introduction to His Life and Work* [1988] and Reinhard Bendix's equally indispensable *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* [1988]. Bendix's

study lacks a discussion of Weber's methodology, something that the reader can find amply in Ringer's work. As opposed to Käsler's study, Ringer gives much fuller presentations of Weber's individual studies.

Ringer's book can be described as a combination of long accounts of Weber's major studies, combined with some background information on Weber's life as well as his general context. While the reader who is not familiar with Weber's work may think that long accounts of another scholar's works do not sound very difficult or fruitful, (s)he would be mistaken. Ringer does an exceedingly close and competent reading of Weber, which is instructive to read. Weberians are accustomed to misinterpretations of Weber's work, especially of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, but there is none of this in Ringer's study. At most, one can accuse Ringer of not commenting on certain aspects of Weber's work as much as one might have wished (such as his sociology of law or religion). This criticism, however, can be made concerning any scholar who does not have as many professional competencies as Weber (history, economic history, jurisprudence, history of law, economics, sociology, social-science methodology, history of religion, political theory, and quite a bit more).

While Ringer's work is intended as a general introduction to Weber's work and operates very well as such, there are some aspects of his book that also constitute independent contributions to the current knowledge of Weber. One thinks in particular of Ringer's masterful way of placing Weber within the educational context of Imperial Germany. Ringer, of course, is the author of the classic study *The Decline of the German Mandarins* [1969], and even the most sophisticated Weberian will enjoy and learn from what he has to say on this topic in chapters one and eight. All in all, Ringer has produced an excellent work on Max Weber that is highly recommended.

*Cornell University* Richard Swedburg

*Rome at War: Farms, Families, and Death in the Middle Republic*. By Nathan Rosenstein. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004. Pp. x, 339. $45.00.)

The author of this book tackles one of the most important issues in the history of the Roman Republic: discerning the social and economic conditions that led Tiberius Gracchus to promulgate his fateful legislation in 133 BC. Utilizing demographic tools and comparative analysis, Nathan Rosenstein comes to conclusions very different from the traditional ones.

Rosenstein begins by laying out the traditional interpretation and then by pointing out its flaws. This view holds that Rome's wars of conquest led to a gradual decline in the number of small farmers who could serve in the legions. These men would go off to war only to have their farms fall into ruin in their absence. The unused land then gradually fell into the hands of the aristocracy who turned it into large plantations manned by slaves (*latifundia*).

Rosenstein points out that archaeological evidence has long not supported the claim that *latifundia* had developed extensively in Italy before Sulla. He also convincingly argues that large numbers of slaves only began to arrive in Italy after Tiberius

Gracchus. Rather than suggest that small farms were ruined by lack of manpower, Rosenstein uses comparative data and models to show that farming families needed few work hours to survive at a subsistence level. In fact, he argues that Rome had enough to enable recruiters to forego drafting older, married men in most instances. Families could even regard having a male member in the legions as a kind of "survival strategy" of its own because they could send home pay, plunder, and donatives.

In the search for another answer, Rosenstein first attempts to arrive at an estimate of the number of deaths because of military service from 200 to 168 BC. To do this, he must argue (controversially) for the reliability of the numbers of reported casualties in our ancient sources. Even more troubling, he makes an estimate (a guess, as he admits) of the percentage of those who also died from disease in service; in other periods of history, the number of these deaths could dwarf those from actual combat, and so this is no small problem. In the end, he arrives at the startling minimum estimate that 34 to 40 percent of all soldiers died while in service at that time.

Having established this, Rosenstein then uses much comparative demographic data to show that this high mortality figure actually stimulated population growth and created a period of economic prosperity for small farmers. This "baby boom" ultimately led to an economic decline in the 130 BC when lack of land, the practice of partible inheritance, and the absence of lucrative wars forced prosperous farmers back to subsistence levels. To argue this, he must deny reports from ancient writers that the countryside was depopulated of free laborers and also claim that census figures from the time (which do not support such growth) were skewed because many Romans refused to register at the census (and so for unprofitable military service).

In the final analysis, this book contributes greatly to our understanding of one of the more important issues in Republican history. In fact, Rosenstein's work offers a devastating critique of previous notions even if it does fall a bit flat in offering an alternative explanation.

*Rutgers University, Newark* Gary D. Farney

*The Affair of the Poisons: Murder, Infanticide and Satanism at the Court of Louis XIV*. By Anne Somerset. (New York: St Martin's Press, 2003. Pp. xxi, 377. $27.95.)

François Ravaisson, the editor of *Les Archives de la Bastille*, insisted that Louis XIV was the first French king expressly concerned with the morality of his subjects. Ravaisson attributes this interest to Louis XIV's voracious curiosity as evinced in the marginal notes the royal secretaries penned on the memoranda sent to the lieutenants of police in Paris demanding "[t]he King wishes to know more." To be sure, Louis XIV was a curious king who carefully read the weekly Paris police reports. Not surprisingly, he became alarmed in the mid-1670s when a spate of police reports centered on a Mme. de Brinvilliers, who was accused of poisoning her father, her two brothers, and the civil lieutenant in Paris. Mme. de Brinvilliers was interrogated, tortured, and duly executed in 1676, but court gossips and foreigners—especially Italians, who knew more about poisons than anyone—insisted that Paris was rife with poison;

indeed, a Sicilian diplomat reported that there were just as many alchemists as cooks in the city.

Hard on the heels of the Brinvilliers case, Gabriel-Nicholas de La Reynie, lieutenant general of police, arrested a "divineress," Catherine Voisin, who admitted under torture that she had used poison, drugs, and "black masses" to assist well-born women to murder their enemies, abort their fetuses, and seduce their lovers. La Reynie's reports listed some of the proudest names of France but, most shockingly, it included Madame de Montespan's, Louis XIV's mistress and the mother of nine of his royal bastards. To quash scandal and protect reputations, Louis established a special commission, *La Chambre Ardente* [1679–1682], to investigate quietly the poisonings and report directly to him. On royal orders, Voisin was burned alive, and Madame de Montespan came under intense police scrutiny.

Anne Somerset argues, correctly this reviewer believes, that Montespan never attempted to poison Louis XIV. Yet the Affair of the Poisons has enduring appeal for at least three reasons. First, it clearly shows the underside to the *grand siècle*, underscoring the fact that, despite the brilliant court at Versailles, quotidian life in Louis XIV's France was laced with magic and superstition. Second, the affair is a salutary reminder that, for the Paris police, women who practiced the "black arts" were the principal source of sin and moral corruption in the city; they truly were "soldiers of Satan" who deserved no mercy. Finally, the affair marks the beginning of Louis XIV's *fin de siècle* attack on sin. In 1683, Louis began a vigorous crackdown on prostitution, fornication, gambling in Paris, and bawdy theater. The chilling reports from *La Chamber Ardente*—coupled with the death of his queen, Marie Theresa, and his secret marriage to Montespan's rival, Mme. de Maintenon—inspired Louis to fasten *bon ordre* on his kingdom by attacking sin, especially at Versailles and in Paris.

In researching her account, Somerset has not uncovered new material. She relies upon La Reynie's police reports and Ravaisson's cryptic summaries of the prisoner interrogations in his *Les Archives de la Bastille*. Her narrative, complete with ten pages of biographical entries and a useful glossary of judicial terms, is the most accessible account we have and should become the standard account of the Affair of the Poisons for scholars and the interested general reader.

*James Madison University* Philip F. Riley

*The First World War*. By Hew Strachan. (New York: Viking, 2004. Pp. xviii, 365. $27.95.)

Over the last few years a good number of works have appeared dealing with World War I, and as the centennial anniversary of its start approaches, many more will certainly be forthcoming during the coming decade. However, anyone looking for an authoritative, yet reasonably compact, account of the 1914–1918 conflict need look no further than this offering from Hew Strachan, who is widely regarded as the leading authority in the field. In his initial volume of what is likely to be the war's definitive history (*The First World War: To Arms*, 2001) Strachan devoted over a thousand

pages to the year 1914 alone; here, in a work aimed at a much broader audience, he manages in only one-third that space to provide a remarkably comprehensive treatment of virtually every aspect of the war.

Strachan notes that the common perception of the war as a futile conflict best remembered for the slaughter on the Western Front largely developed only after the war. For most of the combatants at the time, the war involved principles for which they believed it was worth fighting, and the author urges his readers to "think as they did then, not as we do now" (xviii). The author's determination to remain within these parameters provides insights that many readers may find surprising. For example, in regard to the trench warfare on the Western Front and engagements such as Verdun and the Somme, so often dismissed as senseless, Strachan, while not himself uncritical, points out that the trenches actually saved lives, that the rate of Allied casualties during the years of positional war was lower than in the closing months when they had the Germans in retreat, and finally that the strategic options available to commanders such as Douglas Haig were limited by factors such as munitions production over which they often had little control.

The Western Front, however, is hardly the book's sole focus. The war was a global one from its inception, and Strachan includes coverage of engagements involving German colonies in both Africa and Asia. Likewise he demonstrates how the entrance of the Ottoman Empire led to a holy war (*Jihad*) that not only helped lay the foundation of the modern Turkish republic, but also encouraged and then frustrated the nationalist ambitions of the Arabs who served to plant the seeds of much of the discord in the present-day Middle East. While not discounting the contribution of the United States to the Allied victory, Strachan argues that the end of the war was more than anything a product of the exhaustion that was reflected in the ethnic implosion within the Habsburg Empire, Russia's collapse into revolution, and the economic blockade, which by 1918 brought Germany and much of Central Europe to the point of starvation.

The breadth of the author's scope alone makes this an ideal text for any course on World War I; however, the book also has a visual dimension providing images that impart to readers an even greater sense of the war's immediacy. Strachan initially produced his work as a companion volume to a television documentary series in Britain and even though the latter has yet to be shown in the United States, the book contains a wealth of illustrations, almost on every page, with captions that are clearly linked to the text. These even include a fascinating portfolio of color photographs that were taken using processes that were pioneered in France some years before 1914.

*University of Scranton* F. X. J. Homer

*A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern*. By Corinna Treitel. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004. Pp. x, 366. $16.95.)

In a broad survey of the occult movement in Germany from the 1870s to the 1940s, the author seeks to establish various "connections between the German occult and

the quintessentially modern," especially in terms of the arts and applied sciences. No serious student of Western occultism will be surprised by the author's general thesis; over the past four decades a growing body of literature has argued that esoteric discourses have had a significant impact on literature, the visual arts, philosophy, science, and psychology. The appropriation of modernity has in fact been a rhetorical device of such discourses themselves for at least three centuries.

Corinna Treitel's concentration on a particular period in a particular culture gives her work considerable scholarly weight, but it also results in a strange foreshortening of perspective. She is clearly aware that Western occultism was an international phenomenon but makes little attempt to consider how its German manifestation differed or harmonized with occultism elsewhere. Treitel also gives little sense of how deeply occult discourses were implicated in German culture long before her chosen period. Germany had been the most creative center of Western occultism since the sixteenth century, but Treitel leaves the impression that this was largely a Wilhelmine innovation.

Despite the wealth of detail and depth of research in Treitel's book, there are some curious omissions. In a work dealing with the relationship between the occult and German literature, we might expect at least a reference to Christian Morgenstern, who was not only a significant poet but also an anthroposophist. Although Treitel draws attention to various links between Sigmund Freud's thought and occult psychology, no mention is made of David Bakan's seminal work on the possible Kabbalist roots of psychoanalysis. There is, in fact, scarcely a mention of Kabbalah in any context, despite its status as one of the most important occult discourses.

Nevertheless, Treitel's detailed exploration of the relationship between occultism and modernity within a well-defined chronological and cultural framework provides a valuable contribution to the literature on modern occultism. Whereas many other studies in this vein have either focused on relatively restricted circles or have used the broadest of brush strokes to paint their picture, Treitel has undertaken the task of demonstrating her thesis with both a breadth and depth often lacking in this field. Treitel's study is best on the opposition to the occult movement and on the complex relationship between the occult and Nazism. Written in an accessible style, this study will be of interest to both specialists and the general reader.

*Liverpool John Moores University* B. J. Gibbons

*Lafayette*. By Harlow Giles Unger. (Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons, 2002. Pp. xxiii, 452. $30.00.)

The author of this study has written a conventional, old-fashioned biography of Lafayette. Deliberately abandoning, from his perspective, another unreadable analysis, Harlow Giles Unger wants to tell Lafayette's story and, in the process, restore his stature in American history. Unger's narrative, however, still uses an analytical construct that depends upon great men and their relationships to their peers. Lafayette's relationships—his influential noble kin, his Masonic brotherhood with George Washington, and the respect of Louis XVI—explain the course of American and

French history. In this sympathetic portrait, Lafayette becomes central to events; he is the linchpin of France's alliance with the United States, the second most important person in American independence, and a pivotal figure in the French Revolution.

This is an approach that has much to recommend it. Lafayette was a complex man who stood, if not at the center of the American Revolution, certainly at the center of the French Revolution. Unger explores who Lafayette was, who he and his family saw, why they supported America, and their instrumental notes in shaping the outcome of the French Revolution. He believes common membership in the Masons opened the door to Lafayette's recruitment to the American cause and led to his becoming Washington's surrogate son. Masonry also is the vehicle for explaining Lafayette's attraction to republican political ideals. Unfortunately Unger never connects or analyzes Masonry, republicanism, or Lafayette's ideals and actions in ways that would locate his subject in the turbulence of the times or explain the ironies of Lafayette's life. How did a scion of one of France's most noble families become a champion of American independence and a central figure in the French Revolution? Where did Lafayette get his passion for republicanism, and how did the experience of Revolutionary-era America reshape his political ideals?

Unger occasionally overstates his case. In describing the Battle of Saratoga, Unger avers that Washington was experimenting with the unconventional warfare that he had learned during the disastrous Braddock expedition. The British were overwhelmed, having "never fought such a war and were unprepared and untrained for it" (53). British troops were familiar with so-called Indian tactics, having earlier encountered them in Ireland and Scotland. Braddock had light infantry skirmishers, but, in the face of bad intelligence, he chose not to use them to increase the speed of his line of march. More serious is his assertion that France's primary interest in American independence was its desire to replace Britain as the world's dominant commercial and military power. Despite its losses in North America in 1763, France, not Britain, remained Europe's most formidable economic and military power; it had a bigger economy, a larger army, and a smaller tax burden.

This is a useful book in its attempt to chronicle the life of Lafayette, but it is disappointing because of its limitations. Hewing to the chronology of Lafayette's life and eschewing "analysis," Unger leaves interesting areas unexplored. Ultimately Unger directs his attention to a more general audience and that is who will profit most by reading it.

*University of Massachusetts, Boston* Jonathan M. Chu

*Hitler's Prisons: Legal Terror in Nazi Germany*. By Nikolaus Wachsmann. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. Pp. xv, 538. $45.00.)

Most people today assume that terror under the Nazis came in the form of the network of nine thousand concentration—base and satellite—work camps and extermination camps. Few of them realize that Germany's venerated legal system, such as it had

become, often dwarfed the horrors of the extralegal network of camps and dungeons maintained by the SS.

The leniency of the Weimar years, which ironically benefited Adolf Hitler and many of the "old fighters," began to alarm the public. Political violence on the streets, the revelations of lurid criminal cases, a spectacular train derailment, and the regular exposés of prostitution rings during the 1920s convinced the increasingly anxious German public to demand more punishment rather than more rehabilitation. The Nazis posed as the defenders of so-called traditional German values and identified penal laxity with the Weimar Republic and the detritus of liberalism. They rode to political power on promises of stricter punishments. The public got what it demanded.

After 1933 petty criminals were scooped up, as were vagrants, political dissidents, homosexuals, pacifists, and the mentally ill. Sex offenders against children were regularly castrated to the cheers of the German public, and the eugenically "unfit" were sterilized. Jews suffered particular discrimination. Germany's legal system, from its jurists to its courts, and penitentiaries became instruments of Nazi intimidation and control. The number of prison inmates more than doubled between 1933 (95,000) and 1944 (196,700), and by 1938 prison populations far outstripped the number of concentration camp inmates: 106,065 in prison as compared to 24,000 in concentration camps. However, by late 1944, any semblance of legality was discarded in favor of swift justice, and prisoners were generally shipped directly to the concentration camps. Yet any inference that the Third Reich was crime free is a fiction.

Life in a German prison under the Nazis was predictably grim. Discipline was brutal and the prisoners were required to stand, eat, and respond to questions like automatons. Overcrowding, starvation, and disease were rampant. The guards and prison administrators were notoriously sadistic, antirepublican, anti-Semitic, and authoritarian. An atmosphere of random torture and violence was evident throughout the inmate community; prisoners were beaten with whips, maimed by dogs, disfigured, forced to eat feces, tormented, and shot dead at the whim of a guard. They were hardly touched by Nazi ideology; it was the so-called free society that was being brainwashed. Tens of thousands of inmates deemed "difficult," or who were simply unlucky, were shipped to death camps by prison administrators as part of the "annihilation by labor" program. Some privileged few, whether because of influential contacts, bribes, or reputations for bravery or brutality, lived relatively comfortably dispensing food, alcohol, and patronage. The overwhelming majority, however, did not.

Nikolaus Wachsmann has written the definitive history of the prison system in Nazi Germany. Although previous studies and memoirs have investigated various aspects of this area, enough to fill Wachsmann's twenty-eight-page bibliography, this more than five-hundred-page volume—with its eighty pages of footnotes, illustrations, and charts—is a comprehensive and thorough study of German courts and prisons through the Weimar Republic and Nazi periods. Wachsmann's narrative is sprinkled with grisly stories of every kind, such as a Nazi prison doctor who bragged that he could castrate inmates in only eight minutes or the description of the blood of guillotined men being kept for use in blood transfusions. The book closes with the infuriating news

that after the war, Nazi jurists, guards, and prison administrators effortlessly returned to postwar German society. Most got away with murder.

The reader quickly concurs with Wachsmann's contentions that the prison system in some respects better represented the Nazi government's use of terror and the psychopaths who ran it than did even the concentration camps, which have so come to symbolize the regime.

*Texas A&M University* Arnold Krammer

*The Battle That Stopped Rome*. By Peter S. Wells. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003. Pp. 256. $24.95.)

Narrative history is alive and well, as the author of this book demonstrates in this welcome addition to the ranks of ancient military history studies. Quickly establishing that the battle in the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9 resulted in a frontier that has lasted two thousand years, the author shapes his narrative "of perhaps the most important battle in European history" for a contemporary American reader (18). Moving beyond the strict limits of the archaeological and historical sources, the author makes "informed guesses to fill gaps in the hard evidence. Parts of this book, primarily in chapters one, eight, nine, and ten, are carefully crafted historical speculations" (19). Following the example of John Keegan's *The Face of Battle*, Peter S. Wells recreates the battle experience of the Roman soldiers whom the Germans ambushed in the Teutoburg Forest.

Following a brief five-page introductory chapter, entitled "Ambushed," which only whets the reader's appetite, Wells provides his readers with six chapters of background information about the ancient sources for the battle, the discovery of the battle site, the early Roman Empire and the rise of Augustus, the Roman frontier, Germanic society, and European warfare just prior to AD 9. In these chapters, Wells artfully interweaves economics, sociology, geography, and history, effortlessly imparting background information both about the period and the significance of the Germans' annihilation of three Roman legions and eighteen thousand men. Wells follows these background chapters with three chapters that recreate "The Battle," "The Horror: Death on the Battlefield," and "The Victory Celebrations." Following the lead of Victor Davis Hanson in *The Western Way of War*, Wells does not spare the reader the gruesome details of an ancient battle fought with spears that pierce and swords that maim. Were that not sufficient, Wells follows his battle narrative with graphic descriptions of the sacrifice of five hundred captured Romans during the Germans' victory celebrations.

Throughout the work, Wells stresses that written evidence must be augmented with archaeological evidence to paint a well-rounded picture of the past. Asserting that the Romans knew about the Germans only through written sources, Wells charges the Roman leadership with ignorance of events in Germany. Following their initial contacts with the Romans, the Germans had learned, adapted, and advanced, developing a sophisticated society of which the Romans were unaware. Thus, according to

Wells, the Romans' foreign and military policies were shaped by outdated knowledge and insufficient intelligence. Some things never change.

Lucid and focused, this book joins a growing list of works about ancient warfare. The historical speculation is based on detail and restrained in nature. More books like this will surely rekindle an interest in history and stimulate curiosity about the past.

*California State University, Long Beach* David Hood

*Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination*. By Serhy Yekelchyk. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004. Pp. xi, 231. $50.00.)

It was exceedingly difficult to be a historian, writer, artist, or composer in Josef Stalin's Ukraine, as the author amply documents with new material in this detailed study. Life would have been easier had Stalin simply sent clear directives of how he wanted Ukraine to be represented and celebrated. As it was, local party ideologues, functionaries, and Ukrainian intellectuals, including historians and artists, engaged in complex negotiations to fulfill the wishes of Stalin—as best they could discern them—from vague hints. For example, class antagonism, the orthodox theme of Russian history prior to World War II, had to give way to the saga of national state-building both in Russian and in Ukrainian history. Patriotism, not Marxism, was the mobilizing force inspiring resistance to German aggression. But, of course, it was dangerous to indulge in simple bourgeois-nationalist history at any time, unless it could be shown that Ukrainian national development had as its purpose an inexorable and joyful union with Russia, whether it be the tsarist empire in 1654 or the Soviet empire in the 1920s. Thus the Ukrainian Cossack Bohdan Khmelnytsky, once reviled by the Bolsheviks for being an exploiter of Ukrainian peasants and whose statue in Kiev was boarded up as late as the mid-1930s, emerged in the authorized Stalinist history of Ukraine as a national hero whose main goal was to deliver Ukraine to the tsar. After the war, when the utilitarian nature of patriotism was less needed, Ukrainian historians, poets, and artists had to dampen national sentiments somewhat unless it was about Soviet Ukraine.

While the ancient Slavs of Kievan Rus' could be extolled because they were the forebearers of both Russians and Ukrainians, the latter had to be extremely careful about at what point in history Ukrainian identity purportedly emerged. Thus archaeologists and museum curators, as well as historians and artists, could tread on thin ice, lest they claim too ancient a nationalist pedigree before the yen for unification with Russia was clear. Perversely, while Ukrainian national history was promoted from the Kremlin, there was no Ukrainian historical journal until 1957, nor were courses in Ukrainian history offered in the schools.

Serhy Yekelchyk deftly leads the reader through multiple mental acrobatics performed by Ukrainian intellectuals, which resulted in an immeasurable waste of time and talent. Such antics could be viewed as absurd had they not had tragic conse-

quences for historians and artists whose dignity and integrity were compromised and whose careers, indeed lives, were ruined by miscalculations over what Stalin wanted even for those who sought to anticipate his ideological bent. For those few who openly defied such subordination, the consequences were even more grave. No matter how contrived and contorted the historical and artistic products made to fit the new national-imperial paradigm were, Ukrainian readers and audiences could and did filter out the colonial dependency aspects of Stalin's "historical memory," especially the much-vaunted "elder brother-younger brother" relationship of friendship. The author argues that Stalinist production allowed Ukrainians to learn about and appreciate their national past. He concludes, "The emergence of an independent Ukraine in 1991 has led to the implosion of the friendship myth and the reinstatement of the nationalist narrative as the official pedigree of the Ukrainian nation" (161). Perhaps this judgment is too sanguine as only the results of the recent presidential elections and much time can tell if a new Ukrainian-Russian nexus will emerge.

*Brown University* Patricia Herlihy

## *GENERAL, COMPARATIVE, HISTORIOGRAPHICAL*

*Tolkien and the Invention of Myth: A Reader*. Edited, with an introduction, by Jane Chance. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2004. Pp. xx, 340. $35.00.)

In her preface to this anthology of critical articles on J. R. R. Tolkien, the author describes her book as "an introduction to the complex subject of Tolkien's myth-making," and this is a perfect way to characterize this excellent volume (xiii). Jane Chance has edited a superb collection of insightful articles, most of which originated as papers presented at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 2002 and which are authored by such prominent Tolkien scholars as Tom Shippey, Verlyn Flieger, and Richard C. West. Chance, herself an author of two major studies of Tolkien, arranges these articles in five groups, classified according to subject. She begins with three articles on the topic of "Folklore, Religion, Magic, and Language," then four on classical influences on Tolkien; the articles in the final three sections examine how Old English, Old Norse, and Finnish affected Tolkien's *legendarium*.

Every one of these articles provides valuable insight into the various traditions familiar to Tolkien, and from which he drew as he developed his personal mythology over the decades. Especially notable are those articles that examine the parallels between the development of the Middle-Earth mythos and Elias Lonnrot's compiling of *Kalevala*. Flieger compares Lonnrot's and Tolkien's methodologies; West examines the parallels between the *Kalevala's* tale of Kullervo and that of Turin Turimbar in *The Silmarillion*, and argues that *Kalevala* was the real impetus for Tolkien's mythology; and David Elton Gay discusses Finnish singing-magic and its influence on the characters of Tom Bombadil and Treebeard. Also deserving special attention is

Marjorie C. Burns's examination of how Tolkien adapted Norse mythology in *The Silmarillion*, refining the characteristics of certain Norse gods to change them into the Ainur and the Valar. Andrew Lazlo's article on the Kolbitar and C. S. Lewis's friendship with Tolkien is both insightful and touching in the way it describes how Tolkien's friendships helped shape *The Lord of the Rings*.

This book does have some flaws, such as repetition. Several authors who describe Lonnrot's compilation of *Kalevala* cover much of the same territory. So many authors mention so many times that Tolkien intended to create a mythology for England, that the idea becomes tiresome. This may have happened because the book is an anthology of works by different authors; but some judicious editing of the articles to eliminate such repetition might have been in order. Other articles have individual flaws. Some of these are factual errors, as in the article that mentions Boromir looking into the mirror of Galadriel. Some are more substantial, like the article that argues that *The Lord of the Rings* contains more natural theology than Christianity—a conclusion that flies in the face of many clear statements to the opposite that Tolkien makes in his letters—and that seems to become more an attack on Christianity than a literary analysis. However, these are relatively minor flaws in a very enjoyable book. The author has compiled a comprehensive collection of views on the man who, as one contributor states, created the most complete and influential mythology of the twentieth century.

*Saint Vincent College* Wulfstan Clough

*Maritime History as World History*. Edited by Daniel Finamore. (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Essex Museum and Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004. Pp. xii, 216. $59.95.)

The dozen articles edited in this volume began as talks on the influence of sea power and the sea in human development at the spring 2000 conference hosted by the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts. They span chronologically from Lionel Casson's "Seaborne Exploration in the Ancient World" to an article by two of the book's nonhistorians, the ocean engineer Justin Manley and the nautical archaeologist Brendan Foley, on "Deep Frontiers: Ocean Exploration in the Twentieth Century." Casson's article, along with those of Richard W. Unger, on "Power and Domination: Europe and the Sea in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," and of William D. Phillips Jr., on "Maritime Exploration in the Middle Ages," summarize work these scholars have published more fully elsewhere. The collection concludes with a quirky but engaging article, "Odysseus's Oar: Archetypes of Voyaging," by the literary scholar Robert D. Foulke, who appears to have been the token humanist nonhistorian at the conference and in the book.

The claim implicit in the book's title, which is not pressed in the editor's introduction or even in Felip Fernandez-Armesto's article "Maritime History as World History," derives less from the standing of the contributors as world historians—most are card-carrying maritime naval historians, including several of the field's leading

practitioners—than from a concerted effort on the part of several to cast their remarks in a multinational and, albeit less often, explicitly comparative context. If the cumulative result falls short of the title's claim, the effort bespeaks a healthy restiveness among today's leading maritime historians with the state of their specialty.

Without totally breaking with the traditional and narrow concerns of maritime historians, which have often been presented alternately in cheerfully chauvinistic or dauntingly technical terms, several contributors have brought to their assignment ideas from other parts of the historical enterprise. Even where a particular article is too brief to give its subject its due, as in Johhn Hattendorf's "The Sea as an Arena of Conflict," its concluding sentiment is constructively cosmopolitan: "The events and issues of sea history need to be seen in the light of events and development ashore at the same time that events ashore need to be complemented by the perspective from the sea. Linked this way, maritime history becomes the vehicle of true global history" (137).

One might go further than Hattendorf's call for maritime and naval historians to reconnect their subject matter with that of historians ashore by making a concerted effort to connect with others in the social and policy sciences for whom the world's oceans constitute their scholarly venue as well. This work provides added incentive for doing so. Although maritime history as a specialty is viewed as a backwater among today's historians, attention to the world's oceans has never been more central to the concerns of resource economists, environmental scientists, or geographers, as well as students of international law. For maritime historians to speak to the concerns of these scholars is to secure a sizable and influential audience, even as they advance our collective knowledge of what does, after all, encompass by far the largest part of the planet we inhabit.

*Barnard College, Columbia University* Robert A. McCaughey

*New Approaches to Socialist History*. Edited by Keith Flett and David Renton. (Cheltenham: New Clarion Press, 2002. Pp. viii, 175. $19.95.)

This volume contains ten individual contributions that were first presented at a conference held in London in May of 2000. The authors belong to a network of academic and "barefoot" historians founded in 1993: The London Socialist Historians Group (LSHG). The LSHG sees itself as an organization standing in the tradition of the British History Workshop movement. Launched in 1966, the History Workshop gave voice to new topics, themes, and approaches to the practice of history, revitalized by the energies and determination of the 1960s New Left. Whether the LSHG will be able to reach the prominence and public presence of the History Workshop remains to be seen.

This anthology is a purposefully diverse assembly of articles addressing topics in a wide variety of national contexts between 1820 and 1972. Showcasing the LSHG's view of "socialism" as a mix of mutually interacting influences—including, most notably, individuals, political parties, social movements, and contingency and social class—the articles should be read as detailed case studies. They exemplify

the interplay of historical forces that, singly or combined, create the multiplicity of specific historical contexts that, although geographically specific, can ultimately be compared.

A brief presentation of individual topics in chronological order makes clear that there is no specific thematic link uniting the various articles. Neil Davidson draws attention to the law of uneven and combined development behind the first "regional general strike in the history of capitalism," the 1820 industrial action in southwest Scotland (134). Andrew Dawson untangles the various influences affecting Philadelphia workshop owners faced with the issues surrounding the U.S. Civil War. Craig Phelan elucidates the realities and the myths behind the U.S. Knights of Labor and their charismatic leader, Terence Powderly. Paul Grist points to some important birth defects at the cradle of the British (Independent) Labour Party, with the example of Bradford, West Yorkshire. Ian Birchall investigates the early history of the Red Trade Union International, focusing on the role of Alfred Rosmer. David Renton clarifies some issues surrounding the strange political career of Sir Stafford Cripps, and Tobias Abse casts important doubts over the democratic credentials of the icon of Eurocommunism: Palmiro Togliatti. Anne Alexander sheds light on the uneasy relationship between nationalism and communism in immediate post-World War II Egypt. Finally, Dave Lyddon and Ralph Darlington summarize their findings on a pivotal moment in recent British labor movement history, first published as *Glorious Summer: Class Struggle in Britain 1972*.

These individual pieces of research are usually well presented, mostly devoid of "movement" jargon, and, for the most part, without an unnecessarily polemical edge. The sole piece that attempts to do too much is the opening chapter, in which the author purports to draw lessons from two centuries of social movement action in less than ten pages. All the other articles can be read with great profit. This reviewer wishes the LSHG an increased public (and even commercial) success.

*University of Warwick* Gerd-Rainer Horn

*The Household and the Making of History: A Subversive View of the Western Past*. By Mary S. Hartman. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Pp. xi, 297. $70.00.)

The author of this study presents one of the most stimulating and exciting books that this reviewer has had the pleasure to read. This volume is the culmination of thirty years of thought by a keen, intelligent, and insightful mind. It is not only subversive, as the title indicates, but also may well be revolutionary. Mary S. Hartman brings the reader back to the 1970s, when historians were captivated by the possibilities presented by historical demography as seen in the work of Peter Laslett and the Cambridge Group for Population and History. Somewhere in the 1980s, the practice of history took a different direction, and the study of household formation and family structure faded. This is where Hartman picks up her investigation.

Underlying the study of the history of the family in European history are the brilliant insights of John Hajnal, who suggested that in northwestern Europe during

the early modern period there was a wholly distinct marriage pattern that distinguished this area from marriage as it is found in other times and places. The northwest European pattern featured marriages at later ages for both women and men, small and unstable nuclear households, and a period of service or apprenticeship for single young people. Households, then, were not commensurate with families, but were porous units, which regularly gained and lost members, related and unrelated by blood or marriage. As a result of the later age at marriage, and the earned financial contributions that women made to the new family unit, historians have posited a more contractual unit in which husband and wife continued to negotiate and jointly make decisions. Hartman compares the much-studied communities of late-medieval Montaillou and Puritan Salem to demonstrate how their unique histories may be understood in light of early marriage (Montaillou) and late-marriage (Salem) patterns.

None of these assertions have been the focus of much controversy. Hartman, however, pushes her analysis outward and identifies the influence of this northwestern European pattern of family formation, in particular late-marriage, on wider social, political, and economic developments. This is where her argument becomes subversive as she presents a plausible, if not compelling, reinterpretation of many of the features that have been characterized as leading to northern Europe's unique rise to global prominence. By using household structure, age at marriage, and gender relations, particularly relating to the status of women, Hartman reexamines phenomena as diverse as the witch hunts, Protestantism, the rise of representative government, and the development of capitalism—with the result that the past begins to look very different. Ordinary folk take on a new importance given that the late-marriage system developed at the grass roots rather than being imposed by elites. Thus Hartman argues that in light of such understanding, accounts of historical change will necessarily have to "take into account the agency and creativity of untold numbers of poor, illiterate persons, women as well as men [who] laid the groundwork for some utterly novel religious, political, economic, and cultural configurations" (278).

This is an extraordinarily important book that should be read by historians of all stripes. It makes good use of cross-cultural comparison and presents an argument that challenges traditional modes of historical interpretation in all our subspecialties. This book is a serious challenge to "the making of history" as it has been done. It deserves to be read widely and then widely debated. Hartman has done a brilliant job of challenging the discipline. Now we need to take up her challenge and reexamine the paradigms that are currently used to explain historical change.

*University of Guelph* Jacqueline Murray

*Angels and Monsters: Male and Female Sopranos in the Story of Opera, 1600–1900*. By Richard Somerset-Ward. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004. Pp. xiv, 325. $21.00.)

There are many books that compile biographical sketches of famous composers, performers, and conductors from the last three hundred years. This title suggests yet

another collection of stories relating scenes of scandalous behavior by uncontrollable artists whose antics were only tolerated because of their amazing voices. Admittedly some outrageous incidents are recorded, especially in the early chapters, but in spite of occasional villainy, the reader cannot help but observe the ordinary character of these celebrities. Assuredly they were egotistical, vain, and more than willing to stab competitors in the back, but those sins are hardly confined to stars of the operatic stage. However this volume has more significant purposes. By examining the interaction between singer and composer, the author traces the rise and dissolution of *bel canto* singing as well as the development of operatic style. Until Handel, the singers could and did dominate composers, requiring composers to provide music that suited their vocal vanity. What is not so frequently discussed, but emphasized here, is the near reversal of that trend in the nineteenth century, when composers required singers to convey the sound and drama that they envisioned for their works.

In order to focus on the significance of various sopranos, the author has organized them into groups. In three chapters, he focuses on the students of such important teachers as Giulio Caccini, Nicola Porpora, and Mathilde Marchesi. In other chapters singers are grouped according to their national tradition or by association with specific composers. The strength of this book is its emphasis on the artistic and societal connections binding these artists together. A drawback is the resulting chronological dislocations. Late-eighteenth-century artists receive attention in the third chapter, while the study of the preceding two generations comes in the fourth. The career of Adelina Patti appears well before that of her mother, and some singers appear in multiple chapters. However the context is well worth any initial confusion.

Richard Somerset-Ward's writing style, reflecting the energy and vitality of his subject, is refreshing and engaging. The effect is not unlike listening to a knowledgeable raconteur, although one who abruptly veers off in a new direction when reminded of something else. The pithy descriptions of operatic styles and musical terminology are well worth the price of the book. This volume is highly recommended for opera survey courses, and should be required reading for every undergraduate music student who aspires to an operatic career. However it can also be enjoyed by any reader possessing a basic knowledge of musical terminology. The final chapter, with its history of great vocal pedagogues, is valuable, and serious students of voice will be inspired by the descriptions of practice techniques. Finally the annotated bibliography, while highly selective, provides a good introduction to the literature.

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*A Brief History of the Olympic Games*. By David C. Young. (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2004. Pp. xiv, 184. $54.95.)

The year 2004 saw a plethora of new and reprinted books on the Olympic Games aimed at the general reader. David C. Young's work is mostly on the ancient Olympics, with one chapter on the modern Games (on its origin and authenticity). In the twelve chapters on the ancient Games, the author comments on the beginnings of the festi-

val and the evidence for it, athletic events, combat and equestrian events, "Zeus Country" (Olympia), Pindar and immortality (a relatively long chapter, but one dear to the author's heart), the significance of body and mind, Greek athletics (generally considering profit and social class), the athletes, women in Greek athletics, and the later years of the games.

With his customary no-nonsense approach, Young remarks that the Greeks competed naked simply because male nudity "was no cause for shame" (110). There is no discussion of complex reasons for ritual, eroticism, or social equalization for this author. Similarly Young suggests that athletes used oil as a sunscreen and for massage, with no mention of magical or religious associations. He considers that reported jumps of over fifty feet are exaggerations of single, running jumps. He rejects the recent (and nineteenth-century) theory that the Greeks threw the discus with no revolution, believing that the literary sources indicate a spin of the body (not of the discus). He rightly emphasizes that the ancients were not amateurs (but were substantially paid), that they were in their own way interested in records, and that it is likely that athletes came from a cross-section of society. These pronouncements will not surprise those who have followed Young's previous publications.

A mere twenty-five footnotes and an all-too-brief index might suggest that this book is not for the scholar, but Young is an authoritative figure with a good pedigree in sports history. He makes several interesting observations on the ancient Olympic "ideals" of body and mind, noting that Olympic victors were rarely known for their intellect (83–91). Yet he needs to downplay the athletic "achievements" of Plato and Euripides. He suggests that it is still uncertain whether women (married or not) attended the Olympic Games or were prevented from attending. For Young the question of women at Olympia "was probably not so important as we make it" (121). He conjectures that the vase painting of Sophilos of the Funeral Games of Patroclus c. 580 BC is evidence for early seating at Olympia (10–11).

Occasionally Young nods. He assigns the biennial Isthmian Games to an odd-numbered year, while noting that they began in 582 BC (160). He suggests that there was seldom brutality in wrestling, even though one way to win was through submission (a key point that he does not mention).

Unlike several rival publications, Young succeeds in giving the reader a thoughtful history of the Games in a short amount of space. This readable book will stand the test of time better than most. With only twenty black-and-white illustrations, however, some will find it expensive.

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