

## Reviews

*Jesus and Muhammad: Parallel Tracks, Parallel Lives.* By Frank E. Peters (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011) 214 pp. \$24.95

*Jesus and Muhammad* is intended to present the historical figures of Jesus and Muhammad to a general audience. By summarizing earlier secondary scholarship, and offering a critical analysis of the “portraits” of Jesus in Christian literature and Muhammad in Islamic literature, Peters challenges both religious traditions. *Jesus and Muhammad* is an interdisciplinary work inasmuch as Peters works with the scholarship of both early Christian and Islamic Studies. Yet he does not integrate these two fields; nor is there any apparent reason to do so. Indeed, there is no compelling scholarly reason to present these two biographies together; the Jesus and Muhammad of history are not joined by time, place, or culture. Evidently, Peters chose to write about both figures in one work in light of public interest. Nonetheless, he treats his subjects seriously, avoiding the truisms of interreligious dialogue and focusing instead on historical analysis.

Peters ends his introduction with the sort of candid declaration that is not often found in such works: “I have been at this so long that I have by now run out of any conceivable excuse for not getting it right. So this time I did” (xxiii). In the course of the work, Peters clearly states which traditional ideas he considers legendary—for example, that Jesus was born in Bethlehem or that Mecca was an important trading city in Muhammad’s day. But he is also wary of ideologically informed readings of these two figures. He refuses to reduce Jesus to a disgruntled rabbi or Muhammad to a social reformer. But to say that Peters “got it right” is another thing altogether. In this case, he might never have been able to do so.

The trouble with Peters’ task is most evident in the case of Muhammad. For one thing, he means to subject the traditional biography of Muhammad—which appears to be, above all, formed by haggadic exegesis of the Qur’an—to scrutiny. Thus, for example, he holds that a group of “Jewish Christians” (such as the Ebionites of Late Antiquity) “made an enduring impression on Muhammad” (119), even though no such group is to be found in the traditional biography of the prophet. Yet Peters’ relies elsewhere (indeed, almost everywhere) on that traditional biography. He explains, for example, that Qur’an 2:142–50 is concerned with God’s command to Muhammad to stop praying toward Jerusalem and to pray instead toward the Ka’ba in Mecca (137). This passage, however, says nothing about Jerusalem, the Ka’ba, or Mecca; only the traditional Islamic exegesis of this passage does so.

Peters, understandably eager to complete his own biography of Muhammad, generally relies on traditional notions. If he truly believes that “there was no sensible way by which an untrained Meccan . . . could have produced such sophisticated verse as we find in the Quran” (82), he might have concluded that the portrayal of Muhammad as an

untrained Meccan was developed for apologetical purposes, but instead he seems to accept it faithfully. Similarly, he might have been less eager to accept the traditional idea that Medina was a largely Jewish settlement when not a single inscription or archaeological find suggests that it was. In Peters' defense, he is dealing with highly problematical sources: The Qur'an has few historical details; later Islamic sources seem to be based on the Qur'an; and no contemporary Christian or Jewish source has anything to say about Muhammad.

The sources for the life of Jesus, as Peters himself notes, are less problematical, leaving him on safer ground as he follows the historical scholarship. He describes the hypothetical Q document—which he regards as the oldest source about Jesus—and the Gospel of Mark to be the most valuable documents about Jesus for historians. But he also turns to Matthew, Luke, Paul, and Acts for insights about the execution of Jesus and the rise of the early church. Ultimately, Peters challenges traditional Christian notions about certain points. He argues, for example, that the mission of Jesus was largely confined to Galilee and almost exclusively focused on Jews. Yet he also notes that the literary evidence does not contradict other Christian notions. He notes that the description of Jesus as a (divine) Lord is found in the oldest material of the New Testament (Philippians 2 and 1 Corinthians 16), as is the claim of his resurrection from the dead (1 Corinthians 15; mentioned also by Josephus).

At the end of *Jesus and Muhammad*, Peters includes a detailed and useful annotated bibliography, organized according to the subdivisions of the book. The entire work, moreover, is marked by Peters' candid, and often humorous, writing style. Even if Peters could not possibly have "got it right" in this book, few scholars could have done any better.

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*Conquest, Tribute, and Trade: The Quest for Precious Metals and the Birth of Globalization.* By Howard J. Ehrlichman (Amherst, N.Y., Prometheus Books, 2010) 541 pp. \$28.00

The period between the late fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries was crucial in the creation of the modern global economy—a phenomenon closely linked but not identical to what we once called the "expansion of Europe"—and to the beginning of European overseas empire. "Who could have imagined," asks the blurb on the back cover, "that the birth of globalization actually took place some five hundred years ago?" Quite a lot of people, in fact, have imagined it; a large proportion of the scholars who teach and do research about global history acknowledge the early modern origins of globalization. The principal insights that Ehrlichman advances are not original. Yet, no other book that comes to mind tries to present as comprehensive a narrative of the

links among trade, mining, politics, and coercive violence in creating the global economy during the “long sixteenth century.”

From the standpoint of academic history, this book has a number of faults. It is derived almost entirely from secondary sources, all but a handful of them in English. It does not engage with, or even mention, significant theoretical constructions or prominent interpretations in the fields that it attempts to cover. Uninformed readers could scarcely guess that historians are in dispute about facts, causes, and implications, and that certain sources might be more reliable than others. What the author has tried to produce is an undisputed narrative that sometimes attempts to render its sources consistent by ignoring the differences between them.

In several instances, this problem is compounded by the author’s possible misunderstanding of the sources themselves. In his account of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, for example, he presents the massacre at Cholula as two distinct events (95 and 100), perhaps because he follows separate sources on the timing of the alliance of Hernan Cortés with Tlaxcala. This error is not important to his theme, but it suggests that other errors might be lurking elsewhere. In comparing the Portuguese entry into Asia with that of Spain into America, Ehrlichman says that the Portuguese “subdued the coastlines of Africa, India, and the Straits of Malacca with a minimum of hand-to-hand combat” (101). Apart from exaggerating the extent to which Portugal “subdued” the African coast and ignoring such close “combat” as the battles at Chaul and Diu and the siege of Goa, this statement is contradicted by what Ehrlichman himself writes later in the book. The book also suffers from editorial and compositional infelicities—for instance, a lengthy, uninspired military account of the defeat of the Armada in 1588, most of which adds nothing to the author’s general theme.

Nevertheless, Ehrlichman’s book has many strong points, the most important of which is illustrated by his analysis of the Armada’s funding in the context of his discussion of Spanish public finance and the fiscal consequences of the fleet’s disaster. Ehrlichman wisely keeps his eye on the money. His narrative comprehensively ties together American and European developments in mining, the ramifications of the financial side of the spice trade, the vital link between Asian commerce and American precious metals, the fiscal and banking innovations associated with attempting to pay for Habsburg imperialism in Europe, and a host of related subjects—almost always emphasizing the central role of money in making the connections. For the most part, his descriptions of that role are intelligible and devoid of technical jargon. A reader can learn a great deal about early modern globalization from this book—keeping in mind the need to look carefully at the sources that it cites.

Woodruff D. Smith  
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*Reconceptualizing the Industrial Revolution*. Edited by Jeff Horn, Leonard N. Rosenband, and Merritt Roe Smith (Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press, 2010) 362 pp. \$24.00

Horn, Rosenband, and Smith have developed an impressive collection of essays on an important topic. Almost all of the individual contributions are rewarding; all of them reflect wide reading and, through the references alone, serve as a valuable resource. Yet, the book as a whole lacks the clear set of analytical threads that the title appears to promise. The volume revisits the Industrial Revolution in a number of ways, and the results for the most part are welcome. It does not, however, evince a general sense of reconceptualization.

Global scope is the closest candidate to a genuine reconceptualization. Chapters cover Britain and major European participants (with a particularly useful attention to Scandinavia). It becomes clear that Asian product models played a significant role even for Britain. Discussions of the Industrial Revolution in relation to the United States, Russia, and Japan are hardly unprecedented, but they manage to be worthwhile in this volume nonetheless. Two excellent chapters focus on China's and India's industrial limitations and decline during the nineteenth century, respectively, rather than on the countries' later participations in industrialization outright. Another chapter traces Brazil's evolution toward industrial leadership in Latin America. The volume treats its subject chronologically, between 1750 and the early twentieth century—arguably not with a fully global reach. But the movement away from West European constraints is highly desirable.

The volume also reconsiders the role of the state, though this topic is hardly novel either. Active comparison is limited, but treatment of various state policies in Germany prior to unification; the still-unrecognized significance of the state in American industrialization; and the relevance of state policy in Meiji Japan, in Russia (both before and after the revolution), and in Scandinavia all come into play.

Joel Mokyr's commanding essay emphasizes the Enlightenment as a vital factor in Britain, blurring British-European boundaries and thus helping to explain industrialization's rapid spread (a chapter on France, however, returning to the important theme of internal resistance and lag, qualifies this argument for rapid spread to some extent). Several essays, including Mokyr's, take up debates with sinologists about the role of culture or politics as opposed to more limited economic goals. The influence of advancing consumerism also receives coverage. Several comments by contributors touch on problems of measurement. Particularly for Britain, available quantitative data do not always adequately register magnitudes of change and growth. Other chapters—mainly the introduction but also a chapter on Spain and a singular piece about a Kentucky entrepreneur—address the desirability of paying more attention to industrialization from below—shop floors, craft operations, and the like.

Reconceptualization aside, the material in the volume is uniformly solid, advancing a global framework and revisiting key issues across nations and within individual societies.

Peter N. Stearns  
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*The Future of Memory*. Edited by Richard Crownshaw, Jane Kilby, and Antony Rowland (New York, Berghahn Books, 2010) 319 pp. \$90.00

Although its title promises more than it can possibly deliver, this volume of fourteen chapters provides a solid overview of important trends in the expanding field of memory studies. The chapters are wide-ranging in focus, as befits their authors' diverse academic disciplines, which include English, Comparative Literature, and Sociology (the field of history is conspicuously underrepresented; only one of the fourteen essays is penned by a historian). They are also, for the most part, highly theoretical. Readers familiar with the internal scholarly debates within particular disciplines will find the analyses learned and stimulating; readers coming from the outside may find them less accessible.

*The Future of Memory* is divided into three parts, the first of which is an eponymously titled section that begins with two introductory chapters by Crownshaw and Dan Stone; both of these chapters survey the state of the field, discussing competing models of remembrance ("prosthetic memory," "postmemory," "traumatic memory," and so on) and assessing recent critiques of them by skeptical scholars. These two contributions are followed by four case studies that deal more directly with the dynamics of commemoration. Sara Guyer analyzes three memorials to the Rwandan genocide of 1994 (in Nyamata, Nyarubuye, and Murambi), examining whether their use of human bones impedes or aids our understanding of genocide. Gaynor Bagnall and Rowland analyze how the architecture and exhibit of the Imperial War Museum North in Manchester, England, promotes an effect of "playful discom-bobulation" upon visitors, encouraging them to contemplate the dynamics of secondary witnessing. James E. Young offers first-person reflections about his role on the juries that helped to create the Memorial to the Murdered Jews in Berlin and the World Trade Center Memorial at Ground Zero in lower Manhattan. Susan Rubin Suleiman discusses literary works by Holocaust survivors George Perec and Raymond Federman, focusing on how their experimental form reflects the Holocaust's existential rupture.

The volume's second section begins with Rowland discussing "the future of testimony," the topic of the next four essays. Robert Eaglestone examines how the testimonies of Holocaust perpetrators differ from the testimonies of the victims, concluding that they are defined by the desire for closure, narrative splitting, mendacity, and a failure to shed

light on the deeper question of motivation. Kilby then surveys the recovered-memory movement and analyzes the complex dynamics that govern how trauma is communicated by writers and received by readers. Sue Vice analyzes false testimonies in Holocaust literature, classifying different forms of the genre (fakes, embellishments, and *sui generis* works) and exploring how readers assess their credibility. Matthew Boswell analyzes the Holocaust poetry of non-victims, such as Sylvia Plath and Geoffrey Hill, exploring the link between personal experience and literary authority.

Part III of the volume is introduced by Kilby's discussion of trauma studies, the theme of the final five contributions. Roger Luckhurst explores the overdetermined nature of the word *trauma* and the incompatible definitions of it within different academic fields. Cathy Caruth discusses Hannah Arendt's and Shoshana Felman's diverging responses to the Eichmann trial as a means of reflecting on the relationship between witnessing, memory, and justice (208). Anne Whitehead examines how the trauma of 9/11 and the Holocaust informs Art Spiegelman's graphic novel, *In the Shadow of No Towers* (New York, 2004). Sharon Rosenberg surveys the literature of trauma studies, calling for more scholars to wrestle with the limits of understanding. Carrie Hamilton investigates the applicability of trauma theory to the history of political action, concluding that it should not be allowed to marginalize other models of memory in order to preserve the vitality of progressive politics.

Some of the chapters are stronger than others, but the volume as a whole coheres well. Specialists in the field will certainly appreciate it.

Gavriel D. Rosenfeld  
Fairfield University

*Human Rights in the Twentieth Century*. Edited by Stefan-Ludwig Hoffmann (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011) 366 pp. \$90.00 cloth \$28.99 paper

Scholars interested in internationally recognized human rights are no doubt uniformly pleased to see historians contributing more to this field of study. Philosophers and law professors were early pioneer researchers, with social scientists close behind, as Hoffmann notes in his introduction. This volume makes clear that much serious and impressive historical interpretation is now being generated.

The introduction's *tour d'horizon* discusses the debate about the origins of modern human-rights discourse and whether rights talk is accurately to be characterized as an Enlightenment project. These early pages suggest that the volume is organized around the human-rights issue as "a history of political contestations" (26). More vaguely, the editor suggests that "the prevailing models for the history of human rights are hardly

convincing” and that “the politics of human rights continues to fail in our time” (17, 26). These are not self-evident assertions.

The material in this collection is loosely organized into five sections: “The Emergence of Human Rights Regimes”; “Postwar Universalism and Legal Theory”; “Human Rights, State Socialism, and Dissent”; “Genocide, Humanitarianism, and the Limits of Law”; and “Human Rights, Sovereignty, and the Global Condition.” Many of the fifteen authors have read broadly in legal and social-science theory, as well as in history. Some of their archival work merits much more exploration—such as that in the rich archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, the early years of which require knowledge of French.

Because most of the authors are either European or historians interested in Europe, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman sometimes seem to have had little impact on the evolution of rights talk after 1945, which is not the case. Then again, the authors might occasionally slight the role of the United States because they want to contest the dominant history, which entails much attention to Washington. To cover the rights thinking of Christian Democrats, largely Catholic, in Europe is all well and good, but the chapters devoted to this intellectual history sometimes seem like footnotes to more important developments. Even granting an appreciation of history for its own sake, the question remains why some of these chapters were included—unless the point was to demonstrate the range of Eurocentric historical studies about human rights.

The three chapters about human rights and European communism were especially well done, with careful research using primary sources. At the least the chapters about European brutality in decolonization, war crimes in South Asia, and nationalism in Africa present material outside of Europe. The chapter about the International Labor Organization effectively covers the competing discourses in the effort to advance human dignity—social justice versus human rights.

All in all, and despite the usual quibbles with this or that assertion, if this volume is representative of the nature of the new history on human rights, we can look forward to more of it.

David P. Forsythe  
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*Reassessing Jewish Life in Medieval Europe.* By Robert Chazan (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010) 290 pp. \$85.00 cloth \$28.99 paper

This is an ambitious work by a mature scholar. Chazan has been publishing medieval Jewish history for forty years. His works examining anti-Jewish attacks (the First Crusade, the Blois incident, the Barcelona Dis-

putes, among them) and Jewish responses to them sit at the intersection of intellectual and political history. In *Refashioning Jewish Identity* (New York, 2004), Chazan turned to larger questions, and he continues to do so in *Reassessing Jewish Life*. His goal is to challenge the still-dominant narrative of Jewish–Christian relations in medieval Europe as unrelentingly violent and tragic. As Chazan explains, a religiously based tripartite view of history as having an idyllic past, a deteriorating present, and an everlasting idyllic future provided the intellectual frame for both medieval Jewish and Christian writers. As they described the “deteriorating present” of the Jews in medieval Europe, they set the tone for later scholars who used these texts as sources. Chazan demonstrates that although the religious frame was transformed through the Enlightenment and the Romantic and nationalist periods, it remained essentially the same well into the twentieth century, persisting today among the general public and many scholars of the modern world in spite of a growing body of evidence to the contrary. As such, this work will be of interest to those readers pursuing questions of historical memory and group narratives.

Part I of *Reassessing Jewish Life* clearly articulates the development of narrative. Chazan is particularly thorough when detailing which biblical writings were emphasized in the medieval Jewish and Christian sources to explain Jewish exile. Chazan identifies five persistent themes in these descriptions of medieval events, Jews’ constant and forced movement, their limited economic activities (particularly in finance), their lack of status, their persecution by Christians, and their retention of a distinct identity. Part II examines each of these themes in more detail and then provides historical examples to improve our understanding of Jewish medieval history according to a more complete reading of our evidence. The book ends with a meditation arguing that even negative medieval Jewish experiences can be read as having a positive legacy in modern Jewish history.

Chazan, however, missed opportunities to synthesize all of the interdisciplinary work that is essential to make the case to change the narrative. The shortest sections of the book are those meant to argue that Jews were members of the European community, but social and cultural scholars have been most productive on this subject. Chazan points to the growing body of scholarship about linguistic integration, integrated physical space in the urban centers, gendered life, and everyday activities that brought Jews and Christians together, but he does little to detail or integrate the arguments. Missing are such creative literary analyses as Susan Einbinder’s *No Place of Rest* (Philadelphia, 2009), which uses a variety of obscure texts to see how even the most often-dislocated community, the French Jews, retained a sense of being French after their final exile. Chazan could have benefited from a work like Eva Frojmovic’s *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other* (Leiden, 2002), which finds Jewish–Christian interactions in art, or Marc Epstein’s *Dreams of Subversion*



(Philadelphia, 1997), which demonstrates different understandings of shared images. This book is not the last word on the subject, but it is a good contribution by a fine scholar to the broad interdisciplinary discussion of memory and narrative.

Charlotte Newman Goldy  
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*Classroom Commentaries: Teaching the Poetria Nova across Medieval and Renaissance Europe.* By Marjorie Curry Woods (Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 2010) 367 pp. \$ 59.95 cloth

Woods reconstructs the “epistemology of the classroom” through a multifaceted examination of the *Poetria nova* as a tool for teaching rhetoric, poetry, letters, and Aristotelian logic in the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. The *Poetria nova* is a 2,000-line rhetorical treatise in verse composed by Geoffrey of Vinsauf at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Although generations of students learned to compose letters and arguments by means of its instruction—and extant manuscripts of the *Poetria nova* are five times more numerous than those of any other *ars poetriae*—contemporary scholars have failed to recognize the importance of this text as the foundation of later medieval learning. Situating the *Poetria nova* in a number of varied didactic contexts, Woods argues that scholars have drastically overemphasized, and thus misunderstood, distinctions in the methods, goals, and tools of education from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

Woods has examined nearly every copy of the *Poetria nova* and its commentaries in seventy or more libraries and in microfilm. Arguing from text to context, she infers the level and type of institution for which a certain commentary was intended from a close comparative examination of commentaries used in known pedagogical settings, as well as from the other texts with which the commentary was copied. In doing so, Woods reconstructs the experience of studying the *Poetria nova* at various levels of instruction in schools of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth century (an experience that she seeks to recreate in her classrooms and that she outlines for her readers’ own pedagogical edification in her delightful and moving Afterword).

An introductory chapter contextualizes the author, audience, and pedagogical uses of the *Poetria nova*, arguing that its success stemmed from its flexibility and generality, always functioning “as a site in which the mind is encouraged to work in particular ways” (254). The *Poetria nova* featured a wholly generic Latin appropriate for multiple contexts, which ultimately led to its longevity.

Woods demonstrates the text’s adaptability through her analysis in the subsequent chapters, which follow the stages of a student’s pedagogical

cal development. Chapter 2, for example, about the instruction of schoolboys in basic Latin composition, explicates the “minutiae” of the text just as teachers would have, concentrating on small portions, specific words, and short phrases. Woods demonstrates how teachers relied on the multiplication of examples to arouse enthusiasm for a world of rhetorical possibility; even the smallest changes in grammatical construction and composition could convey great changes in meaning.

In the following chapter, Woods shows how this attention to detail in the Latin schools found favor and facility among the early Italian humanists who wished to elevate textual analysis to an advanced discipline. Chapter 3 argues that certain characteristics of the *Poetria nova* adapted smoothly to the textual and stylistic analysis that Italian teachers were promoting. Italians read Geoffrey’s verses as a book on the art of instruction in poetry, copying it almost exclusively with literary and (increasingly) classical texts.

Although the Italian humanists discontinued their copying and commenting on *Poetria nova* after 1450, such was not the case in central Europe. While continuing to find abundant use in the elementary school classroom, the *Poetria nova* occupied an important transitional position by introducing university students in Warsaw and Vienna to the basic logical elements of Aristotle and to analytical values more generally. Woods demonstrates that, in this context, the *Poetria nova* was copied most frequently with dictaminal texts and deployed to teach the art of letter writing to students who, although advanced, may still have struggled with their Latin. Woods’ impeccable research reveals the great breadth of circumstances and the varied level of student skill to which the *Poetria nova* adapted. Her final chapter on seventeenth-century commentaries affirms the devaluation of the *Poetria nova* as a pedagogical tool.

*Classroom Commentaries* is provocative, clear, witty, and memorable. At moments, however, it cries out for more prodding analysis. For example, Woods’ statement, “What [the *poetria nova*] lacked in gender participation it made up for in international inclusiveness,” is questionable, particularly given that schoolboys’ rhetorical training exercises included voyeuristically gazing at female bodies for a sense of beauty. Moreover, readers of this journal may want to know more about why the pedagogical tides began to shift in the sixteenth century. Woods’ observations that the *Poetria nova* received its first printing after 1721 not as a teaching tool but as a historical artifact, and that its flexibility of language construction became increasingly less relevant when rigidity of style came to the fore will not satisfy historians yearning for a more complete picture.

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*Cities at War in Early Modern Europe.* By Martha D. Pollak (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010) 354 pp. \$95.00

In a book rich in visual material, one image in particular captures what Pollak achieves in her bracingly good study of the militarization of the early modern city. Pierre Lepautre's 1692 engraving for an almanac depicts Louis XIV at the siege of the Mons in Hainault. The king, his be-wigged advisors, and guests oversee the operation: Mons is in their crosshairs, the object of their desire, and the stage of their theatrically enacted enterprise. Their presence is so stylized that only the strategically positioned cannon remind viewers that for all its gloss, the print's subject is warfare and violence. Pollak's ambitious, pan-European survey explains why monarchs like Louis XIV were personally invested in both controlling cities militarily and producing artistic representations of their hegemony. Her subject is not just how cities were affected by early modern warfare, itself an important topic, but also how rulers and urban planners militarized urban space and remade civic life with their bastioned fortifications, citadels, baroque public squares, and grand boulevards. Pollack does not reiterate the familiar narrative of the late medieval commune giving way to the baroque city. Instead, she explores "military urbanism," the enormous investment of artists, architects, and engineers in an urban design style that married the state's interest in warfare to the architect's concern for mathematical harmony.

Pollak's study is sumptuously illustrated with maps and various illustrations of the early modern city. One of her goals is to explain the enormous output of visual representation of the early modern city as produced by artists often commissioned by sovereigns. She makes a compelling case that this flood of urban imagery reflected more than aesthetic considerations; they were also part of the state's interest in crafting a visual narrative of its mastery over the cities that its rulers conquered and reconfigured. But Pollak's book has a larger purpose—to detail how the early modern city across Europe and even in Ottoman territory was redesigned along the principles of military interest. This transformation began in the sixteenth century with the popularity of pentagonal citadels and bastioned fortifications.

Pollack studies this process in twofold fashion—by tracing the popularity of fortifications and citadels in southern and northern Europe and by closely examining the master engineers and architects whose expertise princes and kings needed. As cities became the "privileged site of war," a cottage industry of print depictions of sieges flooded the early modern marketplace. Pollak offers brilliant readings of individual prints while surveying their popularity and iconographical motifs. In her exploration of urban military forms and their representation, she offers case studies of the transformation of important commercial centers, from Turin to Antwerp; of the model design of such fortress cities as Palmanova and Valleta; of the transformation of the old urban cores in Rome and

Paris; and of the establishment of new fortress cities ex nihilo, like the northern Habsburg towns of Philippeville and Mariembourg or Louis XIV's ambitious campaign to gird his conquered cities with pentagonal citadels. In the book's two final chapters, Pollak explores absolutist celebrations of peace and political authority upon the streets of baroque cities, where new boulevards, squares, greenbelts, and citadels offered a stage for enactments of sovereign power.

Pollak's study goes further than any previous work to chronicle the extent to which military concerns affected the early modern city; it succeeds in clarity of argument, evidence, and range. Because of the wide scope of Pollak's book, details in individual case studies are sometimes missing, but such is the inevitable price of the wide-angle lens that Pollak employs. Pollak's impressive survey of military urbanism aside, the book does not always provide a firm sense of the social and political context behind the representations; a deeper consideration of the politics of military violence is missing. Nonetheless, as an architectural and art historian, Pollak hardly ignores the political nature of urban military design and its spatial and visual ordering. Her very attention to hard facts leads naturally to a desire for more information about the gritty social terrain.

Peter Arnade  
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*The Insurgent Barricade.* By Mark Traugott (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010) 436 pp. \$39.95

The period from 1827 to 1871 were the classic years of the barricade, defined by Traugott as “an improvised structure, built and defended by civilian insurgents as a means of laying claim to urban space and mobilizing against military or police forces representing the constituted authorities” (21). In this important book, Traugott uses the case of the insurrectional barricade to discuss the evolution of forms of protest. Almost alone among forms of protest, the barricade bridges the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe. Contradicting scholars who argue that protest changed en bloc during the early nineteenth century, his research challenges those who describe a climactic, sudden shift in forms. The study also offers insight into the evolution of the modern social movement.

Traugott argues that people retained a long memory of their contentious options. The insurrectionary barricade, a Parisian native, had deep roots. Barricades can be found before the “Day of the Barricades” in 1588, during the era of the Holy League, and in the “Second Day of the Barricades” in 1648, during the Fronde. Barricades arose in the revolution of 1789, from the siege of the Bastille—the first act of the revolution—to the royalist revolt the suppression of which brought

the young Napoleon Bonaparte to the public eye. From Paris, barricades spread along existing urban networks, moving through the provinces. Eventually, they migrated to adjacent regions that closely shared French legal and administrative systems and revolutionary ideals because of annexation during the revolutionary and Napoleonic periods.

Traugott ably lays out the logic of the barricade. The skills of barricade construction were minimal, and the materials—cobblestones, barrels, construction material, and carriages—were widely available. Militarily, the barricade guarded against cavalry, and urban intersections created the possibility for murderous crossfire. It also undermined morale; nothing spooked troops like the sound of new barricades being constructed behind them. Socially, it could help recruitment. Movement across or around barricades exerted pressure on neighbors to join friends and kin. But flagging barricade construction suggested waning popular support, discouraging further participation. Politically, the construction of barricades invariably attracted a local audience that could be harangued. Barricades were often vehicles for negotiation between authority and rebels, the lull of negotiation allowing agitators time to urge the troops to reconsider their allegiances.

Traugott might have paid more attention to the context of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Parisian artisanal and bourgeois neighborhoods, equipped with chains to be raised across thoroughfares in times of trouble. He emphasizes the barricade's periodic revival, after decades of neglect, due to a long popular memory, but he might have said more about the routine practices by which neighborhoods used quasi-barricades to limit access to outsiders. Nor does he discuss the changing scale of contention, nor how a form of protest, developed in neighborhoods to assert claims as Parisians, returned again, much later, when these groups rose as citizens to defend the rights of the nation. A history of the origins of the modern social movement might start at that point. These minor quibbles aside, Traugott's study will initiate discussion and inspire scholarship for a long time to come.

Michael Hanagan  
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*The Capital and the Colonies: London and the Atlantic Economy, 1660–1700.*  
By Nuala Zahedieh (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010) 329 pp. \$95.00

The roster of scholars who have published important books on seventeenth-century English merchants and mercantile life is long and formidable. To this roster we can now add the name Zahedieh. For more than two decades, she has been writing important articles and essays on these topics, and in *The Capital and the Colonies*, her impressive

first book, she at once consolidates and elaborates upon her previous work.

Over the years, economic historians of seventeenth-century England have written a good deal about the growth of England's colonial trade during that century. Political historians have written extensively about England's attempts—or rather the attempts by certain Englishmen and women—during that same century to formulate an imperial ideology, to establish imperial institutions, and, in time, to forge an empire. Moreover, urban historians have documented in considerable detail London's seventeenth-century growth and will to power. Many scholars have treated these subjects as though they were independent of one another, and others have argued explicitly that the relationship between them (especially the relationship between the colonial trade and London's growth) was weak. Zahedieh, however, sees these developments as inextricably linked; she makes a strong case for such linkage in her densely researched and, to some extent, densely written book.

Simply put, Zahedieh sees the impetus to trade rising from production on the “ghost acres” in England's American colonies as the primary catalyst for England's increasing economic dynamism during the seventeenth century (particularly after the Restoration), for the enhanced productivity of England's commercial sector (particularly *vis à vis* the Dutch), and for London's transformation into one of the leading emporia in Europe.<sup>1</sup> In her view, England's merchants in general and London's merchants in particular responded vigorously to the opportunities opening up in the Americas.

The rapid growth in the size and relative importance of imports from and exports to the colonies, however, is only the beginning. Because the imperial economic structure created during the second half of the seventeenth century—the so-called Navigation System—allowed considerable commercial competition among English merchants and few opportunities for rent-seeking (at least during the first few decades of its existence), merchants perforce avidly pursued greater efficiency in order to stay afloat. Zahedieh shows that commercial competition was rendered even more intense because of the fact that barriers to entry into the colonial trade were low. These considerations pushed merchants into a cycle of vigorous economic activity. In their push to stay competitive—and, if successful, to reap some of the economic bounty derived in one way or another from the colonies—merchants promoted efficiency gains throughout the commercial sector, thereby rendering the entire English economy more productive and wealthy.

Nowhere was the process described above more apparent than in

1 *Ghost acreage*, a term introduced to economic history by Eric Jones, refers to the hypothetical acreage equivalent that would be needed for domestic producers to supply—under existing techniques—food, fiber, minerals, etc., otherwise secured from outside. See Jones, *The European Miracle: Environments, Economics and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia* (New York, 1981), 175–224.

London. The merchants in England's leading city—with a population of 575,000 in 1700, far exceeding that of Norwich, England's "second city," which was 30,000—were responsible, more than any other group, for the activities promoting the city's population growth and for the capital accumulation needed for industrialization in the eighteenth century.

Zahedieh makes a strong case for her claims in *The Capital and the Colonies*, relying in large part on a meticulously constructed (and well-employed) database comprised of London's fifty-nine largest merchants in the late seventeenth century. Although the book is not the last word on the subject, its publication places the author securely on the short list of leading authorities on trade and commerce in seventeenth-century England.

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*Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France.* By Michael Dietler (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010) 464 pp. \$60.00

At its core, Dietler's important new study is an astute examination of the complex encounters that took place between indigenous inhabitants of the lower Rhône basin and various foreigners—Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans—all of whom made their way to France's Mediterranean littoral between the late seventh and first century B.C.E. Given that the textual sources for these encounters are generally late, Dietler's analysis prudently emphasizes the material record over the written one, additionally drawing from the tools of cultural anthropology to read the archaeological evidence in a broad cross-cultural perspective. Dietler further understands foreign-indigenous encounters in ancient Mediterranean France through the lens of colonialism, defined as "the projects and practices of control marshaled in interactions between societies linked in asymmetrical relations of power and the processes of social and cultural transformation resulting from those practices" (18).

The first three chapters develop the theoretical framework that structures Dietler's approach. In the modern period, education in classical literature helped to shape the discourse surrounding European colonialism. In turn, colonial ideas profoundly influenced scholarly understandings of ancient indigenous-foreign encounters, which were all too often imagined in terms of a unidirectional flow of Greco-Roman culture to less "civilized" regions of the Mediterranean. Dietler argues instead that specific cultural motivations governed indigenous societies' consumption of—or lack of interest in—foreign goods and practices, and that such goods and practices took on new meanings in their indigenous contexts. He cites the "complex process by which alien colonists

and native peoples became increasingly entangled in webs of new relations and through which there developed a gradual transformation of all parties to the encounter” (9). A similar case has been made for other periods and places in Mediterranean history, but rarely, if ever, has it been argued with the theoretical sophistication deployed by Dietler.

The next five chapters explore specific aspects of indigenous-foreign exchange, including questions of ethnicity and identity; the intensifying social importance of violence in Mediterranean France, from about the time of the foundation of the Greek colony of Massalia (Marseille) onward; the changing character of local urban and ritual landscapes; the new taste for wine that developed within indigenous societies; and how the trade in this wine also contributed to Etruscan and Massalian economies and societies. A brief conclusion presents an excellent synopsis and diachronic re-evaluation of the major findings of the book, including a succinct consideration of the early Roman imperial period.

Dietler’s analysis is subtle, nuanced, and perceptive, but, in the end, not entirely convincing about the utility of colonialism as a category of analysis when applied to the lower Rhône basin before the Roman period. Dietler himself broaches this question with respect to the Etruscan and Greek presence in southern France—the main focus of the book—but ultimately seems to conclude that these peoples’ contacts with indigenous societies can indeed be understood in terms of “colonial encounter.” Until the second century B.C.E., however, it is by no means certain that regional asymmetries of power favored the foreign settlers. To be sure, their interactions with local populations proved to be prefatory to Roman colonialism (23), but framing the inquiry as a whole in terms of “colonialism” does not clearly further our understanding of the social processes at work in the ancient southern Rhône basin any better than Dietler’s far more compelling concept of “entanglement.”

All in all, Dietler has produced an outstanding work of scholarship that is sophisticated, intelligent, and insightful, and that deserves the close attention of scholars of all tendencies who are interested in cross-cultural encounter and social change both in the ancient Mediterranean and well beyond.

Jonathan P. Conant  
Brown University

*That Men Would Praise the Lord: The Triumph of Protestantism in Nîmes, 1530–1570.* By Allan A. Tulchin (New York, Oxford University Press, 2010) 297 pp. \$74.00

This book examines the fortunes, organization, and eventual triumph of the Protestant movement in the southern French city of Nîmes, located between Avignon and Montpellier, during the years 1530 to 1570. The primary focus, however, is on the period of religious and political tur-



moil throughout France following the death of King Henry II in 1559 to the armed Protestant takeover of Nîmes in the 1567 uprising known as the Michelade. This book is different from other accounts of urban Reformations in that along with a detailed traditional narrative account of events in Nîmes, Tulchin uses quantitative evidence as an explanatory mechanism for this significant cultural change. According to the author, his work is an attempt to combine two dominant historiographical strands favored by the *Annales* school—cultural history (as exemplified by Lucien Febvre and Roger Chartier) and quantitative techniques (as exemplified by Fernand Braudel and Marc Bloch). The result is an insightful and well-argued analysis of events in Nîmes within the context of other towns in the region undergoing similar pressure from the Reformation challenge.

Tulchin is well versed in the literature produced by sociological and anthropological approaches to the investigation of religious conversion. Pointing out, correctly, that Reformation historians have made little use of this information, he shows in what ways these approaches can add to, not replace, traditional methods of historical analysis. An example is Tulchin's use of the concept of "cognitive dissonance"—the disinclination to believe two contradictory ideas at the same time—and the resistance that such intellectual conformity presented to religious conversion. To avoid inconsistency, people generally make adjustments, whether rational or not, that allow them to dismiss one of the opposing positions completely.

Although the constraints of cognitive dissonance might seem applicable to the monumental scientific and philosophical transformations that took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this model of intellectual transition fails to address the numerous thinkers during this period who were able to maintain two contradictory idea complexes at once without great conflict or anxiety. In fact, the ability to maintain such contradictory ideas at the same time may well be the key to intellectual transformation. Think of such figures as Johannes Kepler (1571–1630); Padua Neo-Aristotelians like Gerolamo Cardano (1501–1571), Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525), Bernadino Telesio (1509–1588), and Tommaso Campanella (1568–1632); Elias Ashmole (1617–1692); and even Isaac Newton (1642–1727). Tulchin makes adept use of quantitative material to clarify and support his thesis. The book makes use of numerous and informative graphs, charts and "pie charts" along with well-constructed, clear, and reasonably complete statistical databases.

In Chapters 1–6, Tulchin follows a largely traditional narrative format to present the origin, growth, persecution, and ultimate victory of the Nîmes Protestant movement. These chapters are enlightened by quantitative evidence presented in the form of interspersed graphs (for example, "Consistory Elections 1561–62," 127), charts (for example, "Number of Men in Various Occupations," 211–214), and bar graphs (for example, "Average Dowries by Occupation," 21).

Tulchin describes the birth of the Protestant community in Nîmes under the influence of Renaissance humanism, a new concern for mor-

alism in public life, and an increased emphasis on education during a period of economic hardship. Though initially a small minority in the town, the Nîmes Protestants strove to increase their numbers in the 1550s, motivated both by missionary zeal and the need to defend themselves against a strong Catholic opposition (Chapters 1–3). After the death of Henry II, the situation in Nîmes intensified. By interfering with local procedures and acting harshly toward the Protestants, Francis I, the new king, effectively alienated both sides. The Catholic government of Nîmes enjoyed royal support, but the Estates General called for toleration (Chapter 4). From 1562 to 1567, the fate of Nîmes Protestants ebbed and flowed. In 1562, the Protestants won election to municipal government, but in 1563, the royal government engineered the return of a Catholic administration, until the Michelade uprising of 1567. In 1568, the peace agreement ending the Second Civil War returned Catholics to control of Nîmes, but in the next year, a large Protestant army conquered the city. The Edict of Nantes cemented the Protestant control of Nîmes in 1598, ending a prolonged period of violence and brutality on both sides (Chapters 5–7).

In the conclusion, Tulchin considers a broad range of possible reasons for Protestant success in some towns and failure in others: geography and military vulnerability; city size and location, the role of lawyers as advocates or judges, the status of the province in which a particular city was located, the placement of regional parlements, the social makeup of the Protestant community, economic conditions, the relative weight of political and religious motives for reform, and even different dialects. Tulchin attributes the Protestants' success in Nîmes to their ability to attract a broad range of social groups and to work within local legal and political structures, thereby forcing the royal government to resort to violence, which discredited its efforts.

This book is intelligently written, well argued, and statistically sophisticated. One significant question, however, throws a shadow over this enterprise: To what extent can quantitative evidence successfully explain the complicated dynamics of religious belief and conversion, or of cultural and intellectual transformation. Numbers, formulas, graphs, and charts can show the extent and the pattern of change, but they do not deal with the crucial element of motive.

Andrew Fix  
Lafayette College

*Warrior Pursuits: Noble Culture and Civil Conflict in Early Modern France.*  
By Brian Sandberg (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010)  
424 pp. \$60.00

Sandberg explores the French civil wars between 1598 and 1635 from the perspective of the “warrior pursuits” of the nobility in Languedoc

and Guyenne. According to Sandberg, the honor culture shared by hereditary nobles—despite differences in wealth, status, royal favor, and religious confession—was the foundation for the manner in which the rebellions and civil wars of this era were mobilized, funded, and fought. Sandberg hopes to chronicle how warfare and religious strife in Languedoc and Guyenne had less to do with the plans and resources of the monarchy than the activities of local noble elites, whose private and public goals determined much of the fundamental strategic and military activity in the region throughout the first third of the seventeenth century. Though the armies led by noble commanders ostensibly served in the king's name, the troops that they led were raised, armed, and provisioned from their personal fortunes. The commanders assessed taxes and plundered, obtained loans from co-religionists, and were employed as much in private conflicts as they were in rebellions against royal authority.

Standing armies were not yet a feature of European warfare; armies were raised in response to particular crises and provocations, to be disbanded once the issue was resolved. Although the tense co-existence of Catholic and Huguenot populations in the south of France served as a constant motive for armed conflict, the presence of a noble warrior elite that was schooled in arms, eager to achieve notoriety in combat, and zealous about defending the true faith sparked most of the military activity in this era. The warrior nobles in Louis XIII's commissions and offices during this era were at the apogee of their power and independence—in principle subject to royal authority, though in practice available to justify private or confessional vengeance or despoil the seigneuries of rivals.

Sandberg thoroughly analyzes the relatively insecure situation of the noble elite in the early seventeenth century. The period in which formal, documented claims determined noble lineage lay in the future; in 1600, a man was obliged to demonstrate his nobility through narratives and testimonials of valorous ancestors; seigneurial holdings, perhaps enhanced by marriage; the patrimony of kin and noble friends; and, crucially, courage in arms and military leadership.

In Sandberg's account, a nobleman's status could be insured only by a permanent performance of nobility. He had to be well-trained in arms, naturally eager for war but disciplined in command, and versed in the elaborate rhetoric of friendship and affection that bound his kin and other warriors to him and tied him to the "grands" of his region. Nobles accumulated "credit" by obtaining offices and titles, amassing wealth, and demonstrating sectarian piety through participation in sacred rituals and generous endowments of religious organizations. This "credit" was then redeemed in the form of military and financial support for arming and raising troops for battle, a more or less permanent feature of life in the region at this time. However, a shortage of ready specie seems to have required nobles to sustain their armies more by violent and fortuitous means than by redeeming their "credit." Hence, it is difficult to

know when the religious motives ended and the self-preserving performances of noble commanders began.

Sandberg has gathered a prodigious quantity of information and documentation that shifts attention from the oft-told story of a relentlessly centralizing monarchy to the fluid, insecure, and bellicose behavior of a regional nobility that was more concerned with preserving status and vanquishing seigneurial and confessional rivals than in suppressing rebellions against the monarch. There is merit in this cultural analysis of the role of noble honor in the religious turmoil of southern France following the imperfect truce of the Edict of Nantes. Yet there is also a danger in extending the performative aspects of “warrior pursuits” to encompass passionate sectarian belief or an emotional fealty to divine-right monarchy, thereby ignoring the personal greed, bloodlust, and brutality that marked this fitful warfare. Notwithstanding the valuable information that Sandberg conveys about how warfare was conducted during this era, we must remain uncertain about precisely what men thought and felt while they fought.

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Oregon State University

*From Deficit to Deluge: The Origins of the French Revolution.* Edited by Thomas E. Kaiser and Dale K. Van Kley (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2011) 345 pp. \$65.00 cloth \$25.95 paper

Kaiser and Van Kley have brought together the essays of leading historians adept at an array of disciplinary methodologies to examine the origins of the French Revolution. Kaiser, in his chapter, draws on political science to analyze foreign policy, factions of the royal court, and public opinion. Jeffrey Merrick draws on gender studies to explore conflicts about the definition of paternal authority. Jeremy Popkin explores the debates about the interests of slave-owning planters and the colony of Saint-Domingue.

Gail Bossenga coins the term “court capitalism” to denote the private ownership of government functions, financial offices exploited by investors, and lucrative rewards accruing to high nobles enjoying the king’s favor. This system, akin to what Porshnev described, back in 1963, as “centralized feudal rent,” made it impossible for the monarchy to borrow at sustainable rates of interest and cover the government’s basic expenses.<sup>1</sup>

In an essay of historical sociology, Jack Goldstone presents the recent scholarship portraying high wages, urban demand, booming trade and manufacturing, and rising agricultural productivity, especially on the large farms of the Paris basin. Yet after a judicious evaluation of the evidence, he concludes that real wages, relative to grain prices, declined by

1 Boris Porshnev, *Les Soulèvements populaires en France de 1623 à 1648* (Paris, 1963), 563–566.

at least one-third between the periods 1726–1750 and 1768–1777, a conclusion indicating stagnant labor productivity in agriculture. Goldstone argues that the old regime seemed unfair from the peasants' perspective. It augmented the fiscal pressure on the land at a time when rents and food prices increased, and the sizes of the peasants' parcels of land, and of their marketable surpluses, dwindled.

Van Kley provides a detailed analysis of the monarchy's efforts to extirpate Jansenism, which emphasized Augustine's theology of grace, from the French Catholic Church. From 1725 to 1765, the Crown, and the highest clergymen allied to it, arbitrarily imprisoned 40,000 to 50,000 Jansenists. The resistance to this religious policy, Van Kley argues, undermined all of the pillars of royal absolutism established by Louis XIV in the seventeenth century.

Keith Baker offers the best statement of his ideas since the publication of his book *Inventing the French Revolution* (New York, 1990). He argues that new forms of knowledge about political economy, the role of government, and civil and criminal law presumed the ability of people to remake social relations. They provided the ideas, arguments, memories, and anticipations for people to interpret the contingent events generated by the monarchy's efforts to reform the economy and administration and the resistance that these efforts galvanized among the defenders of corporate privileges in the tribunals.

In the end, the editors' partiality to intellectual history leads to a striking neglect of sociology. Kaiser and Van Kley invoke Tocqueville, in the conclusion, to argue that the radical and cavalier anti-clericalism, the "secularized millenarianism," of the Revolution emerged from the context created by the Jansenist conflict. Tocqueville, however, argued precisely the contrary, that the Church neglected the theological concerns, which are crucial to the editors, and instead generated resentment by its complicity in the mundane issues of tithes, power, and privilege.<sup>2</sup> Kaiser and Van Kley write, "[The] peasants came into electoral contact with literate bourgeois lawyers who . . . apprised them of the unjustness of their seigniorial obligations" (266). The peasants' familiarity with these obligations, from having been subjected to them, we are to believe, had nothing to do with their perceptions of injustice.

Stephen Miller  
University of Alabama, Birmingham

*Monsters of the Gévaudan: The Making of a Beast.* By Jay M. Smith (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2011) 392 pp. \$35.00

Ever since the mid-eighteenth century, when a string of grisly murders took place in southern France, the perpetrator, quickly named "the beast

2 Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Old Régime and the French Revolution* (Garden City, 1955; orig. pub. 1856), 6–7.

of the Gévaudan,” has straddled the worlds of myth and history. In his exhaustively researched, sometimes exhaustingly detailed, but always remarkable micro-history, Smith deftly situates the beast within the context of its time, revealing how a wolf (or wolves) metamorphosed into a monster that darkened the imagination of enlightened Frenchmen and women.

Smith’s quarry is less the beast itself than the “mental environment of the times” that shaped the understanding of the actors pulled into this drama (3); his ammunition is not a single cache of documents that, until now, were hidden or ignored but well-known sources that have been “underexploited” (4). Few scholars of the era are better armed: Not only has Smith ransacked the departmental and national archives, but he has also read a staggering number of secondary sources that cast light on his quarry.

Like Arthur Conan Doyle’s dog that did not bark, Smith begins his account with a series of curious incidents—a string of victims, mostly shepherds and farmers, who were killed by wolves between from 1764 to 1765 in the isolated region of the Auvergne. Why would these events be noteworthy? After all, wolves were notorious predators, responsible for hundreds of deaths in rural France.

Yet, news of these deaths soon galvanized the imagination of France; within short order, the predator metamorphosed into a monster. According to Smith, the sources for this transformation were not just rooted in peasant lore; they also rippled out from political, intellectual, and social preoccupations in Paris. Thus, the scientific debate among savants on the nature of the unnatural, be it hybrids or monsters, provided a lens to view events in the Auvergne. This lens was polished by the work of George-Louis Buffon, whose popular *Natural History* (Paris, 1749–1796) dwelt on nature’s penchant for creating the prodigious. As Buffon affirmed, “It is necessary to see nothing as impossible” (33). In addition, the theological battles between Jansenists and Jesuits—and, more deeply, the enduring schism between Protestants and Catholics—spilled into the local bishop’s effort to ally the alien nature of the “beast” with the foreign character of the Jesuit order.

These events from *la France profonde* were welcomed, as well as magnified, by the press. Recently founded newspapers, like the *Courrier d’Avignon*, depended on sensationalism, especially after peace had broken out in the wake of the Seven Years’ War: “For a journalist confronting a barren postwar landscape . . . the ongoing mystery in the Gévaudan must have appeared as a godsend” (71).

It was certainly a godsend for Louis XV. His throne, weakened by France’s humiliation at the hands of the British and the Austrians, not to mention the loss of its overseas possessions, needed to regain honor and respect. By ridding the Gévaudan of this terrifying monster, the monarchy could prove that it was capable of guaranteeing the lives and well-

being of its subjects. For the nation and the army, the “beast’s conquest was supposed to bring a measure of redemption” (105).

By the time Smith reaches the tale’s dénouement, all of the people involved—the king, advisers, commentators, and hunters—had found that the political, personal, and popular investment in the beast’s existence was too immense to allow the inconvenient fact that it was only a slightly bigger than average wolf that intruded. As Smith concludes, everyone had a compelling reason for the end to be equal to the great expectations raised by the narrative.

Smith so deeply immersed himself in the literature surrounding this event that even the slightest of oversights registers. Thus, he notes that Horace Walpole, who provided a sharp-tongued commentary on the affair, thought it belonged to a “gothic romance” (250), apparently unaware that Walpole fathered this genre with his novel *The Castle of Otranto* (London, 1765). Smith’s intimate knowledge of the characters also occasionally led him to believe that readers would want to spend as much time with them as he has. But what we learn from an entire chapter devoted to the d’Ennevals, a father and son team of hunters, we probably could have gleaned from a few pages.

These quibbles aside, Smith has written the standard work about this fascinating story, and he has done so in a fluent and compelling manner.

Robert Zaretsky  
University of Houston

*Forging Political Identity: Silk and Metal Workers in Lyon, France 1900–1939.*  
By Keith Mann (New York, Berghahn Books, 2010) 264 pp. \$ 95.00

*Forging Political Identity* uses silk workers and metal workers of Lyons, France, in the period of the Second Industrial Revolution, to explain political identity as an outcome of opportunities presented by a broad political context and of transformations in industrial relations centered on the notion of skill. This work of historical sociology is especially attentive to the role of technical factors in reshaping the circumstances in which the mobilization of workers trended in either of two competing political directions—“class independent, antinationalist” or “class collaboration, nationalist” (33). Revolutionary syndicalist militancy before World War I and support for the French Communist Party after the war embodied the former, whereas alliances with left-leaning bourgeois parties and affiliation with reformist socialism marked the latter. The altered “political opportunity structure” of the anti-fascist Popular Front led the erstwhile rival tendencies to rally around a common banner of citizen and worker, celebrating patriotic republicanism and reaping the gain of historic social legislation (217–220). The Communist Party was the main

beneficiary, emerging as a mass party with broad appeal to silk and metal workers otherwise differentiated by occupational specialty and gender.

The strength of this study is the attention given to skill as an explanatory factor of political identity and worker mobilization, and as a problem of empirical specification and analysis. Skill categories and their transformation as a result of capital-intensive technologies, productivity-enhancing rationalization of work process, and nontechnological means to control labor—such as new payment schemes—structure the core argument about differential political identities among workers in the two industries of Lyons. De-skilling of the traditional craft system, and a corresponding attack on control of labor recruitment through apprenticeship, occurred over time but at a different pace and intensity for different sectors and occupational specialties in both industries. This difference preserves a skilled-worker element with an established tradition of organization and allegiance to syndicalism and class-independent politics. Not only did this group resist and therefore slow down or partially subvert the de-skilling movement, but it also facilitated the shift of politics and labor action of the increasing numbers of semiskilled silk and metal workers toward a more militant agenda after 1933. Skilled workers, albeit a minority, provided “the seasoned and highly organized labor militants” to galvanize the newly recruited, organizationally inexperienced, and more readily controlled semiskilled majority that, in the past, favored reformist politics and negotiated settlement of labor issues (207). The close empirical assessment of levels of skill and paths of change in skill composition buttresses and enriches this finely nuanced argument. The use of sources to read behind the vague or ambiguous occupational classifications in government records is a model for studies of skill in other historical contexts.

The argument works best with regard to the metal workers, for whom all of the elements of change and differentiation occurred within the city. For the silk workers, the argument applies readily to the dyeing and finishing sectors, both concentrated in the city, but less so for weaving, in which the crucial shift to semiskilled work occurred primarily in the surrounding region, despite mechanization touching some parts of urban production. Social historians would also appreciate a more textured elaboration of neighborhoods, historically key contributors to worker identity in Lyons, along with shop-floor relations and party and union politics. Attention to gender throughout the study and articulation of the French Communist Party’s strategic use of factory cells and the press to remain close to the shop-floor concerns of Lyons’ workers are among the notable merits of this laudable work.

George J. Sheridan, Jr.  
University of Oregon



*Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars.* By Brooke L. Blower (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011) 354 pp. \$34.95

That Americans, at least those of a certain class and cultural aspiration, have long sought (and sometimes found) in Paris a second home is a truism reinforced by regular reading of the *New York Times*. That Parisians have long endured, but not necessarily embraced, this American enthusiasm is equally true. Why this ambivalent often fraught relationship mattered—to the French and Americans alike—in the years following World War I is the intriguing topic deftly analyzed in *Becoming Americans in Paris*. By looking beyond the familiar story of the “Lost Generation,” Blower demonstrates that Americans’ varied experiences of Paris in the 1920s were more politically complicated and more significant to the formation of American national identity than customarily believed. Far from being only the escapist haunt of expatriate artists and intellectuals, Paris enticed thousands of newly affluent tourists, many with a taste for the forbidden pleasures of the capital; American Legionnaires eager to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the doughboys’ arrival in France; and numerous others whose time in Paris helped them to define for themselves what it meant to be American.

The narrative of *Becoming Americans in Paris* focuses on three major and sometimes overlapping developments that either brought Americans to Paris or compelled Paris to come to terms (and sometimes express its displeasure) with America: the political uproar, generated primarily on the left, by the execution in 1927 of Ferdinando Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti; the campaign of Jean Chiappe, the conservative mayor of Paris, to clean up the morally insalubrious corners of the capital; and the decision of the American Legion to hold its annual meeting in Paris in September 1927. Having analyzed these three episodes, each of which in its own way reveals an “American Paris” unlike that immortalized by the expatriate writers, Blower then returns to the expatriates themselves to ask whether the familiar story of expatriate writers seeking refuge from “the real world” in French cafés and disinterested literary experimentation is the best way to understand the significance of Paris to the “Lost Generation.” Far from being a haven where writers could and did ignore the political challenges of the day, Blower views Paris as “an entrepôt of causes and connections where expatriates began to develop new forms of American internationalism” (215). She concludes that “contrary to stereotypes, Paris had readied many expatriates not simply for a return to their own nation but also for a new international participation” (238).

*Becoming Americans in Paris* is an excellent example of what transnational history ought to be. Although more interested in how the experiences of Americans in Paris shaped their own self-identity than in how the American presence in Paris influenced the evolution of French national identity, Blower is astutely aware of both sides of the story. Anti-

Americanism—informed either by French disdain for America’s retrograde politics or by disgust at the arrogant and vulgar behavior of inebriated Americans on the town—is well documented in this book. Chiappe’s campaign to clean up the tawdry haunts eagerly sought (and then primly denounced) by American tourists revealed how eager the French were to define their capital (and themselves) as more dignified than the guidebooks and dirty postcards peddled to Americans were wont to suggest. But *Becoming Americans in Paris* is more transnational than explicitly interdisciplinary in its methodology. To be sure, it examines the politics and civic culture of interwar Paris and its itinerant American visitors, but it does not, for example, explicitly deploy the methodologies of textual or visual analysis outside the usual conventions. That being said, it is an illuminating, elegantly written, and extremely worthwhile enterprise.

Martha Hanna  
University of Colorado, Boulder

*The Spanish Republic and Civil War.* By Julián Casanova (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010) 358 pp. \$99.00

Seventy years after the end of Spain’s destructive civil war, interpretation still, in Julian Casanova’s words, “arouses passionate opinions rather than historical debate” (4). Though not claiming to be detached and neutral, Casanova promises to present a synthetic narrative that acknowledges debates, takes explicit positions, and maintains the historian’s “constant quest for truth” (4). This is a lot to juggle, but Casanova manages to achieve a good balance between synthesis, when scholarly consensus is broad; exposition, when historiographical positions do not agree; and intervention, when his own conclusions are warranted. Since Casanova is one of the most eminent scholars of the Spanish Civil War—with various books about the anarchist movement, the Church, the violence/repression, and the comparative context of twentieth-century civil wars—his narrative bespeaks the confidence, as well as the subtlety, of one immersed in the complexities of the historical record.

The book’s narrative is driven by the classic “big” questions about the democratic Republic’s failure to consolidate, the origins of the civil war, and the reasons for the Nationalist victory. In each case, Casanova provides multifactoral answers that resist simplistic conclusions, although he is not averse to declaring his sympathies at various points. Thus, in analyzing the origins of the Civil War, he acknowledges that the working-class movements helped to destabilize the Republic with their insurrectionism, but he lays the blame for the war squarely on the military conspirators. Furthermore, the anarchist Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) certainly helped to create a “culture of confrontation”

(63), but so did landowners' groups and Catholics. Likewise, although Casanova recognizes that the Republic's anticlerical legislation and apparent indifference to popular anticlerical violence turned Catholics against it, he finds "little room for understanding" in a gulf between Catholics and anti-clericals that was old and deep (40). Casanova seeks to dispel the classic conservative argument that the onset of the war was largely the result of working-class disorder and Republican weakness, arguing instead that the military and the ruling classes ended the Republic.

On the question of why the Republicans lost the war, Casanova provides an evenhanded analysis of the two main scholarly frameworks for interpreting the defeat. The first framework focuses on the divisiveness and lack of unity within the Republican ranks; the other one pinpoints the internationally rooted disadvantages of the Republicans, from non-intervention of the Western democracies to massive Fascist/Nazi aid to the Nationalists within a context in which many Europeans were losing faith in democracy. Thus, he acknowledges both that "internal discord was a true stumbling block to winning the war" and that international aid or lack thereof was decisive in the duration, progress, and result of the war (269, 212). In this case, Casanova is more circumspect in his own opinions, citing divergent positions that emphasize one factor over the others.

In addition to addressing major historical questions about the origins and outcome of the Civil War, Casanova's book is one of the first general histories of the war to synthesize the main focus of research in recent years—the war's unprecedented violence and repression. He devotes more than a chapter to the details of the political violence inflicted on both sides, with special consideration of what he calls the "eliminationist" policies of the Nationalists (178). The Nationalists' steadfast commitment to "exterminating violence," with the endorsement of the Catholic Church, is a central theme of the book. In contrast, the Republicans' political violence occurred largely after the collapse of state authority in the first months of the war. Hence, 90 percent of the clerics that the Republicans murdered were dead by September 1936, two months into the war, before the Republican state was able to restore central authority. In the end, despite the undeniable cruelty on both sides, the Nationalists were primarily responsible for developing the new instruments of mass terror (339). This aspect of the Nationalists' mass politics situated them with the "modern" European fascists rather than the traditional conservatives, whatever label we place on the regime. As Casanova concludes, their victory was a victory for Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini.

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*Christmas in Germany: A Cultural History.* By Joe Perry (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2010) 399 pp. \$49.95

Perry's *Christmas in Germany* recounts and interprets the evolution of Christmas and its self-consciously central place in the German calendar. German popular culture recalls it as centered on timeless folk traditions rooted deeply in pagan forest rituals of an ancient Teutonic past and Christianity's story of Jesus' birth. As Perry demonstrates, however, the Christmas that Germans know now did not begin to take shape until the early nineteenth century in the parlors of the upper classes. For the next two centuries, it evolved to meet the changing and competing needs and anxieties wrought by an emergent nationalism, a market economy, and the strain of religious division, while remaining anchored to an essential set of rituals, images, sounds, and scents. In this sense, Perry's account follows other recent scholarship on British and American versions of the holiday, finding that Christmases crafted in the nineteenth century could inspire feelings of "traditional" unity and private sentimental joy, enfolded localized cultures into a national entity and modern economy. In short, the modern Christmas, a uniquely "fluid and permeable sign system," created powerful feelings of community and tradition from the very stuff of a rationalizing modernity (1).

Although Perry points to the hollowness of any claims to Christmas' unique roots in the German *volk*, he demonstrates the usefulness of tracing national variants of the holiday. The German Christmas was special and even especially intense, he argues, because of Germany's tortured road to national unity and modernity. Employing an array of archives—church records, political tracts, diaries, newspapers, and the like—Perry has written a solidly researched history of cultural transition. But he also has produced something more—a reconstruction of the "systems of practice and representation" that created the so-called *Weihnachtsstimmung*, an emotional environment of a German Christmas that acted powerfully "to define and reproduce social norms and identities" (4). As an example, Perry gives us Ernst T. A. Hoffmann's story "The Nutcracker and the Mouse King" (1816), a product of fin de siècle Berlin salon culture, as one of the first significant cultural works to bind hearth and home to nationalist ideas of morality and military sacrifice. He notes that the story "encapsulates the essential elements of the German family Christmas" (23)—with its toy soldiers, dolls, and candle-lit fir tree—but also "gives a frightful if fanciful reading of the Napoleonic Wars, in which the forces of good triumph in the end, but only after great trials" (24).

By the twentieth century, the sentimental domestic Christmas had evolved into an "archetypal symbol of a German nation united above class, religion, region or ideology," yet moldable by the passions of the day (7). A burgeoning gift economy stirred *Kauflust* among consumers and broadened the holiday's popularity despite protests that argued for its shallow commercialism. The Nazis exploited this tension by high-

lighting a racially imagined German Christmas at war with Jewish shopkeepers and department store owners and touting the superiority of local German Christmas crafts over new, mass-produced goods. The Nazi version of the holiday celebrated its organic and seamless Germany identity, threatened by un-Christian and un-German influences in commerce, culture, politics or religion.

Perry's probing assessment of the Nazis' exploitation of Christmas sentiment (along with the multiple ways in which they could not fully manage it) confirms the inordinate force and malleability of the holiday. By underlining the subtle layering of Christian and German identities, Perry allows us to grasp why the birth of Jesus became equivalent for some to the birth of the Aryan child and a new Germany. However, the fundamental German perception of Christmas as German also helped to wrest German identity from its associations with the Third Reich. During the Cold War, for instance, the holiday was a "central vehicle for the reconstruction of private and public identities in East and West Germany" (11). It remains even now a viable tool to bolster a reunified Germany against an ever-corrosive consumerism that undermines both domestic and national identities.

The tensions between evolving domestic, folk renditions of the German Christmas and commercial and political exploitation that Perry highlights certainly have parallels in other modern cultures, and greater recognition of these commonalities might have clarified more precisely the special nature of *Weihnachtsstimmung*. Nevertheless, Perry offers an extraordinarily well-articulated, nuanced, and consequential account of a culture that even non-Germans recognize as having a special, mythic relation to the modern Christmas.

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*Witchcraft and Magic in the Nordic Middle Ages*. By Stephen A. Mitchell (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 384 pp. \$49.95

More than most topics, witchcraft and magic involve issues that cut across disciplines, and Mitchell has produced a solid, impressively interdisciplinary contribution to our understanding of them. Filling a gap between studies of the Viking age and studies of the early modern witch hunts, Mitchell begins with a survey of learned theories that moves seamlessly from developments in medieval thinking through recent scholarly approaches, showing a strong command of the general European literature, as well as works focused on the Nordic world. He then gives an overview of witchcraft and magic in the Viking period before proceeding, in a series of chapters, to explore these themes in the post-Viking era in relation to daily life, literary traditions, mythologies, the law and judicial practice, and gender issues. He ends with a short epi-

logue recapping the main points covered in the work and briefly considering the importance of medieval developments for the subsequent witch-hunting era. The 206 pages of text are followed by almost 150 pages of notes and bibliography, a physical indication of the depth and breadth of scholarship that undergirds them.

Beyond the learned works stretching from the Middle Ages to today, Mitchell utilizes an impressive array of sources—sagas, poems, and legends; law codes and trial records; religious treatises and sermons; runes; and church art. His use of the literary record is careful and nuanced, steering a middle course between treating the works as transparent windows on the past (both the past relative to us and the past relative to his subjects, in the case of the many late medieval narratives set in the Viking age), and dismissing them as simply artistic contrivances. He approaches religious and legal materials with equal judiciousness, making good use of them as manifestations of elite concerns as well as invaluable (if particularly tricky) sources for popular beliefs and practices. Finally, he develops sophisticated analyses of runes and church art to explore the physical dimensions of medieval beliefs and practices.

The breadth of interpretive approaches that Mitchell employs is as impressive as that of his source materials—philology, semiotics, literary studies, folklore, anthropology, religious studies, art history, archeology, gender studies, and legal history. He also draws from numerous specialized crossdisciplinary approaches like orality studies, performance theory, and cognitive archeology. Overall, his command of this diverse array of fields and disciplines is well informed and his employment of them well considered.

Most impressive is how Mitchell coordinates these various interpretive modes. For example, he combines legal and religious history, literary analysis, philology, performance theory, and archeology to argue that the connection between charms and runes evinces a performative dimension of magic that textually oriented analyses have traditionally slighted. Similarly, he employs religious studies, art history, folklore, and semiotics to analyze the meaning of, and narrative flow between, scenes painted in vestibules of parish churches, showing how the “liminality” of this situation was not vaguely metaphorical but fully realized: Parishioners were confronted by scenes of earthly sins, unfolding from temptation through damnation, as they moved between the sacred space of the chapel and the profane world outside.

As with any regional study, many of the book’s conclusions are primarily of interest to area specialists, confirming or supplying regional variants to, rather than challenging the current understanding of, general European trends. However, Mitchell develops a number of more notable insights that have implications for our broader understanding of European witchcraft. First among them is his demonstration that it involved behaviors and practices—things people actually did, and rituals they actually performed—as well as beliefs and stories. Second is his insistence that magic was a pervasive part of medieval life, in Scandinavia

as elsewhere, although its role in elite culture declined over time. Third is his assertion that the crucial distinction between magic and religion for medieval people was not the theoretical question of supplication versus command of spiritual entities but of the nature and extent of these entities' power. Finally, there was a direct relationship between the temporal distance from the teller's present and the time in which a story was set and the importance of magic as an element in this story. The greater importance of magic in earlier settings indicated an important difference between pagan and Christian society and reflected the rising power of religion and the declining role of magic in the later Middle Ages.

The book has a few oversights and weaknesses. For one thing, it pays regrettably little attention to the full-blown shamanism of the neighboring *Sámi* people, which shared important elements with Nordic magic and therefore would have provided an opportunity to explore links between European and north Asian beliefs and practices—currently a major controversy in the field. For another, its mix of topical and source-based chapters leads to a certain fragmentation in presentation and considerable repetitiveness toward the end. However, these issues are relatively minor compared to Mitchell's inspired and judicious marshalling of diverse sources and interpretive schemas. A significant regional study of a neglected era, his book also makes important contributions to our larger understanding of European witchcraft and magic and makes exemplary use of interdisciplinary approaches.

Edward Bever  
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*Science for Welfare and Warfare: Technology and State Initiative in Cold War Sweden.* Edited by Per Lundin, Niklas Stenlas, and Johan Gribbe (Sagamore Beach, Mass., Watson Publishing Company, 2010), 314 pp. \$49.95

In a compelling interdisciplinary study, Lundin and his colleagues re-evaluate the social-engineering capacity of the Swedish state, the use of national myths to justify collective action and enable societal reform(s), and the power behind the decisions to redefine the state from warfare and welfare to information and ecology. No other work combines history, technology, power, reform, agriculture, globalism, and the role of the military and state-led industrialization with the evolution of state-society relations. Relying on theory, practice, and expertise across multiple fields, this edited volume has twelve chapters that cohere well in redefining the ways in which Sweden conveys power at home, and serves as an exemplar to others.

The authors examine how, when, and why power is consolidated, and who were the leaders in Sweden during the formative Cold War era. According to the authors, Sweden's state-led industrialization relied

on two national myths—neutrality and modernity—and was constructed by “men of the state” or “reform technocrats” who shared an engineering mentality during the period from 1945 to 1975. “In one sector after another, government committees were assigned to survey the needs and propose reforms, new institutions were formed to house and provide the necessary expertise, and large-scale technological programmes were launched to achieve the goals agreed upon” (9). In every aspect of society—including food, housing, women’s laundry, settlement patterns, banking, industry, etc.—“large-scale, techno-scientific structures and systems of regulation played their roles” (198).

The authors promote the image of a rational, omnipotent state in Sweden’s early years. Yet, later, from the 1970s through the early 1990s, the capacity to retain such state-led power and control became diffused because of enhanced consumer and citizen participation, a dissatisfaction with the role of science and technology, and an infusion of neo-liberalism and market-oriented thinking in Swedish politics (263). Unlike Geyer, Ingebritsen, and Moses, the authors do not view Europeanization and globalization as significant causes of this weakening of centralized authority.<sup>1</sup>

Sweden’s military state developed around the myth of neutrality, but this tendency was not only a national phenomenon. The authors document significant Nordic and American influences, which place the book in a unique category of blurring boundaries between domestic and global influences on state-building. The authors point to strategic cooperation in meteorology as a legacy of partnership between Norway and Sweden in the Nordic Defense Union; Sweden also maintained a secret partnership with the United States during the Cold War (139).

Deregulation of the Swedish state also included social dissatisfaction with industrial agriculture, which created a movement reminiscent of those involving local, ecological food in other advanced industrial societies. When the neoliberal shift occurred, so too did the rise of the information society, as a post-Fordist project.

The most interesting findings of this volume concern the ways in which Sweden has moved from a controlled, state-led rationalism to a market-oriented, ecological, and information society. Sweden went in this direction earlier than other parts of the world. Its economy has remained prosperous, and the government continues to invest in the human capital necessary for competition in a new, knowledge-based global market-place. There is much to learn from Sweden’s social reforms, as well as its from its transformation into a successful forerunner of the “sustainable knowledge society.”

The volume is recommended reading for everyone interested in Scandinavian studies, international political economy, Swedish history,

1 Robert Geyer, Ingebritsen, and Jonathan Wayne Moses, *Globalization, Europeanization, and the End of Scandinavian Social Democracy* (New York, 2000).



and the role of ecology and information technology in creating new markets and new ways of engaging in a digital age.

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University of Washington

*The Constitutional Origins of the American Revolution.* By Jack P. Greene (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011) 198 pp. \$80.00 cloth \$21.99 paper

Throughout the course of a distinguished career as one of the most prolific and influential historians of English and British colonial America, Greene has struggled against prevailing understandings of the origins of the American Revolution. Whether focusing on ideological or material factors, most historians frame their inquiries in national terms, looking for the Revolution's causes in the hearts and minds or pocketbooks of its patriot protagonists. Greene, by contrast, has always discounted the national narrative, and therefore the fundamental importance of independence itself in determining the character of the postimperial federal republic.<sup>1</sup> In *Constitutional Origins* Greene fashions an analytical narrative that focuses narrowly on the key question in national historiography—why the break with Britain?—within an imperial framework. Building on his own seminal work on colonial constitutionalism and drawing inspiration from more recent work in the multiple legalities of neo-European settler societies, Greene offers an elegant and persuasive analysis of Revolutionary origins that should be the point of departure for future work in the field.<sup>2</sup>

In the wake of new interest in Atlantic history and British imperial history, the way should be open for broad acceptance of Greene's argument. His capacious imperial approach enables him to avoid privileging the "tory perspective" of contemporary metropolitan commentators and of subsequent historians who have claimed (or conceded) that the forward-looking logic of Parliamentary sovereignty claims was irrefutable, even axiomatic. But the colonists' "notion of a customary imperial constitution of principled limitation, the strength of local institutions, the comparative recency of the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy, and the weakness of metropolitan authority" all combined to make that perspective eminently contestable both in law and "in the court of Anglophone public opinion" (185, 186). Theorists then and now are too easily seduced by theory, thus tending to discount "the legal force of custom in English law" (180).

1 Though I am one of Greene's many students, we have a long-running argument about the significance of independence and nation-making.

2 See, particularly, Greene, *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Politics of the British Empire and United States, 1607–1789* (Athens, 1986).

Given the Empire's limited coercive capacity, only a "customary imperial constitution," the product of a history of ongoing negotiations between Crown prerogative and distant settler polities, could sustain mutually beneficial transatlantic connections: "The early modern British Empire was not held together by force" (20). Parliamentary policymakers who sought to impose order on this constitutional complexity after the Seven Years' War knew that "the path" forward might be "thorny" (to quote George Grenville in March 1764), betraying "a pronounced uneasiness" about colonial responses (68). The reformers' program failed not because reformers "were restrained or timid in their use of power" but because imperial officials "were so rapidly and fully immobilized by local law" (146).

The critical question was whether the respective colonies had constitutions and, in turn, whether there was an imperial constitution that set limits to the power of the king or to that of Parliament, when it belatedly entered the fray. During the crisis years of 1764 to 1776, colonists sought to avoid the sovereignty question, instead focusing "debate on the seemingly more tractable and certainly less abstract problem of how power was or should be allocated in a polity composed of several related but nonetheless distinct corporate entities" (166). American patriots sustained "their basic trust in Parliament," the great defender of British liberties against prerogative encroachment, long after the insular legislature launched its reform project (63). Surely liberty-loving Britons would come to their senses and recognize the constitutional force of custom in prescribing "a clear allocation of authority within the broad, extended polity of the early modern British Empire" (129).

That metropolitan and provincial authorities could not negotiate their way out of their constitutional impasse—as they had done so often in the past—was an ironic tribute to England's Glorious Revolution of 1689, when Crown prerogative was finally tamed and liberty secured. The Revolution's most notable effects "were the localization of power and the growth of parliamentary institutions, not just within Britain but also in Ireland and the American colonies" (48). Under the new constitutional dispensation, local authorities on both sides of the Atlantic experienced "much less interference from the central government than they had at any time under the Stuart monarchy," though that would change for Anglo-Americans during the protracted imperial crisis (47). "Far from rejecting the results of the Glorious Revolution, colonists simply assumed"—mistakenly—"that they were entitled to all its benefits" (53).

Anglo-Americans, operating under assumptions about law and constitutions that were broadly shared in the Anglophone world, were never more "English" than in their mobilization against British imperial reform. These patriots did not set out to be nation-makers. Quite to the contrary, "the revolution that occurred in North America during the last

quarter of the eighteenth century was the unintended consequence of a dispute about law” (1).

Peter S. Onuf  
University of Virginia

*Education and the Creation of Capital in the Early American Republic.* By Nancy Beadie (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010) 353 pp. \$95.00

Beadie’s new book is an important case study of schooling and the transition to capitalism before 1840 in the Genesee River region of upper New York State. The project is based upon a thorough and judicious analysis of the scattered surviving local and state documents, as well an impressive synthesis of the secondary literature on antebellum education, religion, society, politics, and economy. The book is divided into three parts—education and social-capital formation, schools as agencies of politicalization, and education and economic transformation.

Beadie focuses on rural Lima township in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, documenting its extraordinary educational investments. She first examines the evolving roles of religious groups and town officials in the development of its common schools (including the impact of such events as the Second Great Awakening and the rise of political parties in New York). She then traces the complex local and regional support for the establishment of the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary—a Methodist-affiliated academy—one of the largest educational institutions in New York during the three decades before the Civil War.

Beadie argues that schools and other social institutions played a major role in transforming the antebellum political economy. They helped to stimulate the creation, accumulation, and movement of social, financial, and political capital, which contributed to the development of the modern liberal state. Looking at the impact of education, she analyzes social and cultural capital from the perspective of individual students as well as the translocal voluntary associations (such as the Methodists) that fostered those schools. State monies for education also contributed to the well-being of the New York banking system, since they were often directly dependent upon income earned from bank investments.

Beadie might want to explore additional, complementary research questions later, such as the economic productivity of antebellum education. Horace Mann, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, developed and popularized the concept of the economic productivity of education during the early 1840s; New York State reprinted and widely distributed his report on the subject. Was the idea of the economic pro-

ductivity of education accepted and publicized in the Genesee River region? How would this concept fit within the social-capital framework in Beadie's work? Economists now argue that the economic rates of return are higher for elementary education than for more advanced schooling. Was this true in antebellum Lima? Economic historians also are debating the nature and significance of the economic productivity of nineteenth-century education. What might the case study of Lima add to this discussion?

Overall, Beadie has produced an exemplary study that will be of great interest not only to historians of education but also to other scholars analyzing the nature of economic, social, religious, and political exchanges in local and regional settings.

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University of Michigan

*The Myth of American Religious Freedom.* By David Sehat (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011) 356 pp. \$29.95

*The Myth of American Religious Freedom* is a thought-provoking work that readers must approach with some caution because of a pervasive conceptual confusion about the requisites of religious freedom. Sehat opens with a description of Charles Reynolds' trial for blasphemy in 1886, a straightforward example of government coercion employed against a religious dissenter. Most of Sehat's book concerns a different phenomenon, the role of what he calls the "moral establishment" in U.S. law. Sehat offers an overview of U.S. public policy seen through the lens of religious motivation, from the adoption of the First Amendment through nineteenth-century controversies about anti-slavery, Mormonism, and the public schools to the contemporary resurgence of fundamentalist and evangelical involvement in national politics. Throughout, Sehat emphasizes how public policies developed because their supporters were motivated by religious belief, usually mainline Protestant Christianity.

The moral establishment has two components that should be separated carefully. In a summary, Sehat refers to "the moral establishment's reliance upon legal coercion to propagate religiously derived moral norms" (290). We should distinguish, however, between coercion based on religion as such—illustrated by blasphemy prosecutions and the persecution of Mormons and free-thinkers that Sehat discusses—and coercion based on norms derived from religion. Much law falls into the latter category, as Sehat's treatment of the religiously motivated elements of the anti-slavery and women's suffrage movements shows.

Public policy based on religiously motivated norms can sometimes be problematical. Even without coercion, it can sometimes lead "to an

unfair exclusion” of religious minorities (250). It can have a disparate impact, “with Protestant Christianity quite clearly receiving preferential support from the government” (285), although it is unclear what the nature of the preferences has been other than agreement with moral norms consistent with Protestant Christianity. But these are not inevitable effects of policies motivated by religiously derived norms.

Sehat criticizes the main strand of religion-clause doctrine, starting with Stephen Field’s analysis in *Davis v. Beason* (1890) and extending to the present, which “accept[ed] that legislation could not specifically promote religion, . . . [but ] upheld legislation if it had any conceivable civil end, even if that civil end was rooted in religious concerns” (170). Philosophers and legal scholars have struggled without much success to come up with a satisfactory alternative. Much entirely uncontroversial legislation draws support from voters and representatives who believe that the legislation is consistent with, or even required by, their religious commitments. The moral pluralism that Sehat recommends would seem to support a moral establishment produced by such mechanisms. Yet a great deal of what he criticizes fits that description.

Sehat departs from a scholarly tone in his repeated references to the “myth” of liberty and, more egregiously as he approaches the present, in his use of terms like “duplicity” to describe judges’ arguments that lie somewhere between complex and confused (for example, 273). Some of Sehat’s discussions of constitutional law, such as his treatment of Felix Frankfurter’s position in the flag-salute cases and of Antonin Scalia’s in the peyote case (224–226, 277–278), are weakened by his singular focus on religious liberty, which fails to take into account how broader controversies about judges’ roles affected religion-related cases. Yet, with all of its defects, the book offers a provocative perspective on the interactions between religion and public policy in U.S. history. Sehat’s telescope needs a slight twist to bring the story into clear focus. Even with its arguments somewhat blurry, however, his book is worth pondering.

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*Eden on the Charles: The Making of Boston.* By Michael Rawson (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2010) 384 pp. \$24.95

In *Eden on the Charles*, Rawson writes about six largely unrelated events in Boston’s history. Their principal connection is that each involved Bostonians altering their environment. Rawson’s methodology involves traditional research. He conducts an extensive excavation of what the people involved had to say about the issues in the press, commission reports, and other sources. The resulting stories are well told and insightful; they meet Gaddis’ test of a valuable historical narrative, articulating

moments when continuities in the arrangement of human or natural affairs are altered by contingent events to form a new configuration.<sup>1</sup>

Rawson's stated purpose goes beyond good history to intersect with the realms of psychology and political science. Each chapter of the book is intended to demonstrate how elements of the environment, such as open space or water, acquire meaning through collective constructs that can be altered in transformative ways. *Eden of the Charles* is not an intellectual history, however; it does not trace the logical development of new ideas. Instead, Rawson shows new conceptions being fashioned from arguments marshaled by activists pursuing their interests in each event. He groups his protagonists along two axes—(1) the elite protecting their wealth and status and those who identified with them versus those promoting wider community well-being, particularly that of the working and lower classes, and (2) those who supported government solutions versus those who wanted to limit government intervention and taxes.

Rawson's picture of his protagonists' civic discourse resonates with Mercier and Sperber's dual-process theory of human thought, which asserts that people's opinions and choices are largely formed intuitively and that analytical reasoning is primarily a social faculty through which they form conscious arguments in support of their preferences and evaluate those of others. Protagonists judge the strength of such arguments on the basis of their consistency with their larger framework of ideas and beliefs. They may also be influenced by the authority attributed to their sources.<sup>2</sup>

Although Rawson never develops an explicit thesis about how people reach decisions at the civic level, each of his Boston narratives, in which disputants pursue their intuitively perceived interests and their attitudes about government by assembling arguments drawn from Boston's historical memory, social and moral thought, public policy, and science, illustrates a dynamic of argumentative communication identified by Mercier and Sperber. Thus, his story about Boston's 1830 decision to ban cows from the Boston Common demonstrates that, in situations where there is a stronger drive to pursue one's interests than to find the best answer, reason tends to confirm protagonists' biases, to justify actions that would otherwise be considered unfair, and to lead to polarization. His story about the public debate on supplying Boston with fresh water shows how a more evaluative civic dialogue between those who were influenced by the social-reform movement to advocate for a municipal solution and those who advanced a private solution in the interests of limiting government was resolved when it generated new, higher-quality information that was inconsistent with one side's posi-

1 John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History, How Historians Map the Past* (New York, 2002).

2 See Hugo Mercier and Dan Sperber, "Why Do Humans Reason? Arguments for an Argumentative Theory," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, XXXIV (2011), 57–111.

tion. In a third episode, Rawson shows how trust in the information offered by reputable authority—in this case, the nineteenth-century engineers who configured of Boston's Inner Harbor—can influence competing preferences.

Rawson's approach to civic dialogue also resonates with current network science, as explicated in Ogle's *Smart World*, which attempts to identify the laws by which networks of disparate ideas interact.<sup>3</sup> In Ogle's view, innovation has more to do with intuitive, analogical thinking than with logical deduction. The strongest and most fruitful paradigms tend to derive from the intersection of ideas with no previously perceived relationship to each other. Rawson's historical narratives can be seen as descriptions of these laws in action within the civic realm. For instance, arguments for the value of rural life and for the benefits of public services, initially at odds in debates about municipal boundaries, were eventually merged to form a novel paradigm, the notion of the suburb, as manifested in Brookline, Mass. This new construct had sufficient power within the contemporary idea network to generate innovation in fields as disparate as landscape design and the organization of democracy in municipal government.

As a history of events that shaped Boston's environment, *Eden on the Charles* is erudite and illuminating. Although barely explicit, its analytical approach suggests that the application of current psychological theory and network science may well be valuable to future historians. In fact, *Eden on the Charles* may in itself point the way to a potential new paradigm for examining how democracy works.

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*Fugitive Slave on Trial: The Anthony Burns Case and Abolitionist Outrage.* By Earl M. Maltz (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 2010) 192 pp. \$34.95 cloth \$17.95 paper

*Fugitive Slave on Trial* provides a detailed, readable account of the most politically charged American slave-removal case. Though the political impact of the 1854 Anthony Burns affair far exceeded its legal import, the lawyerly insights that Maltz brings to bear shed further light on why and how this case was so hotly contested. Instead of concentrating exclusively on the four-day removal hearing, Maltz spins the web of legal precedents and political conflicts that shaped this trial and the long shadow that it cast in pre-Civil War Boston.

Early chapters highlight the anti-removal legal arsenal that those against slavery in Massachusetts had developed even before the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act as well as their skepticism about the constitutionality of

3 Richard Ogle, *Smart World: Breakthrough Creativity and the New Science of Ideas* (Boston, 2007).

federal fugitive-slave legislation. Maltz demonstrates, however, that by 1854, when Charles Suttle arrived in Boston to claim his “property” (Anthony Burns), the state judiciary had shown that it would unflinchingly enforce the federal legislation. Members of the biracial Boston Vigilance Committee had established equally clearly their determination to resist fugitive renditions. Antislavery Bostonians thus reacted to Burns’ arrest with a three-pronged strategy—providing him legal representation; trying (nearly successfully) to buy his freedom; and, most notoriously, attempting a rescue, during which an antislavery crowd stormed the courthouse and killed a deputy but failed to free Burns. His rendition a week later hardly ended the controversy.

Maltz skillfully chronicles antislavery politicians’ efforts to remove federal fugitive commissioner and state probate judge Edward Loring from the Massachusetts bench. These “trials of Edward Loring” provide the central drama of the book’s concluding chapters (3). Maltz sympathizes with Loring’s hope of evenhandedly enforcing positive law regardless of its political implications. Notwithstanding Loring’s apparent devotion to judicial neutrality, his ruling against Burns cost him his Harvard lectureship and, eventually, his post on the probate court. Popular pleas for Loring’s ouster found strong backing on Beacon Hill with the rise of the nativist but also antislavery (in Massachusetts) Know Nothing Party in 1854, and then the Republicans’ eclipse of the Know Nothings a few years later. After years of wrangling, state legislators managed to remove Loring in 1858 for continuing in violation of an 1855 Personal Liberty Law, which (among other responses to the Burns fiasco) barred state officers from serving as fugitive slave commissioners. At times seeming to lament Loring’s plight as a scapegoat, Maltz may well be too dismissive of the antislavery forces’ assertion that Loring blatantly chose to privilege his position as commissioner over the state’s avowed antislavery sentiments.

Though Maltz might have more fully assessed how the rising national controversy surrounding the southern “Slave Power” (and its westward expansion) helps to explain the influence and notoriety of the Burns affair, his careful attention to its legal background and enduring political significance in Massachusetts elucidates key dimensions of a pivotal moment in the antebellum sectional conflict. Maltz effectively illustrates the tensions inherent in northern jurisprudence of fugitive slave rendition, providing an illuminating case study of issues raised in Robert Cover’s provocative *Justice Accused: Antislavery and the Judicial Process* (New Haven, 1975). Specialists may be frustrated with the omission of footnotes, but Maltz provides a useful bibliographical essay that helps to make the book well-suited for students exploring the legal history of slavery and freedom or of nineteenth-century federalism.

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*The Great Heart of the Republic: St. Louis and the Cultural Civil War.* By Adam Arenson (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2011) 340 pp. \$35.00

As the title indicates, this book views the Civil War from a new perspective. Arenson evaluates what he calls, “the cultural civil war . . . the battle of ideas, clashing moral systems, and competing national visions,” by focusing on St. Louis, its leaders, institutions, and values (2). According to the author, the book is a “cultural history of a cultural war, utilizing the interpretive power of events, seemingly outside politics. Pairing battles and triumphant architecture, elections and university origins, it contextualizes the entire era from 1848 to 1877” (2). In his view, the new land acquired as a result of the Mexican War is crucial: “The cultural civil war was the clash among three incompatible regional visions, as leaders from the North, South, and West argued about the definition and importance of Manifest Destiny and slavery politics” (2).

By emphasizing the role of the West in the debate and by seeing developments through the lens of St. Louis, Arenson has constructed “a nuanced, intimate history of the Civil War era from the heart of the Republic” (3). He draws upon a great variety of sources, including newspapers in English, French, and German; a broad collection of personal papers, diaries, and paintings; architecture; and court cases. He also consults intellectual, urban economic, political, immigrant, railroad, and European histories, as well as biographical and archaeological works. Not only is his perspective on the era refreshing, but his imaginative use of sources also allows him to tease new meaning out of the evidence.

After ten chapters in which Arenson analyzes such topics as Saint Louis’ Great Fire of 1849; the failed effort of Thomas Hart Benton to find a Western compromise for conflict between North and South by building a transcontinental railroad; the founding of Washington University, the Mercantile Library, and the construction of the Old Courthouse; the experiences of the Dred Scott family; the significance of German immigration on St. Louis and the Civil War; Reconstruction and the failure of emancipation to resolve racial problems; and Logan Reavis’ effort to move the national capital to St. Louis, he concludes that the issue of slavery was implacable: “The cultural civil war was a decades-long struggle beyond any single city, state, or region. Its confrontations, parceled out over three decades, reveal a national convulsion over slavery—one that neither Manifest Destiny nor emancipation could mitigate” (219). The great promise of St. Louis situated “at the junction of the North, South, and West” never realized its potential (221). The entrenched realities of slavery doomed it.

Lawrence O. Christensen  
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*I've Got to Make My Livin': Black Women's Sex Work in Turn-Of-The-Century Chicago.* By Cynthia M. Blair (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2010) 322 pp. \$40.00

Blair's intriguing monograph regarding black women's struggle for economic survival in late nineteenth- to early twentieth-century Chicago, incorporates a number of disciplines, including American, urban, and labor history, economics, geography, and sociology, as well as race, ethnic, gender, and sexuality studies. Such source materials as newspapers; church, court and police records; papers of reform organizations; and accounts of jazz performers of the early twentieth-century help to lay bare the underworld of Chicago's sex industry, which for many black women provided the only means to make a living in Chicago's ultraracialized economic system.

The influx of southern and Midwestern black migrants to Chicago, which began in earnest in 1880, was the source of much anxiety among its white inhabitants. By 1900, the number of blacks living in Chicago had doubled from approximately 14,000 to 30,000. Blacks abandoned their rural roots and poured into Chicago's urban centers with the hope of finding better economic opportunities. Yet, opportunities proved limited as blacks came face to face with a racialized economic system that shut them out of the labor force—particularly devastating for black women. They found it difficult to obtain domestic work, an industry typically opened to them but now closed, due to white Chicagoans' preference for European immigrant women to fill such positions. As a result, black women, largely between the ages of nineteen and twenty-seven, turned to the sex industry as a temporary means of financial survival.

Blair captures the relationship between sex work and black women's economic survival in a response given by an unnamed black woman to a white journalist, who asked, "Well aunty . . . What shall we do with you women, eh?" The woman replied, "Well, boss, we must live anyhow" (19). "Living anyhow" required black women to eke out a living in brothels, saloons, and panel houses (the latter often incorporated street work) in an area on the South Side of Chicago known as the Levee; in fact, two red light districts carried this name. The first Levee gained popularity in 1874. By 1904, however, the rise of industry in the region and the desire to relocate the red-light district further away from Chicago's business district forced the Levee further south. The second Levee emerged in quick succession to the first and enjoyed a greater popularity. By 1912, however, citizens pressured local politicians to rid the city of the Levee district once and for all.

Despite black women's efforts to use the sex industry as a means to gain financial independence, the interlocking politics of race, class, and gender proved once again that, even in the sex industry, "the living," to use the words of Dorothy West, was not easy. Although black female sex workers earned more wages in the sex industry than their counterparts

in the domestics industry, they were still paid less for their services than white female sex workers. As madams of their own brothels, black female sex entrepreneurs such as Mollie Vinefield, Maggie Douglass, Hattie Johnson, and Vina Fields gained a measure of financial independence, but, unable to afford to buy the protection of the syndicate, black madams found their businesses constantly raided by police. Furthermore, due to the city's anti-miscegenation sentiments, law enforcement disproportionately targeted brothels catering to a mixed-race clientele, thereby driving blacks out of the Levee several years before it officially closed. To the chagrin of many black citizens desiring to distance themselves from white stereotypes of the black sexual deviant, however, the Levee's demise created a sex industry black belt within the black community that continued as a viable means of income for black female sex workers throughout the 1920s.

Blair skillfully and bravely tackles a subject that many scholars shied away from for fear of reinforcing the myth of the black Jezebel, a stereotype that remains pervasive in American society. She explodes this myth by demonstrating that, similar to their white counterparts, black women in the sex industry were workers, "victims in some cases, but very often savvy strategists" navigating a racially charged economic system because they too had to "live anyhow" (4).

Arica L. Coleman  
University of Delaware

*Wild Unrest: Charlotte Perkins Gilman and the Making of "The Yellow Wallpaper."* By Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz (New York, Oxford University Press, 2010) 251 pp. \$24.95

Using journals, letters, published works, and personal reading lists, Horowitz aims to understand the experiences, mind-set, and emotional life that served as the background for Charlotte Perkins Gilman's famous story, "The Yellow Wallpaper." Horowitz's study includes the context within which Gilman lived—the standards of care for mental disorders, popular science, attitudes toward gender, sexuality, and the legal context of women's rights. The result is a rich depiction of the interplay among innate talent, family dynamics, biological predisposition, life events, and the demands of culture. The book gives welcome depth and complexity to a life that has often been shrunk to a simple account of the travails of a feminist icon whose "The Yellow Wallpaper" has been unfairly tagged as her primary accomplishment.

*Wild Unrest* documents Gilman's tumultuous life, which was marked by recurrent depressions and feverish activity in the pursuit of a fame that was at first more aspiration than accomplishment. Although related to the famous Beecher family, Gilman had few immediate models to guide her. Her father, eventually a well-known library director

and short-story writer, abandoned his family when she was a little girl, sentencing them to a hard life of poverty and dependence on the kindness of others. The marriage of a girl friend that she adored left her longing for that lost relationship, only partially replaced by her marriage to her first husband, Walter Stetson—a marginally successful artist who gave lip service to her ambitions but demanded that she be a traditional wife.

That she felt increasingly stifled by Stetson's demands triggered incapacitating depression and desperate attempts to succeed as a writer. Feelings of powerlessness were intensified by the birth of Katherine, her only child. Her literary talent slowly crystallized around gender inequality, offering her a framework to understand her chronic distress, providing a few professional relationships, and the first hints of the status that she craved. But still suffering and fearing madness, she sought treatment from Dr. S. Weir Mitchell whose publicized success treating female hysteria made him an authority. Although the treatment lasted only a month, it ultimately made both her and him famous because of the eventual success of "The Yellow Wallpaper."

After a period of solitary, but intensely productive, writing and lecturing that finally brought the fame as a public intellectual that she had always sought, she entered into a successful second marriage, with George Houghton Gilman, her first cousin, a man whose kindness and admiration for her talents supported her ambitions and moderated her depressions. He could tolerate her depressive periods and was a good provider. Her lifelong demand for independence and autonomy had a last chapter. Diagnosed with cancer in 1932, after her husband had unexpectedly died, she moved to California with her daughter and in 1935, at the age of seventy-five, took her own life with an overdose of chloroform.

*Wild Unrest* portrays convincingly the emotional turmoil and the relentless energy that characterized Gilman's life through a judicious mining of the voluminous record left by her, her first husband, and their contemporaries—some of it offering separate accounts of the same events. The approach creates a de-politicized version of a life that inevitably has been viewed through an ideological lens. Her story illustrates with great fidelity the modern psychiatric understanding that both biological predisposition and toxic life experiences are necessary to produce the immensely painful clinical state of depression. Gilman was recurrently depressed, likely with a biological predisposition. Her family life inclined her to mistrust intimacy and emotional commitment, thus triggering her depressions, and her demand for independence and autonomy, which followed from these multiple factors, as well as her awareness of her talents, clearly influenced the content of her intellectual life. Yet her accomplishments are in no way diminished by acknowledgment of her personal situation. She was fortunate that the energy and the talent that projected her ideas on the public stage allowed her to play an

important public role at a time in history when her thoughts and ideas could find an appreciative audience.

Miles F. Shore  
Harvard Medical School

*Intellectuals Incorporated: Politics, Art, and Ideas Inside Henry Luce's Media Empire.* By Robert Vanderlan (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) 372 pp. \$49.95

The relationship between American intellectuals and their government has ranged from active participation (Thomas Jefferson and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes) to critical detachment (Randolph Bourne and Noam Chomsky). But because few members of the intelligentsia have been truly free-floating, historians have rightly tended to examine how ideas have ricocheted among the personnel within various institutions, such as academe. The expanded scope of intellectual history has portrayed the social settings, the organizational purposes and constraints, and the interpersonal dynamics that affect the evolution of thought. Time Inc. is therefore an ideal subject for scrutiny. The publishing behemoth that Henry R. Luce built was bound to register the tension between the commercial imperatives of mass journalism and the struggle to represent reality that challenges serious thinkers and writers. Luce wanted to educate and uplift, and *Intellectuals Incorporated* pays tribute to the vision that led him to co-found *Time* and then to create *Fortune* and *Life*. That his motives were far from crass is evident in the talent that he attracted—Archibald MacLeish, James Agee, Dwight Macdonald, et al. That Republican partisanship did not utterly distort Luce's journalistic judgment is also apparent. Daniel Bell, a lifelong “socialist in economics,” covered the labor movement for *Fortune*, the magazine that John Kenneth Galbraith credited with teaching him how to write (a skill that Luce later regretted having imparted to the lifelong liberal Democrat).

Vanderlan's is an ambitious, thorough, and well-researched work that generally gives high marks to the magazines that reached millions of American families from the 1920s through the 1950s (when his account ends), though the actual political and cultural influence of Time Inc. remains elusive. What especially intrigue the author are the conditions of the workplace. Could Pulitzer Prize-winning poets and novelists (like MacLeish and Agee) satisfy the demands of meeting deadlines in order to elucidate the Great Depression, for instance, and still nurture their literary gift after hours? Could astute foreign correspondents like John Hersey and Theodore White sneak the truth about our Chinese allies' corruption and cruelty past editors like Whittaker Chambers? In answering such questions, *Intellectuals Incorporated* is careful to explore each case, wary of presenting one-size-fits-all generalizations stretching over four decades of what Luce hailed as “the American Century.” To be sure,

bitterness at editorial interference was constant, and the allure of high salaries as the reward for merely middle-brow writing might induce guilt and even self-loathing. But Luce respected the exercise of intelligence; he could even ignore Madame Chiang K'ai-shek's insistence that White be fired. Had Vanderlan done some comparative history (by noting the pedantry of higher education and the pieties of Hollywood as alternatives to Time Inc.), his case would have been even stronger.

His book also suffers from too schematic a structure, pitting a "media empire" against the intellectuals whom it employed; a few of them, like Agee and the photographer Walker Evans, were more artists than intellectuals. The most notorious conflicts that rippled through the organization did not pivot on the autonomy that "intellectuals," pursuing the implications of their ideas, are supposed to prize. Rather, the friction was political. For example, even if Hersey and White had been less cerebral, a collision with their boss, a Chinese-born son of missionaries, was inevitable. That these two journalistic critics of Chiang's regime would become ornaments of American public culture is irrelevant. Such are the implications of the evidence that Vanderlan scrupulously presents.

Stephen J. Whitfield  
Brandeis University

*Bridges of Reform: Interracial Civil Rights Activism in Twentieth Century Los Angeles.* By Shana Bernstein (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011) 339 pp. \$24.95

This is an able book, an outgrowth of a deeply researched thesis. It is repetitious in places, but mostly well written, especially its thesis sentences. It tells an important story of interracial civil rights. Among its strengths is its recounting of the origins of interracial civil-rights efforts and their continuity through the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Another asset is the author's claim that the 1950s were not merely a victim of Cold War repression but also a time when reform groups made substantial gains, largely by purging their leftists elements—even the renowned Cary McWilliams—thereby making themselves immune from the charge of communist infiltration. Its picture of rights groups working together is original and full, but does not shirk the gloomy side of the picture. As they fought for urban space, especially in East Los Angeles, Jews (and, to a lesser extent, Japanese Americans) forged ahead of African Americans, Hispanics, and Filipinos, incurring considerable interethnic resentment while maintaining their stores and property in the old neighborhoods. In her forthright discussion of this conflict, Bernstein makes an important contribution to deconstructing the confusing term *Anglo* into some of its constituent parts.

As she notes, not all of the white people in the story were Anglo-Americans. Jews especially made outstanding contributions to civil-

rights reform and thus stood out from inclusion in the catchall, homogenizing, and oversimplifying term “Anglo.” Finally, the author is not afraid to assert the role of activists from Los Angeles, like Loren Miller, in leading the country toward broader, national civil-rights victories by laying the foundations for achievements like *Brown v. Board of Education*, and *Shelley v. Kraemer*, delegitimizing miscegenation laws, prompting Hispanic school integration, and so forth. Earl Warren internalized and carried a lot of this California and Los Angeles reform tradition to Washington when he became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Bernstein shows that Warren was no simple racist, as he is often pictured for his role in the Japanese relocation.

Should the author undertake a sequel, she would do well to heed a few reservations about this one. For one thing, she overemphasizes racism, although she has a lot of company in this tendency. She pictures the Zoot Suit Riots as an outcome of “Los Angeles racism,” but they were led by U.S. sailors, not Angeleno residents (66). Scholars have also shown that the seamen had suffered frequent abuse and beatings from Hispanic males of the East Los Angeles neighborhoods, as is documented in many complaints to the Navy authorities. Moreover, the riots arose over the sailors’ courting of young Hispanic women, a mark of esteem, not disrespect, let alone racism. Finally, “discrimination” did not cause the upheavals; since they occurred on Hispanic turf, Hispanics did not suffer discrimination (66–72). The author should have been more careful and analytical in this presentation.

Along this same line, she is not clear about exactly who the other players, besides the civil-rights reformers—Jews, Japanese Americans, blacks, Mexican Americans—were. Her deconstruction of words and phrases does not include terms like *mainstream society*, *white racial thinking*, et al. (164). About whom, in the variegated ethnic Los Angeles society, is she speaking—Iranians, Israelis, Protestants, Yugoslavs, Italians, Armenians, Canadians, or German refugees? She should have deconstructed the term *Anglo* beyond dissociating Jews from the supposed mainstream. Perhaps civil rights is, by its very nature, irredeemably Manichean, but a discussion of everyday politics that indicated who received what, where, when, and in what amount would have been helpful.

Finally, what about the other side of the civil-rights coin? Bernstein discusses red baiting in the Joseph McCarthy era, and the 1940s, but says nothing about the baiting of those on the right by those on the left, another continuity. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, Samuel Dickstein, President Harry Truman, and others employed the same linguistic devices during the 1940s that McCarthy did and Richard Nixon later did. Collective responsibility, guilt by association, rhetorical exaggeration, playing fast and loose with statistics, and character assassination were not the least of them. Although they will probably never determine who started it, historians will not understand this era until they admit that right baiting was just as important as red

baiting and perhaps its cause. Yet, for now, Bernstein has made a significant contribution. We look forward to another effort.

Roger W. Lotchin  
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

*A Flock Divided: Race, Religion, and Politics in Mexico, 1749–1857.* By Matthew D. O’Hara (Durham, Duke University Press, 2010) 316 pp. \$84.95 cloth \$23.95 paper

Spanish colonialism brought about numerous transformations, but the implementation of Catholicism and the establishment of parishes might have been the most influential of all these changes. Within Mexican history, many scholars have examined different aspects of the process of conversion and belief, as well as the policing of faith in its various forms. The Catholic Church in Mexico, as elsewhere, provides numerous points of entry for investigation, but O’Hara proves the capaciousness of Church history by taking a new path. Eschewing the divide between the indigenous and European faithful, he looks at parishioners in their relationship with the Church authorities. Parishioners have already been the focus of many books but not necessarily as a community; rather, historians have scrutinized parishioners’ values and culture but not strictly their cohesion and their belief systems.

This highly innovative approach makes this book a welcome addition to the literature. O’Hara uses a chronological framework spanning the late eighteenth century well into the nineteenth century—often called the middle period within Latin American history. This framework allows for an exploration of the conditions that occurred as a result of independence and parishioners’ change from the status of mere subjects to that of citizens. The use of this middle-period chronology is not in itself an innovation; many other historians have employed it, though usually on the basis a long series of documents, such as land claims or criminal cases, that provides for temporal continuity. The challenge for O’Hara was that since he did not have such a long series, he had to find different types of sources to flesh out his arguments. His analysis thus follows the parishes of Mexico City as well as nearby communities for a period of a little more than 100 years using ecclesiastical and secular documentation. The drawback, at times, is a lack of continuity in the types of evidence.

By documenting the small struggles between parishioners and Church authorities, O’Hara demonstrates how the faithful had invested emotionally in their ecclesiastical buildings. Church authorities asserted their rights to redefine parish boundaries and reassign churches in the belief that these were simply practicalities to organize their personnel and their property. The local objections, however, reveal that the flock were psychologically attached to those structures and rejected any change. The parishioners believed that the objects within churches be-



longed to them; they resisted any attempt to transform their church-going experience. O'Hara shows how these feelings of ownership fostered a sense of political community within a setting that is not necessarily associated with political processes.

O'Hara uses an interesting combination of analytical tools from anthropology and art history. While paying attention to the symbolism of objects and structures, he also deploys a political analysis. Thus, he combines the disciplinary approaches of several areas to offer an inventive view of religious and political history. His book continues the trend of historians examining the unique relationship between Mexicans and the Catholic Church. It should be useful for students of religion and politics, as well as for those of Mexican history.

Sonya Lipsett-Rivera  
Carleton University

*El desierto en una vitrina: Museos e historia natural en la Argentina, 1810–1890.* By Irina Podgorny and Maria Margaret Lopes (Mexico City, Limusa, 2008) 279 pp. N.P.

*From Man to Ape: Darwinism in Argentina, 1870–1920.* By Adriana Novoa and Alex Levine (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2009) 281 pp. \$49.00

From the social point of view, disciplines and institutions—not scientists—were scientific *Kulturträger*, or the bearers of civilization, in modernity. They maintained a particular culture of learning. But how and to what extent? How did the Museum of Natural History in Paris relate to Georges Cuvier's comparative anatomy, and how did the institution and the discipline situate themselves in Old Regime, Revolutionary, and Restoration France? The two books under review address the question for Argentina. *El desierto en una vitrina* focuses on a class of institution. *From Man to Ape* is an intellectual history about the repercussions of disciplinary thought.

In their fine treatment of natural-history museums, Podgorny and Lopes explore an epoch when people began to see biota as more than objects of pillage and wonder. The title of their book calls to mind the expansion of Argentina beyond the port city of Buenos Aires, notably through the conquest of the Patagonian Desert from 1876 to 1878, commemorated on the current 100-peso banknote. Following independence, Argentina defined its extension by bravado and war, and it reached for a distinct identity as a nation. Western Europe and the northeastern United States provided inspiration and examples for erecting national structures of commerce and culture, but local conditions determined the form of institutions, as, indeed, local conditions determined Argentine polity.

Podgorny and Lopes disentangle the many museological initiatives

in Argentina throughout the nineteenth century, from the early years of independence to Argentina's dramatic rise as an economic and intellectual beacon. Museums were at the center of national aspirations from 1854, when the government of the Argentine Confederation authorized one for Paraná, their seat of authority, at a time when the province of Buenos Aires maintained a form of independence (51). The Paraná museum expired after Buenos Aires became the federal capital.

Subsequently, naturalists began to contend for authority, just as provincial leaders contested for leadership of the nation. The enterprising naturalist Francisco Pascasio Moreno and his colleague Estanislao Zeballos, for example, negotiated with the indigenous peoples of Patagonia under the auspices of the private Sociedad Científica Argentina at just the time when the Córdoba Academy of Sciences contributed a scientific commission to accompany the army in its war against the indigenes (138–139, 164–165). Francisco Moreno—a rival of Hermann (Germán) Burmeister, who controlled the Córdoba Academy—established an anthropologically oriented museum in Buenos Aires, which in the 1880s moved to La Plata, the new capital of the Province of Buenos Aires. Thanks to the sometimes fractious collaboration of talented naturalists like Florentino Ameghino, the museum became the finest natural-history operation in Latin America (174–178, 215–217). In Argentina, scientific egos fed on questions about paleontological interpretation and museum function (231–236), much in the way of the contemporaneous rivalry between paleontologists Edward Drinker Cope of the Philadelphia Academy of Sciences and Othniel Charles Marsh of Yale University's Peabody Museum. Natural-history museums in the New World generally followed a cometary trajectory—ascend, brilliance, descent, and eventual restoration in a new form.

The La Plata museum was a cathedral of natural history, a monument to the accomplishments of Alexander von Humboldt and Charles Darwin. A vast enterprise, it encompassed botany, zoology, comparative anatomy, geology, mineralogy, anthropology, ethnography, and even meteorology.

*From Man to Ape* reviews how Argentine writers dealt with the great discovery of natural history—natural selection. Darwin knew the country first-hand from the *Beagle* expedition, and he corresponded with Argentine naturalists such as Francisco Javier Muñiz (*From Man to Ape*, 34–37; *Desierto*, 45–49). Because he avoided mathematics and jargon, Darwin reached an extraordinarily wide readership and invited a broad spectrum of commentary, in Britain and beyond. Argentine writers were well-informed about his theory, and, for the most part, they respected his insights. Argentina was a Christian nation (Roman Catholicism had a strong political presence), but Novoa and Levine reveal little evidence of organized clerical reaction to Darwin's atheistic creed, possibly because, from the time of independence, secular clergy like Dámaso Antonio Larrañaga defended natural history (*Desierto*, 37–43). *From Man to Ape* focuses on ethnography (by the twentieth century, autochthones were

marginalized in Argentina, as they were in the United States). Novoa and Levine maintain that Argentines embraced Darwinian sexual selection by projecting a nation of strong men and beautiful women.

Darwinian notions also appeared in a rich stew of psychological speculation. As Podgorny and Lopes emphasize (*Desierto*, 249), and as Novoa and Levine's discussion shows, the Argentines enlisted British, German, Italian, and French notables in anthropology, sociology, and psychology in their contests for authority, recruiting the disciples of these Europeans as professors. For example, Felix Krüger, a student of Wilhelm Wundt's, taught psychology at the University of Buenos Aires for several years early in the twentieth century (*Man to Ape*, 209–211). Krüger, who eventually succeeded Wundt at Leipzig, certainly understood his role in the game of academic imperialism, even though his impact was modest. State authorities, by preventing any one foreign or domestic prophet from dominating academic life, successfully promoted Argentina as the intellectual leader of Latin America.

*From Man to Ape* is repetitive, anecdotal, and derivative, with a great deal of first-person intrusion. *El desierto en una vitrina*, based on archival material and a large corpus of published work, proceeds in elegant prose. Both treatments reveal, nevertheless, how closely intellectual life in Argentina engaged thought elsewhere in the world, thus producing significant institutions and original treatises. Novoa and Levine occasionally appeal to superficial cultural critics (5, 22). Podgorny and Lopes protest too strongly that appearances are deceiving and that ideas are accepted by virtue of personal authority rather than social climate (22, 134). For the most part, however, postmodernist mysticism hardly figures in the texts. By the wealth of material consulted, primary and secondary, the books affirm that latitudinarian historians, not semioticians, are masters of the past.

More significantly, these two books show science in Argentina as a subject requiring no apology. As Podgorny and Lopes suggest, when they focus on the cruel act of placing a specimen under glass, the Argentine experience offers a perspective that may be studied with profit elsewhere (253). History of science in Argentina, currently explored by a young generation of talented thinkers, now merits inclusion in canonic surveys.

Lewis Pyenson  
Western Michigan University

*The Deepest Wounds: A Labor and Environmental History of Sugar in Northeast Brazil.* By Thomas D. Rogers (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press) 320 pp. \$65.00 cloth \$25.95 paper.

Evoking the potential for the interdisciplinary study of labor and the environment, Marx argued that labor and soil were the fundamental

sources of wealth and that capitalist agriculture both exploited rural workers and impoverished rural landscapes.<sup>1</sup> *The Deepest Wounds* expansively investigates these two related processes, comprising a carefully researched history of sugar in twentieth-century Pernambuco, an area that has been neglected to some extent. The book embraces an analysis that is unequal parts a cultural history of human attitudes toward sugar-cane landscapes; a purposeful examination of rural work routines; a history of rural labor organization and militancy; and, particularly during the post-1964 military government, an examination of the regional significance of intervention by state-sponsored technocrats in both land and labor matters.

Relying on a variety of sources, Rogers argues that the rural elite saw the countryside as a “laboring landscape” where landholders dominated fertile soils and human bodies, both before and after the abolition of slavery. Rogers claims that planters “saw no distinction between land and labor,” viewing peasants, oxen, and mules—which were often housed adjacently—as in the same category (8). This equation, however, is an exaggeration. Planters knew that human workers, slaves or peasants, were more valuable and less compliant than domesticates, but the comparison is true enough to be a useful lens. Workers, however, saw sugar’s monotonous green monoculture as a prison. Rogers in his concluding paragraphs suggests that cane’s persistence on the land for a half-millennium was due to its importance for every social class. More broadly, what planters and peasants alike saw in sugar was a livelihood. Alternative crops or land uses could conceivably have displaced sugar’s dominance, but sugar was remarkably adept at “adapting” to changing human requirements. The military regime repurposed sucrose from exportable sweetener to gasoline substitute. As a result, expanding cane plantings not only displaced food production in Brazil’s hungriest region but also converted cheap calories, which for centuries had helped to fuel the bodies of the poor, into ethanol, which now fuels the cars of the rich.

Rogers is persuasive that the industrialization of sugar production in much of Pernambuco proletarianized the rural workers. Land, and hence land reform, lost much of its attraction, much to the chagrin of many elder labor leaders. Militant workers went on strike because of low wages and excessive daily tasks rather than the loss and obvious degradation of the lands on which they gardened, hunted, and fished. Labor made modest gains. With federal support that reclassified plantation laborers as industrial workers and through effective use of the legal system, wages rose, as did bargaining power. But the laborers’ own work, the functional nexus between humans and their landscapes, contributed to sugar’s growing presence on the landscape, increasing deforestation, flooding, and water pollution and eliminating habitat.

*The Deepest Wounds* is an important contribution deserving a wide

1 Karl Marx (trans. Ben Fowkes), *Capital I: A Critique of Political Economy* (New York, 1977; orig. pub. 1867), 637–638.

readership. But it may not be completely satisfying from an interdisciplinary point of view: Cultural historians may desire a more elongated analysis of the changes in human attitudes toward sugar landscapes; labor historians may want a thicker narrative of rural labor's birth, development, and ultimate accomplishments; and environmental historians may expect a fuller description of sugar's material impact on the land. Rogers, however, strikes a nice balance, deftly integrating selective themes into a greater whole.

Shawn Miller  
Brigham Young University

*You Are All Free: The Haitian Revolution and the Abolition of Slavery.* By Jeremy D. Popkin (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010) 436 pp. \$24.99 paper \$90.00 cloth

Popkin's brilliant new study of the events surrounding the emancipation of slaves in the French colony of Saint Domingue in June 1793 is a masterpiece of micrological historiography. Popkin has elected to forgo the sweeping interpretive gestures that characterize much work on the Haitian Revolution, instead bringing his formidable erudition to bear on a mere few months in the complex, thirteen-year course of the Haitian Revolution. The author's previous work on metropolitan France makes this book among the most informed analyses to date about the complex relations between the revolutionary metropolis and its Caribbean colony, a vision of a greater, Atlantic Franco-Haitian Revolution.

Strictly speaking, the book's focus encompasses the period from the arrival of Léger-Félicité Sonthonax and Étienne Polverel, the Jacobin civil commissioners, in St. Domingue (September 1792) to the National Assembly's abolition decree (February 1794). The bulk of the book, however, offers an even more minute investigation of the events surrounding a single night—the burning of Cap Français (today Cap Haïtien) on June 20, 1793, and the attendant emancipation of its slaves, which the commissioners hoped would save their positions and the colony itself from the conspirations of General François Galbaud. Among his many novel conclusions, Popkin convincingly argues that Galbaud's initiative was not a counter-revolutionary plot, nor even one directly related to the struggle for emancipation, but a “fight between rival groups of French republicans” (190).

An introductory chapter argues for a document-based model of historiography that forgoes interpretive daring to underscore the radical contingency of all historical facticity (in the limited sense of that which resists interpretation). The first chapter addresses the early period following the insurrection of August 22–23, 1791; succeeding chapters focus closely on Cap Français (Chapter 2) and the conflict between the Jacobin commissioners and the colonists (Chapter 3). A fourth chapter describes in fascinating detail the ambiguous, fluid, and conflicting views of

the former slaves and the Jacobin commissioners about emancipation, though Popkin's argument that the re-promulgation of the Code Noir on May 5, 1793, constituted a "challenge to the bases of slavery"—simply because it reaffirmed the "protection of the law"—is hardly convincing (143). Chapter 5 describes Galbaud's mission to St. Domingue that would culminate in the tumultuous night of June 20, 1793. Throughout, Popkin casts revealing light on the ambiguous role of French sailors in supporting Galbaud's ill-fated revolt, drawing a vastly different picture from the image of a revolutionary quasi-proletariat than, for example, Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker's *The Many-Headed Hydra* (Boston, 2000) presents.

The book's central chapters are its sixth, seventh and eighth, which narrate the days and hours of that momentous week in painstaking detail. Popkin's principle claim is that the 1793 emancipation decree might never have occurred, with all of its world-historical consequences, if any of a multitude of minute, chance events had unfolded differently. Above all, Popkin shows that Sonthonax and Polverel "hesitat[ed]" before every liberatory step, forced by circumstances against their own inclination and desire, "with little choice" but to issue their famous emancipation decrees (248, 268). The picture that Popkin draws is ultimately, like the chaos of that famous night, one of "universal . . . disorder," in which events continuously escaped the intentions of their subjects (230).

The book's concluding description of the complex lobbying and reversals that led to the abolition of 16 *Pluviôse, An II* demonstrates with unrivalled clarity the degree to which the elimination of slavery was simply irrelevant (when not inimical) to the metropolitan Jacobin leadership. This rich concluding discussion reinforces the book's more general, yet studiously silenced implication—that general abolition was the doing not of Jacobin egalitarianism (as Jean-Pierre Gross, *Fair Shares for All: Jacobin Egalitarianism in Practice* [New York, 2003] described it), nor of Sonthonax himself. On the contrary, and against Popkin's thesis of historical contingency, abolition, to say nothing of the localized event that Popkin describes, would never have taken place without the concerted, unyielding general will of the former slaves struggling in the countryside beyond the author's deliberately narrow field of vision (345, 351).

*You Are All Free* is the finest example in its field of both the advantages and severe weaknesses of such micrological, positivist historiography: It covers events with an infinitely complex and nuanced understanding, but it conveys no sense of their underlying logic. Indeed, Popkin's interpretive claim that they had no such overall logic and were merely chance contingencies is sustainable only through a penetrating narrowness of vision that, with few exceptions (244, for example), disregards the colony-wide struggle to the death for emancipation without which none of the events of June 20, 1793, would ever have occurred.

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*The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968–1977.*  
By Daniel R. Magaziner (Athens, Ohio University Press, 2010) 283 pp.  
\$47.96 cloth \$21.56 paperback

Stephen Bantu Biko is immensely popular in South Africa at the moment. Part of the explanation for this popularity is that since his death in September 1977, his name has become synonymous with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). This conflation of personality and politics, icon and iconography, and ideas and ideology is one set of assumptions that Magaziner undermines in *The Law and the Prophets*. Although he does not explicitly state the point, Magaziner is aware that Biko and BCM have generated a substantial literature and an equally intense popular appeal. To justify his work as different from these popular expositions, Magaziner eschews the personality of Biko, exploring instead the intellectual foundations of BCM. In his argument, BCM was a student movement, because university students who launched an attack on the extant and pejoratively liberal student organizations articulated its tenets, and a youth movement because, like other student-led revolts of 1968, it was inspired by intergenerational disputes. Young people were not just challenging the status quo; they were also challenging the leadership, or lack thereof, of an older generation. By giving equal weight to the youth aspect and the university context of BCM's emergence, Magaziner reveals the many ways in which the movement was part of a global shift in, and rearranging of, campus politics while also emphasizing how apartheid South Africa and its educational system defined the kinds of themes and debates on which the movement focused.

What makes Magaziner's intellectual history of BCM refreshing is his circumspection about the narratives and testimonies of those who were involved in the movement. He unearths the longer and enduring connections that made BCM both radical and conventional. Unlike, for example, the edited volume titled *We Write What We Like*, Magaziner's book does not even have one of Biko's best-known sayings or statements as its title.<sup>1</sup> Instead, Magaziner chose a phrase from the enigmatic "Golden Rule" that Jesus pronounced in his Sermon on the Mount, "So whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them; for this is the law and the prophets" (14). This reference to prophets and prophecy points to Magaziner's discussion of BCM as a Christological movement. Whether it be the suffering, the crucified, or the fighting Christ, BCM borrowed from, and incorporated into its philosophy, theological concepts that were fuelling debates about secular, black, and African theologies. This religious imagery is not, Magaziner argues, mere metaphor or hyperbole; it is the very intellectual, sometimes inchoate, underpinning of BCM.

In this regard, Magaziner again departs from the accepted explanations of the movement. Conventionally, BCM is often contrasted to the

1 Chris Van Wyk, *Celebrating Steve Biko: We Write What We Like* (Johannesburg, 2007).

Africanism of the earlier African National Congress' Youth League (ANCYL) or derided as lacking in class consciousness or ideology by those who understood apartheid as essentially legalized capitalist exploitation of the black majority. Since Magaziner avoids restating these perspectives, his *The Law and the Prophets* marks a shift away from definitions of the anti-apartheid struggle that foreground the ANC as a vanguard anticolonial movement. His is a study of minor actors and activists who were surprised by their unexpected emergence within national politics as the apartheid state swooped down on a movement that perceived itself in modest terms as mainly attempting to revitalize the collective identity of the black population of South Africa.

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*The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World.* By Baki Tezcan (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010) 304 pp. \$95.00

Before this book, many Ottoman historians bemoaned the persistence of a traditional view of the Empire as undergoing two centuries of decline, from the reign of Süleyman in the sixteenth century to the period of the Tanzimat reforms in the nineteenth century. Clearly, this claim could not possibly be true. The Empire not only survived until 1922, well beyond its period of supposed decline, but, as a generation of scholars has shown, it evinced a dynamism in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries that affected everything from cultural and economic life to the nature of Ottoman governance. Beyond that point, however, dissenters could offer little more than negation—over and over again—of the idea that the Empire was in decline, preferring instead to use more nuanced, but ultimately unproductive, terms like negotiation, decentralization, and even anti-decline.

The singular achievement of Tezcan's *The Second Ottoman Empire* is to offer the first cogent and holistic model other than decline for understanding the entirety of the period from 1580 to 1826. This book thus represents an enormous contribution to the field of Ottoman history and stands to impact more general understandings of early modernity beyond the eastern Mediterranean.

Tezcan's thesis is that this period witnessed an expansion in the number and kind of imperial actors with a stake in the affairs of the Empire. Unlike the period before 1580—the first Ottoman Empire—the emergence of market relations and their legal instantiation through *fiqh* allowed provincial elites, members of large households, and former military men to enter the political arena through their economic connections and interests. This expanded political realm of contestation leveled the playing field of imperial politics, allowing rival interest groups—



what Tezcan terms absolutists and constitutionalists—to debate, for the first time in Ottoman history, the nature of sultanic sovereignty and authority, dynastic succession, and the possibility of justifiable rebellion against imperial power. The constitutionalists would eventually win this contest, but not before a young Osman II was able to assemble a disparate group of military factions and provincial powerbrokers to bring him to the throne in 1618. The drama of this sultan’s murder four years later—the only regicide in Ottoman history—is the real turning point in Tezcan’s account and his clearest evidence for the Empire’s new trajectory.

In this second Empire, the janissaries—the fabled Ottoman military establishment that had built the polity and long protected its sovereignty—became “an independent public corporation” (225). With the disbanding of the *devşirme* system of military recruitment, the janissary corps for the first time began to absorb “outsiders” of all kinds. This new “military” body eventually emerged primarily as a means to build or expand businesses, to create large farms, and generally to amass wealth. Its ballooning economic interests gave it an increasing role in the politics of the Empire, creating a substantial check on royal authority. Hence, the “auspicious event” (*vaka-i hayriye*) of 1826—the dismantling of the janissaries—should be read as an attempt by the centralizing state of the nineteenth century to stop this corporate body from increasing its economic influence and exerting too much political power in the governance of the Empire.

This book’s sophisticated and important arguments emerge from a deep reading of Ottoman chronicler sources, an impressive range of archival materials, European traveler accounts, and secondary materials in, by my count, seven languages. One possible problem that Ottoman historians and others alike might have with this work is Tezcan’s use of terms like *proto-democratization* (10), *constitutionalism* (48), *free-market investment* (23), *nation* (53) and, most jarringly, *secular modernity* (227). The novelty and weight of Tezcan’s argument stands on its own without the perceived need for recourse to these conceptual frames, which can, at times, be distracting.

This book is one of the most important to be published in Ottoman history for at least a decade, and engagement with its arguments will surely shape the field for many years to come. As with any book that offers such a bold, rich, and thorough reinterpretation, some readers will quibble over particular facets of its argument, and others will mistakenly dismiss the new framework out of hand. All of them, however, will have to contend with the force of its intervention and the elegance of the empirical craftsmanship that built it.

Alan Mikhail  
Yale University

*Mao's New World: Political Culture in the Early People's Republic.* By Chang-tai Hung (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2011) 352 pp. \$39.95

This book is a beautifully researched study of political propaganda in the People's Republic of China during the 1950s. Hung argues that the top leadership of the Chinese Communist Party kept tight control over cultural productions in a range of genres and effectively ensured that they supported party rule. The book makes a welcome contribution to the study of the People's Republic under Mao, a new and growing field for historians.

Each chapter of the book deals with a different genre of propaganda: the planning of Tiananmen Square in Beijing, a set of ten major building projects constructed in Beijing during the Great Leap Forward, *yangge* folk dances, National Day parades, the Museum of the Chinese Revolution, oil painting, cartoons, New Year prints, the idea behind the Babaoshan Revolutionary Cemetery, and the building of the Martyrs' Memorial in Tiananmen Square. Most of the chapters have been published as articles, and because they stand well on their own, they are useful for teaching. Given the emphasis on major national monuments, the focus of the book is naturally on Beijing and the central government. Hung also carefully analyzes the exact role played by Soviet experts in a number of the projects, proving that their influence—in this field, at least—was considerably less than might have been imagined. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Hung argues, was too nationalistic to accept foreign expertise on such important national projects.

This is truly a historian's history, with a strong emphasis on detailed archival research. But given the wide range of materials, the author inevitably uses a variety of approaches, especially in his analysis of texts, buildings, and images. In one of the best chapters in the book, dealing with oil paintings, Hung brings much archival material and numerous interviews to bear in his analysis of the images. Despite his general argument that propaganda makes bad art, he is clearly sympathetic to his interviewees, making it very apparent that they were genuinely committed to their work and that they had their own agendas, aspirations, and interests. Another excellent chapter examines the new reformed New Year prints of the period and discusses their popular reception. Hung looks at how artists attempted to replace traditional images (door gods, deities, and money trees) with modern subjects (soldiers, political leaders, and collective fruit trees). He then consults government reports from the time and data about sales figures to argue that these new prints were unable to replace the more popular traditional style of prints.

The book contains much comparison of Mao's China with Joseph Stalin's Russia, Adolf Hitler's Germany, and the early years of the French Revolution, but little with the earlier Chinese Nationalist government. Such a comparison would be illuminating, and Hung, who has an excellent earlier book on the subject, would be well qualified to

make it. Nevertheless, this authoritative survey of an important subject will be welcome to students of the period.

Henrietta Harrison  
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*Drink Water, but Remember the Source: Moral Discourse in a Chinese Village.*  
By Ellen Oxfeld (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010) 312 pp.  
\$60.00 cloth \$24.95 paper

Oxfeld's newest book is a wide-ranging interdisciplinary exploration of moral discourse in a village community in southeastern China. It is ethnography in the best sense of contemporary anthropological research—a deeply grounded account of life as lived, clearly concentrated on a salient theme. Oxfeld explored this moral discourse through and around a series of fieldtrips to the community that she calls Moonshadow Pond in Guangdong Province from 1993 to 2007. The study is built on oral histories of lived experiences in the twentieth century, as heard and understood within a longitudinal ethnographic context that allows reference to more widely shared histories and to diverging voices. The result is a carefully considered exposition of numerous facets of morality as spoken and as created through the vicissitudes of everyday local life and through the locally experienced upheavals of modern Chinese history.

The book is a welcome addition to a more familiar literature on the political and moral culture of China and of East Asia more generally. While grounded in a familiarity with textual records, it approaches morality as lived experience—how people speak about and enact “doing the right thing,” and how they create themselves as moral beings possessing a cultivated heart and mind (*xiuxin*). Oxfeld's findings are located in an understanding of how morality is rooted in enduring relationships, notably those with ancestors that underline a reality in which there can never be absolute rupture or closure and never an end to moral relationships or to the duties that they entail.

Oxfeld opens this volume with a chapter on conscience (*liangxin*), a quality that a properly moral person must have and be seen to have, but that scholars have not elaborated as fully as they have a number of other key concepts in Chinese culture (such as *bao*/repayment or *guanxi*/connection). As Oxfeld develops this discussion, conscience is expressed powerfully through death rituals and through continuing obligations that express (or not) people's dependability and moral awareness. Oxfeld then proceeds substantively to discuss morality ethnographically in relation to selected key areas of questioning—gender relations, property rights, and commoditization—showing concretely how people struggle with moral action in critical areas of their lives. The presentations are informed by current scholarship in the field and are accessible to readers from a diversity of disciplines.

Oxford leads the reader through the diverse memories of residents of Moonshadow Pond as they confront questions about how to be moral in a world being turned upside down, not only through revolution but also through commoditization. She provides an important and insightful view into how people construct and live morality in a time of fundamental change and challenge.

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*Primitive Selves: Koreana in the Japanese Colonial Gaze, 1910–1945.* By E. Taylor Atkins (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2010) 280 pp. \$60.00 cloth \$24.95 paper

In *Primitive Selves*, Atkins acknowledges that Japanese colonial governance of Korea during the first half of the twentieth century was oppressive and exploitive. However, he also argues that there were Japanese at the time who valued and sought to preserve aspects of Korean heritage, which “provided a means whereby Japanese and Koreans contemplated their respective identities and modernities” (50).

Atkins employs a comparative approach, drawing extensively on studies of Western colonialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by such scholars as Stoler and Stocking, with particular reference to the work of Thomas on internal contradictions and resistance.<sup>1</sup> Characterizing Japanese social scientific projects in the Korean peninsula as “mimetic,” Atkins provides contextualization by discussing Euro-American disciplinary trends and tropes (3). For instance, Atkins juxtaposes Western anthropological photographs of “representative” figures of “primitive” peoples to similarly composed imperial Japanese portraits of Koreans in traditional clothing to illustrate the power of “colonial cliché” (98).

One of Atkins’ earlier books was a study of jazz in twentieth-century Japan—*Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham, 2001). In this current work, he offers illuminating ethnomusicological discussions of, as just one example, the elasticity of the folk song “Arirang,” which served as biting political satire, rallying anthem, and syrupy pop hit during the colonial era. However, Atkins does not claim to offer a comprehensive history of the performing arts in colonial Korea. Rather, for the most part, he limits himself to analyzing imperial Japanese perspectives, while actively engaging with Korean Studies as a field. Schmid’s call to study the Japanese metropole and colonies together rather than as dis-

1 Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, 2002); George Stocking, *Romantic Motives: Essays on Anthropological Sensibility* (Madison, 1989); Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton, 1994); *idem*, *Out of Time: History and Evolution in Anthropological Discourse* (Ann Arbor, 1996).

tinct entities, along with Pai's study of the colonial origins of Korean archaeology, are cited as inspirations.<sup>2</sup>

Atkins is combative to some extent in challenging Western, Japanese, and certainly Korean scholarly accounts of the era that emphasize imperial Japanese attempts to extinguish Korean cultural as well as political independence: "Few scholars in the humanities and social sciences don't enjoy sticking it to The Man. This habit is clearly beneficial to humanity. But it also breeds a cynicism that can distort historical perspective as much as uncritical readings of hegemonic voices do. It causes us to question the sincerity of someone like Yanagi Muneyoshi, who was profoundly moved by the 'beauty of the [Korean] line' (*sen no bi*), or of the armchair folklorist and constable Imamura Tomo, who studied what he described as the 'beautiful customs' (*bifū*) of the populace" (48). Atkins allows that such cases of Japanese attraction to Korean arts were at times intertwined with the imperial colonial project. Yet, perhaps influenced by the opportunity for new alliances that he perceives in the Korean pop-culture boom in contemporary Japan, Atkins generally presents such colonial-era expressions of affinity as critical of modernity and potentially of Japan itself. Nevertheless, confronting complicity on the part of even committed Japanese advocates for Korean culture—Yanagi Sōetsu (founder of Japan's *mingei* movement), for one, saw Korean aesthetic genius as "unconscious" rather than "conscious"—remains vital precisely in order to grasp colonial complexity.

The comparative approach of *Primitive Selves* makes it accessible not only to those in Asian Studies but also to readers more familiar with Western colonialism, although the latter should understand that Atkins is addressing what he sees as imbalance. The next challenge might be to see how analysis of Japanese and Korean relations during the imperial era opens up opportunities to reassess the dynamics of Western colonialisms as well.

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*Company of Kinsmen: Enterprise and Community in South Asian History 1700–1940.* By Tirthankar Roy (New York, Oxford University Press, 2010) 264 pp. \$99.00

This book, by a leading economic historian of South Asia, addresses a long-standing problem that has dogged economics, history, and sociology since the emergence of these disciplines in the later nineteenth

2 Andre Schmid, "Colonialism and the 'Korea Problem' in the Historiography of Modern Japan: A Review Article," *Journal of Asian Studies*, LIX (2000), 951–976; *idem*, *Korea Between Empires, 1895–1919* (New York, 2002); Hyung Il Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins: A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000).

century—that of the dependent or independent role of social organization in the working of an economy. Roy attacks this problem by an analysis of South Asia, one of the world's larger economies in 1700. He boldly attempts to integrate the endogamous caste—usually the subject of social anthropology—to the economic institutions that have been analyzed by the New Institutional Economics popularized by North and recently deepened by Greif.<sup>1</sup> At another level, Roy includes elements of the study of business organization found in Chandler and given new micro-economic foundations in Williamson and Aoki.<sup>2</sup> But though he draws on these diverse intellectual traditions, Roy's own focus is firmly on one region. He aims to write “an economic history of institutional change in South Asia” (xi).

He begins by pointing out that before the rise of the modern corporation, a range of activities needed for the successful working of complex, specialized economies was managed by “cooperative bodies” held together by the “cultural-political blood” that flowed through them (2), thereby obviating the “free-rider” problem that collective or public provision would otherwise face. Roy sees such organizations as widespread, citing the European and Chinese guild, but he adds that India was unique in the strong association of marriage and profession and the use of marriage strategies for corporate ends. He also makes the important point that such organizations were also found among the subcontinent's large Muslim and Christian populations. They were not, however, purely community organizations; their working would have been impossible without the overt and passive support of the various states that ruled the region through the centuries (Chapter 2). Roy's framework thus endogenizes practices that are usually studied in isolation by distinct disciplines. He also traces the fate of these caste collectives through the end of the colonial period in the 1940s, and develops a narrative of how the new global economy and colonial law gradually disorganized these bodies without substituting a wholly “modern” or elective, professional corporate structure.

Roy sets various sections of Indian socioeconomic life into this explanatory frame. Four successive chapters consider merchants, artisans, less-skilled workers, and agricultural producers. He follows each of these classes through the centuries that saw the textile, steel, and electrical phases of the Industrial Revolution and the rise and fall of Western empire in Asia—all compressed into 220-plus pages. Each disciplinary specialist will find something unsatisfactory in this survey. Economists will find narration substituted for rigorous argument; anthropologists will

1 Douglas C. North, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York, 1981); Avner Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade* (New York, 2006).

2 Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); Oliver Williamson, *Markets, Hierarchies and Anti-Trust Implications* (New York, 1975); Masahiko Aoki and Yujiro Hayami (eds.), *Communities and Markets in Economic Development* (London, 2001).

find the analysis reductionist; and historians will cavil at the flattening out of regional and temporal variation and the thin empirical foundation of certain arguments. Such is the cross that interdisciplinary enterprises sometimes must bear. That said, the strongest chapters are those in which Roy draws on his own important earlier studies of craft production and mercantile organization. The least persuasive chapter is the one in which he attempts to fit an enormously diverse agrarian landscape into his model. Especially unconvincing is the concluding effort to link the massive fabrication of bogus revenue revealed in 2008 by the Indian infotech giant Satyam with his thesis (223). As the comparable cases of Parmalat and Enron made amply clear, there are more parsimonious explanations of such phenomena.

Overall however, this book represents an important effort at re-integrating a range of phenomena that Roy convincingly shows to be interlinked. Debates around it should stimulate more research that advances our understanding of an important economic region in both the past and the present.

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