World history and food studies are both relatively new disciplines. The study of world history comes at a time when people are trying to understand today’s global hyper-circulation of commodities, ideas, and power. Work in food studies gravitates toward the intimate and commensal, whereas new food-history encyclopedias tend to present global facts without sufficient analysis of global context. World histories of particular foods, though astute and informative, generally avoid analysis of the global systems in which they circulate. Meanwhile, mega-theory books, like Mann’s 1491 and 1492, have popularized Crosby’s notion of the Columbian Exchange—the era when geographical boundaries began to shatter for plants, animals, and humans. Notwithstanding Laudan’s occasional disagreements with Crosby, her Cuisine and Empire—a tour-de-force of both erudition and analysis—is certainly closer to his work than to the encyclopedias. It not only shows what kinds of cuisine moved around the globe; it also offers a clear explanation of how and why. Laudan knows more about the world history of cooking than any other scholar alive, but she also does more with her knowledge than just filling pages with facts. Cuisine and Empire is organized by a theoretical framework that structures her argument about how world history works.

Laudan’s answer to the how and why questions revolves around the notion of power. Cuisines moved with conquest, whether accomplished with swords, powerful religious ideas, or both. She follows the history of how Greek and Roman conquest led to the spread of animal sacrifice and then moves to the more complex history of how Buddhist monks’ ideas about food affected rulers who wavered between Buddha and Confucius. Upon this foundation she layers the influence of Islamic expansion, such as the Mughal conquest of India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In all of these cases she follows the threads of how soldiers and priests helped to determine what people ate. When Laudan refers to the creation of “empires,” she means how people with certain ways of cooking were able to extend their spheres of influence—by conquest, by conversion, or simply by immigration.

In her framework, those who exercised power used a “high” cuisine to display their might and status, with retinues of cooks and slaves, run by master courtiers, at their service. Laudan compares this elevated fare to the meals of the humble, most of which had little nutritional value. One can imagine a parallel history detailing the diseases of malnutrition and stunted growth, and the epidemics of early mortality based on some of these diets. Laudan also reveals where and when peasants,
slaves, servants, and humble workers tended to eat better, as well as how subjects often rose against those feasting in the castles when they did not have enough to eat.

The second half of the book begins by detailing the sharp turn that cuisines took with the arrival of modernity. The major change was what Laudan calls “middling cuisines”—food prepared and eaten by the newly emerging middle class, a lighter version of the high cuisine, centered on the consumption of wheat and beef and accompanied by an entirely different set of culinary habits. She shows that what nutritionists now disparage as the Western diet (also called the standard American diet) was in fact a step forward in terms of providing the protein and other nutrients that many of the humbler diets of antiquity had lacked. She defends foods that have become anathema in the healthy food discourse—roast beef, white bread, sugar, and fat—and the industrialization that made these foods available and that helped to overcome such nutritional diseases as pellagra and kwashiorkor.

Contra Crosby, she argues that, unlike the plants and animals that circulated throughout the globe after the Columbian exchange, cuisines were not always mobile: Sometimes they remained in place or moved in only one direction; sometimes they transformed, as did the pickled pork of Portugal that became the vindaloo of India; and sometimes they receded into the background, like the rich sauce-laden Islamic cuisines that were overtaken by the more ascetic rice-based cuisine in parts of Buddhist Asia. In all of these cases, Laudan explains exactly what happened and why with unprecedented thoroughness.

Melanie DuPuis
University of California, Santa Cruz

_Migration, Health and Ethnicity in the Modern World_. Edited by Catherine Cox and Hilary Marland (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013) 201 pp. $95.00

That migration has always involved politics, economics, and culture, as well as health status, means that _Migration, Health and Ethnicity in the Modern World_ ranges widely in its review of the topic. Using case studies of particular Anglophone countries and Israel, and confined historically to, roughly, the past 200 years, the book touches on the ways in which official attitudes to health and health behavior, race, ethnicity, eugenics, and the financial and political bases of public health services have long affected immigration policies.

The book begins with a perceptive introduction by the editors that offers a substantive overview of what is to follow, and a scholarly discussion of its implications. Like the majority of the case studies, the introduction avoids facile allegations of racial stereotyping and cultural myopia as the major determinate of the regulation of immigration. Instead,
the editors offer a clear-eyed recognition of the realities that host countries have faced in accepting newcomers—endemic health problems in the originating countries, a variety of cultural attitudes toward health behavior and health care that may pose real problems for migrants and the accepting populations, and the significant costs associated with the medical and social needs of immigrants that must be balanced against their economic and cultural contributions. The introduction forecasts the conclusion that policies concerning health and immigration were more often grounded in local conditions and facts than irrational preconceptions about race and ethnicity.

In the case-study chapters, mental disorders receive special attention since they involve incapacitating symptoms, threats to the good order of communities, economic dependency, and the considerable expense of treatment in public facilities. Because of the need for confinement, they also raise legal and political questions concerning civil rights. One chapter focuses on the formal immigration restriction of mentally ill and mentally retarded individuals in Canada and the United States. Diagnostic dilemmas had to be faced by governmental policymakers, and by officers on the front line making judgments about would-be immigrants. Distinguishing “lunatics and idiots” from nondisabling eccentricity and behavior—including variations in mood and language ability—posed serious problems, leading to wide swings in admission policies and procedures in both countries.

Another case study describes nineteenth-century Liverpool’s response to the torrent of Irish immigrants fleeing the potato famine who had to be screened and accommodated or rejected. Particularly hard-hit were the facilities for treatment of mental illness. Although physicians recognized that many of these Irish immigrants needed treatment because of the catastrophic disruption of their previous lives in Ireland, some people were still inclined to attribute their mental conditions to Irish folkways and vulnerabilities.

Other cases discuss various dilemmas in the vaccination of immigrants, including the role of vaccinated children as semi-official transporters of variola vaccine to be offered to residents of host countries. Later chapters cover the confusion engendered by the prevalence of tuberculosis in Irish nurses who immigrated to England from 1930 to 1960, and the complicated problems faced by Israel in its role as a refuge for Jews from widely differing racial and cultural backgrounds. In the British Caribbean, the task of dealing with mentally ill laborers imported to replace recently freed slaves was complicated by the paucity of treatment facilities and by the inexperience of the medical workers recruited from England. Because migrants often start out with limited opportunities and live in poverty and unhealthy environments, the characteristics and dynamics of the underclass are given thorough consideration in the final chapter.

Migration, Health and Ethnicity in the Modern World is a valuable resource for scholars with a particular interest in the case-study areas, and,
more generally, for anyone interested in the complex history of immigration policies and practices as related to health.

Miles F. Shore
Harvard Medical School

Artifact and Artifice: Classical Archaeology and the Ancient Historians. By Jonathan M. Hall (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2014) 258 pp. $45.00

The complex tapestry of ancient history, notably the study of classical Greece and Rome, has undergone dramatic changes in recent decades. Seismic, if often inconspicuous, shifts in interpretation, methodology, and theory have led to much more complex interpretations of even well-known developments and events. A new generation of interdisciplinary research seems imminent, indeed long overdue, as classical scholars from fields as diverse as art, archaeology, and philology grapple with a fundamental problem—What are the strengths, limitations, and potentials of data acquired in field and library by scholars with different methodologies and perceptions?

Hall’s Artifact and Artifice examines the implications of these new historical narratives by using nine case studies of familiar issues that continue to generate scholarly disagreement, approaching them all with the assumption that history is “an active, forensic practice” involving the examination of fragmentary clues, in a spirit of “self-critical awareness” (2). After an introductory chapter that includes a valuable historical survey of classical archaeology, Hall plunges into the case studies—or cautionary tales, as he dubs them—starting with the long controversies about ethylene emissions and the Delphic oracle. In this instance, as in the others, Hall is careful, and correct, to leave the issues open-ended, given that his book concerns historiography. He argues that any emissions at the Delphic oracle were a “physical indication of a divine presence” to the Greeks (32). Undoubtedly, the debate will continue.

Hall next visits the Persian destruction of Eretria and the issue of whether the chronology of Greek material culture can be revised by a half-century or so based on archaeological evidence alone. The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis provokes a complex back-and-forth between archaeological discoveries and conventional historical sources that involves, among things, the Oath of Plataia, allegedly sworn in 479 B.C. Is it possible to identify the structures in Athens through which Sokrates moved? Again, Hall rightly advises extreme caution. When he turns to the royal graves at Vergina, and their associations with Philip II, he enters the realm of archaeology, history, and political narrative, to which he brings detailed, open-minded analysis.

Hall describes the birth of the Roman Republic as “a messy and drawn-out experiment” (163), arguing that the presence of earlier mon-
documents shaped the historical narratives. Was the Emperor Augustus’ palace austere, as some accounts hint? This question prompts an interesting debate about the primacy of archaeological sources. Hall describes the archaeological footprint as “ethereal,” an apt characterization of the virtually nonexistent archaeological evidence for St. Peter. In his discussion of the controversies about the bones of St. Peter under his church in Rome, Hall skillfully navigates a morass of conflicting archaeological and historical data. He points out that the identification of Peter’s remains and the location of the tomb are separate, unresolved issues fraught with ideological and political baggage.

Artifact and Artifice makes clear that textual evidence and archaeological evidence must be situated within a broader literary and material context. No research field, regardless of its cumulative perceptions, is one-dimensional; nothing is as simple as it appears. Textual and the material sources inhabit entirely different discourses. Hall argues that a neutral discourse of analysis should focus closely on methodological issues. What questions should historians ask of archaeological evidence, and vice versa? His book demonstrates that, notwithstanding the divisions of the traditional academic structure, promising avenues for a fruitful dialogue between disciplines are certainly in the offing.

Brian Fagan
University of California, Santa Barbara

A Rural Economy in Transition: Asia Minor from Late Antiquity into the Early Middle Ages. By Adam Izdebski (Warsaw, University of Warsaw Press, 2013) 261 pp. 75

One of the great puzzles for Byzantine scholars is how to date the end of antiquity and the transition into the Middle Ages in Asia Minor. Textual sources are rare for the period between the fifth and the ninth centuries C.E., and the scant archaeological materials are difficult to date with any precision. Focusing on the rural economy, Izdebski’s study adds both nuance and solid evidence to the ongoing discussion by bringing the results of palaeoenvironmental research into it.

Critical to Izdebski’s analysis is the end of the so-called Beyşehir Occupation Phase. This period of intensive agricultural activity in antiquity lasted for centuries, ending at different times in different areas, usually followed by an abandonment of the landscape and often by reforestation. Although radiocarbon and pollen-based studies have been undertaken since the 1960s, only recently have there been concerted efforts to integrate them with historical evidence, notably by Haldon, whose information comes from a single site. The pollen data from Lake Nar in Cappadocia indicate a period of landscape abandonment c. 670 to 950 C.E., which Haldon connects to the disruptions caused by Arab in-
1 Izdebski expands the parameters of the discussion, usefully pulling together information from multiple sites across Asia Minor.

Izdebski’s study is divided into two parts, beginning with a useful summary of current knowledge about the transformation of rural settlements at the end of antiquity from textual and archaeological investigations. Next comes a detailed presentation of the palynological and radiocarbon data as evidence for changing patterns of climate and vegetation. The book’s conclusion offers a tentative synthesis of the two parts. The socioeconomic homogeneity of late antiquity gave way to the diversity of the Middle Ages as remarkably different patterns of settlement, cultivation, and economy emerged across Asia Minor.

But the picture remains incomplete; many regions are still lacking in archaeological and palynological data. The transformation of the Central Plateau remains impossible to reconstruct, and the well-excavated urban sites on the Aegean coast have all-but-unexplored hinterlands. Nevertheless, the study both confirms and improves upon the system of zones proposed by Lilie, which was based on levels of security within Asia Minor during the Arab incursions. Borderland areas like Cappadocia and the southeast Central Plateau collapsed and did not recover; endangered areas like the Marmara and Mediterranean coast turned to herding and cereal production. Only safe areas like northern Bithynia, Paphlagonia, or the southwest maintained extensive cultivation. Yet questions remain. The evidence from Late Nar, for example, indicates seventy years of instability in the agricultural record prior to the collapse of the 670s. Do we attribute this condition to difficulties in adjusting to a wetter climate or to such other factors as population reduction as a result of the Bubonic plague pandemic?

A Rural Economy in Transition ultimately raises more questions than it answers because of the incomplete nature of the data set. Nevertheless, it effectively charts a new direction for historical investigations of the Byzantine heartland.

Robert Ousterhout
University of Pennsylvania


The four co-editors of this collection of papers from a 2012 conference at Toronto do not include its “guiding spirit” (ix), Nicholas Terpstra,

1 See, for example, John Haldon, “‘Cappadocia Will Be Given over to Ruin and Become a Desert’: Environmental Evidence for Historically-Attested Events in the 7th–10th Centuries,” in Klaus Belke et al. (eds.), Byzantina Mediterranea: Festschrift für Johannes Koder zum 65. Geburtstag (Vienna, 2007), 215–230.

whose absence may help to explain why its conceptual cohesion seems slack. Kroeker’s introduction celebrates the diversity of religious beliefs represented, notes the different sizes and vast range of destinations of early modern refugee communities, and concludes that “early modern exiles exhibited remarkable creativity and obdurateness in their strategies for survival in new contexts” (2). The contents represent a commendable range of disciplines beyond history—English literature, art history, anthropology, and religious studies. However, a smorgasbord of disciplines usually offers little more than reciprocal isolation; apart from the interplay of vernacular languages and theology in Jonathan Ray’s overview of the formation of the Sephardic diaspora (Chapter 11, 153–166), the volume betrays little evidence of any unusual interdisciplinary combinations.

A glance at the table of contents reveals that the two usual suspects—the religious diaspora communities with the largest academic constituencies—dominate this volume. Most of the chapters deal with either Sephardic Jews or Reformed Protestants. Anabaptists—whose choices were generally exile, Nicodemism, or annihilation—receive one entry. Spanish Muslims, who underwent a numerically far larger diaspora than any other religious community during the early modern centuries, remain unrepresented, “out of the loop” despite the vital importance of Muslim integration to contemporary Western states. The book offers a brief glimpse of “churches of the Mohammedan law” in the freewheeling climate of Livorno—a “majority-minority” community—but their members were prisoners.

Moreover, early modern chronology does not fit all of the diaspora communities equally well, particularly the “academic big two.” Although the Sephardic diaspora studies in this collection sprawl from 1492 into the later eighteenth century, its Protestant experts cluster between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries.

Notwithstanding these complaints, the volume is due something more than faint praise; some of the contributions stand out from the rest. Maria Tausiet’s exploration of the surprisingly close and important relationship between Michael Servetus, Spain’s best-known exile of the Reformation era, and the shadowy alumbrado movement is a case in point (Chapter 8, 107–120). Tausiet manages to shed considerable new light on both man and movement through an emphasis on Servetus’ “theology of light,” which remains “still largely unknown today” (110). David Parry’s slightly forced comparison between a famous real exile (John Amos Comenius) and an even more famous “internal exile” (John Milton) is notable for its sheer elegance, strewing such phrases as the “fittingly multilingual secondary literature on Comenius” (198, n. 2), or the “embarrassment of his twentieth-century biographer” in reference to Comenius’ publication of prophecies foretelling the restoration of Bohemia’s “Winter King” (56).

Several other chapters provide useful overviews. Some of them also offer novel syntheses in English—for example, Charles Parker’s survey of Dutch Reformed clergymen “exiled” in Asia (Chapter 5, 61–74), or
Nirit Ben-Aryeh Debby’s unlikely story of an enormous panorama of Istanbul made during the war for Crete by an embittered exiled Venetian monk that somehow found its way to Tel Aviv (207, n. 3).

William Monter
Northwestern University


In recent years, the term “political culture” has been deployed extensively in descriptions of historical periods for which scholars may still hesitate to deploy some of its modern correlates, such as “public opinion,” “political consensus,” or even the much-debated “public sphere.” Throughout the last twenty-five years or more, historians have proven willing to follow the lead of political scientists in locating political culture outside established power structures. In the case of the early modern period before c. 1770, they have used the term as a way of describing a wide array of structures and norms through which power was exercised to regulate, organize, and control social relationships at all levels—from royal courts and the local powers of landowners to law courts, patronage relationships, and even family and household organization.

For historians, political culture in early modern Europe has become a capacious concept helping to link new work about print culture, the function of newspapers, elections, and other forms of political action. For social scientists, such research has given more historical depth to concepts that tended to apply primarily to the period from the American and French Revolutions onward. In seeking to extend the range back in time, we have become more aware of the attendant challenges of political language and the changing forms of broad-based political participation.

Not surprisingly, early modern England has been particularly fertile ground for such research—no period more so than the one covered by this book. The reign of Elizabeth I has long been recognized as a turning point in the establishment of a fully functional relationship between sovereign and “political nation”; the queen herself mastered the art of subtle political communication. Nevertheless, English power politics remained hugely troubled by religious and personal complications, culminating in the English civil wars. Covering more than a century, to the revolution of 1688, Shapiro’s book is highly ambitious in scope. Rather than presenting original detailed research, Shapiro gives a broad overview of genres and channels of political communication—from books and pamphlets to the reports of scientific societies, sermons, plays, diplomatic reports, travel accounts, history writing, scriptural history, ballads, poetry,
and libels, complete with a chapter on how rituals of royalty were represented visually and in print. Shapiro also discusses the politics of the legal system, with short sections about oaths, juries, public trials, impeachments, and other public representations of justice.

For scholars of politics or media studies in search of a historical context for their ideas, this volume will provide an excellent overview, and the extensive endnotes provide a wealth of references to a wide range of source material. Historians, however, may feel less satisfied, since Shapiro makes only limited use of major new research in a number of areas. Her discussion of parliament is inevitably perfunctory. Anyone looking for, say, a discussion of what the extensive petition material of early modern England might reveal about broad political concepts is likely to be disappointed. Shapiro writes from the perspective of a political scientist, not much interested in providing a literary contextual analysis of texts or explaining how the Stuart succession of 1603 or the Cromwellian Protectorate created unique features in English political culture.

Shapiro’s book is more descriptive than analytical—eminently readable as an overview but merely hinting at new insights or new research methodologies. Some historiographical guidance is provided in the conclusion, but the lack of a bibliography means that the only way to locate further interdisciplinary work is to trawl through the endnotes. In spite of these limitations, however, Shapiro has provided a helpful and well-organized overview that will appeal to those scholars seeking to understand the extremely complex and sophisticated channels of political communication in this turbulent period of English history.

Thomas Munck
University of Glasgow


In The English in Love, Langhamer charts a key change in the history of an emotion. She belongs to a growing international movement of scholars who are demonstrating that emotions—once thought to be universal and unchanging—are, at least in part, contingent upon history and culture. Her examination of how twentieth-century English couples transformed the meaning and experience of heterosexual love offers an excellent case study of how emotions can change across time.

In the early years of the century, love and marriage were often defined in pragmatic terms. Individuals might choose mates based on their “suitability”—their incomes and ability to provide domestic security. Love and sex were an undeniable part of these marriages, but lov-
ability or attractiveness was often determined by practical and material considerations. In the years after World War II, however, love came to be based not on pragmatism but on passion and personality. The very meaning of to love underwent a significant change—from describing an individual’s willingness to care for and help a partner to signifying emotional intimacy and a sense of shared understanding and compatibility. By the end of the twentieth century, love had become the central reason to marry and the only reason to stay married. Its absence justified divorce; its central role in modern definitions of self-fulfillment also justified its pursuit outside the bounds of marriage. Ironically, the emergence of this passionate type of love spurred both a rise in divorce rates and a decline in marriage rates.

Langhamer makes several key points about this transformation, but two in particular stand out. First, the disruptions of World War II, which radically undermined traditional assumptions about courting and marriage, had long-range consequences. Some of the young people deployed far from home enjoyed new freedom and privacy as they courted. Long-standing dating rituals, such as evening promenades, became less practical given the blackout conditions that prevailed. Moreover, people tended to wed more quickly, often dispensing with the criteria that their parents had used for assessing potential mates. The war fundamentally reshaped both the path to, and the contours of, marriage. This finding leads to Langhamer’s second point: The sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s did not cause people to rethink love and commitment; rather, the transformed meaning of love, forged in the shadow of war, ultimately led to a reassessment of sexual mores. As love became the chief rationale for marriage, its absence became a compelling reason for separation—and sometimes a powerful motivation for two people who were unable to wed to “live in sin” instead. As Langhamer argues, “The institution of formal marriage could not always contain the understandings of love and partnership that took hold in the 1940s and 1950s” (208).

To support her case for this “emotional revolution,” Langhamer relies on an array of sources from “Agony Aunt” advice columns to advertisements and movies. Her most remarkable evidence comes from the Mass-Observation Archive, a project started in 1937 by a group of intellectuals. It went into hiatus during the 1960s but was revived in the 1980s and is currently housed at the University of Sussex. The project’s investigators gathered data through surveys and observation and recruited ordinary people to document their lives in diaries. They focused not just on love but on everything from “the shouts and gestures of motorists” to the “[d]istribution, diffusion and significance of the dirty joke.” Langhamer, a trustee of the archive, presents this resource as a goldmine for scholars in a variety of disciplines, from history to sociology, psychology, and anthropology. It certainly has proven so for her; these rich sources make her argument both intellectually convincing and
emotionally compelling. Her individual stories of people struggling to marry, stay married, or get divorced are affecting. The juxtaposition of the social prescriptions found in magazine columns and advice manuals with the anecdotes, interviews, and diaries of the Mass-Observation subjects provides a means of understanding the sometimes wide gap between social conventions and lived experience.

Not only is Langhamer’s source material of interest to a range of scholars; so is her angle of inquiry. Because Langhamer is writing a history of an emotion, the book stands at the intersection of psychology, history, sociology, and anthropology. In her rich history of Britain’s emotional culture, she offers both an important argument and an elegant model of how to trace an emotion—often presumed to be an unchanging category—across time.

Susan J. Matt
Weber State University

_Credit, Fashion, Sex: Economies of Regard in Old Regime France._ By Clare Haru Crowston (Durham, Duke University Press, 2013) 424 pp. $99.95 cloth $27.95 paper

This impressive monograph functions on two levels. On the one hand, it is a rich, empirical study of the eighteenth-century rise of aristocratic women’s fashion consciousness as well as the markets, consumers, and household finances connected with it. The Parisian bourgeoisie imitated the ladies at court, who followed the lead of Marie Antoinette, changing styles almost weekly. The queen’s dressmaker, Rose Bertin, ran a boutique in Paris that became the focal point for a whole luxury industry involving merchants, producers, and retailers. Planned obsolescence was born, along with fashion magazines and fashion news. In 1777, the new guild of fashion merchants had 452 members. Crowston studies their account books, finding that their business was entirely dependent on a generous granting of credit; noble ladies did not pay cash. Consequently, collecting payment later was always a problem. At her death, Bertin left 400,000 livres of unpaid accounts owed by 483 clients.

Crowston sees women’s roles as complex and contradictory. The ladies of the court were generating negative public reactions by seeming to personify luxury and extravagance and to dominate men. But they also gained credence (credit), and therefore respect, by being exquisitely dressed. “Fashion and credit constituted overlapping Old Regime economies of regard in which reputation, influence, and authority were constantly shifting values.” But how could the independent business women who ran the fashion industry avoid the strict laws that subordinated wives to their husbands, gave husbands the management of their common funds, and allowed wives to issue credit only under their husband’s
signature? Crowston makes a major contribution by exploring the various loopholes that enabled female shopkeepers like Bertin to succeed.

Crowston also attempts to develop a theory of value in which material and nonmaterial factors are both treated equally as causal. She quotes approvingly Gabriel Tarde’s statement that value arose not from labor theory, but “from collective and subjective judgments about the aptitude of objects to be more or less—and by a greater or lesser number of people—believed desired, or enjoyed” (323). Her method is in some ways similar to that of Bourdieu’s delineation of varieties of cultural capital, except that she still chastises him with prioritizing the economic kind.¹ For Crowston, the magic word is credit. It can mean “time allotted for payment,” in the economic sense, and “esteem,” “reputation,” or “influence,” in a cultural sense. She fastens on this dual meaning, to connect economic forces (debt, accounting, and production) and cultural forces (influence, pull, sway, and reputation).

Crowston’s approach highlights interesting connections, but she extends it well beyond its usefulness. The early modern period was certainly an age when a dominant nonmaterial force might be in evidence. But think of the options! French society was obsessed with hierarchical differences that led to pitched battles about precedence and rank. The king and his agents possessed intangible powers of command. Faith in all of its complexity calls for consideration. Should all expressions of power be explained by the credit that they enjoyed? This stimulating book dismantles and reassembles all of the components involved in the new fashion industry.

William Beik
Emory University


This is a big book about a very little space. The distance between Bruges and Amsterdam is barely 200 kilometers, but the four centuries that Gelderblom chooses witnessed the rise and fall of no less than three great commercial cities there—Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam. Big questions are also addressed: What drives economic growth, strong states, virtuous institutions, or something else? What is the role of individuals, politics, or the vagaries of business? Finally, how do the micro-histories of three cities of the Low Countries matter in the broader context of Europe and the world?

The author is entering an already buzzing field with his own argument that seeks to supplant or nuance those of Greif, North, Ogilvie, ¹ See, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in John Richardson (ed.), Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education (New York, 1986), 241–258.
and others. He seeks to show that the three great commercial cities of the Low Countries owed their rise to successful competition between urban centers, in a richly urbanized landscape, allowing for adaptation, innovation, and, ultimately, domination of an economic hinterland, albeit for a limited time. Moreover, although the dynamic of change was similar in the three cases, the details differed significantly from one case to the other.

Bruges rose to prominence after c. 1200 when its role as port/entrepôt took hold. Key to the city’s rise was the Flemish textile industry in which Bruges was both producer and market for regional cloth centers. These products and the broad privileges granted to foreign merchants by the counts of Flanders resulted in a complex urban economy with much interaction between resident foreign merchants and native institutions. Crucial to Bruges’ success was the mediation of the city’s hosteller/broker guild, the members of which functioned as intermediaries both in trade and in urban politics on behalf of their merchant clients. According to the Gelderblom, the implied and real competition of nearby port cities often provided the catalyst for trade privileges granted to merchants. Masters at this political game were the German Hanse, which seceded from Bruges on several occasions in the fourteenth returning only after they secured enhanced privileges. Thus, exchange facilitated by hosteller/brokers, embedded in a continuous process of negotiation and accommodation with resident foreign merchants, explains the rise of the first commercial capital. So successful was this process that it endured well into the fifteenth century, even beyond the era of hosteller/broker dominance.

Antwerp emerged from the shadow of Bruges through a gradual accumulation of advantages, most significantly the political support of the reigning Burgundian dynasty, which unified the Low Countries during the fifteenth century. Bruges rose in revolt against Maximilian of Habsburg, who succeeded in ordering foreign merchants to leave the city for Antwerp. By 1530, Antwerp resembled the Bruges of a century earlier in its reliance on a broker/hosteller network and its role as a both market and transit point for goods. Amsterdam in turn profited from Antwerp’s example and ill fortune in the Dutch revolt, which led to the city’s capture and sack by the Spanish army of Philip II. In the wake of this violence, both foreign and native merchants fled to other commercial cities of their network, Amsterdam chief among them.

Unlike either of its commercial forerunners, Amsterdam refused to grant individual privileges to foreign merchant communities. Instead it improved the distribution of public information, publishing exchange rates and commodity prices, while allowing brokers to mediate and su-

pervise trade. A game changer was the invention of the joint-stock company, which financed voyages of discovery and made its shares negotiable at the Amsterdam Bourse (a name that harkened back to a square in Bruges).

Gelderblom’s Cities of Commerce, a work informed by both history and economic theory, should evoke both discussion and further work about the origins of the Western European economy.

James M. Murray
Western Michigan University


This book offers a narrative political account of the Florentine ruling class from the perspective of a cultural historian interested in changing patterns of fashion and style, in the epistolaries of the city’s elite, and the rhetorical aspects of political writing. It covers a period that produced specific political experiences and framed new forms of historical and political consciousness that deeply influenced subsequent intellectual life.

When the Italian Wars began in 1494, a revolution in Florence overthrew the crypto-oligarchic regime of the Medici and established a government under the direction of the Great Council, a form of direct democracy unseen in Europe since ancient Athens. In 1512, a coup d’État restored the Medicean power, but the Great Council was re-introduced in 1527 after various conspiracies and wars only to be finally dissolved in 1530. Within the next few years, the advent of a hereditary monarchy, headed by the Medici, transformed Florence into a “court society” (189–227): “Blood was shed, fortunes were ruined, and lives destroyed. People fought and died in the struggle over the political culture of the city” (232).

Who instigated this struggle? What was their motive? Baker provides an intriguing, if not paradoxical, answer to the second question—“political agnosticism,” meaning indifference toward all things political, except for the distribution of offices and associated revenues. But this answer offers a clue to who the instigators were. The book’s index refers to “political agnosticism” under the heading of “office-holding class,” which often acquires further specification in the text, namely, “the patriciate” or “the elite.” Baker begins the book with an attempt to reconstruct the Florentine officeholding class from 1480 to 1550, but he eventually focuses on those prominent individuals who reached political maturity around 1510 and whose letters were preserved in the archives. Hence, the “political culture” on which he relies reflects the views and aspirations of a particular community. The members of this privileged social group, which included Francesco Guicciardini, Francesco Vettori,
and Filippo de’ Nerli, came to consider any attachment to the idea of “liberty” as irrational, advocating both massive repression and the “necessity” of the principate. Unfortunately, The Fruits of Liberty does not reveal what men like Giovan Battista Busini, a republican always committed to popular freedom, might have said at the time about their position.

While being loosely inspired by Elias’ interpretation of French early modern history in The Court Society (New York, 1983), Baker’s interpretive framework remains in line with a solid tradition of Florentine studies influenced by the sociological elite theory, represented by the work of Ottokar and Brucker and “the ‘bottom-up’ perspective of the aristocracy” (351, note 98). 1 Thinking specifically about Hans Baron’s influential The Crisis of Early Renaissance Florence (Princeton, 1955), he imputes to the generation of scholars after World War II a “narrative that resounded with their own experiences,” reflecting a concern about the rise of dictatorships (233). But what can we infer from his book about the generation that was born after Augusto Pinochet’s coup d’état in Chile? Is this new generation so acquainted with the idea of mass repression that it cannot distinguish between the antagonistic political programs of ancient times? In Baker’s narrative, one detects an echo of Fukuyama’s thesis about the end of history.2

Jérémie Barthas
Queen Mary University of London

Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy. By George McClure (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2013) 319 pp. $75.00 cloth $60.00 Kindle

Did women have a Renaissance? This question, first posed by Kelly in 1977, remains meaningful and at least partly unanswered.1 In Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy, McClure examines the public culture of play in Renaissance Italy as it relates to the lives of well-educated, upper-class women and their cultural surroundings. Though his answer to Kelly’s question is quiet rather than resounding, and certainly qualified, McClure gives us a solid “yes.”

McClure’s investigation of the ludic spaces of Renaissance Tuscan Italy, expressly those in Siena, looks specifically at the semi-public social clubs where parlor games took place. Proceeding slowly, adhering to a pattern, and devoid of the bombastic music and drunkenness of other

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1 Joan Kelly Gadol, Did Women Have a Renaissance? (New York, 1977).
contemporary late-night excursions, these games continued throughout the night, celebrating wit, word play, and cerebral deftness. Apart from their structure, the Sienese games stood apart from other contemporary events by inhabiting a space of their own, neither fully public like the casino games or tournaments frequented by noblemen and courtesans nor fully private like the gatherings favored by ladies of worth in their sitting rooms. Indeed, McClure casts these games as fully liminal. Not only did they exist in a half-public, half-private space; they also represented the intellectual middle road—“a new cultural zone somewhere between learned and popular culture”—that brought popular literature and language into intellectual discourse (ix). This carnivalesque backdrop allowed noble women to engage with men in a new manner. In this new social milieu, women were able to escape their usual domestic space to interact and compete with men in secular and slightly racy pursuits. But the idea that everyone was just playing games was a bit of a burla; these putatively frivolous pastimes offered women the opportunity to wield a serious mind. Genuine intellectual engagement marked these contests, and women often excelled at it.

McClure traverses a good deal of social theory in his first chapter, “A Renaissance Theory of Play.” He starts with the great Renaissance theorists, spending considerable quality time with Torquato Tasso. Tasso and his contemporaries are particularly germane to this analysis. McClure uses them to demonstrate the seriousness of play among men of the Renaissance and to provide a solid framework for a modern evaluation of the subject. McClure employs Tasso to make his argument in a manner that is both convincing and appropriate for the theme of gaming and sleight of hand. In this chapter, McClure also lays out the bare bones of his subject, describing the games, the people who played them, and the setting.

McClure maintains that an understanding of the games requires an understanding of their devoted participants. Chapter 2, “The Academy of the Intronati and Sienese Women,” brilliantly describes the odd groups of nobles who combined literary society, social club, and community organization with clever flirting. It introduces readers to a few individuals who are able to convey a sense of the institution’s membership as a whole. Chapter 3, “The Games of Girolamo and Scipione Bargagli (1563–1569)” does most of the work of McClure’s argument by analyzing two game books in detail. As McClure concludes, “For women as well as for men, then, the liminoid world of the game and play(s) was an opportunity to pursue one’s ‘natural inclinations’” (80). Gender roles and social prescriptions were unnaturally binding; only in the games were people free to explore their true selves. McClure closes the story of the Intronati in Chapter 4, “The Public Face of Private Women,” in which he explains how women continued to exert influence and take part in public festivals even after the forced closing of the Academy.

The penultimate chapter, “The Birth of the Assicurate: Italy’s First
Female Academy (1654–1704),” shows the continuing importance of women in the games and their ability to perform intellectually in a public space. The final chapter, “Girolamo Gigli: The Legacy of the Sienese Games and Sienese Women,” reveals how Gigli, in a work that was part memoir and part instruction manual, memorialized women’s crucial part in the popular literature, playful competition, and intellectual discourse of Renaissance Italy.

Notwithstanding McClure’s relative silence about the importance of performance and artifice in this context, this book is both well researched and meticulously written. The exposition of the argument through the interplay of McClure’s text and the Renaissance texts that he uses as evidence is spirited and effective. In many ways, McClure echoes the insights of his Renaissance forebears.

Jana Byars
Iowa State University


The title of this book refers to Jacopo Peri, the composer of the first opera that has survived from beginning to end, Euridice (Florence, 1600). As a virtuoso singer, he interpreted the role of Eurydice’s husband, the mythical musician and singer Orpheus. Although every historical account of the birth of opera acknowledges Peri’s fundamental contribution, his life and work still remain evasive and have not attracted sufficient scholarly interest. This book sheds light on Peri’s personal and artistic life but, surprisingly, even more on his role as a financial operator. The project is the outcome of Goldthwaite’s fortunate discovery of a massive well of documents in the Archivio di Stato of Florence documenting Peri’s assets and financial operations. This collection, baptized the “Peri Archive,” inspired this thorough, vivid, and methodologically impeccable study in micro-history and micro-economics. Goldthwaite, who has already offered important contributions to the economic history of Renaissance Florence, worked with Carter, a distinguished opera scholar whose co-authorship guarantees the solidity of the musicological concepts presented in the volume.

Readers of this journal will find this book interesting regardless of their taste for opera. Its most relevant scholarly contribution concerns the analysis of Peri’s financial portfolio, but it also opens plenty of windows on the whole social fabric and economic system of the world that Peri inhabited. The unique body of source documents “has provided the material for . . . the first economic biography of anyone—international merchant bankers for which the city is famous not
excepted—operating in the completely unstudied marketplace of late Renaissance Florence” (1). This financial market offered new opportunities to a man of middling status like Peri (see especially Chapter 2 on the “Economic World”).

Having acquired substantial capital by marriage, thanks to the institution of the dowry, Peri was able to manage his resources through skilled accounting techniques. He diversified his investments between traditional sectors, like real estate, and new tools that increasingly replaced property and cash exchange, causing wealth and money to become an abstraction—bonds and government securities, emerging forms of annuities from property, bills of exchange of various kinds, and shares in the flourishing cloth industry. As the authors put it, Peri’s financial activities reveal that “the economy had developed to the point of offering some, if limited, outlets for saving and investment even for those who had only modest amounts of disposable wealth, and more important, it had opened up plenty of opportunities for entrepreneurial initiatives” (122).

Contrary to what one would expect, Peri’s portfolio shows that music was only a small part of his income; it “scarcely occupied center stage in his life” (206). Yet, it provided him invaluable opportunities for social networking and business. Indirectly, this study confirms that music was central to the culture of late Renaissance Florence, at the Medici court, in the Church, in local academies, and among private citizens. For example, court musicians were paid as much or even more than prominent poets and artists (232). The authors make excessive and potentially misleading use of the term *entertainment* (repeated seven times in only two pages, 245–246). Like art, poetry, and drama, music was not merely “entertainment,” as we conceive it today, but a lofty and highly valued intellectual activity that made Florence not only an international financial center but also a world-leading cultural center.

Peri’s personal life, like his opera, was saturated with drama. Around the time when he was performing the role of Orpheus, who laments the death of his bride, Peri lost his young wife and all four of their little children. After marrying again, Peri fathered a large family, but tragedy struck him repeatedly; six of his sixteen children died. Most of his daughters became nuns, allowing him to save money on excessively expensive dowries, and four of his sons died as young adults. As his son Dino wrote to Galileo Galilei, his friend and teacher in 1630—at a time when the scientist was still under the radar of the Roman Inquisition, and Peri apparently reeling from misfortune—“I come to give you some good news: my father was dead and now he is resurrected. While counting money the desire to go to Mass came upon him” (316–317).

After Peri’s death, his son Alfonsostabbed his pregnant wife to death. Ironically, we owe to him the survival of the Peri archive; it was confiscated and preserved intact as a result of his conviction. This study gives us the opportunity to gain new perspectives on an enigmatic world
still embedded in a premodern patriarchal society plagued by high mortality, social injustice, and the dark shadow of the Inquisition. Yet, this was also the world in which new methods of investing, banking, and trading emerged, hand in hand with cutting-edge artistic experimentation, which led, among other remarkable achievements, to the birth of opera.

Pierpaolo Polzonetti
University of Notre Dame


In four chapters, Donegan narrates the utter horridness of the colonial experience during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. She sequentially analyzes the four main sites of early English colonization—Roanoke, Jamestown, Plymouth, and Barbados—in order to show that each place was, in more than one dimension, a catastrophe. Bad news is in vogue. Donegan’s study follows the lead of several others—most recently, Bernard Bailyn’s The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600–1675 (New York, 2012)—that likewise stress the extraordinary waste of human life in the American colonies. Donegan interrogates published accounts of the assorted miseries (war and other extreme violence, disease, hunger and starvation, and brutal exploitation) to show that disaster defined both the events and the literature of colonization. According to Donegan, the physical and mental trials that the colonists faced challenged their very sense of Englishness and made them into new beings—colonists. “Settlers became colonial,” she writes, “through the acute bodily experiences and mental ruptures they experienced in their first years on Native American ground” (2).

Donegan set out to write a narrative history using literary tools of analysis. The result is genuinely interdisciplinary, merging the goal of history (establishing what happened in past worlds) with the goal of literary analysis (establishing how people used the written word to engage and interpret the world). Donegan makes a number of excellent discoveries, among them that the hopeful description of American nature in the first edition of Richard Hakluyt’s Principall Navigations (1589) vanished from the second edition (1600), after experience refuted the expectation (31), and that an account of early Virginia tellingly relies on conditional verbs, would and should, in place of the more confidently descriptive present and past tenses (42).

To a large extent, however, the resulting story is familiar. Donegan has identified no new sources and uncovered no new events or actors.
Violence and starvation, even cannibalism, are commonly emphasized in the historiography of the earliest settlements. Donegan (and Bailyn) build upon contributions that already identified suffering and disaster as central elements of English New World colonization; it is a rare textbook, at this point, that does not include these elements. Indeed, some scholars have considered an even broader frame of suffering—for instance, John Murrin’s *Beneficiaries of Catastrophe: The English Colonies in America* (Ann Arbor, 1997), which emphasized that colonists profited from the terrible attrition of Native American populations.

The disasters that English colonization caused for African and Native American peoples raises an important question, which Donegan leaves for her afterword: “[W]hy we should listen to the laments of Englishmen at all?” (203). She gives several justifications, the most powerful of which is that, uncritically regarded, the narrative of suffering “remains untouched as a vehicle for national ideology” (204). This excellent point, however, might well have been worked into the narrative all along, given that the suffering became part of national ideology for the English at the time, and not just for the colonists (later Americans) in the end.

Joyce E. Chaplin
Harvard University

*Two Troubled Souls: An Eighteenth-Century Couple’s Spiritual Journey in the Atlantic World.* By Aaron Spencer Fogelman (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2013) 260 pp. $39.95

Authoritative and erudite, yet elegantly understated in its argumentation and assertions, Fogelman’s *Two Troubled Souls* reads like a novel. It is a story well told, attractively formatted with a presentation page for each chapter, which is built around a quotation from one or both of the protagonist’s journals or papers. With short chapters and matter-of-fact prose, *Two Troubled Souls* gracefully performs the demanding balancing act of persuading like fiction while measuring the facts with historical neutrality.

Fogelman uses the correspondence of a Moravian married couple, Maria Barbara Kroll and Jean-François Reynier, tracing their religious missions and personal wanderings to reveal the network of influences and inspiration that undergirded the Atlantic World. In Fogelman’s hands, this world is no longer an intellectual construct but rather a quotidian and compelling reality. This aspect of the book alone makes it a valuable contribution to the scholarly community.

It comes as no surprise that Natalie Zemon Davis is one of the book’s scholarly endorsers. Like her *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), *Two Troubled Souls* presents facts beautifully and
evocatively, almost but not quite assuming the guise of fiction (one recalls the heated debate between Davis and Findlay about how to write history).\textsuperscript{1} Fogleman treads the thin line between reasoning from absences and the process of reconstructing his narrative from a larger context when information is not always forthcoming. But he does so compellingly, and with integrity.

The tale uses a multitude of both strange and familiar religious manifestations and experiences as background to the couple’s experiences, touching on religious similarities and differences involving the Huguenots, Lutherans, Dunkers, Quakers, Labadists, Conrad Beissel’s Ephrata Cloister, and slave religion in Surinam and Savannah. It also explores male and female ways of apprehending the world, religion, and each other with an admirable depth of psychological understanding.

Reynier and Kroll had never met before being united in a Moravian marriage ceremony. The charismatic and controversial Count Nicolas von Zinzendorf, who performed the ceremony, may have approached Maria Barbara for sexual favors at some point prior to the wedding. Their fate as a couple decided by the community, Kroll and Reynier soon found themselves sent out on challenging missions. They had to determine how they felt about slavery, about ecumenical mission initiatives, and about social and economic customs that they had never confronted before. Reynier, who made his living as a physician (although without formal training) was subject to bouts of what now might be termed bipolar disorder. He alienated many communities into which the couple entered, and his wife left him several times. She had to learn to assert herself to have her own sexual and spiritual needs met.

Fogleman has done a masterful job of deftly contrasting the two partners’ perspectives and sensitively describing their responses to the vagaries of the eighteenth-century Atlantic world. Always smartly aware of the scholarly community, Fogleman commendably eschews theory in favor of lived and textured reality. Nothing persuades as well as a good story, and Fogleman has certainly written one.

Catharine Randall
Dartmouth College

States of Union: Family and Change in the American Constitutional Order. By Mark E. Brandon (Kansas, University Press of Kansas, 2013) 335 pp. $37.50

Brandon employs a wide-angle lens to review the ways by which the monogamous, nuclear, patriarchal family became enshrined within the U.S. constitutional order from the eighteenth century to the present.

Thus does he provide a useful framework for understanding how American families have served as a tool of nation-building and a means of sociopolitical control, particularly around race and gender relations. With broad strokes, the book paints a chronological narrative in which the family—in theory and law—has always played a central role in shaping U.S. history. This narrative is particularly useful for making sense of the polarizing “family values” debates of the contemporary era.

The book’s analytical framework is not entirely new. Nancy F. Cott’s *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000) evinced a similarly sweeping historical analysis about the public functions of marriage as a means of social and political regulation. Nonetheless, the value of this book lies in its many detailed accounts of how and why a particular form of family became established in American constitutional law, and with what long-term consequences. It marshals the interdisciplinary perspectives of political theory and legal analysis to ground the historical narrative, primarily through a case-study methodology.

The precedent of English common law, with its assumptions about class, gender, and political authority, provided both the foundational basis for American legal traditions of marital and family relations, as well as the impetus for change. The American Revolution helped to validate a new family form that was more egalitarian and fluid than its English counterpart. Throughout U.S. history, Brandon argues, there has been a tension between competing ideals and models of family—the Jeffersonian vs. the Hamiltonian, the patriarchal slaveholding family vs. the agrarian frontier family, etc. There have also been dramatic challenges to the singular, monogamist, nuclear family—including Native American kinship structures, communitarian groups with nonmonogamous marriages and collective living arrangements, and Mormon polygamy.

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw many legal cases that sought to regulate and normalize family structure and relationships around a heterosexual, nuclear model. These cases and their theoretical underpinnings are the methodological building blocks of the book. Some of the chapters (Mormon polygamy) contain richer and more compelling case studies than others (Native Americans). The book was never intended to be a social history of American families. It does, however, draw on the work of social historians, although highly selectively and with surprisingly dated sources. The book is most usefully read as providing the legal backdrop of the values, norms, regulations, and policies that have always represented the American standard of family behavior and practice.

Much of the historical and analytical framework of the book will already be familiar to historians and sociologists, but the final three chapters offer a riveting, critical synopsis of recent legal cases concerning reproduction, gender, and marriage, including (through October 2012) two precedent-setting cases about same-sex marriage. Brandon’s analysis with its broad legal, political, and social context; its reasoned perspec-
tive; and its critical insight helps to make sense of these highly contentious issues.

Betty Farrell
University of Chicago

The Lost History of the New Madrid Earthquakes. By Conevery Bolton Valencius (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2013) 460 pp. $35.00

The Lost History of the New Madrid Earthquakes is surely the definitive cultural and environmental history of the tremors centered in New Madrid, Missouri, in 1811 and 1812. The earthquakes reshaped the landscape, shifted settlement patterns, and raised new questions about the interpretation of such natural events. As Valencius emphasizes, the New Madrid tremors received massive attention at the time of their occurrence, but by the mid-to-late nineteenth century, and certainly through the twentieth century, they have been remembered as little more than a historical footnote or geological curiosity. Indeed, by the 1890s, some prominent scholars denied that the earthquakes had even occurred, attributing them instead to the overactive imagination of the relatively small number of settlers who lived in the region at the time.

Valencius’ book argues persuasively against the idea that the quakes matter little to American history because the area of their greatest intensity was a kind of no man’s land, only sparsely populated with minimal economic activity during the early 1800s. Instead, multiple chapters of The Lost History emphasize the effects of the earthquakes on various populations with sometimes conflicting interests in what Valencius calls the New Madrid hinterland. She details, for example, the ways in which fairly active trade along the Mississippi River and its tributaries in the region of New Madrid was profoundly disturbed by shifts in land formations and river channels that thoroughly altered transportation routes on the one hand and created swamp lands on the other. Even though the movement of goods became more difficult after the earthquakes, swamped areas created new habitats for hunters and trappers engaged in the fur trade. In addition, the quakes forced many of the Indians who had already been displaced from more eastern regions to move again because the land on which they were living had become nearly uninhabitable after its inundation: “The earthquakes helped accomplish environmentally what American officials failed to accomplish politically: moving Cherokees farther west” (97).

The Lost History, however, provides not only a detailed account of the various peoples in the region of New Madrid and the effect of the earthquakes upon them, it also contemplates the history of knowledge about the event. In the early nineteenth century, the people most affected by these earthquakes were those who were literally shaken by them. Many victims feared and experienced dire somatic symptoms as a
result of the tremors. The symptoms were not necessarily acute bone fractures or the like, but usually took the form of a more general, lingering malaise. “The tremors,” says Valencius, “made their bodies feel, unwell, disturbed, and strange. . . . Earthquakes were experienced as personal manifestations of ill health and imbalance” (145). The force of the shaking was measured not primarily with technologically sophisticated probes and electronics but with makeshift, homemade devices (for instance, an egg tied to a string hanging from a rafter) and by its impacts on the health of survivors.

Given the absence of precise instrumentation and the relatively sparse population in the area at the time, estimates of the magnitude of the three most powerful tremors at New Madrid remain a matter of dispute among present-day earth scientists. All of them recognize, however, that these earthquakes were extremely powerful, likely having a moment magnitude between 7 and 8. People felt their effects as far as the Gulf of Mexico to the south, Quebec to the northeast, and the Atlantic coast to the southeast.

Valencius is wisely respectful of how the experience of disaster is shaped by its moment. Part of what has been lost in our cultural and environmental forgetting of the New Madrid quakes is a proper perspective on what it must have been like to experience them in 1810. But, to her credit, Valencius manages to recover vividly an emotional, somatic, and environmental moment.

Michael Newbury
Middlebury College

*Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri: The Long Civil War on the Border.* Edited by Jonathan Earle and Diane Mutti Burke (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 2013) 346 pp. $37.50 cloth $19.95 paper

Three themes usefully can be explored in this wide-ranging collection of essays—the illusion of neutrality, the salience of racial slavery, and emerging definitions of the laws of war. The idea that Missourians could remain neutral during the Civil War ignored (or rejected) the Constitution and supporting federal legislation that empowered the president to call state militia into national service and to use them to intervene in states where combinations of individuals obstructed the execution of the laws. As Earle explains, Lincoln had first-hand knowledge of the nature of the struggle on the Missouri-Kansas border. The future president traveled by train from Hannibal to St. Joseph and delivered a speech at Fort Leavenworth in December 1859 that anticipated his more famous speech at New York City’s Cooper Union in February 1860.

Because President Lincoln invoked his authority as Commander in Chief in Missouri, Christopher Phillips, in the chapter “‘A Question of Power Not One of Law’: Federal Occupation and the Question of Loyalty in the Western Border Slave States during the American Civil War,”
charges that federal forces violated the civil rights of civilian “neutralists.” Phillips tells the story of a federal patrol led by Lewis Merrill from the railhead at Sedalia through Saline and Lafayette Counties in December 1861. In Phillips’ telling, the purpose of the patrol was to run roughshod over helpless civilians. Phillips does not mention that a rebel army, commanded by Sterling Price, had recently occupied Lexington (in Lafayette County) and that at the time of Merrill’s patrol it occupied Osceola, about seventy miles to the south. Nor does Phillips mention the presence of a second army, commanded by Confederate General Ben McCulloch, in Springfield. Phillips portrays Iowans as invaders in Missouri. Price’s troops were Missourians, to be sure, but the soldiers with McCulloch at Springfield were from Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana.

The small-scale slaveholding culture of Missouri is delineated by Diane Mutti Burke’s chapter “‘Slavery Dies Hard’: Enslaved Missourians’ Struggle for Freedom.” In Missouri, slave labor coexisted with diversified agriculture and commerce. In this regard, there was little to distinguish slaveholding from non-slaveholding settlements on the Missouri–Kansas border. But slavery required physical domination by masters and the assertion of white racial supremacy. Casual brutality sustained slavery and a sense of manliness among slave owners that seemed barbaric to free-state settlers. Aaron Astor’s “The Lexington Weekly Caucasian: White Supremacist Discourse in Post–Civil War Western Missouri” underscores the persistent association of white supremacy with manliness well after the war. Yet, as Tony R. Mullis explains in “The Illusion of Security: The Governments’ Response to the Jayhawker Threat of Late 1860,” sharp cultural differences did not inevitably lead to violence on the Missouri–Kansas border. During the 1850s, partisans managed to avoid deadly confrontations while federal forces pursued broadly even-handed policies in Kansas.

Enmity ran deep, however, and once war began, atrocities occurred. In “‘I Came Not to Bring Peace, but a Sword’: The Christian War God and the War of All against All on the Kansas–Missouri Border,” the late Michael Fellman tells tales of barbarism in Missouri but (like Phillips) offers no context. Unmentioned are campaigns of conventional warfare in Missouri and the role that Bleeding Kansas and Bleeding Missouri played in the development of Lincoln’s Code which distinguished legal combatants from brigands.

Jennifer Weber notes in her concluding chapter, “‘William Quantrill Is My Homeboy’: Or, the Border War Goes to College,” that Kansans later called their university football team the “Jayhawks,” suggesting pride in their free-state origins. Missourians, however, did not call their team the “Border Ruffians” or the “Bushwhackers.” Missouri’s team became the “Tigers,” the name used by the Unionist militia organized in Columbia to protect the university town from Price’s invading (or liberating) Confederate army in 1864.

Louis S. Gerteis
University of Missouri. St. Louis

During the American Civil War, slaves accounted for nearly 40 percent of the Confederate population, but the new government’s efforts to compel their labor for military purposes has long been regarded by historians as a signal failure that touched off grave conflicts and contributed to Confederate defeat. Slave owners who had supported secession to protect their claims to human property protested any interference with it; slaves resisted by fleeing impressment officers and Confederate camps for Union lines. Where most historians see failure, however, Martinez finds success. Focusing on Virginia and North Carolina, Martinez argues that despite substantial obstacles, government officials successfully put thousands of slaves to work building fortifications, digging ditches, and performing other essential tasks for Confederate armies. Although that labor was not enough to save the slaveholding republic, it demonstrated the ability of state and national governments to cooperate in mobilizing for war.

Martinez briefly discusses the war’s first eighteen months, when Confederate commanders, unable to procure enough manual labor through voluntary requests to slave owners, resorted to the ad hoc impressment of slaves. Her narrative commences in earnest with the fall and winter of 1862/63, when Virginia, North Carolina, and five other states passed laws to regulate the process. Virginia’s law, for example, authorized the governor to call for as many as 10,000 male slaves at a time for no more than sixty days, requiring their masters to be paid $16 a month. Martinez draws on state and Confederate archives to detail the hard work and poor conditions that slaves endured and the frequent complaints of their masters. Those objections notwithstanding, she emphasizes, most slave owners complied. For their part, government officials strove to improve conditions for impressed laborers, to spread quotas equitably among slaveholders, and to minimize impressment’s impact on the home-front economy.

The Confederacy took its first step toward a more centralized system in March 1863, when Congress included slaves in a general law regulating the impressment of various forms of property. But state laws, where in force, continued to govern slave impressment until the Confederate War Department took charge a year later. Yet, the central government continued to rely on state officials, who in some cases favored national control to relieve themselves of impressment’s burdens. In November 1864, President Jefferson Davis called for the Confederacy to purchase 40,000 slaves outright for use in non-combat roles. That proposal broadened until Congress, in the war’s final weeks, approved the enlistment of slaves as soldiers.

Although Martinez does not adopt an explicitly interdisciplinary approach, her overall argument bears similarities to one of the classic
works of American political development, Richard F. Bensel’s *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859–1877* (New York, 1990). Bensel compared the United States’ market-based mobilization of resources to the Confederacy’s more centralized approach, citing the impressment of war matériel as one example (Bensel’s scant mention of slave impressment might account for the absence of his book from Martinez’s bibliography). Martinez agrees that states’ rights ideology did not hamstring Confederate authority, further emphasizing the Confederacy’s federalist structure and the continuing cooperation of state and national officials. Nonetheless, the tardy development and narrow scope of slave impressment limited its contribution to the Confederate war effort in ways that Martinez might have done more to acknowledge. The central government did not firmly take control of the process for three years—two years longer than it took to require the conscription of white soldiers—and set the maximum number of impressments at 20,000, a tiny fraction of the 3.5 million slaves in Confederate territory at the war’s beginning. Other historians may hesitate to follow Martinez in labeling those policies a success, but they will appreciate her book as the most extensive and detailed study of this important subject.

Stephen A. West
Catholic University of America

*The Business of Private Medical Practice: Doctors, Specialization and Urban Change in Philadelphia, 1900–1940.* By James A. Schafer, Jr. (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2014) 250 pp. $72.00 cloth $32.95 paper

Schafer addresses the “growing problem of access to doctor’s offices within American cities” in the first four decades of the twentieth century by studying the “changing social geography and expanding medical marketplace” of Philadelphia (4, 12). Using quantitative and qualitative methods of social and medical history and, less effectively, of economics and policy analysis, he concludes that the “patterns of health care inequities that we have today were forged during the urban transformation of the United States in the early 20th century” (12, 183).

Schafer describes the clinical education, practice locations, and institutional relationships of many men and women who practiced medicine in Philadelphia in five chapters, an introduction, a conclusion and an appendix on methodology. The most compelling data in his book are the stories about individual general practitioners and specialists, which he acquired through diligent research in archival and printed primary sources. Schafer embeds these stories in substantial quantitative evidence about the demography of clinicians and their practice locations.

Schafer synthesizes the stories and quantitative evidence with relevant international secondary literature in the social history of medicine.
He rejects conventional interpretations of specialization, institutional development, and practice location as responses either to “externally produced structural changes in medical practice” or “internally generated strategies for acquiring status or legitimacy” (179). Instead, he argues that changes in access to private medical practice during the first four decades of the twentieth century resulted mainly from choices made by participants in a “medical workforce that emerged under the influence of market choices” (179).

Unfortunately, Schaffer does not conclude the book with this ably documented argument. Embracing presentism, he insists that “policy-makers must address more fundamental structural causes of our inefficient system: poverty, discrimination and economic self-interest [which] all generate or exacerbate health care inequities” (183).

This leap from scholarship to advocacy may be a result of a discrepancy between Schafer’s knowledge of the literature in the social history of medicine and his relatively uncritical appraisal of the literature of other disciplines of the policy sciences. Inadequate attention to the economics of service delivery early in the book (for example, 41, 56), forewarns incomplete analysis in the conclusion. There he offers underinformed judgments about, for example, the funding of community health centers since the 1960s, assumptions about markets among contemporary health economists, and current debates about the content and implementation of the Affordable Care Act of 2010 (180–183). As his dissertation evolved into this book, Schafer could have been advised more strongly to avoid advocacy and take pride in his success in “adding individual variables . . . to the analysis of doctors,” and in describing and analyzing the “relationship between urban space, medical careers and the business of private practice” (74–75).

Daniel M. Fox
Milbank Memorial Fund

Pests in the City: Flies, Bedbugs, Cockroaches, and Rats. By Dawn Day Biehler (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2013) 336 pp. $34.95

The resurgence of bedbugs in the twenty-first century United States is a reminder of the stubborn resilience of pests. Biehler’s Pests in the City traces the history of bedbugs, flies, German cockroaches, and Norway rats in modern American cities. Biehler demonstrates how the ecologies of these pests and the efforts to eliminate them were intertwined with social tensions and political struggles throughout the twentieth century. Both pests and pesticides crossed borders between public and private spaces, with particular consequences for poor Americans who were trapped in dirty, run-down neighborhoods and lacked the resources to eradicate pests on their own. Class and race shaped exposure to pests in American cities even as urban reformers and community activists sought
to address housing and public-health crises. This history of pests traces the ecologies and politics of urban neighborhoods, showing how homes were complex environments rather than isolated, private spaces.

The first section of the book explores the histories of four different pests in roughly chronological order. It begins with the problem of flies in Progressive-era cities, arguing that the modernization of urban transportation proved more important in the control of flies than did sanitary education and reform efforts. The narrative then moves to the problem of bedbugs from the 1920s to the 1940s. This chapter and the next, about the German cockroach, examine the use of such pesticides as HCN and DDT, which promised greater control over nature. In practice, however, these chemicals often complicated pest problems and exacerbated class divisions. The discussion of DDT and the ecology of insecticide resistance provides an example of Biehler’s ability to integrate material from history, geography, ecology, and entomology. She explains not only the science behind the evolution of resistance but also how real-world conditions complicated that process. The politics of public housing and management practices in multi-family buildings affected the impact of chemicals in the urban environment. The final chapter of Part I turns to rats during the 1930s and 1940s, showing how both ecological and chemical approaches to rat control relied on reductionist assumptions. As Biehler writes, “The biological ecology of rats could not be separated from the political ecology of cities” (138).

Pests in the City is an exemplary work of interdisciplinary history. Each chapter in Part I begins and ends with brief narratives about the plight of the pests from the point of view of the pests themselves in which Biehler blends her command of scientific studies with descriptions of urban life and the built environment at particular historical moments. Race, class, and gender form important categories of analysis throughout the book, but in Part II, Biehler turns even more explicitly to questions of environmental injustice as the narrative moves into the age of ecology. The final two chapters open with scenes from Richard Wright’s Native Son (New York, 1940) and the writings of Lorde to show how pests were integral to the experiences of urban African Americans, becoming “symbols of both racism and survival” (179).1 These chapters document both the persistence of pests in urban homes during the late twentieth century and the rise of protests that publicly raised the political, economic, and social issues underlying that persistence.

Joanna Dyl
University of South Florida

For scientists in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, radioisotopes were highly prized research instruments. When introduced in miniscule quantities to biological systems, these unstable variants of common atomic elements could be traced according to their distinctive radioactive signatures as they moved through microscopic organisms and macroscopic ecosystems alike, revealing the scalar processes of life on a molecular level. As the United States Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) report put it in 1948, radioisotopes enabled “a new mode of perception” (2).

In Creager’s Life Atomic, radioisotopes prove similarly revelatory—though not of cell metabolism or ecological respiration but of the fissures and contradictions in “the politics and epistemology of postwar biology and medicine” (5). Instead of radioassays and scintillation scanners, Creager uses published and archival documents of AEC scientists and administrators to trace the circulation of radioisotopes from weapons research facilities, such as the Oak Ridge reactor in Tennessee, to more than 2,200 scientists and physicians around the world (5).

A series of interlinked paradoxes lies at the heart of Creager’s analysis. The AEC held out radioisotopes as examples par excellence of the peaceful use of atomic energy, but their production and distribution was inextricably tied to the grim, Cold War struggle for global influence between the United States and the Soviet Union. Isotope distribution was supposed to be a shining example of American “free enterprise,” but it was (initially) tightly controlled by the U.S. government. While broadening scientists’ views of fundamental biological processes, the ubiquity and versatility of radioisotopes limited lines of scientific inquiry that did not employ radioisotopes to yield answers. Moreover, the experimental and medical use of radioisotopes turned out to be more dangerous than expected, carrying an enormous risk of serious harm to anyone exposed to radiation from tracers and radioisotope–based therapies.

In moving through these contradictions, Life Atomic spans roughly a half-century in ten chapters, covering the early period of radioisotopes before their industrial-scale production in the nuclear reactors of the Manhattan project; through their halcyon days as model, though politically unstable, research technologies; to the late 1960s when the danger that even small doses of radiation posed for all living things became impossible to ignore. For Creager, radioisotopes are not simply a byproduct of military research. Rather, their circulation through labs, environments, and people reveals fundamentally entwined problems of scientific knowledge, risk, modern technology, and the politics of life itself in modern America.

As its title suggests, a central conceit of Life Atomic is that radioisotope research not only described but also helped to create citizens of a modern world whose very subjectivity has been, since the early years of
the Cold War, increasingly mediated by practices of molecular biology. In Creager’s words, “Once you raise the historical Geiger counter . . . you find the chatter of radioactivity everywhere” (22). The strength of *Life Atomic* lies in showing that this “activity” was not just a matter of unstable isotopes; it was also the result of instabilities in the program of postwar American science itself.

Michael Rossi
University of Chicago

*Gentlemen’s Disagreement: Alfred Kinsey, Lewis Terman, and the Sexual Politics of Smart Men.* By Peter Hegarty (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2013) 182 pp. $75.00 cloth $25.00 paper

In 1948, Alfred Kinsey’s controversial landmark study, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Bloomington, 1948) (hereinafter *SBHM*), prompted an unsolicited, lengthy, and negative review in the journal *Psychological Bulletin* by intelligence-testing pioneer Lewis Terman. Like other critics, Terman took issue with Kinsey’s interviewing and sampling methods and his reduction of human sexuality to a tally of sexual “outlets.” But Terman also scrutinized “some data patterns in SBHM that other critics were happy to leave alone, and he staked some odd claims in the course of challenging Kinsey on these points” (11). Terman’s particular objections to Kinsey’s work provided the impetus, and serve as a framing device, for Hegarty’s study of the mutually constitutive ways by which ideas about intelligence and sexuality were fashioned in the twentieth century. Their disagreements about the elusive relationship between sex and intelligence engaged other vital questions: What is “good science”? What is “normal”? Exploring how these queries were answered, Hegarty demonstrates, not surprisingly, that Terman and Kinsey were far from dispassionate researchers. He reads their pronouncements and silences for insight into how personal views and research agendas influenced current understandings of intelligence, sexuality, and normality.

Terman’s reception of *SBHM* was informed by his own research on gendered personalities, marital happiness, and especially his work on a long-term study of “gifted” children. Intent on “normalizing” the highly intelligent young people that he studied, Terman had a vested interest in some of Kinsey’s findings. Downplaying possible linkages between perceived sexual impropriety and a high intelligence quotient (IQ), he challenged Kinsey’s conclusions about sexual precocity. Likewise, Terman’s interest in debunking the figure of the “queer genius” helps to account for his silence on a matter that many other Kinsey critics addressed—*SBHM*’s assertions about the prevalence of adult homosexual activity; the “queer,” gifted individuals in Terman’s study would seem less aberrant in a society where homosexual experience was not uncommon. In deciphering differences between Terman and Kinsey,
Hegarty calls attention to competing ideas about normal as meaning “average” or “ideal,” pointing to the contingent and malleable nature of this concept. Indeed, the interplay of Queteletian (average) and Galtonian (ideal) notions of normality in the co-construction of intelligence and sexuality forms one of the book’s central themes (17). Unfortunately, Hegarty frequently employs these terms in a shorthand fashion that obviates further explanation.

Although he attends to the intellectual differences between Terman and Kinsey, the basic narrative of what transpired between the two scientists is difficult to apprehend in early chapters. Not until Chapter 7 does Hegarty recount the events leading to the American Statistical Association’s audit of Kinsey’s research methods, inspired in part by questions raised publicly by Terman about Kinsey’s work.

Elsewhere, Hegarty’s wide-ranging discussion addresses numerous topics, from the nineteenth-century ascendance of statistics to the manner in which Kinsey’s and Terman’s research subsequently influenced the biographies written about them. Hegarty discerns links, for instance, between Terman’s findings that maladjusted women were largely responsible for marital unhappiness and biographers’ tendency to rationalize Terman’s marital infidelity. He presents a fruitful analysis of the continuity between Kinsey’s seemingly unrelated early research on the gall wasp and later investigations of human sexuality by foregrounding Kinsey’s ideas about variability common to both projects. He also offers an interesting discussion of cognitive dissonance in an effort to explain the willingness of participants in Kinsey’s study to reveal their personal sexual histories for the sake of scientific progress. Throughout the book, however, many themes pursued by Hegarty seem tangential, resulting in a meandering quality to the argument that undermines an otherwise intriguing and provocative study.

Elizabeth Fraterrigo
Loyola University Chicago


Thurber’s Republicans and Race shows how the “Party of Lincoln” became the party not only of Strom Thurmond and Jesse Helms but also Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon—that is, the party of Civil Rights Acts and Affirmative Action, and of Little Rock and busing. Subtle and encyclopedic, the book steeps readers in this period of great

1 In the nineteenth century, statistician Adolphe Quetelet advanced ideas about “normal” distribution curves with most values clustered around an average, whereas eugenicist Francis Galton idealized certain individuals, such as geniuses, who fell outside the average (15–16).
change, from Adolf Hitler’s surrender to President Nixon’s resignation, as the Civil Rights Revolution transformed America.

Thurber, who wrote an earlier book about Hubert H. Humphrey, notes that “nothing separates the American electorate more than race” (2); Republicans consistently receive less than 15 percent of the African-American vote.¹ Given that Republicans have viewed black votes as “unwinnable” and given that the GOP has been the political home to southern resisters like Senators Thurmond and Helms, most historians—let alone pundits—believe that the Republican Party consistently opposed civil-rights legislation. They explain this break from its historic role as the party that fought southern racism by emphasizing the Republican turn to the right in 1964.

Thurber refutes both assumptions. Although Republicans “often ignored racial injustice,” they also “sometimes backed reforms that undermined white supremacy, particularly in the South” (375). Challenging the conventional wisdom directly, he writes, “The United States was a more egalitarian society when Richard Nixon left office than at the end of World War II. The GOP had helped make that possible” (375). Thurber devotes fourteen clear, well-organized chapters—along with an introduction and an epilogue—taking the story to the racially polarized results of 2012, to explain this seeming ambiguity in the Republican platform.

Exploring Congressional dynamics, most vividly when analyzing the Eisenhower and Nixon presidencies, Thurber creates a multidimensional portrait that shows when the GOP cooperated and when it resisted the civil-rights movement’s demands. He makes it clear that, in a democracy like America’s, the kind of revolutionary changes that took place required bipartisan support. The book shows the remarkable, often overlooked, continuity that occurred from president to president, even when the opposition party took control. The portrait that emerges is a society rocked by great, frequently violent, turmoil, yet able to find its ballast through its democratic procedures. Moreover, Thurber acknowledges that Republican objections to certain ideas were rooted in an individualistic worldview that saw America “as a fluid, open society that rewarded hard work.” Believing that “[s]uccess came largely through personal initiative,” Republicans were loath to make government too big or domineering (375).

This straightforward narrative history derives from considerable primary research in presidential and congressional archives. The book could have benefited, however, from an interdisciplinary approach. Popular culture, social structures, economics, technology, and ideology all affected the Republican Party’s relationship to African Americans. More sensitivity to changes in those arenas, along with a deeper look at Republican ideology, would have helped Thurber to provide a fuller explanation of why Republicans resisted sometimes and why they coop-

generated sometimes, beyond simply reacting to personalities, pressures, or political polls. Nonetheless, this is an illuminating book about an important topic.

Gil Troy
McGill University

_The Americanization of Narcissism._ By Elizabeth Lunbeck (Cambridge, Mss., Harvard University Press, 2014) 384 pp. $35.00

Narcissism is an intriguing modern concept, finding a place in the history of psychiatry and in psychiatric diagnosis, as well as in popular understanding. This book contributes massively to the intellectual history of twentieth-century psychiatry while offering some provocative insights, short of systematic treatment, about the concept of narcissism in a broader sense.

Lunbeck begins her account with the explosion of interest in narcissism in the United States during the 1970s. She evokes the famous judgments of Lasch, and their popular and political repercussions (ultimately adding Riesman’s influential evaluations).¹ She discusses in great detail the work of Kohut, who dramatically altered the Freudian approach to narcissism, and the more pessimistic efforts of Kernberg.² That Kohut became something of a popular figure in his own right helps Lunbeck to combine the psychiatric with the sociological interpretations of narcissism.

The book then reverts to a fairly close examination of narcissism in psychoanalytical theory, from Sigmund Freud’s early writings through the 1930s. Key chapters in this second segment deal with narcissism in relation to independence, vanity, and gratification. Important sections also discuss the gender implications of narcissism, particularly around Riviere’s work.³ Lunbeck devotes considerable attention to debates between key psychoanalytical theorists regarding the implications of narcissism; the material on this subject is rich.

Lunbeck makes abundantly clear how protean the concept has been, sometimes even at the hands of a single theorist. Many of the theorists grappled with distinctions between good and bad narcissism in their approaches. Freud’s concern with the sexual and homosexual implications of narcissism contrasted with that of other thinkers who worked primarily on consumerist or fashion expressions (with their po-

¹ See, for example, Christopher Lasch, _The Culture of Narcissism_ (New York, 1979); David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, _The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character_ (New York, 1950).
tential links to modern economic systems). Various commentators, including Freud, also entertained the idea that narcissism was, at least in part, a new phenomenon, to be contrasted with Victorian character—a distinction on which the 1970s social commentary also relied.

Lunbeck has much to say about the ostensible subject of the book—the American aspects of narcissism—in all of its complexity. On the one hand, critics like Lasch won massive attention by using narcissism as a means of describing American moral decline. On the other hand—and in this case the treatment of Kohut is particularly revealing—Americans may have distinctively appreciated aspects of narcissism, such as the emphasis on the self, emotional support for children, and even the attributes of successful leadership.

Notwithstanding its strengths, Lunbeck’s treatment of the concept has some problems. The organization of the book requires a great deal of backtracking and repetition, and its examination of the popular significance of narcissism is limited. Moreover, despite Lunbeck’s genuine interest in American ideas and behaviors, she relies heavily on European intellectuals in explaining narcissism, and she offers no comparisons with other popular cultures. Finally, even though she mentions current judgments about narcissism in her conclusion, she says nothing about what happened in the decades after the 1970s or why the whole furor died down so abruptly. The book raises important issues, and even resolves a few of them, but further explorations are necessary.

Peter N. Stearns
George Mason University


This volume takes readers on a long and winding journey through several calendrical sections (almanacs) in the three surviving Maya hieroglyphic codices as well as in a few relevant Aztec manuscripts. The authors begin with a brief overview of Maya and Mexican manuscript traditions, creation mythologies, and pantheons, and then quickly delve into the minute details of New Year rituals, rain making, Venus auguries, and period-ending ceremonies. The chronological frame is mostly the Postclassic (950–1521 c.e.) and Early Colonial (1522–1700 c.e.) periods, but Classic-period (250–950 c.e.) Maya texts and images are also mentioned.

The complexity of the hermeneutic method and the organization of the book rival that of its source material, thereby making reading difficult for the uninitiated. The challenge of following the authors’ sometimes elaborate arguments is exacerbated by their reliance on web links and quick response (QR) codes in addition to conventional illustra-
visions and citations. Anyone attempting to read the volume and simultaneously to view the qr-coded images and publications with a smart phone, for example, would be better advised to type the links directly into a web browser and keep all of the relevant codex pages, tables, and PDF documents on a computer screen.

Through a detailed structural and semiotic analysis of the codices and Colonial Maya manuscripts such as the Popol Vuh and the books of Chilam Balam, Vail and Hernandez painstakingly reconstruct the place-making and world-renewal symbolism of the New Year rituals that, as the authors argue, are referenced in more almanacs than previously thought and provide a unique window into the indigenous cosmovision and mythology. Vail and Hernandez suggest that Maya creation narratives were structured along the opposition between God L/Bolon Yook Te’ K’uh/Bolon Ti’ K’uh/Venus and God G/K’inch Ajaw/Oxlaajun Ti’ K’uh/Sun. Multiple almanacs evoked the same key events of the creation mythology, which were continuously re-enacted by gods as natural phenomena and celestial bodies and re-experienced by humans through ceremonies and auguries.

Even though the discussion clearly centers on the codices and later narratives, the authors explicitly embark on a holistic synthesis of Maya creation mythology. While this approach has its merits because of the fragmentary nature of the available sources, it also reifies the underlying assumption of the cultural unity of all speakers of Mayan languages through space and time and conceals diachronic, regional, and social variation such as, for example, the apparent contrast between the ubiquitous presence of Venus in the contact-period manuscripts and the paucity of epigraphic references to the “Great Star” before the ninth century c.e. The authors gloss Maya hieroglyphic codices in Colonial Yukatek rather than in the Ch’olan language of Classic-period texts.

Despite the broad comparative nature of the project, readers looking for an expanded discussion of connections and allusions to Classic-period Maya mythology may be disappointed. Vail and Hernandez restrict their source base mostly to the monuments from the archaeological sites of Palenque and Quirigua and pottery from the vicinity of Naranjo. Other regional traditions, particularly in the vast corpus of texts and scenes on Classic Maya ceramic vessels, receive less attention than they probably deserve.1 This emphasis may be explained by the authors’ primary focus on later visual and written narratives. Some discussions would have certainly benefited from a stronger engagement with Classic-period epigraphy. For example, the authors’ identification of God L as Bolon Yook Te’ K’uh contradicts an explicit textual reference to the Sun God, K’inch Ajaw, as Bolon Yook Te’ K’uh, in a scene on one pottery vessel. However, such shortcomings should not overshadow this volume’s success in applying a holistic approach to Maya religion and

1 See, for example, Oswaldo Chinchilla Mazariegos, Imágenes de la Mitología Maya (Guatemalan City, 2011).
mythology in the context of the codical studies to reveal parallels between Highland Mexican and Maya creation narratives, calendar rituals, and interpretations of celestial phenomena at the time of the Spanish conquest.

Alexandre Tokovinine
Harvard University


The two books under review, written by experienced historians of Spanish colonial Central America, appear at first sight to be complementary. The work by Lovell, Lutz, et al., despite an excursion documenting Native American demographic recovery into the nineteenth century, deals primarily with the years from the Spanish invasion to the 1620s. The Patch book begins in 1670 and moves quickly to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (as is often the case in Central American historiography, the middle years of the seventeenth century receive little attention.)

Both books rely heavily on the archival collections of the Archive of the Indies, Seville, Spain, while ignoring completely all of the Central American archives (Patch) or using the main archive in Guatemala City sparingly (Lovell and Lutz cite only fifteen of its documents, several of them admittedly lengthy and difficult). The two books concentrate on Spanish and Indian economic relationships and use data and insights from biography, geography and land tenure/use, economics, statistics, and political theory.

In many ways, however, the two works diverge. Geographically, Lovell, Lutz, et al. confine themselves to the province of Guatemala, including today’s El Salvador, whereas Patch attempts to cover all of colonial Central America, though not so much Honduras and Costa Rica. Lovell, Lutz, et al. offer a history of early Spanish exploitation and Indian accommodation and resistance; Patch dwells on one Spanish and Indian relationship, the repartimiento de efectos or mercancías. This illegal but largely tolerated institution was a “putting out” system, often of thread and textiles, involving Indian women, as well as a forced collection of basic goods via the tribute tax or other means, for resale by Spanish regional officials at higher prices.

Lovell, Lutz, et al. concentrate on local history within Guatemala,
stressing, among other themes, the prolonged impact of colonial exploitative behaviors on the brutal, divisive history of the modern nation. Patch, influenced by the patterns of global interdependence described by Wallerstein and Frank, accepts some of the findings of Baskes and Ouweneel regarding Mexican colonial repartimientos (though with several reservations), plus recent work about the early worldwide influence of the Chinese trades via Manila with colonial Mexico.1 Thus, he attempts to insert Indian production through the repartimiento system as one of the means “to integrate peasants into the wider colonial and world economy” (7; see also 4). His argument holds, indirectly at best, for such basic foodstuffs as maize, beans, jerky, fish, and cheeses and more directly for such exports as cacao, indigo, and Honduran silver, depending on their boom-and-bust cycles.

“Strange Lands and Different Peoples,” an omnium gatherum of the individual and joint writings of four authors, performs a great service by revising and publishing in one place a diverse and scattered corpus. This scholarship, with its welcome emphasis on Indian demographic history, should put to rest the debate about Indian population decline, especially before the 1580s, and the slow, interrupted recovery after about 1630. Admitting to some informed guesses and to gaps in the documentary record, the authors have amassed a mountain of evidence, apparently conclusive.

The early chapters offer an exhaustive account of the long, destructive, and chaotic conquest of Guatemala. Notable are a full description of the early Cakchiquel uprisings and a discussion of the activities and lasting effect of the rapacious, brutal Pedro de Alvarado. Subsequent chapters examine the reforms of Alfonso López de Cerrato and Diego García de Valverde, two leaders who came later. Although some readers may find the praise of these two men excessive, there can be no doubt about the thoroughness of the research.

Other subjects that receive the authors’ careful scrutiny are congregación, the forced resettlement of more dispersed native populations, and the various systems, including the encomienda, of forced labor. In this book, the authors present not only a revised condensation of their previous work but also new findings and analysis.

Patch’s book is certainly the most comprehensive analysis of the repartimiento system in Central American colonial history. It establishes the institution as crucial to the understanding of the economic and social history of the second half of Spain’s colonial rule there. Patch’s discussion of the lesser-known pragmatic and effective arguments defending

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the system lends considerable insight into the contemporary bureaucratic and political debates that occurred in both Spain and Spanish America.

Two case studies, one from Huehuetenango, Guatemala, and the other from Nicaragua, are revealing. The first demonstrates the dangers of overreach, even in a hierarchical power situation, caused by hubris or personal selfish quarrels. The second finds that the Indian repartimiento was valuable to prominent Spanish officials in Nicaragua even after the decline of Indian populations and the rise in numbers of non-Indians.

Missing in this book is an investigation into who financed and managed regional governors and, in many cases, who controlled these financiers—a subject that research in Central American archives would have clarified. It is notable that Juan de Aycinena, the richest person in eighteenth-century Central America, does not rate a mention, even though he had his fingers in every pie. Local research would have shown how regional magistrates, even those who did not purchase their offices, were financed by, and then had to follow the dictates of, their patrons in Guatemala City and Mexico.

Also neglected is the fierce opposition that manipulators of the repartimiento met, not only from more senior officials, envious business partners, creditors, and Indian village leaders but also from such local rivals as provincials of the regular orders, bishops, Spanish town councils (or cabildos), hacienda owners, and merchants. Many of those who sought to use the repartimiento as a way to profit from the spoils of office failed, not only in Huehuetenango.

Murdo J. MacLeod
University of Florida


From 1780 to 1783, indigenous people in the southern Andes revolted against imperial Spain; this insurrection was the largest one in the history of the Americas. Closely associated with the leadership of Túpac Amaru II, a direct descendant of the last Inca emperor, the revolt devastated the region from Cusco to Chayanta. In this thin volume, Serulnikov manages to present an excellent overview of the insurrection as well as a nuanced discussion of regional and local variations. He references a large historiography dating from the 1950s to the present, and an array of archival material, including quotations from Túpac Amaru II and imperial officials. Serulnikov urges us to view the indigenous people as political actors who attempted to redress their grievances through established ju-
Rebels’ grievances emanated from the Bourbon Reforms (c. 1750–1790), which outraged local elites, both indigenous caciques and Spanish creoles, who lost their political offices to outsiders. The Reforms also caused hardship by raising taxes, notably the sales tax, which overburdened the masses and reduced profits for merchants, including the muleteer Túpac Amaru II. Caciques disputed the legitimacy of the Reforms in lawsuits, petitions, and localized protests, which failed to produce results. The conflict that at first centered on unfair policies and abuses quickly escalated to a threat against imperial authority. After three years of bloody fighting, the imperial state prevailed because of superior weaponry, an enlarged militia system, and divisions among the indigenous population.

The racial, ethnic, and political alliances that formed and collapsed during the rebellion all inform Serulnikov’s narrative. Indigenous rebels initially enjoyed the support of outraged creoles, but such alliances proved tenuous. In Cusco, sympathetic creoles deserted the cause after rebels accidentally burned the church at Sangarará where Spanish troops had received sanctuary. Cusco Bishop Juan Manuel Moscoso then excommunicated Túpac Amaru II and his followers. Atrocities by both sides increased and the revolution degenerated into a race war. Túpac Amaru II donned the regalia of the Inca emperor and assumed the posture of a sovereign.

In Aymara regions from Lake Titicaca to Chayanta, conflicts escalated into outright revolt under the direction of Tomás Katari and Túpac Katari. In towns that they controlled, insurgents forced creoles to wear indigenous clothing and to chew coca leaves, a common practice among Andean natives. Indian rebels also refused to bury the corpses of abusive Spaniards, calling them demons because of their hypocritical non-Christian behavior. In Oruro, creoles Jacinto and Juan de Dios Rodríguez joined the insurrection to reclaim their lost offices and wealth, but they refused to accept indigenous rule. The Rodríguez brothers organized a counter-revolution that ousted the indigenous insurgents, only to be later arrested and executed by the Crown.

Andean natives were evenly divided between rebel and royalist camps. The most prestigious caciques in the Cusco region rejected Túpac Amaru II’s claim to rule and mobilized natives to fight against him, while hacienda laborers sided with their royalist landlords. Moreover, indigenous rebels from the Cusco region never formed a political or military alliance with insurgents from Aymara areas. Morale also sagged among natives forced to fight with slings, clubs, and spears, against militia armed with artillery, muskets, and steel swords; many of the rebels deserted. In the end, royalist forces captured and executed prominent insurgents and their families, typically by drawing and quartering. They later removed royalist caciques from their offices, further
leveling indigenous society and solidifying chaste divisions based on race.

Historical memory of the Andean insurrection has conjured diverse images. Well into the twentieth century, a standard narrative portrayed Túpac Amaru II and the rebels as savages who impeded state building and modernity. General Juan Velasco Alvarado, Peru’s dictator from 1968 to 1974, rebranded Túpac Amaru II as a precursor of political independence and used his image to promote government programs. In the 1980s, Marxist guerrillas called their organization the Movimiento Nacional Túpac Amaru and tried to overthrow the government. More recently in Bolivia, indigenous rights organizations and unions, calling themselves “Karatistas,” contributed to the election of Evo Morales as president.

The use of the Andean insurrection in popular and political discourse increases the importance of scholarly accounts of the event. Serulnikov has pointed us in the right direction. Suggestions for future research include a study of Bishop Moscoso and clerical opposition to the revolution, and an investigation of women revolutionaries, including Micaela Bastidas, Túpac Amaru II’s wife and principal advisor. More insights into rebel motivations and behavior might also be gleaned through an analysis of judicial records, such as depositions and trial transcripts, which Van Young used effectively to understand indigenous insurgents in Mexico from 1810 to 1821.1

Michael J. Gonzales
Northern Illinois University

Where the Negroes are Masters: An African Port in the Era of the Slave Trade. By Randy J. Sparks (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2014) 309 pp. $29.95

In recent years, historians have investigated West African ports that were important hubs of maritime commerce in general and the slave trade in particular. Studies of Ouidah, in the Bight of Benin, and of Cape Coast Castle, on the Gold Coast, have illuminated the interplay between cultural and economic factors that underpinned the trade of these ports.1 As Sparks shows in this book, however, there is plenty of scope for further studies of specific African ports. Sparks concentrates on Annamaboe (now Anomabu) on the Gold Coast during the eighteenth century when it flourished as a supply center for the transatlantic slave trade. Annamaboe had a fort maintained by England’s Royal African Com-

pany and later by its successor, the Company of Merchants trading to Africa. England dominated the slave trade at Annamaboe, but French, Dutch, and American merchants also traded there. As Chapter 5 shows, Rhode Island merchants gained a significant niche in slaving at Annamaboe during the quarter-century before the American Revolution through the lucrative trade of New England rum.

Sparks draws mainly upon the extensive archives of the Royal African Company at the National Archives, Kew, to analyze the wide range of personnel involved in the slave trade at Annamaboe and to explain the activities of white traders, mainly associated with the Royal African Company. He also discusses caboceers (headmen or officials), inland suppliers of slaves, agents who handled gold and the sale of slaves, European ship captains, African canoe men, members of African elites, and others who interacted in trade at Annamaboe, as well as the widespread practice of pawning as collateral against credit. Chapter 4 provides a helpful description of the stages involved in the enslavement process on the Gold Coast. The entire book provides detailed information about the various people, Africans as well as Europeans, who were culpable in their exploitation of slaves. It explains the supply of slaves to Annamaboe in relation to kidnapping, punitive raids, and inland wars conducted between the dominant Fante and their enemies.

Although this book is impressive, it could have been better. Sparks makes little use of French or Dutch sources to examine trade rivalries between Europeans at Annamaboe. Chapter 5 would have benefited from the extensive documentation available in archival material in New York and New England about the conduct of the Rhode Island exchange of rum for slaves on the Gold Coast. Chapter 3, about Richard Brew, an Irish trader on the Gold Coast, should have made it clearer to the reader that Priestley’s book, mentioned in a few footnotes, studied him in depth, and the book’s coverage of the gender dimension of slave trafficking at Annamaboe is far too brief. Most surprisingly, Sparks makes only desultory reference to the storehouse of information on Annamaboe in the online Transatlantic Slave Trade Database, which he could have been deployed far more effectively to trace fluctuations in the volume of the slave trade from Annamaboe. Incorporation of these additional factors would have enhanced the quality of the book.

The final verdict on this book, however, is positive. Even without the benefit of any interdisciplinary methodology, Sparks has written an insightful study of an important African port involved in the slave trade.

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2 Pawns were Africans (usually sons of traders) who were held on the coast by slave traders as collateral against credit extended via trade goods to African suppliers of slaves. If the traders carried out their transactions according to the agreements made, the pawns were released; if not, pawns could be taken on board ship as slaves.


4 See www.slavevoyages.org.
His explanations of diplomacy and tactics will be of interest to all scholars who study the history of the Atlantic world. He demonstrates that Africans along the Gold Coast who willingly traded fellow Africans into transatlantic slaving were able to amass considerable wealth. The lack of a consolidated bibliography is an inconvenience, but the book contains a helpful appendix of important terms, names, and places.

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Alan F. Isaacman and Barbara S. Isaacman discovered the environment’s centrality to Mozambican peasant life in their study of the Cahora Bassa dam. Their intended alternative history to that of the official development narrative supports three major arguments: (1) Since construction began, Cahora Bassa has caused ecological, economic, and social trauma for Zambezi Valley residents that none of the development narratives recount; (2) extreme and continual violence was, and is, a critical feature of state efforts to dam the Zambezi in Mozambique; and (3) colonialism persists even in the era of independence. The authors’ historical and environmental framework constructed from archival materials and technical reports was both challenged and supplemented by interview information.

Recognizing the importance of the environment and ecological function is a step toward broader historical perspectives. The authors’ efforts, however, were hindered by failure to employ methodologies and concepts from other disciplines. Social-science literature about sampling, interview techniques, and the interpretation of responses would have given the researchers more confidence in their oral sources. Anthropology would have shown them the validity of differing perceptions and established the identification of benefit and liability as culturally constructed values. Work in ecology and agricultural science could have helped the researchers to understand the difference between variability as a normal condition and random and unpredictable change resulting from human interventions in landscapes. The authors’ ethnocentrism is revealed by their labeling of respondents’ positive recollections of their former environment as “romantic” or “nostalgic.” The absence of full quotations results in the unheard peasant voices being filtered through the authors’ biases and perceptions.

Social-science methodologies also could have addressed inherent power relations in the interview process, recognizing interviewees’ justifiable fears about revealing certain types of information. Anthropological
literature stresses the importance of establishing rapport with informants to identify what might be controversial, allowing delicate topics to be addressed indirectly. Social-science conventions require a full description of the interviewees as well as the context and process of the interview.

The sophistication, diversity, and scientific validity of local environmental knowledge have been discussed in development studies and agricultural development writing since the 1970s. Familiarity with this area of research would prepare historians to expect—and actively seek—the creative perceptions and solutions of other cultures, and to learn new ways of understanding local environments, ecological dynamics, and cultures. Most surprisingly, the authors of this book did not refer to the growing historiographies associated with oral and environmental history, which often require the collection and historical framing of local environmental knowledge. Nor did they state whether they taped or transcribed the interviews, took notes during the interviews, or wrote them from memory later, or whether they followed the convention of leaving copies of the original interview materials in a local research institution for use by others as a contribution to national development.

Despite its lack of an interdisciplinary approach to data collection and analysis, this book belongs in general libraries and on the reading list of those concerned with African history, natural-resource management, renewable energy, and energy security.

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Divided Rule: Sovereignty and Empire in French Tunisia, 1881–1938. By Mary Dewhurst Lewis (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2014) 302 pp. $49.95

Lewis’ book is a thorough and creative analysis of the notion of sovereignty and its social practices in a colonized, legally pluralistic state. It aims at renewing our historical, social and legal approaches of colonial empires. In discussion with Benton’s researches, this study provides a fascinating narrative of how the escalation of both diplomatic and legal conflicts and their resolution constantly reshapes society and politics. Moreover, its methodology is remarkably innovative. Not only does Lewis align herself with the “new imperial history” by a providing historical context for a colonized land within a colonial empire; she also uncovers the connections between private legal conflicts and diplomatic issues in a broad political context—what she calls “geographies of pow-

1 Lauren Benton, Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in the World History, 1400–1900 (New York, 2002).
ers,” in which “imperial powers and neighboring territories” are involved in an ongoing competition (5).

By building—in the most elegant way—bridges between these different scales of analysis, Lewis succeeds in demonstrating that local sovereignties should not always be seen as an “organized hypocrisy.”2 In an imperial and legally pluralistic setting, colonial administrators (such as the French in Tunisia) could either weaken a local sovereign to the extent necessary to maintain him as a mere façade or reinforce his local authority enough to serve as a bulwark against the incursion of rival imperial powers. Indeed, France did not annex Tunisia after its conquest in 1881; such a move would have been too bold. Great Britain, Italy, and other European powers would have strenuously objected, since France had begun the process of establishing total control of neighboring Algeria in 1830. British and Italian diplomats insisted on keeping economic and legal privileges for their citizens in Tunisia. The outcome of several diplomatic compromises forced the French colonial administrators to negotiate carefully the extent of their authority over both the Europeans and the natives living in Tunisia.

Lewis’ account of the French administration’s response to these challenges brings new insight to the evolution of a consistent colonial policy in Tunisia, challenging both the colonial and the nationalistic narratives of this era. In the first strategic stage, facing the claims of European citizens as well as local Muslims and Jews protected by European states, the French rulers sought to reduce the status of Europeans, Muslims, and Jews in Tunisia to two main legal spheres and two main citizenships—Tunisian and French. Thus, even before the rise of nationalism in Tunisia by the 1920s, the French administration helped to create a local nationality and a hierarchy of justices. In the second stage, as the “indirect” form of colonial rule became a “much more invasive form of colonial governance,” and as nationalism spread among the colonized population, the colonizers started to promote the idea of a shared sovereignty between the French and Tunisians. The rejection of this measure by Tunisian nationalists led to the struggle for independence.

By following these strategies, Lewis shows that military conquests do not put an end to imperial rivalries; they only trigger a process of negotiation and compromise taking “into account both interimperial rivalry and intracolonial exchange” (167). Lewis raises crucial questions that have yet to be answered: Did the most efficient opposition to the colonial policy come from the nationalists, or was it the result of actions taken by colonized Tunisians in various social spaces, from courts to cemeteries? To what extent did Westerners lose/retain their legal and economic privileges during and after the colonial period?

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In *Seismic Japan*, Smits describes the long repercussions of the earthquake that destroyed Edo in 1855, showing how artists’ politicization of the event may have played a role in the abolition of Japan’s shogunate. Edo, Japan’s de facto capital, contained the heart and brain of the Tokugawa Empire, an agriculturally based feudal society that had remained relatively stable for more than two centuries. In the early half of the nineteenth century, its stability was threatened by years of crop failures, famine, and local revolts that drained the financial resources of the *bakufu* (central administration). Discontent assumed a national flavor in 1854, when U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry (U.S. Navy) forced the shogun to open a number of harbors to foreign trade. Edo’s citizens became suddenly aware of the military weakness of their government and the ruling samurai, who had been unable to prevent this insult and loss of face.

A year later, on November 11, 1855, rupture occurred along the northeast dipping collisional contact between the Philippine Sea and Eurasian plates. The quake’s magnitude has been estimated as 7.2 on the Richter scale, originating at a shallow depth (c.30 km) directly below Edo. Numerous buildings collapsed and fires spread. The death toll among the more than 1 million citizens was relatively low (about 10,000) because most of the structures were single-story and constructed of wood. The city was badly shaken, however, and so were its social and political foundations.

Many survivors regarded the earthquake and the preceding droughts as attempts by cosmic forces to rectify a society that had moved out of balance. Their deep-seated anxieties were not expressed by looting, riots, or the persecution of minorities but by the printing of numerous pamphlets that found wide circulation. Smits shows how several of them became windows onto Edo’s political and social consciousness—veiled criticism about the status quo. Initially artists depicted survivors ferociously attacking Namuzu, the giant catfish believed to be the cause of earthquakes because of its underground wriggling. Other prints imply Perry’s responsibility; they depict Namuzu disguised as Perry’s black ships entering the harbor.

Sentiments gradually changed. Kashima, the underground deity who was supposed to prevent the Namuzu from wreaking havoc, was demoted; artists replaced him with the solar deity Amaterasu. Some prints suggest a link between Amaterasu and the emperor in Kyoto, expressing a yearning for a return to earlier systems of government. As numerous aftershocks continued to shake the city, public anger transferred to the bakufu, despite the fact that the administrators had done an exemplary job feeding and housing survivors under difficult conditions. In the decade following the earthquake, rural uprisings and urban riots continued unabated, until the shogunate government fell under heavy political
pressure in 1868. The power of the emperor was restored. Edo was re-named Tokyo and became the formal capital of Japan.

Smits concludes that the Ansei Edo earthquake was a catalyzing agent in the political transformation that brought Japan into the modern world.

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