Skiing into Modernity: A Cultural and Environmental History. By Andrew Denning (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2015), 236 pp. $65.00 cloth, $29.95 paper

One of the more significant sociocultural changes within the last two centuries has been the rise of global networks of individuals who identify less with work than with play and who seek to alter the social spaces of rural landscapes to facilitate recreation. There have been many works on the ecological, imperial, and industrial implications of climbing, skiing, and surfing, but few studies frame outdoor play in the context of modernity or explore its cultural implications. Denning rectifies this situation with a sophisticated and readable history of European skiing. Grounded in English-, French-, and Germanic-language sources, as well as geographical, sociological, and literary theory, Skiing into Modernity traces the transmission of ski technology to Central Europe and its adaptation to steep slopes, as well as the rise of a recreation industry.

One aim of the book is to link the zealous rivalries among enthusiasts to landscape ideology. The distinctions between “Nordic” (cross-country) and “Alpine” (downhill) were not just environmental and technological but cultural. Each landscape required skiers to use particular tools and techniques, but what emerged from these environmental experiences was what Denning calls a “kinesthetic, or aesthetic of movement” (78). On one side were Nordic aficionados who linked skiing in the flats and rolling hills with tradition; on the other side were Alpine devotees who celebrated the speed and sinuous movements of steep gliding as signs of modernity. In reality, skiers in the mountains used many techniques in the era before lifts, but the factions did not reach an entente until the 1930s.

Denning avoids being bogged down in these debates by highlighting the many ways in which both cultures were modern. All forms of skiing developed athletic competitions that stressed objective measurement. Skiers established transnational associations, disseminated cultural and technical information via mass media, and cultivated forms of mass consumption. They also passionately believed the spiritual and sporting benefits of spontaneous movement would restore harmony to industrialized society. Denning sees in the sport’s “ability to reconcile various dichotomies—nature/culture, mind/body, modern/traditional, and emotional/intellectual— ... an ideal response to modern conditions” (108).

Conditions did not remain static, however. Two forces continually reshaped Alpine skiing. One was the interplay between technology and movement. In the early twentieth century, downhill skiers emphasized the ability to control gravity through a graceful relationship between body and skis, but as the equipment improved, speed became the dominant value. By the postwar period, “Taylorist productivism. ... [made] movement a means to an end” (125). The other great force was popularity. The demographic pressures on ski resorts transformed Alpine cultures
and ecologies, and every Central European state fostered growth of the
sport in hopes of tapping its economic potential.

For all of its insights, the book has two crucial limitations. First,
skiing is an environmental experience intrinsically mediated by technol-
ogy. Enthusiasts obsess about equipment, but Denning does not explain
how materials and designs foster or hinder experience. He notes that
traditional Nordic skis retarded the ability to descend or turn at high
speed but has little to say about actual bindings or ski designs that will
help a non-specialist understand the material question of how. Second,
like most historians of outdoor sport, Denning relies on the actions
and words of elites—individuals who wrote about the experience of
skiing in a self-consciously didactic manner. A much larger cohort on
the slopes, however, often drove the purists to distraction. A complete
understanding of modernity and outdoor sport requires research into
club archives, especially newsletters, to examine the more heterodox
approaches to the sport. That said, Denning has written an exceptionally
smart book on what it meant to strap on skis in modernizing Europe.

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Population, Welfare and Economic Change in Britain 1290–1834. Edited by
Chris Briggs, P. M. Kitson, and S. J. Thompson (Woodbridge, Boydell
Press, 2014) 345 pp. $45.00

This edited volume contains eleven chapters about aspects of English
demographic and economic history. The title promises a long view,
and the content delivers. Beginning with reflections on the intellectual
legacy of Hajnal’s famous essay on marriage, the collection presents new
estimates of the population density of England by county and examines
the individual legacy of location for mortality.1 The core and backbone
of this book, however, is welfare. The chapters compare welfare in
northern Europe with that of southern Europe, and analyse it in England
as well—welfare for the elderly, “indoor” versus “outdoor” relief, poor
corporations, and almshouses. The book concludes with a robust com-
parative treatment of serfdom in England and Russia, a detailed study of
peasant mentality via a choice/constraint framework, and a close look at
the effect of English “individualism” on business formation (and demise).

Highlights are Bruce M. S. Campbell and Lorraine Barry’s geo-
graphical analysis of English population density in 1290. Figure 2.3 is a
powerful image contrasting England in 1290 with England in 1801—
highlighting the disappearance of the east–west gradient in population

1 John Hajnal, “European Marriage Patterns in Perspective,” in David V. Glass and David
E. C. Eversley (eds.), Population in History, Essays in Historical Demography (Chicago, 1965),
101–143.
density (70). The data and the questions that it raises will stimulate research for years to come.

Rebecca Oakes’ chapter about how location of origin affected mortality at Winchester College and New College, Oxford, exploits fascinating data with a clever set-up; the fragmentary college records are enhanced by population-density data taken from the 1377 poll tax. Of particular interest to the non-specialist is Julie Marfany’s north-south comparison of welfare in early modern Europe, which contains a valuable discussion of hospitals, family, charity, dowry funds, and almshouses.

Tracy K. Dennison contrasts serfdom in England with serfdom in Russia, unpacking what serfdom actually entails and delineating how institutions can superficially appear similar despite the different implications for those living under them. Shelaigh Ogilvie’s chapter is a strong assessment of overarching hypotheses about peasant life, which she robustly demolishes with masterly reference to the micro-study literature.

The contributions fall into several methodological categories: two expansive, conceptual and empirical overviews that serve to frame the macro-historical context; two comparative analyses—between northern and southern Europe in the case of welfare and between eastern and western Europe regarding medieval serfdom. The major share of the book, however, is devoted to the presentation of new data and new cases from micro-historical work. (The binding literally disintegrated as I was reading. Thankfully, the book is available online at http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt6wp905. Potential readers can obtain individual chapters of interest as digital copies.)

As a whole, the major import and success of this book lies in its close incorporation of macro- and micro-history. It often raises questions about the limitations of major macro-theories via the use of examples from the level of individuals. In modern economics, institutions are increasingly identified as the fundamental cause of long-run economic growth. This view asserts that the world failed to achieve economic growth before the Industrial Revolution because the institutions were wrong. However, institutions themselves are humanly devised. Institutions are both the rules of the game and the fluid reflections of popular consent. We still know little about how they are formed, implemented, and changed. In this regard, consider this quotation from Ogilvie: “The seventeen female gypsies hanged after a summary trial in eighteenth century Franconia for no crime other than their itinerant way of life would have been surprised to learn, had they been able to read Schlumbohm or Foucault, that the migration ordinances of the early modern Franconian legal system were ‘laws that were not enforced’ and merely served symbolic purposes in the assertion of sovereignty by a ‘theatre state’” (300).

Neil Cummins
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An examination of the nature and use of gifts and the sociopolitical role of gift giving or gift exchange in early modern society is, in many respects, a logical extension of Heal’s excellent *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (New York, 1990). The book under review is divided into two sections. The first deals in a general fashion with the early modern view of what defined a “gift” in both a social and an economic sense, also looking at the occasions on which gifts were most likely to be given (or exchanged). The second section turns more to case studies, working outward and downward from the court and moving to the wider circles of foreign rulers and dignitaries, aristocrats, ambassadors, and various sorts of local worthies, all of whom sought to grease the wheels of business and friendship through some form of gifting.

The context in which “the gift” is examined, framed by Mauss and Davis, alongside Renaissance authors of treatises and poems, takes account of the relationship between giver and recipient, of the item transmitted (which might even be a literary dedication), of the occasion for the gifting, and of the obligation for “counter giving.”1 Starting with the Tudor court and its public splendor, Heal follows a value-defined pathway that takes us from such small tokens as cramp rings or gloves to food—venison or olives from Spain but “no more turnips”—to horses and hawks, books, jewels, plate, and even cash. It may stretch the idea of gifting to include the occasional bride, let alone the odd black child or two, “imported to please the whims of . . . rich women.” Anything, in fact, could be a gift, provided that it was “decommodified” and understood by both parties to create or to mark a bond of intimacy, whether that bond was a vertical or a horizontal one. The records indicate that the new year’s festivities were the most favored time for these various levels of social interaction and exchange, though the transitional stages of the life course and any number of other special occasions also provided the opportunity to open the purse and lay out the treasures. Honoring a visitor with a souvenir rarely raised his or her hackles, but when a gift took the form of free and lavish hospitality for judges on the circuit, it came close to the boundaries of acceptable practice.

Given the nature of the sources, gift giving is best and most easily studied by starting at the top—that is, the Tudor or the pre-Restoration Stuart court—and then tracked downward (guided by market values and social status). Although we often note the bestowal of lavish and expensive items, gifting was really a two-way business involving “the loyalty of subjects and the generosity of kings.” Henry VIII and Elizabeth would put what they had received on display, the public nature of giving and

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the subsequent show-and-tell being vital elements in the ceremonial value of the exchange. James I was extremely open-handed, while the money lasted, whereas in Charles’ time, it was likely to be the coming and going of works of art that indicated favor in either direction.

Although the exchanges at the new year represented the biggest single occasion for gifting, a royal progress could also fuel an orgy of such activity, as did the arrival of a foreign dignitary. Furthermore, if the court set the tone, a long string of courtiers and peers, of municipalities, of gilds and companies, and of private individuals (including the “downstairs” legions who served those above them) eagerly followed suit. Nor does the bottom line on the gift list mark the end of the story, either of people or gifts. The earl marshall’s wedding gift of £1200 in plate and the City of York’s silver gilt cup worth £172 (filled with another £100 of gold) depended on a host of craftsmen, carters, miners, smiths and smelterers, and others whose skills and labors made such extravagances possible.

How hard and fast was the line between the gift (no questions asked?) and bribery? A certain degree of suspended judgment or relativism was the norm; practices that we consider as crossing that line only occasionally raised eyebrows in the early modern world. Nonetheless, we know that Francis Bacon crossed this line when he accepted gifts before a judicial verdict rather than waiting to be rewarded by the winners. Anti-bribery legislation was apt to be called into play “when it suited the interests of the prosecutors.” Currying mutual favor through gift giving was just part of that world, although Heal’s definition of a gift may be a little too indulgent; touching for the king’s evil (the popular term for scrofula, which the touch of a monarch was reputed to cure) need not be interpreted as a form of gift giving, regardless of whether or not it happened to work.

To conclude on a positive note, Heal poses important questions about social interaction at many levels throughout the course of 150 years. She treats the larger themes with a wealth of anecdotes; her comments help to assure us of a “good read,” as well as a probing study about an activity that lay close to the heart of social life.

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The South Sea Bubble and Ireland: Money, Banking and Investment, 1690–1721.
By Patrick Walsh (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2014) 204 pp. $99.00

Many of the most famous figures in the financial revolutions of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were Scottish or Irish. William Patterson, the founder of the Bank of England, and John Law, the animator of the Mississippi Company, were Scots. Richard Cantillon, Law’s banker, from Kerry became a foundational theorist in political economy. Jonathan
Swift, author of *A Modest Proposal* (Dublin, 1729), the most trenchant critique of emergent capitalism, was the Dean of St. Patricks in Dublin. The institutions of the fiscal-military state, born of the financial revolution, were ubiquitous in the two countries. Military roads from this period still cross the Scottish Highlands; barracks and other military installations are still striking features of Irish towns and cities. Yet the idea of financial revolutions, following related but different paths, has only lately become an important theme in research.

Walsh’s admirable book forms part of an interesting and important new body of work—by such historians as Carey, McGrath, Moore, Rodgers, and Fauske—that addresses the financial revolution as an episode in the imperial history of four nations, complicating and challenging our understanding of the interaction between the state, public credit, and the emergence of Atlantic capitalism.1 Walsh argues that the relationship between politics and finance in England (London, in particular), was mediated by the institutions of the public sphere, broadly accepting the scholarship that identifies this complex with new kinds of markets, however imperfect. The outcomes were extremely different in Dublin and Edinburgh. Scotland, politically independent until 1707, did not become part of the British military-fiscal state until the 1720s, but it created a National Bank in 1695 and had an independent, though unsuccessful, trading company. Ireland had no national bank until 1783, but its national debt dates from 1714. The state, finance, and public opinion could be articulated in a variety of ways.

The book is built on solid empirical research that helps to revise our view of participation in the bubble. P. G. M. Dickson’s *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756* (London, 1967) identified Irish investors as the third-most numerous body of foreign investors in the South Sea Company (after the Swiss and the Dutch). Walsh argues that Dickson underestimated Irish involvement in the scheme by 36 percent and the scale of Irish investment, which made up 7 percent of all foreign investment. He further argues that the majority of the Irish investors had Huguenot origins. Through a detailed reconstruction of the demography of Irish investment—involving numerous Huguenots, clergy, and women alongside absentee landlords—Walsh offers a sophisticated account of the network that Irish elites could mobilize to exploit opportunities that arose in the metropolitan centers.

The particular strength of Walsh’s book is its focus on crisis. The consequences of the South Sea Bubble illuminated the particular opportunities and challenges faced by financial elites in Ireland and Scotland.

Irish investors experienced the Bubble in a distinctive way. Because of their distance from the center, Irish investors bought into the Bubble late, and fewer of them sold before the collapse. Therefore, despite the lower than average investment by Irish investors, they proportionally lost more than did English investors. As a result, the crash had a disproportionately grave effect on local credit structures and on the money supply in Ireland. The same effect, though not to the same extent, has been noted in Scotland and British America. This argument is an important revision to Hoppit’s contention that the crash had little impact outside London.²

The most suggestive elements of the book are the sections in which Walsh explains the consequences of the crash for the periphery. The cultural effect, canonically represented in Swift’s two poems of 1720—“The Run upon the Bankers” and “The Bubble”—was more visceral because it was greater than the financial effect. A literature critical of new kinds of political economy found an audience in Ireland. The lack of circulating money, created by the outflow of capital, compounded the crisis. During the late 1720s and again in the late 1730s, debates about the merits of founding a national bank turned on the Irish experience of the South Sea Company. Although the participants were fully aware of the arguments in favor of public credit, the majority continued to believe that the risks created by such large-scale institutions outweighed their benefits. As a result of the crisis, Ireland was late to organize instruments of investment and development.

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The 194 maps that populate the pages of Troubled Geographies indicate how the authors blend text and figures to significant effect in the outlining of modern Irish social history. Using Historical Geographic Information Systems (HGIS)—specifically, the Irish census data from 1821 to 2001/02—a fresh and revealing narrative unfolds that excellently illustrates how the events dating from the sixteenth century still have resonance in contemporary Irish religious and social life. The distinct character of this book lies in the combination of historical narrative and the mapping of census data, which enables a pronounced spatial approach.

In the introduction, the authors state the major themes of the work as the “ways in which religion, society, and geography have

evolved to shape Ireland over the past two centuries” (1). They achieve their aim through a chronological narrative of the major events of Irish history, which are related to the collection of maps showing membership of religious denominations, population densities, social indicators, and changes in these categories over time. The introduction outlines their conception of spatial history by explaining the methodology and the attention to the interactions of locations and society. The main chapters are structured around distinct phases in Irish history covering the Plantations, the pre-Famine period, the impacts of the Famine, the emerging divisions of the late nineteenth century, the turmoil and change from 1911 to 1926, the partition of Ireland, the rise of Celtic Tiger Ireland, and the social and political troubles in Northern Ireland. The authors are to be commended for their ability to summarize succinctly the primary strands of Irish history from the sixteenth to the early twenty-first century. The accompanying maps assist in this process, providing an anchor of continuity while simultaneously marking change.

The potential for maps as a medium to convey aspects of social and religious development is clearly demonstrated throughout the text. For example, the core theme of the relationship between spatial and social phenomena, with a particular emphasis on religion, is encapsulated by a series of maps that indicate the changes in religious populations from 1911 to 1926 (96–100). During this time, when Ireland gained considerable independence from Britain in the form of the autonomous Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State (subsequently the Republic of Ireland), there was a notable decline in members of the Protestant denominations within the Free State. The maps show how the fall of the Church of Ireland by 35 percent and the Presbyterian by 27 percent was manifest geographically. These patterns and their locations are linked back to the events that were set in motion with the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Plantations, in which large tracts of land were confiscated from the native Irish population and colonized by British settlers. The Plantations’ ongoing influence on the political and religious life of the island is further explored in the later chapters.

The authors provide useful commentary about their methodology, discussing their employment of HGIS and some of the caveats involved as well as the opportunities and challenges involved in working with national datasets and combining thematic, spatial, and temporal dimensions, in practical and academic terms. The text contributes to the increasing recognition for, and use of, HGIS within history and related disciplines, most notably historical geography but also the spatial humanities in general. This demonstration of the use of HGIS and the inclusion of spatial elements as an interpretive lens gives Troubled Geographies its lasting value.

A number of relatively minor critical points needs to be mentioned. Because of its scope, the text has to summarize large sections of modern

Irish history. Readers interested in a particular theme or time period would do well to consult this book in conjunction with other ones to allow for a fuller examination of society–space relationships. Moreover, the inclusion of images and even contemporary maps would have provided a richer, more nuanced history. At times, the general narrative and uniform maps border on presenting a sanitized version of history. The recently published Atlas of the Great Irish Famine shows how maps, images, and text can collaborate to generate deeper insights into historical geographies. Finally, a note of caution, correctly highlighted by the authors themselves, surrounds the use of census data. The examination of religious history may indicate how a population identifies itself, but it does not necessarily correlate with practice, belief, or other social features. The mapped census data in this book provide only a general and periodic window into people’s experiences.

The book makes a strong case for a greater consideration of spatial information in historical analysis—a message that is obviously appealing for geographers. But only when HGIS becomes more fully integrated into history and the humanities will the potential suggested by Troubled Geographies be fully realized.

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Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century France. Edited by Daryl M. Hafter and Nina Kushner (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2015) 250 pp. $36.95

The chapters in this book explore the diversity of women’s work during the long eighteenth century, paying particular attention to questions of women’s economic agency, work identity, and, in the words of the editors, “the gendering of work and the workings of gender” (1). Collectively, the chapters amply demonstrate how women at all levels of society contributed to, and helped to shape, the economy. All of them are supported by tried and true, if not particularly innovative, methods of research in archives, examining notarial records, tax rolls, contracts, and the like.

This collection certainly encourages the conclusion that women were everywhere in the eighteenth-century French economy, far beyond the activities of traditional female occupations, despite the legal and cultural barriers that they faced. Restrictions of space preclude comment on all of the contributions, but some more than others hew tightly to the collection’s central themes.

Rafe Blaufarb opens the volume with an exploration of a seeming oxymoron—female lordship—revealing it to have been a common

phenomenon across France. He thereby challenges the current consensus about the extent of women’s formal legal incapacity, particularly concerning property rights. Nancy Locklin follows with a challenge to the supposed all-inclusiveness of the family-economy model by showing that women sometimes ventured outside it (a point that Daryl M. Hafter’s chapter later in the volume reinforces); she points to a much stronger work identity than historians have usually assumed. Jane McLeod continues a common theme in these pages, the divergence between rhetoric and practice, in her discussion of the widespread participation of women, notably widows, in printing and bookselling. For Jennifer Palmer, women were key players in the burgeoning transatlantic commercial economy. They protected their property and family businesses through a creative use of marriage contracts, powers of attorney, and wills while their husbands were away taking care of property in the colonies. Similarly, James Collins gives women a central place in the unfolding consumer revolution of the eighteenth century, not just as consumers but also as producers. The tax roll data that he mines demonstrate women’s increasing occupational specialization, a key indicator of a modern economy, thus calling for a reconsideration of women’s roles in the emergence of modern consumer capitalism.

The editors’ claim—that this volume stages a particular historiographical intervention by refusing to confine women within the family economy and by providing examples of successful working women at a time when opportunities were supposedly contracting—is largely accurate. It is less so in their hope to redirect the narrative of women’s history and to display new methods for historians to use in its study. In the afterword, Bonnie Smith rightly recognizes the contributions of these studies to women’s labor history and women’s identities in the past, but her call for a new paradigm “in women’s history in which women are de-isolated . . . by considering women’s labor history in even wider contexts” intimates a shortcoming of this volume (226); the recent and increasingly sizable literature about early modern work in general finds few citations in these chapters. Hence, readers of this volume might mistakenly conclude that historians have not seriously attempted to integrate women into that history when several, including this reviewer, have clearly done so.

James R. Farr
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The Renaissance in Italy: A Social and Cultural History of the Rinascimento.

Ruggiero divides his massive study of the Rinascimento—he prefers the term to “Renaissance” because of its specific reference to Italy—into two main eras, the first beginning roughly in 1250 and ending about
1475 and the second dating from 1475 to 1575. The “first civilization” was centered in the cities of northern and central Italy and was dominated by a new urban elite, the popolo grasso, who had replaced an older rural/feudal elite. The “second civilization” extending throughout Italy evolved progressively as the urban elite became transformed into a more aristocratic and courtly society. With this change, Italian society and culture lost many of the attributes that had distinguished it from transalpine Europe. Ruggiero’s Rinascimento is a periodic concept in that it considers the intellectual and artistic creativity of these three centuries as only two aspects of a new urban society and of a political landscape consisting of republican and princely city-states dominated by the popolo grasso—that is, families enriched by investment in commerce and industry together with the few surviving members of noble houses.

The emergence of this new elite was marked by a new conception of virtù, a term that Ruggiero defines as the social practices that demonstrate the superiority of one person to another. A widely held moral code stressing moderation, reason, and self-control replaced the older feudal system of values encouraging physical strength and violence. The new concept of virtù became manifest not only in personal conduct but also in legislation and in political theories defining the role of citizens in government.

As for Ruggiero’s second era of the Rinascimento, the introduction of printed books in the last quarter of the fifteenth century revolutionized the accessibility to knowledge, loosened control over ideas, and hastened the diffusion of Italian ideas abroad. The growing economic competition of transalpine Europe following the conclusion of the Hundred Years’ War and, after 1495, the loss of political independence suffered by many of the city-states led to reduced social mobility, a growth of the aristocracy in Italian society, and the exportation of intellectual and artistic achievements—along with rules of social decorum—to the rest of the continent. During the course of the sixteenth century, the Rinascimento melded slowly into a European-wide Renaissance as a result of the cultural amalgamation of Italy and transalpine Europe.

A structural element of the narrative is Ruggiero’s emphasis on the existence of a shared consensus in the Rinascimento that the past had been superior to the present and that innovation was dangerous. Efforts at societal and cultural change, consequently, aimed at reformation—that is, the restoration of an idealized world that had over the centuries become corrupt. By the sixteenth century, however, geographical discoveries and economic, political, and social changes became so overwhelmingly obvious that a growing number of Italian intellectuals began to think that change could be positive. The tension within the shared primary culture between loyalty to the past and the promise of something new proved to be a major source of creativity.

Despite the majesty of Ruggiero’s monumental work, his understanding of humanism in these centuries is curious. Although Leonardo Bruni’s Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum (c. 1405) might offer a glimpse of
“a future humanism” (241), Ruggiero’s humanism begins only with the development of a more disciplinary approach to classical learning “as the fifteenth century came to an end” (243). Why deny Francesco Petrarch the honor of being a humanist just because the vernacular poetry that he wrote in the vein of medieval love poetry linked him to the previous era (206)? His *Il Canzoniere* (c. 1327–1368) was one of the dominant influences on poetic creativity in the sixteenth century. Ruggiero’s singular conception of humanism requires much more justification than he gives it in this book.

Nonetheless, Ruggiero’s demonstration of the existence of the Rinascimento as a pervasive shared culture reflected in every dimension of Italian life for much of a 350 year period is a splendid achievement. The writing is lively and the weight of the long narrative enlivened and illuminated by literary excerpts, anecdotes from contemporary life, and focused accounts of key historical events. There is much that is new in these pages, even for the specialist.

Ronald Witt
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In the history of the Holocaust, the words *Jews* and *camps* are virtually coterminous. The wartime camps—from “pure” extermination facilities like Belzec to the complex Auschwitz–Birkenau–Monowitz system—allocated Jews from Germany and across Europe to either instant death or its ever-present threat. Historians have told this story repeatedly since 1945, even if new facets are always being identified. But the premise of Wünschmann’s impressive and deeply researched study is that the unfamiliar history of Jewish Germans in the very different circumstances of Germany’s concentration-camp system before the war has received far too little attention. Skeptics will attribute this lack of interest to the fact that the political logic of the concentration camps bypassed the incarceration of Jews, who were supposed to be driven into emigration, not detained for the purposes of “re-education.” As a result, the number of Jews in the camps was tiny—about 5 percent of the camps’ population, according to Wünschmann’s evaluation of fragmentary statistical evidence. Moreover, until 1938, most of these people were held not simply because they were Jewish (a category of inmate that did not exist until 1938) but because of some other political or social identity that they shared with other detainees.

While accepting some of this picture, Wünschmann makes a strong and sustained case for her primary claim—that the status of Jewish men and women in the camps demands to be investigated because of the role
it played in the regime’s pre-war policies of categorizing, segregating, and stigmatizing Jews. Identifying Jews was not only the work of the discriminatory legal and administrative enactments adopted after 1933; it also took place in the lawless zone of the concentration camp—a zone legitimated, nonetheless, by the quasi-legal instrument of “protective custody.” The exceptionally brutal treatment that Jewish men received in the camps was intended to intimidate other Jews, not least as part of a sustained campaign to harass them into emigration and to extort their property. But for the wider “Aryan” public (including Jews’ fellow inmates), the causes for which Jews were detained and the treatment inflicted on them deliberately identified them with political extremism and subversion, with criminality, vice, and parasitism. The segregation and mistreatment of individuals also acclimatized Germans to subsequent arrests and deportations on a massive scale, encouraging SS guards to cultivate their power over a racially defined enemy shorn of all rights.

Pursuing avenues of social theory opened by Lüdtke and Wildt, Wünschmann argues that the incarceration and violent mistreatment of Jews were embedded in social practices that aimed to legitimate and reinforce the public projection of Jews as an alien and hostile presence in Germany, whose elimination would help to consolidate the national community or Volksgemeinschaft. She demonstrates how the apparently isolated universe of the concentration camp thus served a process of stigmatic categorization that bled across the frontier of the camp fence—not least because the vast majority of Jews detained before 1939 were released. Although some of them were able to emigrate, others were destined for the worse fate of the wartime camps.

Wünschmann gives as much weight to victims’ experiences as to the actions of policymakers and their executives. Her strategy thus answers Friedländer’s call for an “integrated history” of Jewish persecution in two senses—by embedding the concentration camps in German society under National Socialism rather than seeing them as essentially isolated, and by stressing the interdependent behaviors of Jews, other inmate groups, and guards. Concomitantly, Wünschmann successfully resists the teleological pull of the Holocaust, which makes everything before it appear as no more than a prelude to the final catastrophe. This approach gives her study what she calls a “natural cut-off point” at the outbreak of war in 1939, when the function of the camps in enforcing the distinction of German Jews from “Aryan” Germans lost its purchase as the population of non-Germans exploded and the camps’ purposes

changed. With its discriminating integration of racial, gender, and political dimensions, this book is a valuable exemplar of the new, counter-teleological history of the pre-war concentration camps.

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The Holocaust and the West German Historians: Historical Interpretations and Autobiographical Memory. By Nicolas Berg (trans. and ed. Joel Golb) (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 2015) 334 pp. $34.95

When this book was originally published in Germany in 2003, it aroused considerable controversy. The English language edition has been shortened and edited, collecting all of the material about Joseph Wulf—an important Polish Jewish historian of the Holocaust—that was scattered throughout the original edition into the last, and longest, chapter of this version. The changes made to the American edition are explained in an editorial note and a special introduction.

The subject of the book is covered by a series of chapters about how individual West German historians handled, or more often ignored, the systematic persecution and killing of Jews during the Holocaust. The first historian that Berg examines is Friedrich Meinecke, whose book, The German Catastrophe (1946), attracted wide attention and raised the issue of what the German people knew, preferred not to know, and in many instances pretended afterward not to have known. It also raised the question of what people living under a dictatorship could and should do if they have knowledge of wrongdoing by the state. Meinecke, like many of his contemporaries, stressed the victimization of the Germans by the Nazis as a small band of criminals, as well as by the Allies. His views received a much warmer welcome than did Eugen Kogon’s drastically different book, The SS State: The System of German Concentration Camps (1946), which was condemned, or ignored, for pulling far fewer punches.

The historians Gerhard Ritter and Hans Rothfels are the subjects of the second chapter, though they appear repeatedly throughout the book. Both of them earned a certain legitimization in postwar Germany: Ritter was arrested as an opponent of the Nazi regime. Rothfels, who was dismissed from his professorial position because of his Jewish ancestry, went first to England and then the United States (where this reviewer became his student). Ritter published an important biography of Carl Goerdeler, a central figure in the plot against Adolf Hitler of July 20, 1944, and Rothfels published an early and important survey of the German opposition to the Nazi regime in 1949. These two men represented the conservatives who depicted the Nazi system as alien and un-German, an aberration from the German culture that had been developing since the eighteenth century.
Meinecke viewed the advent of Hitler as a total break from German history. He, like many other West German historians, preferred to ignore any tendencies in the country that might have contributed to Hitler’s ascendance; the “Sonderweg” (separate path) theory that other scholars, especially in England and the United States, advanced after the war pays testimony to this perspective. Rothfels, who returned to Germany and became a founder of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich and its periodical, *Vierteljahrshefte fuer Zeitgeschichte*, played a central role in focusing scholarly attention on the Nazi years in Germany, though he generally ignored the persecution of Jews.

The third chapter discusses three other German historians important in the 1950s and 1960s. Hermann Heimpel became the first leader of the German historical profession to initiate a serious engagement with the policy toward the Jews. Chapter 4 concentrates on the Institute for Contemporary History as a center with its own major library, archive, and an important role in studying the recent history of the Federal Republic, which German universities and other institutions had not yet systematically undertaken.

The chapter on Wulf details the role played by the volumes that he published with Leon Poliakov documenting the activities of numerous officials in the Third Reich. Although the initial German professional reaction to this documentation was strongly negative, it opened many people’s eyes at the time, serving as a forerunner to much of the German scholarship about the Holocaust that emerged in the years after his suicide in 1974. Similarly, Wulf’s plan to construct a Holocaust memorial on the site where, in early 1942, Nazi officials convened the Wannsee Conference to solidify plans for the Final Solution came to fruition in 1992.

This thought-provoking book, based on extremely extensive research in published and archival sources, offers readers a view of the German historical profession’s perspective on the systematic persecution of Jews both inside and outside Germany. For a country to look back at the horrors perpetrated, supported, and defended by vast numbers of its people until the last moment is not an easy task. That the histories written by Germans contain omissions, deliberate obfuscations, and blind eyes, as well as anger directed at those who demanded a better reckoning with the truth, is hardly surprising.

Although the book’s notes are detailed and helpful, a bibliography would have been useful. A more significant omission is the lack of a comparison of the German situation with that of postwar Japan where an unwillingness to face the realities of the past has continued into the twenty-first century. The book is not easy reading, but it engages a major issue in a manner that is fair even when its judgments are harsh.

Gerhard L. Weinberg
University of North Carolina

Published in a twenty-first century moment of fascination with social networks and the regulation of information flow, American Passage reconstructs deeper histories of these vital topics. Revisiting the seventeenth-century Northeast, Grandjean argues that an initial “communications frontier,” across which indigenous Algonquians and New England colonists grappled for influence with messages, rumors, and news, gradually gave way to a more stable landscape of colonial control. The book’s six chapters are organized chronologically to give an account of progressions—shifts from early colonists’ reliance on coastwise boat travel to their increasing familiarity with the region’s interior and from the individual, sporadic sending of messages (frequently dependent on indigenous couriers) to the creation of a regularized intercolonial postal system. The book acknowledges fits and starts in these processes and the difficulties that upheavals like warfare could bring. But in the aggregate, the story suggests a cumulative movement toward colonial infrastructure and Euro-American hegemony. It finds that during the course of roughly 100 years—from the tentative outset of New England colonization in the early seventeenth century to the start of the eighteenth century—human landscapes characterized by pervasive uncertainty and experimentation transitioned to more comprehensively integrated, smoothly functional ones.

One of the book’s strongest points is that “New England” was hardly a coherent, self-evident, or territorially extensive entity. It was a tenuous constellation of colonial experiments, most of them clinging to the Atlantic shoreline or rivers and most of them scantily connected. It took the entire seventeenth century for enduring links to develop—bridges, horse and cart paths, and ferries. The book’s source base emphasizes testimonials authored by elite Euro-American men, whose command of pen, paper, and alphabetic literacy has given them an exaggerated representation in extant archives. The study is document-driven, derived largely from 3,000 letters constituting the Winthrop Family Papers, held primarily at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Grandjean aggregated them into a database to discern patterns of senders, recipients, couriers, and routes.

American Passage aspires to tell stories of colonial and indigenous communications. Yet overall it remains a colonial project. Early in the text, Grandjean laments the seeming impenetrability of indigenous landscapes: “With feet planted firmly in Boston, or Hartford, or Springfield, we can only gaze out, across the countryside, and imagine phantom paths—unknown and inaccessible to English writers” (59). But this space is only “inaccessible” if limited methodologies are privileged. A more interdisciplinary approach would have acknowledged, for example, that archaeologists in the northeastern part of the country, sometimes working
in close collaboration with tribal communities, have significantly deepened understandings of indigenous settlements and networks, as well as of the myriad “hybrid” materials and practices that arose as indigenous and colonial peoples dwelled in increasing proximity. Most notably, *American Passage* declines to engage with contemporary Native American peoples and nations through ethnography or oral history—a missed opportunity, given that Grandjean’s campus, Wellesley College, neighbors Natick. One of the “Praying Towns,” Natick continues to be a place of enduring presence and meaning for contemporary Nipmucs.

Although the study briefly recognizes the detrimental mainstream discourse that has attempted to “vanish” Native American peoples, it would benefit from a fuller reckoning with those insights. Instead of imagining nearly vanished historical Native Americans haunting the present-day Northeast (as the book’s final sentence does), why not reach out to the numerous Native American people who still dwell there? Among them are tribal historians, scholars, critics, storytellers, and linguists who may well have valuable knowledge about the issues explored in this book.

Christine DeLucia
Mount Holyoke College


In *A Storm of Witchcraft*, Baker tells the tragic tale of how Puritans in seventeenth-century New England betrayed their core values in a misguided attempt to protect themselves from what they regarded as a ghastly threat. Informed by a detailed knowledge of the political rivalries and social tensions of colonial Massachusetts and its eastern frontier in Maine, Baker demonstrates how economic hardship, Indian warfare, strained ties with England, a new royal charter, festering legal issues, the seeming decline of religious purity, a growing rebelliousness toward the leaders who had allowed such things to happen, and virulent village rivalries all conspired to create an environment in which witchcraft charges ran rampant and spread uncontrollably. In addition, Baker delves into the often-neglected aftermath of the trials. He examines the transition of Salem from history into memory, lingers over the participants’ difficulties reintegrating into a society that appeared to regard them as tainted, and demonstrates what changed as a result of the trials—from the trend toward laxity in church discipline to the ongoing tension between governor and legislature that persisted through the revolutionary era.

Baker argues that although many in New England concluded that innocent people had been put to death at Salem, the leaders refused
to admit wrongdoing, fearing that it would diminish the colony in the eyes of English authorities and possibly endanger what little autonomy they still had under a new royal charter that had taken effect just prior to the first signs of witchcraft infestation. Baker points out that William Phips, the colonial governor, placed a ban on publications about the trials almost immediately after they were halted and that his failure to admit responsibility for the deaths of innocents caused Salem to become “witch city,” a symbol of persecution, in popular memory. Massachusetts was painfully show to make amends or come to terms with its own history. In breathtaking detail, Baker traces the various constituencies from the late seventeenth through the twenty-first century who used the image of Salem to discredit opponents as fanatical oppressors. The inhabitants of Salem welcome the tourist dollars that accrue to “witch city” attractions but remain unable collectively to acknowledge the suffering that neighbor inflicted upon neighbor in their distant colonial past.

The interdisciplinary lens is valuable in this study; it allows Baker to make the witchcraft trials relevant to twenty-first century audiences who might otherwise scoff at the preposterousness of a supernatural crime. Baker employs this lens to draw parallels between behaviors seen in the witchcraft trials and various clinical conditions. He argues, for example, that the girls first identified as being “afflicted” in 1692 behaved similarly to a group of cheerleaders from Le Roy, New York, who in 2011/12 were diagnosed with “conversion disorder,” a psychological ailment that usually induces people in the upper social strata to express physically their angst about societal issues and imminent decline. In like manner, he explains how post-traumatic stress disorder may have affected the perceptions of those victims of witchcraft who had witnessed Indian attacks on the frontier, or how “sleep paralysis” could explain the experience of being immobilized and choked by a witch at night in one’s bed, as reported by a number of accusers. He also convincingly discounts various illnesses—ergotism, Lyme disease, encephalitis, and Arctic hysteria—as having played a role at Salem.

Baker’s interdisciplinary methodology sets into bold relief his argument that the tragedy at Salem was not merely the product of premodern superstitions. He invites readers to substitute the word “terrorist” for “witch” to suggest that the gulf separating our post-Enlightenment world from Salem is not as great as we imagine. In attempting to eradicate an elusive but deadly enemy, one that might be hiding in plain sight, societies are tempted to invoke repressive measures that threaten their most cherished values, whether they are associated with the U.S. Constitution’s Bill of Rights, which requires due process, or the Puritan covenant, with its requirement that public sins be acknowledged and expiated.

Although the Salem witch tragedy is well-worn territory for historians, Baker delves deeply into elements that have been understudied—the close ties among the judges, the tendency of families touched by the
trials subsequently to intermarry among themselves, and the long process of reversing the attainders on those who were convicted. Furthermore, he brings a full account of the episode to bear on a thorough examination of how successive generations have constructed the image of Salem in the public memory. Finally, he employs an interdisciplinary methodology that invites modern readers to confront the spectacle of Salem not as a curiosity from the colonial past but as a cautionary tale with real implications for the present.

Louise A. Breen
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*Corruption in America: From Benjamin Franklin’s Snuff Box to Citizens United.* By Zephyr Teachout (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2014) 376 pp. $29.95

When long-time New York State Assembly Leader Sheldon Silver was led from his home in handcuffs early in 2015, accused of several counts of corruption—of repetitively using his public office for excessive private gain—his perp walk formed a perfect coda to the myriad lessons of Teachout’s exemplary, very readable, book. Andrew Cuomo, Teachout’s winning opponent in the New York Democratic primary race in September 2014 for governor, a previous backer of Silver, quickly redoubled his anti-corruption reform efforts and distanced himself from Silver, as he had from Teachout’s admonitory campaigning.

Nearly all of *Corruption in America* is a legally focused and organized narrative of how and under what myriad circumstances our Founding Fathers (and occasional mother) tried to prevent and/or control corrupt behavior on the part of this country’s pre-republican, early republican, and, as it turns out, more modern leaders. They stipulated that our ambassadors should not succumb to the blandishments that accompany the acceptance of diamond- and pearl-encrusted gifts from foreign potentates. Nor should any of the members of the new ruling elites be tempted by corruption lest the new nation’s liberty be forfeited (38). As Montesquieu warned, and as all subsequent global research has confirmed, corruption always begins with “gentlemen,” not the common people (42). Indeed, wealth tended then, and tends now, to corrupt the mind and divert rulers from the pursuit of public interest to the quest for private reward (49).

The new republic offered many opportunities to shift the expenditure of public monies to projects—canals and railways, among others—that benefited legislators’ friends. Lobbying became a vigorous calling almost from the start of the republic, and with lobbying at the federal and state levels naturally came bribery through temptation. Presumptively, lobbying was destructive to the republic because it destroyed institutions and public confidence. Contracts for lobbying, as Teachout
shows elaborately, became illegal in many jurisdictions and “against public policy and void” (166–167).

Voting by voice was common in this country before adoption of the secret ballot from Australia in the late nineteenth century. But even more prevalent throughout the nineteenth century at almost all levels was vote buying. An Indiana election of 1888 may have been purchased, vote by vote, for the 2015 equivalent of $2.5 million (178). As Teachout describes, everything political had its price. Every permit knew its value. Every railroad had to pay legislators to buy progress.

It took new leadership in the shape of President Theodore Roosevelt to begin altering America’s prevalent political culture—reining in the personal indulgences and political felonies of these United States. Corruption struck, Roosevelt boomed, “at the foundation of all law.” Bribe givers were worse than thieves. Thieves rob individuals, but corrupt officials plunder cities and states. They “assassinate” the commonwealth. Furthermore, corruption obliterates government of the people (185). The Roosevelt administration successfully prosecuted the first federal senators ever to be jailed for corruption, thus leading to a major shift in how the United States as a nation viewed and dealt with corruption.

Roosevelt also promoted the Tillman Act of 1907, which prohibited corporations from contributing to political campaigns. Passage of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act, which limited party and candidate spending in all Senate races, followed in 1910. For many subsequent decades, as Teachout magisterially shows, these Progressive-era reforms under Roosevelt’s watch governed the manner in which American elections, and election spending, were run. Teachout examines the new “free speech” jurisprudence that began with Buckley v. Valeo (1976) and has bedeviled Supreme Court pronouncements ever since. She contends that the Supreme Court’s decision in Citizens United v. Federal Election Committee (on the heels of McCormick v. U.S. and U.S. v. Sun Diamond Growers), dramatically redefined corruption in a frontal assault: “It actually took that which had been named corrupt for over two hundred years and renamed it legitimate and the essence of responsiveness” (232).

The full content of Teachout’s mostly reserved and almost entirely nonpolemical book demonstrates how Citizens United represents a discontinuity with original intent, if it illustrates anything other than tortured logic and deep bias. James Madison, says Teachout, would hardly have agreed that donor favoritism should not be limited, or that responsiveness to the wealthy could be the same as responsiveness to constituents (233). As she says, Justice Anthony Kennedy, in the Citizens United opinion, created Benjamin Franklin’s “dystopia” (234). Lawrence Lessig’s view in Republic, Lost: How Money Corrupts Congress—and a Plan to Stop It (New York, 2011) that the Founding Fathers by no means wanted our elected representatives to respond to contributors as they should to voters is diametrically opposed to Justice Kennedy’s opinion in Citizen’s United (243).
Although Corruption in America is interdisciplinary only to the extent that Teachout’s excellent narrative is deeply informed by her appreciation of the law, and finer points of jurisprudence, her book is skillfully crafted, impeccably and persuasively argued, and rich in its learning as well as its mission. Teachout wrestles well, too, with the political theory and economic theory of corruption, and with legal insufficiencies in the criminal battle against corrupt behavior. Lacking is a modern comparative dimension to contrast with the Old World comparisons that originally motivated our Founding Fathers—but not a majority of our modern Supreme Court justices.

—R. I. R.


These two books invite interdisciplinary discussion. Nelson’s Royalist Revolution is about the intersection of high thought, ideas in practice, and political change (or, in this case, non-change). Along with Gerald Horne’s Counter-Revolution of 1776: Slave Resistance and the Origins of the United States of America (New York, 2014), which deals with an entirely different problem (slavery’s persistence), it posits the American Founding as regressive, even reactionary. Larson’s Return of George Washington is more straightforward, a narrative of the short period between Washington’s surrender of his army commission and his accession to the presidency. But the two books work together.

Washington receives just seven mentions in Nelson’s text. But the dust jacket, which draws on a Currier and Ives print to depict him resplendent in white breeches and blue coat, taking command of well-disciplined troops attired like him, suggests that Washington is central to the problem. Washington also decorates Larson’s dust jacket but another image, Gilbert Stuart’s “Lansdowne” portrait (1796), actually focuses the issue that both books confront. Stuart’s Washington is a president, but his pose—with a sword by his side, an official document beside him, a column and a red curtain as his backdrop, and a window opening onto his imperial republic—intimates the iconography of a king. Larson’s very title cannot help but conjure images of Stuarts returning to England or Bourbons to France and Spain. In other words, there was no transforming revolution.

Nelson’s mastery of texts undergirds his reading of 1787 as a realization of Henry St. John Viscount Bolinbroke’s Idea of a Patriot King (1738), dismissing Thomas Paine’s Common Sense (1776) and Thomas
Jefferson’s well-known assaults on monarchy in favor of colonials turning to the king to protect them against rapacious ministers and a corrupt parliament. He finds the same argument for executive power in the second wave of state constitution making that followed the democratic enthusiasm of 1776 and in the project of 1787/88 to create a powerful central state. Larson’s Washington and the men around him brought that project to fruition. The symbolism of both the Lansdowne Portrait and today’s presidential Air Force One both testify to its success.

Nelson’s reading commands attention, but he misses one major point, to which Jefferson gave full articulation in his *Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774). According to the Whig view of a unitary British state, the colonials indeed were reactionary, but only with regard to the, admittedly antiquated, idea of a composite monarchy, not that of an all-powerful king. If the protestors against British power were not actually the reactionaries whom Nelson sees, what were the creators of the American Republic, including its presidency, which, despite surface similarities, is fundamentally different from the British monarchy?

Moreover, in the midst of high theory and abstruse discourse, what do we make of the acquisitiveness and jockeying for public office and private property that Washington demonstrated throughout his life, including the years that Larson reconstructs in rich detail?

Both books speak to our own juncture. The Bush and Obama administrations alike have invoked the monarchist notion of prerogative. Their opponents have used not just the imagery of 1776, but, in Obama’s case, its heritage of shutting down a hated government. The quibble about composite monarchy may be just a matter of nuance in a time when suspicion of Washington (the city) is closer to wrecking the heritage of Washington (the founder) and his ilk than at any point since the Republic’s near collapse because of the distinctively American problem that the revolutionaries did not resolve—not an abstract theory but the hard, bitter reality of slavery.

Edward Countryman  
Southern Methodist University

*A Versatile American Institution: The Changing Ideals and Realities of Philanthropic Foundations.* By David C. Hammack and Helmut K. Anheier  

In this collaborative and interdisciplinary book, Hammack and Anheier set out to provide a history of American foundations from the American Revolution to the present time and to contribute to national and international academic debates about the place of foundations in American society. Starting from the premise that “American charities have always enjoyed wide possibilities, possibilities that have expanded over decades”
(17), this book, unfortunately, presents an all-too-euphoric and conflict-averse interpretation that sees foundations as the pillar of an expanding civil society. Conflicts about the power of foundations in American society that resulted in laws limiting the transfer of funds to philanthropy during the nineteenth century and caused Congress repeatedly to convene committees and public hearings to investigate foundations are, with the exception of Wright Patman’s activities, absent from this account. Patman, however, was not a fringe lunatic; he was certainly not alone in his (justified, albeit exaggerated) concerns about the role of foundations in American society. This hostile political environment made American society different from European societies in which philanthropy was allowed to blossom and grow from the outset.

Hammack and Anheier miss an opportunity to explore the uniqueness of American philanthropy. They contend that American philanthropy differed fundamentally from its European counterpart in that American foundations were left alone when funding public institutions, such as museums and schools. They did not, as the authors state, have state establishments as partners. Yet, neither the Metropolitan Museum of Art nor Cornell University would exist if not for state–private partnership in funding these institutions. American philanthropy differed from European philanthropy only with regard to the role of the state and the place of religion. No European country (except France) took as much legal action against philanthropy, continuously limiting its scope and influence, as did the United States. American society subjected foundations to a hostile political environment that extended from the early nineteenth century to the period following World War II.

As the authors acknowledge, the separation of state and church in the United States provided an important precondition for the immense growth of philanthropic institutions. After the loss of state funding for a state church, religious communities had to create their own financial basis through philanthropic institutions. Philanthropy, as its nineteenth-century opponents (rightfully?) contended, allowed churches to regain the ground that they had lost. Hence, fears that an uncontrolled growth of foundations might undermine the secular state appear not entirely unfounded. Acknowledging the role of philanthropy for religious communities, Hammack and Anheier suggest that the need for collaboration between small religious communities in securing funding for their operations “encouraged religious toleration” (41). Yet, one might also contend that the separation of state and church and the entanglement of religion and philanthropy contributed to the expansion of religious influence in American society at large. European countries in which state and church were not so closely conjoined did not see such a close relationship between religion and philanthropy.

Although Hammack and Anheier maintain that the context in which foundations emerged in the United States during the last 200 years shifted significantly, they fail to explore the changing nature of philanthropy
and foundations. An evolutionary approach would have shown the many facets of philanthropy and the many mixed forms of philanthropic institution that included state support as well as market influences. The authors were hindered by their decision to follow the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) in narrowly defining foundations as grant-making, non-profit institutions. Such a normative and legal definition might be necessary for the government to determine tax exemptions, but it offers little help in a historical exploration of the phenomenon of foundations. This modern understanding of philanthropy does not reflect the reality of nineteenth-century American society, which included a multitude of philanthropic institutions, from mutual-aid societies to limited profit-seeking associations and non-profit enterprises. The clear division between market and philanthropy emerged only after World War II and only because of legislation about taxation.

Embracing a narrow definition of foundation produces many problems for the story told in this book because many institutions that behave like foundations are not foundations, at least in the eyes of the IRS—for instance, as Hammack and Anheier themselves point out, Andrew Carnegie’s great library project of the 1890s and the Howard Hughes Medical Institute founded in 1953. The authors give an even more recent example of a foundation that does not fit the IRS mold, Google’s 2005 announcement of a commitment of $1 billion to combine grant making with business investment. Yet, in fact, the combination of business practices with philanthropic services was already well established in the model of the limited dividend stock company. Limited dividend stock companies were essential providers of social and cultural services in European and American cities before World War I.

American philanthropic culture did not emerge in isolation; it profited from the transfer of many models of philanthropic activity. Different European societies and different religious traditions provided ideas, examples, and inspiration for what became known as American philanthropy. The foundations that emerged in the United States during the last 200 years developed within a wide context involving both market and state. The authors ask questions about the role that foundation capital played within the national economy of the United States, but they do not answer them. The fact that American foundations possess significant financial resources that dwarf the national economies of many countries has always given cause for concern. Certain economists have lamented the loss of these funds for the advance- ment of the national economy, and even for the modernization of the country. Historians and political scientists have traced how money of this sort also translates into power. Both perspectives deserve attention and much more investigation.

Thomas Adam
University of Texas, Arlington
Ben-Atar and Brown’s _Taming Lust_ is a comparative study of two bestiality cases from the late 1790s. The authors’ detailed investigation discovers that the convictions of eighty-five-year-old John Farrell in Northampton, Mass., in 1796, and eighty-three-year-old Gideon Washburn in Litchfield, Conn. in 1799, were deeply anomalous; Farrell and Washburn were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death for a crime that had not been punished by death in either Massachusetts or Connecticut for more than a century. During an era in which capital punishment was broadly on the wane and sodomy (the legal category into which bestiality was frequently subsumed) no longer carried the death penalty, what can explain the plight of these two elderly men who were successfully tried and convicted for a “victimless” crime that was almost exclusively associated with young men? Ben-Atar and Brown situate these exceptional trials and convictions within a changing political and religious climate, thus shedding light on an understudied location and moment in the history of the early republic and demonstrating the degree to which the history of federalism is bound to the history of sexuality in early national North America.

_Taming Lust_ is, for all intents and purposes, a microhistorical study of two anomalous bestiality cases that provide Ben-Atar and Brown with an opportunity to launch a discussion about the weakening of federalist political principles in New England at the end of the eighteenth century. Although the authors hint at a reliance on a multiplicity of intellectual frameworks—there are glimmers of psychoanalytical thinking with regard to bestiality in Chapter 2 and occasional anthropological references in the introduction—the book is primarily a historicist study of the federalist political landscape within which the Farrell and Washburn cases were located.

One opportunity for interdisciplinary exploration that this text notably misses can be found in its surprising lack of engagement with the rich body of scholarship in the history of early sexuality. Despite a long discussion of the ideological, legal, and theological territory that bestiality shares with sodomy in Chapter 1, Ben-Atar and Brown read the accusations of bestiality levied at Farrell and Washburn as a purely anomalous example of an instance in which “the policing of sexual transgression . . . intertwined with religious, political, and cultural anxieties” (127). They neither mention nor explore possible alternate ways of understanding these sodomy allegations. They gently speculate that Washburn’s indictment for bestiality was the result of his family’s role in an ugly local property dispute, not his 1747 arrest for counterfeiting, a crime that bore a long-standing religious and historical association with sodomy.¹ Their

close focus on the subject matter renders *Taming Lust* a rich study of the local politics of these specific inland regions of Massachusetts and Connecticut—areas too often ignored in studies of the early national period—but it inadvertently narrows the broad field of questions that would make this study more conversant with the history of sodomy and bestiality, and with the history of federalism more generally.

Greta LaFleur
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*Against Wind and Tide: The African American Struggle against the Colonization Movement*. By Ousmane K. Power-Greene (New York, New York University Press, 2014) 245 pp. $35.00

In *Against Wind and Tide*, Power-Greene traces the rhetoric and activism of black anti-colonization from the founding of the American Colonization Society (ACS) in 1816 through the Civil War. Focusing on such free black public figures as Mary Ann Shadd Cary, Martin Delany, Frederick Douglass, James T. Holly, and Henry Highland Garnet, Power-Greene analyzes antebellum black efforts to derail the ACS’s plan to transport free blacks from the United States to the West African colony of Liberia. Scholars have long contended that most northern free blacks remained highly unreceptive to this scheme in the years before the Civil War. By closely interrogating this response, Power-Greene seeks not only to provide a nuanced and finely drawn account of antebellum free-black resistance to the ACS but also to reframe our understanding of the very nature of antebellum black protest culture.

Power-Greene argues that the immediate black backlash to the ACS helped to discredit the organization in the eyes of antislavery whites in Britain and the United States. By the 1820s, the rhetoric of anti-colonization became a mainstay of white Garrisonian abolitionists. Anti-colonization discourse also quickly emerged as a central theme in antebellum black political culture, infusing editorials in the black press, in convention proceedings, and in political tracts, even shaping the sharpest critique of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (Boston, 1852). This rhetoric was so powerful, Power-Greene argues, that men like Douglass could deploy it—simply by branding others as “colonizationist” in spirit—to discredit popular free black political rivals like Martin Delany. Nonetheless, black opposition to the ACS coexisted with significant African-American interest in, and support for, a number of black-led emigration campaigns that promoted relocation to other places on the west coast of Africa, as well as to Haiti, Canada, Central America, and the Caribbean between the 1820s and the 1860s. This desire for agency, freedom, and self-determination, Power-Greene concludes, laid the intellectual foundation for twentieth-century black nationalists like Marcus Garvey.
This well-crafted monograph fleshes out our understanding of the varied ways by which northern free blacks worked to discredit, destroy, sidestep, or even, in some cases, exploit the ACS and its wealthy and distinguished white supporters as the organization gained popularity in the North and Midwest during the 1840s and 1850s. In certain places, a more sustained discursive analysis might have helped to address lingering questions about the gender dynamics of emigration and anti-colonization rhetoric and activism—especially with respect to emigration rhetoric’s apparent popularity with free black women. These questions, however, only underscore the inherent complexity of the subject. Ultimately, by analyzing African-American debates about the ACS, colonization, and black-led emigration campaigns, Power-Greene shows that antebellum black protest culture was rich and multifaceted, embracing a range of tactics and ideological perspectives.

Erica L. Ball
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By Benjamin N. Lawrance (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014)
358 pp. $85.00

Lawrance dissents from the received wisdom that the nineteenth-century was an age of abolition. The ending of slavery in the Americas increased slavery in Africa. He prefers to see the beginning of the century as a crossing of a threshold into an age of child enslavement. In looking at data in the monumental Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, he noticed, as others have, that during the first half of the nineteenth century, slave traders freighted increasing proportions of enslaved African children, ages fourteen and under, to places like Bahia and Cuba, often in violation of anti-slave-trade treaties. His moral outrage at the current existence of global networks engaged in the buying and selling of children helped propel him for more than a decade on an interdisciplinary quest to bring to light the shadowy lives of six children involved in the Amistad affair, one of the most famous shipboard slave rebellions in the history of the Americas.

In 1839, the Cuban schooner La Amistad was freighting more than fifty slaves along the coast eastward from Havana when a Mende-speaking slave named Cinque broke his fetters and led a revolt that captured the vessel. Five of the children placed under the microscope by Lawrance, three girls and two boys, were aboard the schooner on the night of the insurrection. The sixth child, James Covey, a liberated slave apprenticed to the Royal Navy, was plucked from his labors aboard a British vessel anchored in New York harbor to come to Connecticut and serve as translator for the rebels, who, in trying to navigate the ship back to Africa, ended up in the hands of the United States Coast
Guard instead. Long, winding proceedings through multiple courts in Connecticut ensued to determine the status of the slaves. Existing court records and abolitionist writings provide Lawrance with ample opportunity to apply creatively insights drawn primarily from history, anthropology, and sociology to delve with Afrocentric sensitivity into such issues as ethnic and identity formation; the meaning of freedom, family, and community on both sides of the Atlantic; and how the experience of enslaved children from their capture in Africa to their debarkation in the Americas differed from that of adults.

Lawrance has fleshed out the lives of the six children in the Amistad drama better than any other scholar. On larger questions, however, his book suffers from repetitiveness, obscurant emissions of fashionable jargon, and loose and unsubstantiated generalization. Despite occasional forays into law, greater attention to the meaning and theory of property would have helped his discussion of dependency and the notion of gradations of freedom. His own depiction of West African cultural practices undermines his repeated claims of a voluminous illegal slave trade to the United States after 1808. For all the emphasis on the first half of the nineteenth century as an age of child enslavement, Lawrance’s book may well be misleading about what stands in the slave trade as the most likely culprit behind the increasing proportion of children to adults: declining shipping costs.

Robert L. Paquette
Alexander Hamilton Institute

The Ordeal of the Reunion: A New History of Reconstruction. By Mark Wahlgren Summers (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2014) 517 pp. $40.00

Early in The Ordeal of the Reunion, Summers challenges Reconstruction historians to speak less to “our time” and more to “their time” by placing “the Reconstruction of the Union,” not the search for “black civil rights,” at the center of the story (3). Summers does not cast his book primarily as a “Reconstruction of Southern Society with a particular emphasis on Southern Race Relations” but as a national “search for security” to ensure that the Union would be “held together forever” (3–4).

At the outset, the book seems poised to challenge both the old Dunning School and its critics—from DuBois to Foner—all of whom place the struggle to redefine labor, race, and democracy in the South at the center of the story. Although a few post-revisionist historians like Benedict and Cox emphasized the centrality of securing the Union, most scholars have taken for granted that Reconstruction was shaped by the role

of ex-slaves in a new United States, with powerful implications for labor, agricultural production, constitutional powers, and racial thinking.\footnote{See Michael Les Benedict, \textit{Preserving the Constitution: Essays on Politics and the Constitution in the Reconstruction Era} (New York, 2006); LaWanda Cox, “Reflections on the Limits of the Possible,” in Donald G. Nieman (ed.), \textit{Freedom, Racism, and Reconstruction: Collected Writings of LaWanda Cox} (Athens, 1997), 243–280.} This seems a propitious time for a new synthesis, given Gary Gallagher’s strenuous efforts to define the Civil War as an effort to save the Union, not to end slavery, in \textit{The Union War} (Cambridge, Mass., 2012).

But Summers, to his credit, resists reductionist arguments. Even as he claims that most Northern whites cared much more deeply about restoring the Union than about creating a new society in the South, he also takes great pains to show why white Southerners’ behavior made it impossible for Northerners to separate reconciliation from their ongoing worries about national security that in turn led them to defend black civil rights. Rather than an argument about the primacy of Union, the book becomes a survey of the political history of Reconstruction, emphasizing the importance of national and state capitals rather than land and labor. Summers’ eyes are almost always on people with the power to make decisions that affect life on the ground. But his heart is—as it has long been—with the phrase makers, especially the ink-stained wretches of the newspaper trade. Although Summers may have a fine eye for lovely and outrageous quotations, he at times utilizes them as both analysis and evidence, especially when discussing his pet subject of corruption.

For readers of this journal, the book does not particularly engage in interdisciplinary history, although Summers consults a wide range of sources, including literary ones. He masterfully describes economic and political conditions, but he does not particularly draw upon research in those fields. However, readers interested in Reconstruction will find Summers’ book to be a rollicking, deeply researched overview. It is unlikely, as Summers admits, that it will displace Foner’s massive \textit{Reconstruction}, which remains a landmark in the field, but it offers a mostly clear and always colorful guide to the politics of the era.

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Gregory P. Downs  
University of California, Davis
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Sutton’s \textit{American Apocalypse} succeeds admirably as a history of modern American evangelicalism. It is well written and filled with engaging anecdotes, as well as copious information about the life and times of both the nation and its quintessentially American evangelicals. Sutton’s
attempt to place a preoccupation with the “apocalypse” at the center of evangelicalism (the “most distinguishing characteristic of the movement”), however, is less successful, although it certainly makes for a lively theme (3). To attempt to isolate any feature as the core of evangelicalism is a largely thankless task, and not terribly helpful. Fortunately, Sutton carries his thesis lightly; readers can enjoy and appreciate the book as a survey of the past 150 years of American evangelicalism, even if they largely ignore, or disagree with, the author’s thesis. Despite the title’s focus on apocalyptic theology, the narrative takes a multipronged approach, covering many aspects of fundamentalist and evangelical life during the past century and a half. The focus on race, in which Sutton attends to arguments from both black and white evangelicals, is especially valuable, if unexpected, given the title. The argument of the book is as wide-ranging as the subtitle indicates.

Sutton seems to understand that the attempt to place end-times theology at the center of evangelicalism is a stretch at times. He notes at one point, “Premillennialism worked in conjunction with other competing ideologies like nationalism and patriotism to influence the faithful” (60, italics added). When discussing the famous book series, The Fundamentals—a set of twelve volumes with chapters by multiple authors defining Christian orthodoxy—which did not include much discussion of eschatology, Sutton writes, “Their overriding goal was to defend what they interpreted as the true faith; they did not want to get sidetracked by issues of eschatology” (87). He points out that when the National Association of Evangelicals was formed, it took no position on premillennialism (286).

Historians sometimes engage in reductionist oversimplification because of the nature of their most readily accessible sources. Sutton’s book, though richly researched, is based primarily on the published arguments of elites. The lay opinion in the book comes mainly from letters to the leading evangelical journals of the period. This research strategy, which Sutton describes in his preface (xi), is understandable, especially considering the vast time period that the book covers, but it tends to shortchange people’s quotidian lives. Sutton’s work would have been enhanced with survey data from at least the contemporary period. It would be fascinating to see how highly modern evangelicals rank end-times theology as a motivator of behavior; it is probably low on their list of priorities.

Sutton’s work cannot replace George M. Marsden’s magisterial study of the roots of American fundamentalism and evangelicalism, Fundamentalism and American Culture (New York, 2006; orig. pub. 1980). As a readable introduction to the topic of American evangelicalism, however, it is hard to beat.

William L. Svelmoe
Saint Mary’s College, Indiana

After the Monkey Trial: Evangelical Scientists and a New Creationism. By Christopher J. Rios (New York, Fordham University Press, 2014) 260 pp. $45.00

After the Monkey Trial tells the “story of Christians who remained theologically conservative, but refused to take up arms against modern science—those who sought to show the compatibility of biblical Christianity and mainstream science, including evolution” (ix). The book focuses primarily on two organizations, the American Scientific Affiliation (ASA) and the Research Scientists’ Christian Fellowship (RSCF), and the individuals associated with them who exemplified this complex negotiation between conservative Christianity and modern science. From the outset, Rios observes that academic historians of religion and science have moved beyond a conflict thesis in the past few decades. However, he states, many who have debunked science–religion conflict as a general thesis still endorse a vision of inherent conflict between “conservative Christianity and modern science” (10). In giving voice to the history of these organizations, Rios makes an important contribution to the history of evolution and religion in Britain and America.

This account of the ASA and RSCF is a richly detailed story of religious and organizational complexity. Debates within their own membership and with other evangelical Christians shows a diversity of theological nuance often missing from other historical accounts of evolution and religion. But the story that this book tells is broader than how these groups came into being and remained in existence despite holding unpopular positions; at its heart is the question of who gets to identify as an evangelical, as a Christian, as a creationist, and as a conservative. The ASA considered itself “creationist” while accepting evolution as the means by which creation occurs. Arguing that as a result of the 1960s, “the liberal–conservative dichotomy had become the predominant dividing line in American culture” (139), Rios shows that the ASA’s continued acceptance of evolution (as a mechanism of creation) caused others to view it as “liberal,” even though it had in fact hewn to the same “conservative” theology that it had advanced since its founding (this conundrum is reminiscent of the comment directed at Matthew Harrison Brady, the William Jennings Bryan–based character in Inherit the Wind: “All motion is relative, Matt. Maybe it is you who have moved away by standing still”). In his discussions about the internal debates within these organizations and evangelical communities, Rios makes only occasional allusions to the wider context of social and political issues that could help to situate this history—identifying who is moving and who is standing still. These organizations existed within, and engaged with, a wider society, but those external interactions and reactions are not often explored or explained in the book.

It begins with a history of evolutionary thought (and evangelical Christian responses to it) from the early nineteenth century, but it focuses primarily on the period from the 1940s to 1980s. Rios credits Jean-Baptiste
Lamarck (1744–1829) with “the first viable theory of evolution,” though he treats Lamarckism as nothing more than an ultimately wrong belief in “the inheritance of acquired characteristics” (16). The view that Charles Darwin rejected both the inheritance of acquired characteristics and teleology is disputed among historians of biology, but Rios presents it uncritically. The statement that “quickly dissatisfied with Lamarckian ideas, Darwin sought a better explanation for evolution” also introduces a triumphalist and individualist tenor to this summary of evolutionary thought, reaching apotheosis with the subsequent claim that “the rediscovery in 1900 of [Gregor] Mendel’s experiments not only vindicated Darwin but also led to the emergence of molecular biology” (17, 35–36). This portrayal neglects most of the historiography of the “evolutionary synthesis,” and it elides the fact that many early twentieth-century religious arguments invoked Mendelian genetics as a refutation of “Darwinism.” Rios’ articulation of theological and exegetical differences among evangelical groups is less developed in his treatment of this earlier era than it is for the mid-twentieth century.

After the Monkey Trial concludes by suggesting that the ASA and RSCF’s view of “evangelical engagement with science” has come back into favor with the emergence of “like-minded organizations” (189). It demonstrates that not all conservative Christians have opposed modern science. This conclusion addresses questions of conflict but not historiographical notions of thesis. Post-conflict historiography of religion and science would look beyond the sometimes-conflict/sometimes-harmony polarity that is often called “complexity.” It explores the extent to which a community’s science–religion engagement is shaped by the ideas of science and religion themselves and how much by the wider social context.

Adam R. Shapiro
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Lizzie Borden on Trial: Murder, Ethnicity, and Gender. By Joseph A. Conforti (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 2015) 241 pp. $27.95

In 1892, the indictment of a proper Victorian young woman of Fall River, Massachusetts, for the hatchet murders of her stepmother and father shocked and divided the nation. After her trial and acquittal, controversy continued, producing a voluminous literature from scholars, amateur historians, and novelists, as well as a television series, movies, and theatrical productions. But Conforti’s Lizzie Borden on Trial is the scholarly treatment that the subject has been awaiting—not that Borden would approve of Conforti’s assessments of her or of the judges who ensured her acquittal. In his richly texture narrative, the interplay of class, ethnicity, and gender will interest readers of this journal, as will his clear presentation of the legal issues that unfolded in the courtroom.
Conforti’s New England connections, not to mention his recent memoir of growing up in Fall River, uniquely qualify him to provide the definitive account of this enduringly fascinating case. Unlike previous accounts, this one places the case in the context of a small industrial city dominated by Yankee mill owners but undergoing economic, social, political, and cultural changes as French Canadians, Portuguese, and Italians joined the earlier-arriving Irish Catholics. Conforti argues that Irish Catholic control of the city’s politics and police force figured prominently in the conduct and outcome of the trial. His novel perspective weaves into his story how late nineteenth-century class, ethnic, and gender tensions shaped contemporary perceptions of local and national observers whether they believed Borden to be guilty or innocent. Conforti pays close attention to how gendered perceptions shaped the views and actions of lawyers, judges, newspaper reporters, and especially Lizzie’s defenders. Progressive women reformers, such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union, saw Lizzy Borden as a persecuted heroine and a symbol of women’s lack of legal rights.

Anyone growing up in New England likely has heard of “forty” and “forty-one whacks.” Abby, Borden’s stepmother—not mother as in the doggerel—received nineteen whacks, and Andrew, her father, the second murder victim, a mere ten. A number of Borden’s defenders actually turned the savagery of the murders in Lizzie’s favor; they could not believe that a church-going, Protestant woman could have committed such a barbarous act.

Conforti devotes his longest chapter to describing the Borden family, headed by Lizzie’s dominating, dour, seventy-year old father, who overcame humble beginnings (despite being related to some of the city’s textile grandees) to accumulate a fortune from property and investments. Nonetheless, he lived well below his means, on a street below “The Hill,” an upper-class enclave, in a peculiar house much less comfortable than he could afford, thus frustrating his daughters, especially the thirty-two-year-old, unmarried Lizzie. His purchase of Abby’s father’s homestead and transfer of the deed to her made Lizzie and her sister Emma highly resentful of their stepmother. Andrew’s subsequent gifts to his daughters failed to placate them. Lizzie’s expensive and well-connected defense lawyers, however, managed to paint a picture of domestic harmony in a household rent with bitterness. According to Conforti, the defense team’s close ties to the presiding judges strongly influenced the trial’s outcome. Besides, the judges were loath to believe that a church-going woman of Lizzie’s caste could commit so heinous a crime. In many ways, the division in Fall River was tribal: Lizzie was a member of a nativist tribe that, besieged in politics and competing with new ethnic groups in the factories, determined to protect one of its own.

Not all of the city’s old elite circled the wagons. District Attorney Hosea M. Knowlton reluctantly but dutifully prosecuted the case, believing beyond a doubt that Lizzie was guilty but entertaining no hope of a conviction. Lizzie’s bravura performance as victim in the courtroom
also tipped the scales in her favor; Conforti insightfully suggests that she possessed “a dissociative personality, a capacity to detach herself from reality” (215). After acquittal, she moved up to “The Hill” and adopted an extravagant lifestyle that included friendship with famous actresses of the day. The fact that many of “The Hill” gentry refused to accept her, however, raises a question that Conforti does not address: If “The Hill” was thoroughly on Lizzie’s side throughout her “ordeal,” as he contends, why did many of its inhabitants shun her later?

For a highly readable book, *Lizzie Borden on Trial* makes use of a staggering array of primary and secondary sources, amounting to 3,000 pages of testimony from the inquest, preliminary hearing, and trial, which, though not a legal historian, Conforti handles deftly. Definitive as the book is, however, Lizzie will undoubtedly continue to attract attention and controversy. Among the going concerns centered on Lizzie’s history is a journal titled *The Hatchet* and the still-standing Borden house, which has been transformed into a bed and breakfast with a gift shop that sells, among other items, golf balls lettered “keep on hacking.”

Ronald Formisano  
University of Kentucky

*Carbon Nation: Fossil Fuels in the Making of American Culture.* By Bob Johnson (Lawrence, University of Kansas Press, 2014) 256 pp. $34.95

It is both an exciting and a frustrating time for the environmental humanities in the United States. On the one hand, the field is more diverse and more vibrant than ever, as scholars seek to analyze and interpret the reverberations that the issues surrounding climate change, fossil-fuel consumption, and waste have sent through the culture. On the other hand, despite all that we know about climate change and the disasters perpetually generated by the fossil-fuel industry, we have yet to devise viable alternatives to our violent, unsustainable ways of life, let alone to halt the seemingly inevitable expansion of the fossil-fuel industry into ever-more dangerous and disaster-prone regions and modes of extraction. Johnson’s *Carbon Nation* is a concise, compelling account of a paradox—how today’s knowledge of ecology and energy bring positive environmental change well within the range of possibility, and how at the same time modern culture evinces an intractable resistance to letting go of fossil fuels. On these terms, *Carbon Nation* makes a remarkable contribution to the growing field of energy studies in history and elsewhere in the humanities.

The book is divided into two parts, each of which takes a different approach to fossil fuels in the modern United States. The first section, “Divergence,” draws from environmental science and social history to sketch the ways in which modern fossil fuels radically altered American culture and society. The advance to modernity—the move from a somatic
regime, in which energy derived largely from human and animal bodies, to a carbon regime, in which energy increasingly transferred to carbon-based fuel sources (beginning with coal and steam power and culminating in electricity and petroleum)—was, in Johnson’s words, “a Faustian bargain” (23). The “orgy of production and reproduction” that fossil fuels enabled often took place “without regard to organic limits” (40).

The second section of the book, “Submergence,” characterizes our relation to fossil fuels as traumatic, given our inability to appreciate the costs of fossil fuels to ourselves, to our society, and to the world. This second section dwells on the energy released by coal, electricity, and petroleum, which carries not only distinct associations with celebrations of power, freedom, and individuality but also with traumatic traces of death, depravity, and violence that are often left in the dark. Modern fossil fuels “[bury] their social and ecological costs,” thus making it difficult to imagine an alternative to our current energy regime (162).

*Carbon Nation* distills an impressive array of work in the environmental sciences, environmental history, and environmental humanities; each chapter extends its range of evidence provocatively from industry histories to literary texts, fine art, and film. Johnson makes it clear that focusing on fossil fuels requires an interdisciplinary methodology that devotes as much attention to such well-known cultural landmarks as John Ford’s film *How Green Was My Valley* (1941) as to the Smithsonian’s report *Power: Its Significance and Needs* (1918). An elegant synthesis of a wide array of cultural artifacts, Johnson’s *Carbon Nation* convincingly argues that finding an alternative to our unsustainable energy system requires an understanding of its origins. Fortunately, *Carbon Nation* provides a revision of the “American century” that captures how fossil fuels became fixtures in our lives that we can no longer afford.

Daniel Worden
University of New Mexico


With the growing popularity of borderlands history, scholars have devoted considerable attention to the areas adjacent to the U.S.–Mexico boundary. Yet the other North American border—the line separating Canada and the United States—has been neglected. Moore has begun to redress the balance.

Focusing on the Pacific Northwest, Moore examines the impact of Prohibition on the two countries. Canadian provinces began to abandon Prohibition in 1919, the same year in which the United States amended the Constitution to adopt national Prohibition. Americans flooded northward to drink, and bootleggers (mostly Americans) began smuggling alcohol southward across the border. Both the Canadian government and
the public saw no reason to stop selling liquor to Americans. In fact, the
Canadian government profited from the smuggling, collecting a duty of
$20.00 per case of alcohol headed for the United States.

It was impossible to stop the smugglers. Ottawa was reluctant to help Washington enforce its own laws. As much as half of the population in the Pacific Northwest was opposed to Prohibition, including many police officers who were reluctant to enforce the law. U.S. Prohibition agents were too few in number to patrol the borderlands effectively. Although Canada banned the export of alcohol to the United States in 1930, the smuggling continued.

The book’s strengths are many. Moore’s analysis proceeds on more than one level: He examines both relations between Ottawa and Washington and the ways in which Prohibition worked on the ground. He explores the different meanings that Canadians and Americans attached to the border. He understands that the Canada–U.S. boundary was permeable—that people, products, and ideas moved easily across it. This insight sets the book apart from earlier works on the subject, most of which look at one country, as if the forces of history stopped at the 49th parallel. In contrast, Moore shows the close ties between the temperance movements of Canada and of the United States. He demonstrates that British Columbia served as a model for liquor regulation when the United States decided to abandon Prohibition in the early 1930s.

Moore is sensitive to nuance and diversity, refusing to see Canada and the United States as monoliths. He believes that both British Columbians and Washingtonians had more in common with their cross-border neighbors than with others in their own country. This regional identity shaped the nature of Canada–U.S. relations along the western boundary. British Columbians, for instance, were more inclined than other Canadians to cooperate with the United States.

This exhaustively researched book integrates borderlands, international, social, and political history, providing countless insights about Canada and the United States. It is a model of research on the subject of U.S.–Canada relations.

Stephen Azzi
Carleton University

**Purchasing Whiteness: Pardos, Mulattos, and the Quest for Social Mobility in the Spanish Indies.** By Ann Twinam (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2015) 534 pp. $100.00 cloth $34.95 paper

On the surface, Twinam’s *Purchasing Whiteness* is an archival exploration into the notorious—and to historians, highly symbolic—practice in the Spanish Indies by which some free men and women of partial African ancestry attained the legal status and privileges of whites (for a fee). Yet
holistically the work achieves much more; it will be received both as a landmark in Latin American historiography as well as a model of historical methodology more generally. In addition to a detailed examination of social mobility within the Spanish American caste system, it also dispels myths and highlights the ways by which archives might mislead scholars.

The practice of “whitening” gracias al sacar—the royal dispensation of the privileges of whiteness for a fee—has for many Anglophone historians tidily symbolized Latin America’s comparatively open and fluid regimes of racial differentiation. Yet by exploring the experiences of those who petitioned for such privileges, as well as the motivations of the imperial bureaucrats who handled their requests, Twinam demonstrates that few achieved whiteness in this way—and, intriguingly, that Crown officials largely opposed the idea. Indeed, the finding that no human mind “decided” that such dispensations were just or necessary upsets their iconic role in Anglophone historiography. Rather, the “policy” resulted largely from bureaucratic crosstalk within the understaffed and overworked chambers of the Council of the Indies.

In telling this history, Twinam brings one historical discussion to a close while laying the foundation for another. Purchasing Whiteness offers an overview of the meaning of African heritage in colonial Spanish America, followed by a detailed examination of a handful of eighteenth-century cases in which aspiring professionals—surgeons, apothecaries, and scribes—sought license to practice their vocations despite legal restrictions against those with African ancestors. Then, with intimate attention to parallel chronologies on both sides of the Atlantic, Twinam reveals the process by which the flustered trans-Atlantic bureaucracy, responding to such requests, inadvertently gave whitening via the gracias al sacar an official “price” in 1795.

Yet the issue was far from settled. Twinam traces the efforts of later petitioners and royal officials alike to understand, embrace, or negate the resulting notion of socioracial equality, and she highlights its role within the creation of the Spanish Constitution of 1812.

This book will be of broad interest. It pertains most directly to scholars of Latin America and the African diaspora. Yet it will benefit those in other fields as well, inasmuch as it self-consciously models new ways of approaching archives—for example, by accounting for the agency of bureaucratic “process” alongside individuals—as well as the new research strategies enabled by digital archives. In some ways, Twinam demonstrates that whitening via the gracias al sacar—an exotic and radical notion to many people in the United States—was a red herring. Yet the complete story has much to reveal, not only about the vagaries of Spanish imperial administration but also about the full extent of the struggle for justice by men and women of African descent across the centuries in the Americas.

Peter B. Villella
University of North Carolina, Greensboro
Beyond the Bío Bío River in southern Chile lies the rainy, tree-covered region of Araucanía, an embattled land, the indigenous warriors and indomitable winds of which Pablo Neruda memorialized in his Canto General (1950). The Bío Bío marked the southernmost limit of the Spanish American Empire under colonialism. It remained a frontier territory (la frontera) controlled by the Mapuche peoples until the late 1800s, when Chilean military-led “pacification” campaigns finally incorporated it into the modern state. Since then, as Klubock shows in this book, state-sponsored efforts to settle and develop the area have transformed the forest ecology into one dominated by monocultural pine plantations—“forests without people, completely uninhabited”—while contributing to a history of systematic dispossession, as landowners appropriated lands, defrauded itinerant workers of their wages, plundered native forests, and released hazardous chemicals into local watersheds (1).

Klubock’s study sits at the intersection of social and environmental history, focusing on the “social experience of environmental change” in the context of state-led forestry development during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (27). It is a much-needed contribution that enriches the environmental historiography of Latin American resource use, reminiscent of the process that Dean chronicled in the Brazilian Atlantic forest: Encouraged by state policies, settlers and entrepreneurs burned and cleared vast swaths of temperate forests in order to harvest timber, plant wheat (later pine and eucalyptus) for export, and re-settle the region with European immigrants.¹ Yet the process of colonization in la frontera, Klubock argues, remains incomplete. The fixed boundaries and titles of the newly imposed property regime disrupted Mapuche migration, trade, and family networks, often defrauding indigenous communities of their ancestral lands, and interfered with small-scale logging by nonindigenous colonos. Viewed by policymakers as threats to the diminishing native forests, these groups vehemently challenged the encroachment of the growing forestry estates, resulting in violent clashes with landowners and the state.

This study powerfully refutes the so-called “free market miracle” commonly attributed to the neoliberal economic policies of Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990) by documenting how decades of state intervention set the stage for the export boom that occurred during that era. As early as 1925, under the advisement of German-born scientist Federico Albert, new laws promoted the establishment of pine and eucalyptus plantations and the selective management of native species on government-owned reserves. Trees planted during the respective center-left and left-wing administrations of Eduardo Frei (1964–1970) and Salvador Allende

¹ Warren Dean, With Broadax and Firebrand: The Destruction of the Brazilian Atlantic Forest (Berkeley, 1997).
(1970–1973) provided the timber that commercial forestry companies harvested and processed into lumber, pulp, and paper two decades later—creating what is now the third-largest source of foreign revenue for the Chilean economy. But the burning of native forests continued well into the 1980s. The social and ecological legacy of this history has continued into the twenty-first century. Witness the frequent protests in the region, where Mapuche activists still struggle to retain and recuperate usurped lands.

*La Frontera* examines in depth how modern forestry science and export-led development shaped state forest policy through successive political regimes in twentieth-century Chile. Based on a wide variety of governmental sources in Chile’s national and regional archives, as well as more than thirty Chilean newspapers and periodicals, this book highlights the localized impact of global capitalism and its voracious consumption of natural resources during the past 150 years, although the processing or destination of the products themselves are topics for future research. What the book delivers most powerfully is a sense of the profound changes that took place on the southern frontier. As social inequalities sharpened in the face of a dysfunctional land-tenure system and an increasing concentration of land ownership, both indigenous and nonindigenous campesinos challenged the state’s authority to reorder their “natural and social landscapes” (119). In telling this story, Klubock helps to restore dignity to the communities historically blamed for the destruction of native forests in which the biodiversity once rivaled that of the Amazon, bringing new light to the “blood colored history” that so haunted the lines of Neruda’s most famous poem.

Kristin Wintersteen
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*Reorienting the East: Jewish Travelers to the Medieval Muslim World.* By Martin Jacobs (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014) 344 pp. $65.00

Picture a scene in the Near East in the late fifteenth century. An upper-class Jewish merchant from Italy witnesses the flogging of a Bedouin thief who has been sentenced to death by a Mamluk sultan. Reporting the experience, Meshullam of Volterra finds confirmation of Western preconceptions about the cruelty of Eastern rulers (perhaps not unreasonably in this case). Turning from autocratic barbarity to the merely uncivilized, he also disapproves of Near Eastern table manners: “They all eat out of one vessel—the slave with his master—and they always eat with their fingers, most of them sitting cross-legged.” These vignettes come from one of the two-dozen Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic travel narratives, imaginary voyages, letters, and poetic texts written between about 1150 and 1520 that are surveyed in Jacobs’ *Reorienting the East.*
Interrogating these fascinating sources, Jacobs seeks to establish how Jewish traders and pilgrims encountered and visualized the Muslim world between the Middle Ages and the early modern period in an area extending from Egypt to Iran. Just because Jews in Europe were the “non-Christian other,” Jacobs cautions, we should not presume that European Jewish travelers to the Near East were naturally receptive to foreign cultures. On the contrary, Meshullam of Volterra took it for granted that Italians were superior to the people living under the Mamluks and echoed characteristically Christian stereotypes about Orientals. Other Jewish writers, however, depicted Islam as a highly refined civilization with deep roots in the region’s Greco-Roman heritage. Some of them admired Muslim rulers for the benign way in which they wielded power and for respecting the autonomy of their Jewish subjects, viewing Damascus and Alexandria as urban marvels and reporting that Baghdad could provide everything that was lacking in the lives of European Jews.

Jacobs pays careful attention to the social and cultural contexts of his sources, helping readers to discern many nuances in a range of differing outlooks that undermine any artificially monochromatic picture of medieval Jewish interactions with the Muslim world. Jewish travelers do not fall into a single category; nor do they speak with one voice. We read, for instance, that some Jews praised the veil worn by Islamic women as an inducement to modesty, whereas others criticized it for the opportunities that it afforded to those seeking to cover up less commendable behavior. We also learn how the renowned Rabbi Obadiah of Bertinor on a visit to late fifteenth-century Alexandria sympathized with the city’s Christians who had to avoid going out during Muslim holidays and were locked in their houses at night, thus suffering restrictions similar to those imposed on Italian Jews.

The places to which these Jewish writers traveled were not uniformly alien to them. Travelers occasionally discovered a Jewish diaspora that was simultaneously foreign and familiar. The journeys of these medieval Jews raised a question that plays an important part in the travel narratives: Where was the center of the Jewish world—in Europe or in Palestine? The problems faced by European Jews during the four centuries discussed in this book are well known. Yet, Palestine lacked a substantial Jewish population; it was ruled by one dominant, non-Jewish power after another—Christian crusaders or Muslim Ayyubids, Mamluks, and Ottomans.

The primary theme of this study is that medieval Jewish travelers subverted European constructions of the Near East. With their own multifaceted identities (neither exclusively Western nor Eastern but including elements of both), they brought a special understanding to their experiences of the Muslim world. Reorienting the East, as the book’s title expresses it, they decentered Europe. One of this book’s principal strengths is the critical introduction that it provides to medieval Jewish travel writing, which has until now received little serious attention. Most
importantly, Jacobs confutes any notion that Jewish, Muslim, or Christian identities and cultures during this period can be regarded as fixed, monolithic, or reducible to an unchanging essence.

Alessandro Scafi
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*A Land of Aching Hearts* is an absorbing, insightful account of life during World War I in the Middle East. The book’s first chapter gives an introduction to the enormous changes experienced by the Ottoman peoples during the nineteenth century. The second chapter presents an astute chronological overview of the war’s most important military and political events, beginning with the German–Ottoman alliance and the Ottoman Empire’s decision to enter the war in 1914. The subsequent chapters break new methodological ground, offering empire-wide perspectives on understudied but crucial aspects of the war—civilian plight and blight, soldiers’ everyday lives, smuggling, entertainment, prostitution, the lack of communication between the front and the home front, intelligence gathering and spying, and instances of torture. Although the book’s geographical emphasis tends to drift toward Syria, Fawaz provides much analysis of events in Anatolia, Iraq, the Arabian Peninsula, Egypt, and, to a lesser extent, beyond the Ottoman Empire, in India and Iran.

Fawaz uses unpublished memoirs and historical works published in Arabic rarely consulted in Western scholarship. Her chapters are organized thematically around, first, civilians, followed by “entrepreneurs and profiteers”; soldiers; South Asians from British India deployed in Ottoman lands; and, finally, questions of Arab loyalty. In this last chapter, Fawaz shows how Cemal Pasha’s rule in Syria and, in particular, his orders to hang Arab leaders in 1915 and 1916 in Beirut and Damascus destroyed the imperial bonds between Ottoman Turks and Ottoman Arabs.

The history of World War I in the Middle East and North Africa has begun to receive its long-overdue attention from scholars. In no other region of the world are the war’s consequences still so visible and its closure still so incomplete. Scholars now draw from a wide range of sources written in Arabic, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, Kurdish, and Ottoman Turkish (to name the most common languages). They sift through archival records, published and unpublished diaries and memoirs, personal letters, parliamentary records, books, and newspapers to reconstruct the war’s principal events and the experiences of ordinary
conscripts and civilians. ¹ Fawaz’s *Land of Aching Hearts* presents a much-needed assessment of the war’s immediate and long-term impact on the region as a whole, seen from below. It is no less a land of aching hearts today than it was a century ago.

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This book challenges the prevailing paradigm of the social and political history of middle imperial China (roughly the tenth through the fourteenth centuries), which sees a shift from an imperial court-centered “professional elite” in the Northern Song (960–1126) to a “local elite” in the Southern Song (1127–1279). Focusing on the relationship between the state and scholarly elites during the Southern Song and Yuan (1279–1367) dynasties in the southeastern coastal region of Mingzhou (the modern city of Ningbo), Lee argues that local governance occurred through negotiation between government officials and elite families whose claims to prestige and authority relied on both economic prosperity and cultural achievement. In contrast to views that posit the weakening of the bureaucratic state as a corollary to the growth of local-elite activism between the Northern and Southern Song periods, Lee emphasizes the overlap between state and local-elite interests, viewing the interactions between them as the defining feature of local governance.

Lee adopts the term “negotiated power” to characterize local governance as a dynamic process that shifted according to the problems faced, rather than being a “zero-sum” competition (as he puts it) between the power of the Chinese state and that of local elites. Although the collapse of the Southern Song and the advent of Mongol rule in the Yuan brought a dramatically different ruling group to power, like most contemporary historians of imperial China, Lee’s perspective on state–society relations is not confined by the boundaries of dynastic periodization. He thus sees continuity as well as change in the contours of local governance in Mingzhou across the dynastic transition from Southern Song to Yuan.

One could argue that a case study such as this one cannot be the basis for wider claims about the Chinese imperial state and its role at the local level, but the regional focus of Lee’s study is particularly rich, in terms of both material prosperity and the serendipitous survival of historical sources. Mingzhou was an important port for maritime trade as well as for cultural exchanges with other parts of East Asia, and local families grew wealthy in part through commercial profits. Local histories compiled during the Southern Song and Yuan eras are extant, as are numerous collected writings of local scholars and officials. These documentary riches provided Lee with evidence sufficient to trace family histories (including marriages and burials), along with detailed narratives concerning contentious local-governance issues, such as water control, and community organization. Lee uses these materials to “highlight social elites’ connectedness to the state rather than their separation from it, and to show that the presence of the state, rather than its absence,” characterized state–society relations during the Southern Song and Yuan periods (3).

Lee places his study in the broader context of efforts to re-examine the role of the state, citing Skocpol’s notion of “bringing the state back in” (8). He provides a working definition of the “state” in a commonsensical way as “government,” and “society” as “nongovernmental sectors represented by local elites” (9–10). But Lee’s definitions are less important than his point that the distinction between “state” and “society” is not “rigidly dichotomous.” He suggests a useful analogy to describe the relationship between the state and elites in middle imperial China—that between a university administration and its faculty. All officials (university administrators) were members of the scholarly elite (university faculty), but not every member of the scholarly elite was an official (11). The point of the analogy is to show the absurdity of viewing these two groups as ontologically different, and therefore to drive home the idea that governance is produced by interactions between the groups as they respond to and resolve problems. There is no static authority, nor is there an absolute and fixed character to either “state” or “society.”

Although Lee exaggerates the degree to which his view differs from that of other recent scholarship, this book makes a substantial and significant contribution to our understanding of state–society relations in middle imperial China. Lee does not make explicit comparisons beyond the realm of Chinese history, but scholars working in other historical fields should take note of this study and its findings to further comparative studies of the premodern state and society.

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1 Theda Skocpol, “Bringing the State Back In: Strategies of Analysis in Current Research,” in Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and idem (eds.), Bringing the State Back In (New York, 1985), 3–43.
Coping With Calamity: Environmental Change and Peasant Response in Central China, 1736–1949. By Jiayan Zhang (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press) 276 pp. $95.00 cloth $32.95 paper

Coping with Calamity explores the causes and outcomes of environmental change in central China’s Hunan Province. Specifically, the text examines the transformative effects that human action had on the Jianghan Plain during the Qing (1644–1919) and Republican (1911–1949) periods. By exploiting an impressive range of local archival sources, Zhang skillfully illustrates how the massive re-engineering of the waterscape that rendered the Plain a critical agricultural region in China ultimately led to a breakdown of its drainage infrastructure. By the late Qing and Republic eras, farmers had creatively adopted strategies to defend against a growing set of ecological threats, but these measures served only to abet the ecological breakdown of the region. The entire set of mutually implicating economic, social, and cultural responses to environmental breakdown impels Zhang to argue, “[T]his demonstrates that environmental factors, more than class relations or market dynamics, defined the agrarian economy of the Jianghan Plain in the Qing and the Republic” (207).

The book not only contributes to our understanding of the dynamics of change in China but also offers insights on agro-environmental developments in other cultural contexts. For scholars of China, the text offers an important regional study that illustrates the widely disparate environmental context of different areas in China (for example, the Jianghan Plain versus the North China Plain). Zhang also adds to a corpus of literature that has effectively characterized state control over the agricultural economy as neither pervasive nor entirely absent. This book’s emphasis on the remarkable resilience of farmers in the region impels Zhang to dispute other China scholars’ description of China’s agricultural practices in the late imperial period as largely unsustainable. In any event, Zhang’s analysis challenges any notion of a “hydraulic despotism” in this part of China. In this realm, the book will be of interest to those interested in state–society relations in irrigation societies.

A particularly important contribution of Coping with Calamity is the explanatory power of the environmental approach, which sustains an array of economic, social, and cultural responses to environmental conditions—a series of events and responses that is extraordinarily effective in illustrating broad social change. According to Zhang, an environmental approach offers an analytical framework that transcends more standard explanatory paradigms. Explanations of rural change in China relied on theories of class struggle from the 1950s to the 1970s and the market school since the 1980s. Zhang forcefully argues that such paradigmatic approaches simply fail to capture the complex, mutually supporting historical dynamics that cycles of environmental change and peasant response can accommodate. In this respect, his analysis of change
in rural China during the late imperial period will indeed be of interest to practitioners of interdisciplinary history.

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*From White to Yellow: The Japanese in European Racial Thought, 1300–1735.* By Rotem Kowner (Montreal, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2014) 678 pp. $39.95

Kowner has apparently read everything that Europeans wrote about Japanese people between 1300 and 1735. *From White to Yellow* seeks nothing less than “to examine the evolution of racial thought in pre-modern and early modern Europe,” focusing on the Japanese in particular and East Asians in general (3). Kowner seeks to shed light not only on European discourses about the “yellow race” but also on racial thought in general.

The inclusion of Genghis Khan, Marco Polo, and Christopher Columbus in his survey may sate the author’s aspiration to be comprehensive, but it does not serve his larger aim of elucidating the emergence of the European discourse about the Japanese or the yellow race. It is not clear how influential these pioneering accounts of Japan by those who never visited the archipelago were. The same question lingers about the earliest European visitors to Japan, such as García de Escalante Alvarado or Luís Frois in the mid-sixteenth century. Beyond their negligible impact on European racial thinking, as Kowner is well aware, these Catholic writers were innocent of modern racial science and racial thought. Their litany of the wondrous and horrendous, or common and unique, attributes of Japanese people (or East Asians) cannot and should not be reduced to the racial template. To be sure, Kowner proffers marvelous descriptions and explications of the pioneering Christian discourses on Japanese people and culture. Anglophone readers in particular should welcome his précis, replete with exemplary quotations.

The chapter about the first century of actual European encounters with Japanese people makes fascinating and illuminating reading. Following a disquisition about Japanese slaves and their interactions with Chinese and Southeast Asians, Kowner examines sexual and marital encounters and covers the discourse about spiritual hierarchy and the nascent comparison between Chinese and Japanese people. Thus, the book succeeds as a work about intercultural encounters—albeit one almost exclusively unidirectional—even as it falls short of achieving the author’s stated aims. As Kowner remarks about the seventeenth-century European writers, their discourse on Japan largely lacked “a deterministic biological framework and a coherent taxonomic perspective” (200). It is difficult to write about racial thought without the concept of race.
Kowner’s tour d’horizon of Dutch (and German) writings on Japan in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries provides a fine conspectus as well. Although the Tokugawa regime did not totally isolate Japan from foreign trade and influence, the Dutch came to monopolize European intercourse with Japan. Engelbert Kaempfer predictably occupies a central role in what is essentially a monograph within a tome. Although Kowner is illuminating about Kaempfer and the declining significance of Japan within European thinking about East Asia, he is not as successful in providing a more wide-ranging understanding of European writings about East Asia, which perforce focused on China during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Kaempfer’s History of Japan (London, 1727) had little impact initially and only belatedly became a classic of Japanology and Asian Studies. Kowner’s treatment again reveals From White to Yellow as a wonderful resource for tracing European writings on Japan but not as satisfactory for other purposes.

Kowner’s book is imperfect; its ambition remains unfulfilled in large part because it is misconceived. However, it ostensibly, and impressively, collects all of the significant European discussions about the Japanese before 1735. It is hardly faint praise to say that Kowner has read widely and deeply and provides Anglophone readers with a comprehensive introduction to the wide world of European writings about Japan during the early modern era. Although it will not appeal to people interested in the European concept of race or even the European discourses about the yellow race, since it focuses predominantly on Japan, it offers a window onto the manner in which Europeans once portrayed non-European others. The author’s promised follow-up volume on the modern era (1735–1905) should be similarly informative.

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