Reviews

The History Manifesto. By Jo Guldi and David Armitage (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014) 165 pp. $45.00 cloth $19.99 paper

This small book addresses several large issues—the character of historical scholarship in recent decades, the relationship between history and other academic disciplines, the opportunity that "big data" offers historians, and the responsibility of historians to engage and seek to persuade the widest possible audience about pressing contemporary issues. The work combines wide-gauge, diagnostic analysis with highly focused, impassioned exhortation.

The authors' basic argument is that beginning in the 1970s, for various professional and political reasons, most academic historians started researching archive-intensive, small-scale projects within short-term time frames. This microhistorical turn brought both gains and losses. The losses included ceding large-scale historical claims in the public sphere to colleagues in other disciplines (especially economists but also political scientists and evolutionary biologists) less equipped to address the complex, multicausal changes that characterize human life. Consequently, with respect to current issues of global import, including climate change, international governance, and socio-economic inequality, public discourse is now informed by reductionist, mythologizing macro-narratives about such issues as our allegedly inevitable environmental apocalypse or the unavoidability of neoliberal capitalism.

Guldi and Armitage urge historians to recapture public relevance and a political role by re-embracing long-term historical frameworks and integrating them with quantitative analyses of increasingly available, massive digital databases pertaining to diverse natural, political, social, and cultural phenomena. By writing accessible long-term narratives that employ data visually and integrate micro-examples within macro-trajectories, historians can dispel mythologies and break the "short-termism" detrimentally afflicting the public and private sectors and intensifying the global problems that historians can best help to solve. Historians can and should show readers and citizens throughout the world that shared human life has an open future because it has had a contingent, not genetically or economically determined, past.

The History Manifesto deserves to be widely read and discussed (certainly much more extensively than a short review permits). Its impressive range is wedded to a simultaneously critical and exalted assessment of academic history. The authors recognize the importance of quantitative methods and economic history, marginalized for decades within the profession, and they commendably refer to *facts*, *data*, and *truth* without scare quotes. Historians are indeed uniquely situated to explain change over time by integrating divergent kinds of evidence, multiple timescales, and different types of causality, if they are willing to think without self-imposed, microhistorical shackles. With the help of big data, where appropriate, they can help those willing to understand how the past has made the present, undermining dubious mythologies while pursuing history as "a critical human science" (10).

More problematic is the authors' practical suggestion that history thus revamped might offer to conscientious citizens normative paths to emulate. It is unclear how ethical guidance could emerge from historical analysis as such, regardless of the range of the data or the timescale in question: Neither past paths nor present possibilities are morally prescriptive. It is difficult to imagine ideologically diverse historians uniting, let alone large majorities agreeing, about fundamental moral issues in polities as divided as the contemporary United States.

Brad S. Gregory
University of Notre Dame

Toward Spatial Humanities: Historical GIS & Spatial History. Edited by Ian N. Gregory and Alistair Geddes (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2014) 212 pp. $30.00

A number of collections have shown how a spatial perspective and, more specifically, the technology for spatial analysis and visualization can be applied to the study of society and culture. The six essays in this volume all make use of geographic information system (GIS) technology and all are concerned with tracing change over time. The articles' reliance on this technology supports the claim that the spatial humanities as a field are defined by the use of geographical technologies (xv). Nevertheless, the more fundamental development is the interest in bringing a geographical perspective to bear on historical change. Combining basic kinds of geographical information—location (where something happens) and distance (the relationship of that location to other locations)—with human events creates new insights. Without doubt, GIS has been integral to this development because it has made cartography so easy. Gregory's bibliography of further readings offers a broad perspective and a reliable introduction. At the more sophisticated levels illustrated by the chapters in this collection, the power of GIS lies in its ability to process large amounts of data at different scales using statistical methods and visualization techniques. Most importantly, GIS is an invaluable tool for discovering the relationships between different kinds of locatable data.

Robert M. Schwartz and Thomas Thevenin's comparison of English and French localities is a good case in point. How did the spread of railroads through the countryside affect agricultural production at a time when cheaper American grain was disrupting the existing cereals market? To answer this question, Schwartz and Thevenin use population data, land-use history, land elevations, and railroad-station locations. Distance was crucial; upland farmers further from stations reduced cereal production and increased their cow herds, whereas those with closer access to cheap rail transportation were less likely to do so.

Historical GIS studies often depend on being able to track population through repeated changes in the administrative boundaries used to aggregate population statistics. Andrew A. Beveridge's study of urban black–white segregation from 1880 to 2010 in Chicago, and Niall Cunningham's

investigation of the Catholic–Protestant division in Ireland since the mid-nineteenth century, with special attention to deaths during the Troubles, are examples of what is feasible once this problem is solved. For Beveridge, U.S. census tracts solved the problem, but Cunningham had to use both nineteenth-century baronies and twentieth-century urban and rural districts. Both studies use statistical techniques to show how the isolation or clustering of their respective groups changed over time, and they show similar arcs, from increasing segregation in the past to decreases in the present.

The fine-grained use of population data depends upon knowing the boundaries of population-containing units, a serious problem for research about periods prior to the advent of mathematical mapping at the end of the eighteenth century. Elijah Meeks and Ruth Mostern demonstrate that point locations—in this case the shifting locations of country and prefectural seats in eleventh-century China—can offer insight into how the state balanced its interest in revenue with its strategic concerns at the borders and how it responded to such natural disasters as the Yellow River's change of course in 1048.

From the editors' perspective, Meeks and Mostern's territorial analysis and Julia Hallam and Les Roberts' mapping of Liverpool in film represent a turn from historical GIS to spatial humanities. Even though these studies are not as statistical as those previously mentioned, however, the notion that they represent a turn from the quantitative to the qualitative or from historical GIS to the spatial humanities is unconvincing. After all, both of them depend on exhaustive datasets and precise locations in space. There are humanistic approaches to space and place that require neither kind of evidence. We also should ask whether a GIS-based approach would have offered insights that other, less laborious methods, do not. A traditional content analysis would seem to suffice for correlating genres of Liverpool films with possible locations.

Finally, Humphrey Southall makes the point that large infrastructural projects, such as the Great Britain Historical GIS (GBHGIS)—a project that he has led for many years—can be used to support a variety of public and private endeavors outside of academia, despite their difficulty, expense, and duration. His account of collaborations with four entities will inspire those who are currently working on national HGIS projects, as will the fact that the Vision of Britain website, based on the GBHGIS, has had nearly 2 million visitors.

Peter K. Bol
Harvard University

Religion and Trade: Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000–1900. Edited by Francesca Trivellato, Leor Halevi, and Cátia Antunes (New York, Oxford University Press, 2014) 288 pp. $99.00 cloth $19.95 paper

This book deals with a variety of loosely connected subjects under the rubric of trade among peoples of different cultures. It covers medieval

and early modern Mediterranean Christian–Muslim trade, kinship and religion–based trade in France and Holland, the politics of state–church–merchant relations in Portugal, the production of African sculptures for European consumption, and Muslim pilgrimage in the Indian Ocean. The strengths of the book are its deeply documented historical-anthropological studies, but the individual articles do not lend themselves to broad generalizations about methodology nor about the global development of trade, economies, and empires. Nor does the book consider, except in one chapter about African sculptures, the impact of trade on the economies, societies, and cultures of the participants.

The book suggests that despite cultural barriers, trade was not difficult to arrange. British trade with the indigenous peoples of Newfoundland worked perfectly well without any common language or culture due to an implied shared understanding of gift-giving rituals. Each side offered its goods; the other side indicated either acceptance by taking them or refusal by leaving them.

In the Mediterranean, even in the midst of Christian–Muslim hostilities, the ransoming of prisoners and trade was routine. Ordinarily trade took place in fondacos, warehouses, and residences for foreign merchants to facilitate taxation and control of markets, to inhibit foreigners from entering freely into general society, and to protect them from local hostility or criminality. Exchanges were facilitated by experienced middlemen, bilateral treaties, shared customary, and legal norms, as well as, presumably, common ideas of fairness, reciprocity, and trust. For example, a Muslim legal decree (*fatwa*) from Granada defended the ransom of Christian prisoners as necessary for assuring the well-being of captive Muslims, for honoring contracts, and for creating moral obligations. Trade was often facilitated by resident foreigners, diaspora and hybrid populations, renegades, Jewish converts to Christianity, and other marginalized people who served as intermediaries.

The collected articles show that although some traders operated within kinship networks and religious communities—such as Jews, Armenians, and Parsees—minorities often participated in larger trading networks. Religious strictures were often relaxed, mitigated, and bypassed. Rabbis in medieval Europe allowed Jews to deal lawfully with non-Jews. In Morocco, Jews and Muslims mixed in the bazaars. In seventeenth-century Bordeaux, business connections among people of different religions were ordinary. By the end of the eighteenth century, Jews and Christians in Amsterdam, London, and Livorno had merged in finance and other joint ventures on a purely capitalist basis. Law, local administration, and reputation in the same city replaced intra-group solidarity as assurances of reliability.

The biggest problem in cross-cultural trade was not negotiating among merchants of different cultures but overcoming non-merchant prejudices, religious laws, and the political interests of rulers. Religious restrictions on certain goods—especially foods, clothes, and weapons—helped to prevent contamination and to maintain the boundaries between peoples. For example, Muslim authorities forbade sales of the Qur'an, candles, spices, slaves, and weapons to Christians.

The story of Portuguese trade in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans affords a particularly rich example of the complications that attended trade, religion, and politics. Portuguese trade was tied to conversion and conquest. The Portuguese Crown created its own council of lawyers and theologians to make the king independent of the papacy, and to use royal authority to enhance political and economic control over merchants.

In all of the cases studied in the book, traders had the upper hand. Making money trumped the cultural and political goals of non-traders.

Ira M. Lapidus
University of California, Berkeley

Making Waves: Democratic Contention in Europe and Latin America since the Revolutions of 1848. By Kurt Weyland (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014), 318 pp, $ 85.00 cloth, $29.99 paper, $ 24.00 e-book

When do pro-democratic protests in one country spark pro-democratic protests in others? When are they successful in toppling authoritarian regimes? In his boldly interdisciplinary search for an answer, which spans political science, history, and social psychology, Weyland reaches across two centuries. He studies the perceptions of political actors, the dynamics of collective protests, and regime outcomes in three international waves of democratic contention—the "tsunami" of unrest that spread throughout Europe after the overthrow of King Louis Philippe of France in 1848; the revolutionary tremor that, inspired by the Russian October Revolution of 1917, shook the fledgling German Republic after World War I; and the so-called "third wave" of democratization that led to the demise of military rule in Latin America during the late 1970s and 1980s.

Although much of the theoretical edifice of contemporary political science rests upon the perceptions and expectations of decision makers, the cognitive micro-foundations of politics suffer from twin neglect. We do have neither strong theories nor strong empirical data dealing with political expectations. Historians often possess the latter but lack the former. Weyland, however, provides both of them. He offers a persuasive political-psychological theory about the formation of expectations and reconstructs actual perceptions on the basis of historical documentation and interviews (for the most recent episode of democratization).

According to rational explanations of political protest, individual citizens calculate risk and utility before they join contentious actions. As Weyland argues, however, under conditions of authoritarian uncertainty, rationality is "bounded," and citizens have to rely on cognitive shortcuts ("heuristics"). They take their cues from dramatic instances of successful popular protest in foreign countries ("availability heuristic"), which they hope to replicate in their own country ("representativeness heuristic").

At a time when theory in political science is becoming more and more simple and parsimonious, Weyland's theory is refreshingly complex. He interweaves his cognitive micro-logic with organizational meso-factors. The environment within which citizens receive information and make decisions improves with the extent to which authoritarian regimes permit certain civil liberties and civic associations. Members of a modern large-scale organization with a canny, knowledgeable leadership are less prone to make "rash inferences" than are scattered groups of relatively uninformed people. At higher levels of organizational density, diffusion processes tend to be slower but more successful. Certain types of social organization do more than improve the capacity for collective action; they also improve the capacity for *rational* action.

Given its breathtaking scope, the book cannot but invite critical observations. First, the dependent variable of "democratic contention" is somewhat indeterminate. What arose in 1848 was a wave of *liberal* contention; after World War I, a wave of *non-democratic* revolutionary contention; and in the late twentieth century, a wave of democratic *regime change*. The broad term "contention" blurs these distinctions. Second, the book includes only positive cases of diffusion; a study of negative cases—contentious episodes that did not trigger imitative waves—would also be instructive. Third, Weyland's theory of rational collective action assumes that people respond to given opportunity structures. It downplays the fact that contentious actors often strive to *create* opportunities. If they fail to do so, we should not conclude *ex post* that they had been doomed to fail *ex ante*. Weyland equates rationality with risk-averse prudence and treats risk-accepting audacity as a lesser form of "bounded" rationality. Fourth, for all its breadth, *Making Waves* barely touches the comparative study of authoritarian regimes, which identifies elites, rather than citizens, as the primary threat to the survival of dictators. In his *x*-centered design (with its focus on one causal factor, protest diffusion), Weyland attributes regime outcomes to regime contention. Yet how can we discern the causal weight of mass protest relative to competing explanations, such as elite conflict? Finally, although the book is gracefully written, its didactic repetition of arguments creates certain redundancies.

No academic work ever closes a debate. Yet few books open up debates in so a fruitful manner as does this one. Bridging disciplines and centuries, *Making Waves* not only provides a deeply original and insightful account of international processes of protest diffusion; it also sets new standards for how political scientists and historians need to deal with the perceptions of political actors. We should neither leave them to theoretical common sense nor confine them to the black box of unobservable phenomena. We need explicit theories for political expectations and systematic empirical strategies for studying them. Weyland has taken us a good stretch up that hill.

Andreas Schedler
CIDE, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Mexico City

Confronting Memories of World War II: European and Asian Legacies. Edited by Daniel Chirot, Gi-Wook Shin, and Daniel Sneider (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2014) 330 pp. $75.00 cloth $30.00 paper

As the persistent "history wars" in contemporary East Asian politics continue to challenge peace in the region, scholars rightly bring their various disciplinary toolboxes to bear upon interpreting, explaining, and offering advice for the handling of seemingly irreconcilable memories. Shin and Sneider, among others, have written elsewhere about regionalism, reconciliation, and textbook politics.[1] In this collection, edited with Chirot, they engage directly with a popular myth that pitches a uniquely unrepentant "Japan" against an unreservedly/altruistically remorseful "Germany."

The book's collective strategy of debunking, or at least seriously complicating, this myth is to widen the comparative lens, explicitly as well as implicitly. Chirot shows how Germany's Eastern and Western European neighbors urged and continually reinforced Germany's apologetic stance—even if from vastly different political positions—which has contributed to the creation of amicable relations. He also notes that such reciprocity is entirely absent between Japan and its Asian neighbors. Sneider complements this approach by pointing out that what Japan regards as diverse and mainly pacifist memories about itself, its neighbors see as self-serving political tools that only in recent decades permitted genuine regional relationships. Regime legitimacy is the theme of Gilbert Rozman's forceful chapter, which makes China its central focus but broadens the memory discourse to include three different historical narratives—glorifying China's imperial past, demonizing Japan's imperialism, and criticizing the United States—and their synergistic effect in keeping the memory disputes in East Asia burning.

Two chapters draw the comparison between Germany and Japan more directly. Shin takes stock of Japanese reconciliation efforts through a familiar list of accepted practices, from state apology to civic activism, highlighting how the role of the United States contributed to Japan's divergence from Germany and its opportunities for the future. Berger measures German and Japanese politics of the past with the tools of historical realism, and, by throwing Austria into the mix, thoroughly discredits cultural determinism.

The rest of the contributions sheds light on the European and Asian legacies of war in more subtle ways through seemingly separate case studies that illustrate the contingency of memory. Frances Gouda's fascinating juxtaposition of two "icons" of Dutch memory—Anne Frank and Sukarno—reveals diametrically opposed formations of memory at work in the same society—one geared toward reconciliation and the other toward an avoidance of postcolonial reckoning. A similar glimpse

1 Shin, Soon-Won Park, and Daqing Yang (eds.), *Rethinking Historical Injustice and Reconciliation in Northeast Asia: The Korean Experience* (New York, 2007); Shin and Sneider, *History Textbooks and the Wars in Asia: Divided Memories* (New York, 2013).

at the French memory of German occupation and colonial loss in Indochina would have been helpful; instead, Jackson deftly deconstructs the memory of Vichy, revealing a fragmented and multilayered memory landscape akin to postwar Japan's. The final two chapters, by Igor Tarbakov and Roger Petersen, excavate the symbolism and emotional strategies behind post-Communist identities in Russia and Eastern Europe.

Asians and Europeans, it turns out, provide good company for each other in their diverse struggles with war memory. Although the book offers compelling analyses of intranational struggles with memory in both Asia and Europe, the international and especially regional dynamics involved in negotiating the legacies of a traumatic shared past make for particularly illuminating comparisons. One conclusion that emerges is that it is not enough for the perpetrator countries to want reconciliation. Indeed, the difference between Europe's relatively successful and Asia's comparatively unsuccessful reconciliation regarding the past decades may ultimately lie in the victims' self-interest in both forging and accepting apologies in the name of regional integration rather than division.

Franziska Seraphim
Boston College

Capital and Corporal Punishment in Anglo-Saxon England. Edited by Jay Paul Gates and Nicole Marafioti (Rochester, Boydell Press, 2014) 208 pp. $90.00

This volume demonstrates both the promises and the challenges associated with an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the legal past. During the last decade or so, scholars have brought into print or digital form critical editions of several of the law codes that survive from the period between the early seventh and the early eleventh centuries.[1] The editors' introductory essay—well worth a second reading after completion of the collection—argues that among the achievements of a precocious Anglo-Saxon monarchy was the gradual development of a judicial program that had several aims beyond merely punishing violence. Early English rulers sought also to deter disruptive behavior, to maintain the peace of the king and the church, and to reinforce the authority and power of the divinely inspired social order.

The introduction also identifies several themes that run through the book's ten chapters: first, a clearly discernible shift in late Saxon England from a culture of feud—sometimes described by legal historians as the "private" justice of the kindred—to a system in which punishment became the prerogative of a third party (the "public" justice of the king); second, the gradual articulation of a theory of punishment that

1 This publication is an ongoing process, the results of which are available at the Early English Laws project website, available at http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk.

reconciled the ambitions of secular rulers with the tenets of the Christian church; and third, the elaboration of a theory of justice that accorded uncontested legislative authority to the king in regulating the punishment of serious offenders. Each of the chapters that follows addresses one or more of these themes; collectively, they make compelling arguments for understanding the critical role of the Anglo-Saxon kings and their ecclesiastical mentors in generating a penal system unrivaled in Europe for its ability to give tangible expression to complex notions of social control.

Each of the ten chapters begins with a useful summary of recent scholarship intended to situate their authors' findings within their fields before demonstrating precisely how approaches that move well beyond the texts of extant law codes have the potential to offer exciting new interpretations of royal and ecclesiastical authority in the Anglo-Saxon period. The ten essays bring to the methodology and theoretical underpinnings of conventional legal scholarship perspectives that reflect recent work in sociology, anthropology, Anglo-Saxon poetry, medieval penitential literature, and archaeology. Particularly noteworthy for their innovative use of documentary, visual, and material sources are the contributions by Jo Buckberry, which examines skeletal remains from execution cemeteries; by Valerie Allen, which explores in new ways the messages imprinted on coins; and by Jay Paul Gates, which posits the existence of a landscape of severed limbs deeply imbued with messages about royal and ecclesiastical ideas of right and wrong.

The ghost of the late Patrick Wormald, whose studies set the stage for recent scholarship in the fields of medieval social and legal history, looms large in this collection.[2] All but one of the chapters adopts as its premise a "maximalist" view of the later Anglo-Saxon period that emphasizes the power and reach of the Crown, the strength of centralized institutions of law and governance as early as the tenth century, and the maturation of a close and effective partnership between king and church in matters of justice. Alone among the contributors to this volume, Andrew Rabin cautions against attributing to the judicial system of the period greater sophistication than it was capable of exercising, and to rulers such as Æthesltan (d. 939) and Cnut (d. 1035) greater control over their subjects than either textual or archaeological evidence permits. The editors' failure to allot greater space to the many scholars who take issue with Wormald's state-centered perspective is the weakest feature of this otherwise exemplary collection.

Cynthia J. Neville
Dalhousie University

2 See, for example, Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century. I. Legislation and its Limits* (Hoboken, 1999).

The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World. By Lindsay O'Neill (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) 264 pp. $47.50

In recent years, a number of important scholarly works about letters and letter writing during the early modern period have appeared. The literature about early modern networks of one form or another—business, social, or personal—has also grown substantially. In *The Opened Letter*, O'Neill brings together these two literatures in innovative ways by demonstrating how and why letters and letter writing became central to the maintenance and vitality of various kinds of networks in the British world during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Scholars have long stressed the dynamism of Britain and Britons during the early modern period, pointing to such socioeconomic expressions as the transformation of agriculture, commercialization, urbanization, and the expansion of external trade, as well as such political developments as the consolidation and modernization of the nation-state and the establishment of the rudiments of empire. Broader and tighter communications networks were vital to these developments. Although a number of innovations in transportation and communications—the public post, packet shipping, the rise of newspapers, etc.—created the possibility of long-distance networks, they alone were insufficient to make such networks function effectively as the world in which face-to-face communications overwhelmingly predominated began to fade away.

According to O'Neill, correspondence of various kinds—personal, familial, business, intellectual, and organizational—established (or reaffirmed) the trust, the rhythms, and the routines that members of networks desired once they no longer were able to interact on a face-to-face basis. O'Neill seeks to establish her case through a systematic analysis of more than 10,000 letters written—and, importantly, delivered, read, and often redistributed—between the late seventeenth century and the middle of the eighteenth century. The letters that she studied were written by a small number of elites—six writers primarily—for whom rich troves exist. Social-science historians will immediately suspect selection bias, but, despite the fact that no efforts at formal randomization were made (or potential problems even acknowledged), there seems little reason to believe that the letters chosen and the conclusions derived from them are unrepresentative of the British elite whom O'Neill targeted for analysis. Indeed, the group of writers is sufficiently diverse, and O'Neill sufficiently meticulous, to inspire confidence in her principal findings.

What are these findings? First and foremost, that letters and letter writing, as suggested above, provided the social lubricants necessary to make networks work in a changing world that was not yet "modern" but no longer "traditional." Moreover, unlike a number of earlier writers who viewed the growing popularity of letters and letter writing in the early eighteenth century as evidence of the rise of the "individual self" and the widening gulf between the private and public worlds (7),

O'Neill interprets this development in a more nuanced way.[1] To her, letters, particularly familiar letters, helped a great deal in the navigation of *social* relationships, serving as "the sinews of networks": As such, they "nurtured communal ties as much as a sense of individual identity" and "tied together informal networks that stood outside state or institutional control" (8). In a world where "the public sphere was not yet fully formed," letters thus enabled private networks of "smaller publics" to develop, even to flourish (8).

The above discussion merely hints at the riches inside O'Neill's deeply researched, well-argued, and crisply written book, which includes both a rigorous textual analysis of letters and an impressive mapping of epistolary networks. *The Opened Letter* makes important contributions to several fields and subfields, and, like many of the letters that O'Neill analyzes, will find a wide readership.

Peter A. Coclanis
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

The Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment 1740–1820. By Bob Harris and Charles McKean (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2014) 604 pp. $49.95

Harris and McKean's book explores the development of Scotland's burghs during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to address questions about the nature of urban development, about the distinctive qualities of the Scottish urban experience, and about their relationship to British and transnational trends. The book is intensively researched and lavishly illustrated. It is densely written but always informative. A diverse methodology deriving from urban, architectural, social, and cultural history provides the basis for some unanticipated conclusions.

The combination of McKean, an architectural historian, with the social and political historian Harris makes this a truly interdisciplinary work from the outset. McKean passed away in 2013, but not before providing his main contributions (the first part of the book), which look principally at the architecture and physical layout of traditional Scottish burghs. From that foundation, the rest of the work traces the pattern of growth. Most of the research comes from thirty towns chosen largely to represent a rough cross-section of Scottish burghs from a pool of those with good surviving records. The true cities—Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Dundee—have deliberately been omitted from the main analysis.

The opening chapters set up the major questions about the distinctiveness of Scottish burghs compared to the better-studied English

1 See, for example, Bruce Redford, *The Converse of the Pen: Acts of Intimacy in the Eighteenth-Century Familiar Letter* (Chicago, 1986).

towns. The authors emphasize the distinct physical layout of Scottish burghs, marked by such features as a linear pattern of development, the presence of central structures marking the burgh's trading privileges, the mercat or market cross, a stacked pattern of residences, and a corresponding density of habitation. In all of those ways, Scottish towns differed from those south of the border, although the difference was not necessarily a matter of national traditions. Thus, some aspects of burgh life resembled what might also be found in northern England, and others had things in common with Continental styles.

The eighteenth century was a time of rapid change; Scotland progressed from one of the least urbanized societies in Western Europe to one of unrivalled growth. That progression forms the core of the analysis. Along with growth came a substantial remodeling of town centers aimed especially at facilitating transportation and trade, increasing attention to household interiors among both the upper and middle ranks, and opportunities for female householders as significant members of the burgh community.

The key term for this change was improvement, a pervasive ideology among urban householders, in the interests of economy, cleanliness, and refinement. At times it seemed to erase major aspects of Scotland's urban heritage—the abandonment of the market cross is an example—in favor of a more general British cityscape. The authors reject that notion, insisting instead that continuity and stability were underlying themes. To that end, they turn largely to cultural trends associated generally with the age of the Enlightenment, which they identify both with broader Western trends but also with Scottish particularities. They emphasize the traditionally marked sense of civil community, the legacy of guild organization, and strong religious attachment. Thus, Scottish towns were less conspicuously associated than their English counterparts with the display of luxury or the creation of clubs and public amusements. Instead, libraries, literacy, and education were dominant in the burgh Enlightenment, along with a culture of reading in common households that never abandoned Bibles and Protestant devotional works. The authors' combined focus on townscape and culture underlay their argument that the burgh Enlightenment was built upon Scottish foundations.

Ned Landsman
SUNY, Stony Brook

Reproducing the British Caribbean: Sex, Gender and Population Politics after Slavery. By Juanita de Barros (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2014) 279 pp. $32.95

This highly original and well-researched text breaks new ground in investigating issues of population growth, maternal health practices, and infant mortality in the post-emancipation British Caribbean, among other historical

themes. The research narrative, which is grounded chronologically in the immediate post-emancipation period, uses a rich variety of primary and secondary sources to tease open the fabric of a heavily encrusted racial order. Although the book deals with historical themes, it is interdisciplinary in scope, using, with equal ease, the tools of demography, ethnography, sociology, and historiography, among other disciplines.

Foremost in this narrative is an exposé of a racist worldview that first saw the enslaved in the pre-emancipation era as sexually immoral persons who required the superintending hand of the enslaving classes to "civilize" them. In the post-emancipation period, the prevailing narrative both from metropolitan and colonial officials closely mirrored the pre-emancipation views. In particular, the main arguments that surfaced in the debate about abolition centred on the failure of the enslaved populations to grow naturally. When emancipation became a reality, intense scrutiny of the demographic performance of the Afro-Caribbean population was inevitable, both as a means of validating the abolitionist argument that slavery was to blame for the ills of the enslaved population and of observing how exactly emancipation would impact demographic performance. In the introductory section of her work, De Barros succeeds, admirably, in sifting the relevant evidence for the development of a post-emancipation narrative among colonial officials about Caribbean populations, and using it to launch the detailed study that follows.

De Barros embarks on a close reading of the colonial policy on population growth in the Caribbean, as expressed in the correspondence of various officials, both in the Caribbean and in Britain. In the minds of colonial officials, emancipation represented a "Mighty Experiment" that was designed, *inter alia*, to promote population growth and demographic stability. In the words of Lord John Russell (Secretary of State for the Colonies), the expectation was that the formerly enslaved would "advance in numbers under the institution of marriage, and in the enjoyment of property." Curiously, no British authority acknowledged the widespread practice of concubinage in which planters coerced, or even commandeered, sexual favors from enslaved females. If marriage were to be a desired goal of the emancipation process, the responsibility for loose forms of conjugal unions belonged squarely with the former enslavers, not the slaves. In any case, De Barros' analysis clearly shows that the authorities were concerned with issues of morality primarily as it related to the maintenance of the plantation system.

According to the views of Governor Charles T. Metcalfe of Jamaica, the plantation was the repository of civilization, and emancipation, with its emphasis on demographic stability in the Afro-creole populations, was designed, in part, to ensure labor availability on the plantations. The main goal was to keep the formerly enslaved working on the plantations and to discourage their emigration, even from Barbados, which had a well-known labor surplus. The disappointment that post-emancipation populations did not display the expected recovery within twenty years or so led colonial officials to blame the Afro-Caribbean laborers for the

problem—a sign of the "licentiousness, carelessness, and indifference" of Afro-creole parents. Indeed, as Rev. G. Pearson in Guyana stated, Africans were fortunate to have been brought to the Caribbean. So far as Pearson, and others like him, were concerned the ex-slaves had reverted to a barbarous lifestyle, which equated with the abandonment of plantation labor. Black males acquired the reputation of lacking in responsibility, especially in the light of the "illegitimate" births discovered within many family units. Even some black creoles, De Barros observes, bought into the Darwinian views of metropolitan and creole whites. Rev. F. C. Glasgow, an Afro-creole clergyman, attributed the high infant-mortality rate in the Caribbean to "loose, careless, and improper moral habits" and to the "careless exposure of infants by thoughtless women."

De Barros devotes the rest of her study to a careful exposition of the strategies that colonial officials and their directors in Britain devised to reverse these negative demographic trends. They focused on creole midwives as the cause of the Caribbean population's high rate of infant mortality, characterizing them as similar to their counterparts in poor working-class English communities—filthy, innately drunken, and ignorant. However, officials failed to recognize that centuries of neglect by creole whites had helped to create a tradition of dependence on these local (or granny) midwives. Despite British attempts to install a new system of formally certified practitioners, the untrained midwives remained active for some time to come.

White physicians and white nurses were also imported from Europe in the attempt to alleviate the population decline, more specifically infant mortality. Their tutelage placed considerable emphasis on development of "Baby Saving Leagues," the presence of "white female authority figures" to supervise local nurses, and training facilities for mothers, often centred in the colonial hospitals. As in the earlier post-emancipation period, these developments, which persisted well into the twentieth century, bore the unmistakable imprint of racist views on the ordering of colonial societies.

De Barros also notes a burgeoning international interest in tropical medicine. In Britain and the United States, and by extension in the Caribbean, private philanthropic organizations began to pay special attention to the health of the laboring population in tropical environments. The Rockefeller Foundation eventually played a pivotal role in the interventionist health-care policies to ensure the demographic stability of the Caribbean population. In any case, by the 1930s, the growth of a politically aware creole Caribbean population calling for equitable social institutions resulted in family-planning and social-welfare programs that improved the lives of the laboring poor.

In the final analysis, De Barros provides a *tableau vivant* of post-emancipation Caribbean society. Her emphasis on issues of maternal and infant health care and demographic renewal are well grounded in the primary and secondary sources. Her treatment will benefit anyone investigating the history of medicine and demographic trends in the colonial

Caribbean world from the 1840s to the 1930s. Indeed, scholars with more than a passing interest in the adjustments that occurred in the United States, and in the Anglophone, Hispanic, and Francophone Caribbean after emancipation will find this book useful in a comparative context.

Pedro L. V. Welch
University of the West Indies

Distant Strangers: How Britain Became Modern. By James Vernon (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2014) 166 pp. $24.95

Historians who bothered to think about modernity almost always used to follow Weber in closely associating it with disenchantment.[1] Lately, however, some historians have grown disenchanted with disenchantment. First Michael Saler recounted the rise of "modern enchantment" in *As If: Modern Enchantment and the Literary PreHistory of Virtual Reality* (New York, 2012), detailing the substantive social and cultural roles played by fantasy during the last century. Now Vernon argues that the bureaucratic means for keeping "distant strangers" connected with each other "did not lead to the disenchantment of the modern world," because they consistently "catalyzed . . . a reanimation of the local and the personal" (xi). In the process, he promises a riposte, on the one hand, to monocausal histories of modernization and, on the other hand, to the trend toward microhistory. The result, though less than the sum of its parts, amounts to a rewarding retelling of nineteenth-century British history, spanning society, politics, economics, and the public sphere. His book is full of new insights that will be valuable to college lecturers and curious non-specialists alike.

The theme that holds the book together is the claim that the many late Victorian occasions for "the local and the personal," which are usually read as signs of a peculiarly British fondness for tradition, were in fact responses to the stresses imposed by modern institutions. Vernon starts with the premise that Britain's unprecedented population growth throughout the course of the nineteenth century created a "society of strangers" (18). Numerous institutions evolved to enable interaction under these new conditions, including more inclusive schools, the census, the post office, political parties, a national press, and a formalized monetary system, all of which prompted people to transfer their trust from people to things and numbers. Countervailing the resulting tendency toward alienation, he claims, a second set of institutions emerged to re-introduce opportunities for personal interaction: the "separate sphere" of family life, the preservation of elite hierarchies, the revival of the monarchy, and paternalist company managers.

1 See Max Weber (trans. Ephraim Fischoff), *The Sociology of Religion* (Boston, 1971; orig. pub. 1963).

None of this narrative will strike British historians (or many other historians) as particularly new, but Vernon usefully connects the various components together, and he makes at least some effort to locate them in the context of imperial history. Hence, he cleverly refers to the continued importance of local government within Britain as a subset of the policy of "indirect rule" that prevailed throughout much of is empire.

Vernon pitches *Distant Strangers* as a work of historical synthesis, and in most cases, he succeeds in drawing from a sufficient body of recent work in modern British history to qualify his book as a solid overview of that field. In another sense, however, his book summarizes his own work during the last twenty years, as well as that of his many past and present students, whom he liberally cites. His chapter "A Society of Strangers," for example, draws heavily on insights that he first offered in *Hunger: A Modern History* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), and his chapter on civil society similarly echoes his arguments in *Politics and the People: A Study in English Political Culture* (New York, 1993). In each of these earlier monographs, as in *Distant Strangers*, Vernon emphasized the resilience of the personal dimension in the face of modern institutions. In *Distant Strangers*, he makes a stronger plea that focusing on this response mechanism to modernity might pay dividends for historians studying other parts of the world. As he puts it, modernity is "plural in cause and singular in condition" (133).

By taking Britain as his case for examining "the reinvention of local and personal relations" (128), however, he has selected an easy rather than a hard case, since Britons were so adept at adapting to modernity that they emerged as one of the *least* modern Western societies. If what it means to be modern is deference to Oxbridge-educated civil servants, justices of the peace, and the queen, modernity is indeed an extraordinarily contingent condition. It remains to be seen what variants on this theme will usefully inform non-British historians.

Timothy Alborn
Lehman College and CUNY Graduate Center

Dublin: The Making of a Capital City. By David Dickson (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2013) 718 pp. $35.00

To write a history of Dublin is a daunting challenge. Not that approaching the city's story is any more difficult technically than engaging that of other urban areas of comparable age (about 1,100 to 1,200 years of settlement). The challenge is the actual writing—the composition of a large narrative about a city that has been chronicled more skillfully and creatively in the twentieth century than any other capital city in Europe. To write against the metric presented by James Joyce requires a touch of heroism.

Dickson, however, carries it off successfully, but not by engaging in anything innovative. There is nothing new in his method; indeed, the

techniques in the volume could have been employed in 1920. It is a classic form, a straightforward narrative. But Dickson tells his story shrewdly. He is a pedestrian in the sense that he walks through Dublin and spools through time. The streets and lanes of the city become more and more familiar as Dickson strides through the centuries. His main interest is from 1600 onward, and he takes the narrative to the year 2000. For the most part, he focuses upon the interplay of mainstream political developments and the size and conformation of the urban area. Matters of economic development are presented linearly rather than analytically. He offers little in the way of sharp social-class analysis, but he makes some keen observations about cultural matters, such as reading habits, public amusements, and the theater. He approaches religion mostly through architecture, and he deals with the content of the faiths and the depth of sectarian division obliquely.

Dickson's embrace of the classic narrative form is fully self-confident. Thus, the book is much less visual in its presentation than are most Dublin histories written in the twentieth century or, indeed, in the nineteenth. There are only six maps, and none of them is sufficiently detailed to marry with the text. The twenty-six other plates are seemingly random. Nothing in this book intersects with any of the versions of the "new" urban history, and that is the point: This is a big book, heavily researched and thoroughly assured, and its triumph is that one would like to have it nearby when rereading any of Joyce's evocations of Dublin.

Donald Harman Akenson
Queen's University, Ontario

Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500–1200. By Constance B. Bouchard (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) 384 pp. $79.95

The issue of memory and its construction and application in the Middle Ages has developed in the last thirty years into a truly interdisciplinary subfield, incorporating elements from the study of literature, history, art, religion, and liturgy. Bouchard's contribution rests on the power of texts, including charters, cartularies (collected transcriptions of original documents), polyptyques (lists of territorial possessions), historical narratives, and hagiographic *vitae* as tools for the creation and modification of memory as a means to affect contemporary notions of identity. The area of focus is broad in its chronology. Bouchard considers how those living in the sixth through twelfth centuries in what is today France made sense of, and re-contextualized, the events of the past, as they copied, interpreted, modified, or even ignored the documents relating to the foundations of monastic, ecclesiastical, and political institutions.

Like the process of memory that Bouchard describes, the book is organized chronologically "backwards," beginning with cartularies written in the twelfth century. It describes the ways in which the copying of

original charters (frequently donations or the rights offered to the institutions by kings or popes, many already centuries old) into a single volume helped to preserve what the community wanted to remember and to offer proof of its historical status. The examination of how and why the cartularies were composed and used reveals that the documents contained therein were neither randomly selected nor intended to be representative of the entire archive, but carefully deployed to serve the institution's communal and internal memory, mirroring the incorporation of documentary texts into narrative histories of the same period.

Bouchard gives similar treatment to other types of "memory creation," many of them with vastly different kinds of texts, subjects, and intentions: the production, memorial integration, and rejection of forged charters; historical narratives of the Carolingian dynasty (with respect to the memory of their predecessor, their genealogy, and especially their relationship with Frankish churches and monasteries); memories of the pre-Carolingian aristocracy and contemporary monasticism; and texts created in the sixth century to provide histories that would lend legitimacy to saints and their relics. The sources of this subject matter are revealed to be more than just historical records or hagiographic narratives; they are vehicles for the propagation of a particular kind of past that reinforces or challenges the status of the institutions to which the authors and compliers belonged.

In dealing with different types of written sources and subjects, Bouchard shows how—for the authors, copyists, and compliers involved—the composition, collection, or rewriting of texts (both literary and documentary) is as much about recording events and exchanges as it is about influencing the social perceptions of the present and forming memories about the past. What is clear from the many examples offered in this volume is that in the Middle Ages, every type of text, regardless of its format or stated intention, was adaptable for these purposes.

In its style, its organization, and its explanation of documents and technical terms, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors* proves itself to be accessible to a larger audience than just medievalists. It offers a unique perspective on how those who sought to make sense of the past assembled and navigated documents and texts to reconstruct it.

Edward M. Schoolman
University of Nevada, Reno

Massacre: The Life and Death of the Paris Commune. By John Merriman (New York, Basic Books, 2014) 360 pp. $29.99

Paris' short-lived revolt against the national government of France in 1871 (March 18 to May 28) has been the focus of scholarly attention and serious debate for almost 150 years. As the book's title indicates, Merriman's new contribution to this literature focuses on the killing of

the Communards that began with skirmishes between the Commune's national guard and the French army on March 30 and concluded in the bloodbath of May 21–28.

Merriman begins his story with a brief history of Paris under the Second Empire and the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. When the Government of National Defense, created to govern France after the Prussian capture of Napoleon III, surrendered to the Prussians, despite the continued resistance of Paris, the stage was set for conflict between the city and the national government. When Adolph Thiers, the head of the new government, tried and failed to disarm the city of its cannons, the government decamped for Versailles where Thiers refused to meet with the Parisians and oversaw the indoctrination of soldiers with the notion that the Parisians were traitors. Meanwhile, Paris' leaders established the Commune, held elections, passed laws, and prepared to defend the city against the growing threat from Versailles.

When fighting began outside the city, the army executed its military prisoners, foreshadowing the slaughter that would occur when the troops finally entered Paris on the night of May 21. During a week known as the *semaine sanglante* (bloody week), soldiers moved systematically through the city, killing without compunction. The result was the deaths of thousands of Parisians, some as they defended the city's barricades, some as they surrendered, and others—including women, children, and men—simply because they looked guilty to the army. Eventually the killing subsided, and the troops began to march prisoners to Versailles for incarceration, summary judgment, and more executions. Merriman hesitates to offer a precise death count for the Parisians, but the standard guess is about 25,000, not including the thousands of guardsmen and other Parisians killed before the *semaine sanglante*. In contrast, approximately 800 soldiers died fighting in Paris.

Merriman uses the stories, memoirs, and autobiographies of participants, observers, and journalists to tell the story of the crushing of the Commune. There are myriad other sources for the history of the Commune—government documents, trial transcripts, and Commune newspapers—but Merriman's use and analysis of the eyewitness accounts makes compelling reading. He also follows a substantial cast of male and female characters through the life and death of the Commune. Many figures—like Georges Darboy, the Archbishop of Paris, and Raoul Rigault, the head of the Commune's police—receive more attention than many earlier studies have given them. They become complex individuals rather than simply victims and villains.

Merriman frames the study with observations that "the murderous, systematic, state repression" that ended the Commune was not only a precursor to the state violence of the twentieth century (256, x, 255); it also "helped unleash the demons of the twentieth century" (256). These are significant claims that historians will continue to debate. What seems beyond debate is Merriman's judgment, along with that of many of his eyewitnesses, that the national government's decision to kill thousands

of French citizens to prevent further revolution was a "brutal," "murderous," and immoral massacre (225, 240).

Gay L. Gullickson
University of Maryland

The Other Americans in Paris: Businessmen, Countesses, Wayward Youth, 1880–1941. By Nancy L. Green (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2014) 352 pp. $40.00

From beneath the shadow cast by the mythologized lives of American literature's "Lost Generation," this volume offers a refreshing portrait of the American expatriate colony that thrived in Paris and a compelling methodology for examining the United States' emigrant diaspora. In eight thematic chapters, focusing on the first half of the twentieth century, the book weaves the threads of economic, business, legal, and cultural approaches through the transnational social history of Paris' "American Colony." Through the Colony, Green seeks to uncover both the "willing and unwitting participants in the story of America's global reach" (5). In the process, Green makes a compelling case not only for the inclusion of "elite" emigrant communities into the framework of U.S. migration history but also demonstrates the centrality of expatriate communities to the trajectory of American transnational exchange (6–7).

Through a close reading of overlooked sources—including the census, police records, residence directories, and American business archives—Green uncovers a diverse Parisian American world. The Parisian American Colony was comprised of a variety of social groups, ranging from businessmen and women to musicians, nightclub owners, criminals, and stranded indigents. Green compares the social, legal, and cultural identities of those in this self-described "American Colony" with those of the "other Americans" congregated in Paris (41). These expatriates "re-created an image of America for themselves" in dialogue with each other's identities, with French attitudes toward themselves, and with the "skepticism" of Americans across the Atlantic (256).

Parallel to the creation of American social institutions and an offshore civic life, Americans in Paris also constructed the mechanics of Franco-American commerce. The American Chamber of Commerce in Paris, founded in 1894, created and mediated Franco-American markets. For Green, the Chamber represented an "almost missionary view of American business," acting as the conduit through which ideologies of American power were transmitted (137). Green thereby points economists and political scientists to the vibrant world of non-state actors and institutions that structured global trade during the first half of the twentieth century and to the role of international society in spreading germane knowledge of markets and investments worldwide.

The question of Americanization therefore looms large throughout. Scholars from a wide range of disciplines will be interested in Green's attempt to provide an account of American economic expansion overseas that "lies between isolationism and conquering expansion" and highlights the contestations that characterized the process (144). At its most robust, Green's American Colony was a "frontier outpost" of a U.S. empire (141). Yet, Green's work parallels Brooke Blower's *Becoming Americans in Paris: Transatlantic Politics and Culture between the World Wars* (New York, 2013) in revealing the protean, context-dependent framework of French anti-Americanism (222). The contingencies of this intra-French debate about economic nationalism, rather than the United States' surging power, dictated the rhythm of American expansion during the first half of the twentieth century.

The Other Americans is an incisive work of transnational social history that blends a variety of conceptual approaches to study the United States' global interconnections. As scholars seek to internationalize the study of U.S. history, Green's fine volume will undoubtedly serve as a model, suggesting that further analysis of how American communities coalesced around the world will also plot the diverse locales of the United States' global footprint.

Stephen Tuffnell
University of Oxford

Citizenship between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945–1960. By Frederick Cooper (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2014) 512 pp. $45.00

This monograph offers a new dimension of analysis with regard to choices and decisions about citizenship in France's sub-Saharan African territories. These choices, which were essential during the late colonial period, call into question the narrative of African leaders seeking the nation-state as principal model of identification. The result is highly convincing, magisterial, and elegantly written. The analysis also sheds light on the complicated interplay between debates at the political top, conflicts and resolutions on the territorial level, and the practicalities of creating and adapting civil status on the ground.

Cooper's book is not a manual on French decolonization, although it completes the existing state of analysis by Chafer and others, including Cooper's own *Decolonization and African Society*.[1] Notwithstanding the

1 See, for example, Tony Chafer, *The End of Empire in French West Africa: France's Successful Decolonization?* (New York, 2002); Keese, "First Lessons in Neo-Colonialism: The Personalisation of Relations between African Politicians and French Officials in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1956–1966," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, XXXV (2007), 593–613; Martin Shipway, "Gaston Defferre's Loi-Cadre and Its Application 1956/57: The Last Chance for a French African 'Empire-State' or Blueprint for Decolonisation?" in Chafer and Keese

fact that the book discusses "French Africa," it is mainly concerned with processes in Senegal and Dakar, not with territorial developments in, say, Dahomey, Upper Volta, or Niger (a priority that is fully justified, given the wealth of material already in the book). On the conceptual level, it offers an excellent discussion about France's policy regarding citizenship as it was defined in Paris and Dakar and convincing evidence that challenges the apparent dichotomy between empire and nation-state (431).

The many impressive elements of Cooper's narrative include a brief overview of citizenship in the French (and French imperial) context (13–18), a case study about electoral rights for women in Senegal, as part of a discussion of postwar developments (46–50); a masterful analysis of Léopold Sédar Senghor's arguments at the Constituent National Assembly in 1946 and elsewhere (80–83); and a view about the fundamental uncertainty besetting all of the groups within the assembly (102–103). A particularly important chapter that discusses the definition of citizenship and the status of imperial citizenship follows (126–131, 153–163). In his fourth chapter, Cooper studies African mobilization—for example, through the battle against forced labor and the installation of parallel, grassroots administrative structures in the territories (168–174)—and claims for equality in labor issues (179–185).

The book then presents an insightful discussion of the plans and projects for reform of the French Union, working toward a federal solution of some kind (192–194). Interpreting the *loi-cadre* of 1956, Cooper revisits the old claim of "territorialization" and the misunderstandings that characterized the reform process (220–226, 239–240). En passant, Cooper submits a useful appreciation of "Eurafrica" as a political idea of the period, and a new explanation for the conflict between Charles de Gaulle and Sékou Touré at the occasion of the Constitutional Referendum of September 28, 1958 (264–270, 311–324). Especially impressive are Cooper's discussions of the complex conditions under the French Community from 1958, the idea of multinationalism, and the process of creating separate citizenships after the explosion of the Community.

Cooper's monograph does not present a particular multidisciplinary approach; the book does not need one to interest historians concerned by interdisciplinary questions. Cooper describes legislative processes in ways that illuminate the history of laws about citizenship, and he engages with the concept of the nation-state (pointing out its relative importance for African leaders) in ways that are mindful of the interpretations current in political science. The three case studies that Cooper presents in the final part of the book are also crucial, for political scientists and sociologists, to an understanding of the relevant political processes—the political crisis of 1962 in Senegal, the French immigration policies of 1974, and the politics of ethnonational exclusion in Côte d'Ivoire until

(eds.), *Francophone Africa at Fifty* (Manchester, 2013), 15–29. See also Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York, 1996).

2011. As a historian of citizenship and empire, Cooper sets a standard that is likely to last for a long time.

Alexander Keese
Humboldt University, Berlin

The Holocaust and the Revival of Psychological History. By Judith M. Hughes (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2015) 188 pp. $67.50 cloth $24.00 paper

Hughes, a historian and a psychiatrist, makes an eloquent argument in this book for historians' existing "reliance on a psychoanalytically inflected commonsense psychology" (11). She argues that many, or even most, historians working on both sides of the turn of the twenty-first century have used such an approach in "recognizing agency" on the part of human beings in their times and places (5, 179). In this claim, Hughes is certainly correct, particularly since the discipline of history has become more interested than ever in documenting in rich detail the experience of human beings as revealed in the many sources that they have left behind. This experience, for Hughes, is filled with deep, complex motives and actions that demonstrate the central role played by fantasy as well as fact. As a case study, Hughes analyzes several works about the history of the Holocaust that engage, with varying degrees of success in her view, this search for agency and motive in history.

The great strength of this book is its clear and detailed comparative analysis of these texts. Hughes spends a great deal of time following the narrative of each work that she analyzes for the sake of the general-interest audience that she targets. Historians and graduate students will find these narratives too long and too full of direct quotations, especially in the case of Hugh Trevor-Roper's *The Last Days of Hitler* (New York, 1947). Most of the analysis of the relative poverty of psychodynamic insight in Trevor-Roper's portrait of Hitler—compared with Ian Kershaw's full-length *Hitler: A Biography* (New York, 2010)—is confined to a couple of pages at the end of the first chapter. This organizational imbalance is less evident in the comparison between Daniel Goldhagen's *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1996) and Saul Friedländer's two-volume *Nazi Germany and the Jews* (1997, 2007). For Hughes, Goldhagen's account, in contrast to Friedländer's, lacks psychoanalytical sophistication as well as attention to historical detail in its "unnuanced and tendentious treatment of German anti-Semitism" (47). Hughes could have stressed that Goldhagen is a political scientist and not a historian. His tendency, therefore, is toward the type of categorical and causal thinking that can preempt idiographic concern with the multiple and overdetermined conditions affecting an individual in history.

In this regard, Hughes would have done well to discuss Christopher Browning's disagreement with Goldhagen in the afterword to the second edition of *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in*

Poland (New York, 1993) about the motives of perpetrators. Hughes mentions the afterword in a footnote but does not exploit it in her well-founded criticism of Goldhagen for transforming "his subjects into automata" (180). Likewise, Hughes cites Deborah Lipstadt's *The Eichmann Trial* (New York, 2011) but does not mention Lipstadt's argument concerning Eichmann's deep antisemitism, which has been recently documented by other historians of the Holocaust. This theme would also have helped to further an argument in her book—criticism of Hannah Arendt's view of Eichmann as a man without any psychological depths in *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York, 1963).

Hughes' pronouncement that "assertions about the childhood origins of adult beliefs and behaviors" should be omitted is too strict (4). Documenting the childhood of a historical figure may well be difficult, with the attendant danger of reductionism, but it is hardly impossible. This stricture is also at odds with Hughes' reliance on Sigmund Freud as a source of psychoanalytical insight for historians. But this apparent contradiction aside, why does Hughes ignore later neo-Freudian and even post-Freudian psychoanalysis? Some mention of Heinz Kohut or Nancy Chodorow would only strengthen her clear, compelling, and essential argument for the utility, indispensability, and inevitability of depth psychology in examining and understanding the past.

Geoffrey Cocks
Albion College

The Baron's Cloak: A History of the Russian Empire in War and Revolution. By Willard Sunderland (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2014) 344 pp. $35.00

The revival of imperial thinking has been on dramatic display during the recent Ukraine crisis, with eighteenth-century maps suddenly being dragged out to justify twenty-first-century actions. Sunderland's masterful *The Baron's Cloak* provides a unique rendering of the collapse of the tsarist empire, not through the study of leading officials or government institutions but through the life of a minor nobleman whose personal story highlights the attraction—and contradictions—of empire.

Baron Roman Feodorovich von Ungern-Sternberg, a Baltic German aristocrat educated in St. Petersburg, managed to live both in the center and the periphery of the Russian Empire during his brief thirty-five years. Ungern was no intellectual, and he left behind no memoirs. Sunderland did not have a lot of biographical material from which to work. Nevertheless, he weaves Ungern's peripatetic life into the broader history of the late tsarist period to open a fascinating window on the inner workings of the Russian Empire.

Ungern was a product of "russification," a German-speaking Lutheran who was educated at a Russian military academy and eventually found a

position with the Trans-Baikal Cossacks. He was subsequently posted on the Amur River and in Mongolia. All of his meanderings serve as platform for Sunderland to explore the question of nationality within a multi-ethnic empire, in which Ungern meets, and absorbs, different cultures everywhere he goes. Ungern's life at the edge of empire further allows Sunderland to discuss the difficult question of borders. Ungern served on the barely established Russo-Chinese border that was still porous, both economically and culturally. He was also stationed on what was becoming the Russian frontier, where he experienced the growing conflicts between Russian settlers and native populations.

The declaration of war in 1914 began to unravel Ungern's world and, as Sunderland argues, ultimately led to the breakdown of the great European continental empires. Ungern rallied to the empire's defense on multiple military fronts, and in the aftermath of the February revolution, he became an ardent advocate for the restoration of the Russian monarchy.

The civil war finally saw Ungern's rise to prominence as leader of the Mongolian campaign against the Red Army. Sunderland describes his adventures in vivid detail, focusing not only on his various military exploits but also on his descent into criminality that invariably accompanied these operations. Ungern's political views, however, did not develop beyond antisemitism and imperial revanchism. In 1921, the Bolsheviks—during their effort to re-establish the Russian Empire, albeit under new ideological management—captured and executed him.

Sunderland explores the complexities of the Russian Empire by placing Ungern in the context of his own time and, most importantly, his own space. *The Baron's Cloak* can serve as an excellent introduction to the study of empire; it clearly describes the essential features of this now extinct political construction. Ungern's life history further demonstrates the devotion to the idea of empire that remained prevalent among non-Russian elites but can never be accurately quantified. As such, the book will be of great interest to Russian historians who have to wrestle with the longevity and sudden collapse of the tsarist regime.

William Pomeranz
Kennan Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center

The Conquest of the Russian Arctic. By Paul J. Josephson (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2014) 441 pp. $55.00

The Arctic has attracted considerable attention in recent years due to its geopolitical and geostrategic importance. Russia, as this book ably demonstrates, has a long, close, and often-strained relationship with the region stretching back to the late tsarist period. Given that a significant chunk of Russia's territory is situated within the Arctic Circle, it is little wonder that the region emerged to play an influential role in shaping the development of the country. Josephson sets himself the ambitious task of reflecting critically on Russia's changing relationship with the Arctic

from the late nineteenth century to the present day. Much of the analysis falls inevitably on the Soviet period when the Arctic region became embroiled in the country's all-consuming efforts to construct a communist society. The harshness of the region with its desperately cold winters and brief summers encouraged a similarly brutal response from the Soviet regime in many instances. It was a response built on blood, sweat, and tears and buttressed by timber, iron, and steel.

The book is structured more or less chronologically but also draws attention to a series of key themes. The initial chapters reflect on early efforts to explore and map the region. Such activity was underpinned in the first place by economic and geostrategic considerations before giving way, during the 1930s, to a more ideologically driven desire to demonstrate the resilience and power of the Soviet system. Later chapters examine the transformation of the Arctic during the mid- to late Soviet period as the region was re-shaped by massive projects (such as the White Sea–Baltic Canal), opened up by new air, road, and sea transport routes, and pockmarked by the growth of industrial towns founded on the region's extensive natural resources. What emerges is an Arctic of industry and urban development—a steady and seemingly inevitable expansion of human economic activity, motivated by the region's abundant natural wealth.

Despite their remoteness, some of the settlements, such as Amderma on the shores of the Kara Sea, managed to carve out an admittedly precarious existence. The chapter dealing with the instrumental role of the gulag system in helping to assimilate large tracts of territory above the Arctic Circle is particularly bleak in its depiction of day-to-day life and the blunt, utilitarian activities of the state. Other chapters explore the more enlightened side of Soviet activity in the region, encompassing scientific activity and associated efforts to understand the natural rhythms of the northern latitudes. The regime's attempts to assimilate the North's indigenous peoples also receive consideration.

The book's narrative moves continuously between the grand gestures and initiatives of the state and the activities of various actors at the local level. This movement is facilitated by the extensive use of archival documents as well as a range of secondary materials. Josephson also makes frequent arresting diversions into the lives of particular individuals, the development of northern settlements, and the functioning of such relevant institutions as *Glavsevmorput* (the Northern Sea Route administration). Cumulatively, such efforts help to place the reader in the midst of the action. For example, in describing the abandonment of the ship *Cheliuskin*, trapped by ice in the remote Chukchi Sea during the winter of 1933/34, Josephson provides an intimate insight into the resultant temporary settlement established on the ice flow. Apart from its positive contribution to the overall richness of the narrative, such detail is useful in challenging the notion of a dominant state advancing a clearly articulated plan to transform the Arctic region. Instead, what emerges is an *ad hoc* process of assimilation, shaped by a curious mix of adventurers, scientists, chancers, convicted felons, and heroes of the Soviet Union.

The final chapter discusses Russia's recent engagement with the North following the fall of the Soviet Union. It highlights the increasingly strained geopolitical situation characterizing the Arctic region and Russia's efforts, particularly under Vladimir Putin, to assert its authority in the area. The complex mix of high politics and domestic economic uncertainty, coupled with broader shifts in regional climate patterns, ensure that Russia's relationship with the Arctic remains as fractious and unpredictable as ever it was.

Taken as a whole, the grounded character of the book's analysis ensures that the visceral nature of Arctic exploration is kept alive through much of the book. Russia's Arctic endeavor emerges, for the most part, as a dirty and dangerous activity leavened with hardship and tragedy.

Jonathan D. Oldfield
University of Birmingham

Between Land and Sea: The Atlantic Coast and the Transformation of New England. By Christopher L. Pastore (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2014) 312 pp. $35.00

Ecologists and anthropologists have long accepted the truism that life is particularly varied, complex, and dynamic in the broad tidal estuaries where earth and ocean meet. But scholars of colonial North America, slow to embrace environmental history, are only lately reaching the water's edge—with record-rich New England, as usual, leading the way. More than thirty years ago, William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* (New York, 1983) prompted deeper awareness of that region's shifting colonial forests and fields. Then a new generation of deep-sea scholars, such as Bolster, began trolling in adjacent Atlantic waters.[1] Now Pastore ventures onto the marshes and the mudflats between them, exploring New England's largest estuary in a fascinating, detailed, and often lyrical study of Rhode Island's Narragansett Bay and its watershed of more than 2,000 square miles.

Pastore's fascination with the history and ecology of this island-studded bay began in childhood. He grew up where the Providence River enters the wide, saline estuary that stretches south more than two dozen miles from the city of Providence to Newport Harbor and the Atlantic. He writes clearly and perceptively about the ways in which inhabitants shaped, and were more shaped by, these tidal waters in the centuries after Giovanni da Verrazano's admiring visit in 1524. *Between Land and Sea* begins by analyzing how the seventeenth-century traffic in wampum (strings of shell beads made by Native Americans from the bay's abundant whelk and quahog shells) sustained an expansive colonial pelt trade that

1 See, for example, Jeffrey Bolster, *Cross-Grained and Wily Waters: A Guide to the Piscataqua Maritime Region* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2002).

decimated the beaver population, drying up countless beaver ponds and altering the region's landscape. The book ends with a masterful account of an ill-fated effort by Rhode Island shipping merchants to extend their reach northward; they schemed to capture some of rival Boston's commerce with the Massachusetts interior by financing a canal along the newly industrialized Blackstone River. Until defeated by the railroads and battles about water rights, the short-lived artery carried staves, shoes, and ship timbers to Providence, while whale oil, fish, cotton (and unwanted wharf rats) traveled north to Worcester.

Between these bookends, Pastore delves into cartography, boundary disputes, coastal warfare, and the gradual transition from an agricultural to an industrial coastline. Writing accessibly about New England's smallest and least-studied colony, he shows that long before the area's first lighthouse appeared in 1749, maritime settlers were harvesting fish and oysters from the clear, nutrient-rich bay (covering nearly 150 square miles) and raising sheep, horses, and cattle on the surrounding meadows. By 1700, Rhode Island had outstripped its neighbors in livestock production and was provisioning New England's fishing and trading vessels. By 1730, the colony founded by Roger Williams had embraced the African trade, and domineering Narragansett planters with vast estates were forcing enslaved workers to construct the highest concentration of stone walls in New England.

Comparisons with Chesapeake Bay, Charleston Harbor, and Port Royal Sound, much less San Francisco Bay or Puget Sound, do not figure in Pastore's book. But his well-crafted study should prompt researchers to look more closely at the subtle interplay of history and ecology in other major North American estuaries.

Peter H. Wood
Duke University

Lenape Country: The Delaware Valley before William Penn. By Jean R. Soderlund (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) 264 pp. $ 39.95

For many historians, the seventeenth-century Delaware Valley has long been a blank space on the map, a terra incognita in the heart of early America. Though located midway between Virginia and New England, the region's sparse population of Swedish, Finnish, and Dutch colonists left few marks, making it all too easy to ignore until 1681, when the new colony of Pennsylvania swiftly transformed the Valley into one of the densest sites of European settlement in North America. Soderlund's *Lenape Country* fills this empty canvas with a dynamic picture of a Native-controlled region, where Lenapes—the people later known as Delawares—built a stable set of alliances with neighbors and maintained their independence for decades after the colonial arrival. Countering a long-standing "portrayal of the Lenapes as a powerless people," Soderlund argues that Lenapes' political "primacy"

defined the region's early colonial history (5). Although the Swedish, Dutch, and English empires each claimed the Delaware as their own until the 1680s, Soderland sees a shared society taking shape, crafted by Native interests as much as European ones.

Soderlund's chronological narrative highlights the region's comparatively peaceful character. With the exception of the Sickoneysincks' massacre of several dozen Dutch colonists living at the mouth of Delaware Bay in 1631, no major frontier conflict ever erupted in the area, making it unlike neighboring regions along the coast. In her interpretation of that 1631 attack, Soderlund argues that the sudden destruction of the small outpost was meant to prevent further colonial incursions, making it "a rational act in a violent world" (48). The creation of "New Sweden" in 1638, which was only slowly populated by a mixed Finnish and Swedish population, led to new ties between neighbors, as some colonial men married indigenous women. A Swedish clergyman would later claim that "ours are as one people" and that Lenapes "in their language call these Swedes their own people" (65). The core of Soderlund's thesis is that the Lutheran ideals of these Nordic colonists had a kinship with the communal egalitarian ethos of Lenapes, as "ethnic diversity and alliance among the Swedish nation and Lenapes created a culture committed to personal freedom, religious liberty, shared use of resources, opposition to centralized authority, and focus on economic gain that remained distinctive of Delaware Valley society into the eighteenth century" (141).

Soderlund makes a compelling case, if not an entirely convincing one. Lenape country also lacked a central high-profit commodity that served as a root cause of colonial population spikes and frontier conflicts, in the way that tobacco farming intensified settlement on the Chesapeake and the wampum trade led to political and economic instability in New Netherland and New England. Nonetheless, Soderlund finds evidence that at every tense moment throughout the century that could have easily spiraled out of control, cooler heads prevailed, demonstrating a shared commitment among colonial and Native leaders to reconciliation. Whether this political culture of mutual toleration could have endured in a different regional economy or with a larger European population is anyone's guess.

Drawing from Swedish, Dutch, and English sources, Soderlund's methodological toolkit is decidedly that of a traditional historian. Although her thinking is clearly informed by ethnographic work on Native societies, most of Soderlund's interpretation relies on weighing multiple sources against each other, considering comparative historical regions, and reading against the grain. She includes images of archaeological finds, such as pipe fragments, Susquehannock-made combs, and other trading goods, but these artifacts serve only as illustrations, not sources of evidence (29, 50–51). Her interpretation touches on questions of cultural change, gender, religion, and linguistics, but, at its core, it remains a traditional historical narrative concerned with events and their causes.

Lenape Country is not, nor does it claim to be, a model of interdisciplinary inquiry. But Soderlund adds new depth to our understanding of the beginnings of the Middle Colonies, telling a surprising story of a "Native ground" that persisted on the eastern seaboard many decades after the founding of Jamestown, Plymouth, and New Amsterdam.

Andrew Lipman
Syracuse University

Ceramic Production in Early Hispanic California: Craft, Economy, and Trade on the Frontier of New Spain. By Russell K. Skowronek, M. James Blackman, and Ronald L. Bishop (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 2014) 440 pp. $84.95

Focused on an overlooked and perhaps (to some) seemingly inconsequential topic, this innovative collection of essays investigates ceramics in Hispanic California, showcasing the unique contributions made possible by collaborative research. The authors and researchers include archeologists, chemists, historians, anthropologists, an architectural historian, and an artist.

After initial important studies on pottery in Alta California, from both the Spanish (1697–1821) and Mexican (1821–1846) periods, were published in the 1980s, the topic covered in this book was virtually abandoned.[1] The authors of the current study offer an explanation for why these abundant potsherds, plentiful fragments of bricks and tiles (*ladrillos* and *tejas*), were of little scholarly interest: "Tons of these have been excavated and curated or sometimes thrown away or sold because they were seen as undiagnostic by archaeologists and curators" (xxv). These copious plain-ware fragments became diagnostic, however, in 1999, when the Smithsonian offered to conduct instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA) on them in its Center for Neutron Research at the National Institute of Standards and Technology. This unique interdisciplinary project analyzed more than 2,000 California pottery samples dating from c. 1790 to

1 As noted by the authors in the preface (xxiii), the initial studies were Julia G. Costello, "Ceramic Analysis of Maiolicas and Mexican Earthenwares," in Stephen A. Dietz (ed.), *Final Report of Archaeological Investigations at Mission San Jose (CA-Ala-1)* (Santa Cruz, 1983), 247–253; Robert L. Hoover and Costello (eds.), "Ceramics and Other Ceramic Artifacts," *Excavations at Mission San Antonio 1976–1978* (Monograph 26) (Los Angeles, 1985), 20–56; *idem* (eds.), "The Brick and Tile Kiln," *ibid*., 122–151; Ann Hagerman Johnson, David Fredrickson, and Vance Benté (eds.), "Mission Pottery—Analysis from Feature 1. Appendix G," *Report of Phase III Research for Block 1, San Antonio Plaza, San Jose* (San Jose, Calif, 1985); *Santa Ines Mission Excavations: 1986–1988*, California Historical Archaeology no. 1 (Salinas, Calif., 1989); Ronald V. May, "Spanish Period Ceramics from the San Antonio Plaza Project," in Johnson, Frederickson, and Benté (eds.), *Report of Phase III Research for Block 1, San Antonio Plaza, San Jose, Appendix H* (San Jose, 1985); *idem*, "Spanish and Mexican Majolica in California: Key Indicators of the Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Spanish Empire," *Fort Guijaros Quarterly*,1:2 (1987),14–22.

1840, collected at twenty-seven different Alta California sites—missions, presidios, and ranchos. The Smithsonian partnered with colleges, universities, state and federal agencies, and cultural resource organizations.

The INAA's chemical analysis of the ceramics showed that these seemingly inconsequential potsherds could reveal significant new information about Hispanic California—for one thing, that much of the earthenware pottery at these California sites was locally made. Comparison of the chemical composition of the potsherds even indicated the source of the clay used. Additional research focused on the production of, and trade in, ceramics in Hispanic California. An artist was brought into the project to re-create the original vessels. Research into historic colonial kilns, ceramic decoration, and trade followed. The approach of these various scholars and institutions, combining the best of science, the social sciences, the arts, and humanities was truly "multifaceted" (10). The book's sixteen chapters, organized into five parts, display varied interdisciplinary methodologies. The volume begins at a macro-level in Part I, "A Study of Pottery," which contextualizes the book's topic within the global study of pottery, as well as within study of the Spanish Empire, where pottery production was traditionally viewed as a sign of Spanish acculturation. Part II focuses on the specific context of Alta California, providing an excellent overview of studies in that field. In Part III, "The Creation of Ceramics," various authors establish a typology for mission pottery and explore the history of kilns and the firing of pottery in Alta California. Chapter 6 shows the various pottery types, as re-created by Ruben Reyes, the artist recruited for the project. This section also provides information about the movement of artisans from Mexico into California (with important implications for other areas of study pertinent to the missions), as well as an investigation into interactions with Native artists and Native artistic traditions.

Part IV, "Assessing Variation in Ceramic Composition," presents the bulk of the scientific data about the mineralogy and chemical composition of plain-ware pottery in early Hispanic California. The INAA's discovery that some of the wares were imported provides important new information about trade in glazed ceramics. Part V, "Pottery as an Active Component of Colonial Economics," treats this topic in detail.

In addition to demonstrating the efficacy of collaborative research, this volume validates the potential contributions of micro-history. Branching out from its concentrated attention on plain-ware ceramics in Hispanic California, the authors make important contributions to larger issues—acculturation in the Spanish Empire, the materiality of the past, Native contributions to the missions, and the economics of trade—that will be of interest to archeologists, historians, anthropologists, and scholars of the arts. All of the data that the authors collected for this book have been published on a website—archaeometry.missouri.edu/datasets/datasets.html—to encourage additional research.

Charlene Villaseñor Black
University of California, Los Angeles

Collegiate Republic: Cultivating an Ideal Society in Early America. By Margaret Sumner (Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2014) 255 pp. $45.00

For years American social historians tended to dismiss the nineteenth-century college with the derisive label, "The Old Time College"—meaning small and small-minded, limited in mission and funding, and dominated by religious denominations. Sumner's archival research at numerous campuses counters that stereotype. Whatever limits the colleges faced were offset by an American combination of commitment and optimism. Eschewing metropolitan areas as suspect and even evil, a generation of college founders worked assiduously to fulfill the ideal of a "college on a hill."

Sumner's story prompts rediscovery of the admirable experiments that college builders undertook, lending a new appreciation for Dartmouth College's motto—*Vox clamantis in deserto* (a voice crying out in the wilderness). It conveys the resolve of college builders prior to 1860 who set out to create on the frontier and away from major cities institutions that would serve as intellectual and social incubators for those who aspired to service for and to the republic and civil society.

Complementing previous historical scholarship about higher education, *Collegiate Republic* shows a side of colleges far removed from the tensions within the undergraduate world described in such works as Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz's *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago,1987). Without disavowing the troubles that Horowitz surveyed, Sumner includes perspectives from students, as well as from founders, professors, presidents, and alumni. Sumner's book reinforces and supplements the profile that Roger L. Geiger presented in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century* (Nashville, 2000).

Sumner's study would have gained from an interdisciplinary connection to works in sociology. For example, her stories of college founders and presidents approximates the seeds of what Burton Clark termed the "organizational saga"—in short, the collected beliefs and aspirations of a group, internalized and often embellished, that serve as a basis for the creation of collective meaning. As Clark emphasized in *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Swarthmore & Reed* (Chicago, 1970), the people and events responsible for a college or university's founding typically acquire a heroic, if occasionally spurious, quality in subsequent decades and centuries.

Sumner's discussion of the problems that the college founders faced in the new commercial world of America c. 1810 to 1860 reinforces what Wood noted about the latter years of Thomas Jefferson and other Founding Fathers—that they were out of touch in the new enterprising environment (and, hence, struggled financially).[1] Yet the new colleges

1 Gordon S. Wood, "The Greatest Generation," *New York Review of Books*, 29 March 2001, 17–22.

established a home and launching pad for education and for civic participation and responsibility. A product of the times into which they were born, they also became another front for the ongoing and increasingly rancorous national debate about slavery. The concluding chapter of *Collegiate Republic* expands the book's narrative of domestic college building to examine how still-developing notions of education and morality found expression in American efforts to colonize Liberia.

On the strength of its archival research, Sumner's *Collegiate Republic* suggests a promising approach for historians to consider the mechanisms and motivations of college-building in the nineteenth century.

John R. Thelin and David M. Brown
University of Kentucky

Taming Manhattan: Environmental Battles in the Antebellum City. By Catherine McNeur (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2014) 312 pp. $29.95

McNeur's book reminds us that even Manhattan, once upon a time, had its slums. Slums are associated with environmental problems, but as this valuable short history shows, such problems are more about the way in which human social and economic relations affect environmental decisions than about the environment itself. In antebellum Manhattan, pigs, dogs, offal, "night soil," and parkland became battlefields where people fought about larger issues: economic inequality, property rights, corruption, greed, and government power—the "meta-environment" that frames environmental decision making, then and now.

By one estimate, New York City had 20,000 hogs in 1820, one pig for every person in the city. Swine wandered the streets, terrorized pedestrians, and also provided a kind of ecosystem service, turning organic waste thrown onto the streets into meat, an economic asset that served as a kind of snorting safety net for the poor. When the City Council voted to round up the hogs, rioters confronted city officials in demonstrations literally to free the pigs. Dogs prowled the streets in packs, sometimes attacking passersby and potentially transmitting deadly rabies. Unlike pigs, dogs had owners from all of the social classes. The city's efforts to control them through registration and bounties inspired riots, too, this time against animal cruelty; as McNuer vividly describes, 3,000 dogs were killed during just two months in 1831 when the bounty was raised from 50 cents to a $1.00 per dog.

Taming Manhattan tells the early story of parks in New York City. At one time, open green spaces were a luxury that only the wealthy could enjoy. The Commissioner's Plan of 1811 made little provision for public open space, and private interests quickly usurped what little of it then existed in the form of military parade grounds. Lush and green Gramercy Park, constructed by Samuel Ruggles in 1832, replaced the farm that used to be Crommessie Vly, a winding cattail-lined creek

on the east side of Manhattan, and simultaneously demonstrated a new truth of the urban landscape: Green is good for property values. A blossoming of new parkland in the city, eventually leading to New York's great Central Park, reaffirmed these facts. In the 1810s and 1820s, the city fathers killed the "Grand Parade" under pressure from real-estate interests, but by the 1830s, these interests were pressing for Madison Square Park in the same part of town.

As these anecdotes indicate, McNeur's method is to raise appositional comparisons and arch contrasts to a high art. Private trees in public spaces, hog wash and swill milk, the beginning of construction of Central Park in 1857, and the Piggery War two years later all illuminate her theme of the conflicts about rights and power that attend a fast-growing city in the developing world. In the nineteenth century, that city was New York. In the twenty-first century, that city has been replicated hundreds of times, in countries all over the world, where slums house as many as a billion people worldwide. Reading *Taming Manhattan* is like peering into a Petri dish at the massive changes now occurring on a planetary scale and wondering how it will all work out.

Eric W. Sanderson
Wildlife Conservation Society

Buying the Vote: A History of Campaign Finance Reform. By Robert E. Mutch (New York, Oxford University Press) 363 pp. $34.95

Buying the Vote examines the evolution of the financing of presidential elections, the adoption and impact of federal campaign-finance laws, and the Supreme Court's campaign-finance cases. Its primary historical focus (seven of the book's nine substantive chapters) is the era from the Gilded Age to Watergate. The modern campaign-finance system was born at the start of this period, as civil-service reform's erosion of the spoils system, the emergence of big business corporations, and the growing cost of elections together led to a shift in the main sources of campaign funds from political insiders—candidates, politicians, party workers, and politically active businessmen—to wealthy outsiders interested in affecting the outcome of elections. The prominent role played by large donations from major financiers, industrialists, and their corporations, as revealed by journalistic accounts and federal and state investigations, led to a public outcry and enactment of the first federal campaign-finance laws, barring corporation donations and requiring disclosure in 1907, 1910, and 1911.

Closely examining newspaper articles and editorials, the extensive investigative reports undertaken by federal and state legislative committees, and the papers of leading Progressive Era reformers, Mutch finds the place of the corporation in American democracy was a central concern in this period. Challenging accounts that give greater weight to corporate wealth and power and the ability of officers and directors to misuse shareholder funds, Mutch contends that the move to ban corporate

contributions reflected the conclusion "that corporations are not citizens and do not have the rights of citizens. This was a formal statement of democratic principle" (50). Although these laws were rarely enforced and often evaded, Mutch maintains that they were of great "symbolic" significance (186). Moreover, he finds that they actually had some impact on campaign-finance practices. Going through the reports of the many congressional committees that examined the financing of presidential elections from 1912 to 1968, he discovered that most national-party committees filed campaign reports and that after Congress enacted the disclosure law, the size of the average donation dropped from the Gilded Age heights. He "suggests" that among "political and economic elites," there was "an informal consensus that supported disclosure and kept down the size of contributions" (119).

The final third of the book focuses on the post-Watergate era, especially on the parsing of the Supreme Court's anti-reform decisions. As Mutch notes, the Court's rulings that campaign-finance laws trigger First Amendment concern and that the promotion of political equality cannot justify spending limits mark the first time that opposition to reform was "based in political theory" rather than on short-term political or partisan self-interest (143). Mutch links the Court's action to a new conservative concern with liberal attacks on big business. He is especially critical of the cases striking down corporate spending limits, in part because, in his view, they fail to come to grips with the early twentieth-century determination that corporations are not part of the democratic political community (186).

The writing about these points is more than a little tendentious. Mutch dismisses one opinion as "circumlocutory fog" (182), and he fails to recognize that even some liberal members of the Court have found that spending limits impinge on the dissemination of political speech (although they are more willing to uphold regulation on egalitarian grounds). The focus on corporations also misses the fact that many of the largest donations in the 2012 election came from wealthy individuals, and that most electorally active corporations are non-profit ideological entities, not business firms. Nonetheless, Mutch is surely correct that the Court's decisions, rooted in a controversial legal theory, "have had a substantial effect on political reality" and have sharply narrowed the range of possible reforms (185).

Richard Briffault
Columbia Law School

American Labor and Economic Citizenship: New Capitalism from World War I to the Great Depression. By Mark Hendrickson (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013) 320 pp. $99.00

Hendrickson offers a fascinating study of policy professionals and social scientists inside and outside the U.S. government who influenced thinking

about the "New Capitalism" of the 1920s. Following the postwar boom in industry and labor—marred by a large number of strikes—"a powerful new vision of capitalism" took hold, "one quite different from the capitalism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (297). During a period of rising wages, rising output, and rising productivity, socioeconomic thinkers in this new era focused less on conflict between economic concentration and democracy and more on workers as consumers driving the economy in partnership with employers and corporations. President Hoover, along with sundry engineers and policy researchers, focused on economic growth, higher productivity, and increased wages, which allowed workers greater access to the new world of durable goods.

During a time of labor peace the American Federation of Labor (AFL) began to emphasize cooperation with business while providing research that showed that workers deserved even greater wage increases to match the rise in value added per worker. The "Hooverites" emphasized volunteerism rather than regulation by the government, and since the focus was on economic growth raising the standard of living for all, inequality per se received little emphasis. But other researchers, like real-wage estimator Paul Douglas, the Women's Bureau, the National Urban League, and journalists in *Survey* magazine showed their "activism" by performing careful studies of real wages and the labor conditions faced by women, African Americans, and Mexican migrants. The ideas of the new era of the 1920s set the stage for the efforts of New Deal policymakers to align consumption, production, and wages in their attempts to battle the Great Depression.

A few minor quibbles spring to mind. The American Association of Labor Legislation and the National Industrial Conference Board deserve more than passing mention as sources of research during the period. What Hendrickson generally describes as a genuine move toward cooperation by the AFL during a period of labor peace was more a desperate lunge for survival. The labor movement had reached its nadir after the federal government ended its wartime backing of collective bargaining, and the unions lost a series of bitter strikes after the War. Moreover, Hendrickson's overselling of "activism" on the part of the Women's Bureau ("speaking truth to power") could backfire, encouraging some people to discredit the excellent studies and surveys performed under the auspices of the Women's Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics in general (23).

Anybody who makes use of survey data and research about labor and the economy should read this book. It provides extensive information about the socioeconomic and intellectual environment in which the studies were performed—in particular, the debates regarding the proper measurement of real wages, the National Bureau of Economic Research's struggles to obtain funding for economic studies without policy recommendations, and the vagaries of government and private funding for studies of labor and minority workers.

Price Fishback
University of Arizona

The Archaeology of American Cities. By Nan A. Rothschild and Diana diZerega Wall (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2014) 265 pp. $69.95

Although scholars from many disciplines use the terms *archaeology* and *artifact* metaphorically in their considerations of the dynamic and multilayered processes at play in urban spaces, Rothschild and diZerega Wall use the terms literally in *The Archaeology of American Cities* to introduce readers to "possibly one of the most important inventions in history" (xi), the city. Drawing our attention to the deep understanding that an archaeology of the city provides, they synthesize past and current urban archaeological research on modern American cities to show how a privy, a well, a household, a landscape can reveal everyday experiences and social relations at local and global levels. This volume considers American urban spaces with both macro (the city) and micro (city residents and their consumption patterns in terms of race, class, ethnicity, and gender) scales of analysis, while looking at the complex interrelation of materiality and the documentary record that historical archaeology offers. The discussion within this volume allows these projects "to create a richly nuanced picture of urban lives and places" (1).

In seven chapters, Rothschild and Wall present research themes found in projects that span from early colonial to pre-industrial and industrialized cities. They provide an overview of how urban archaeological research developed in the United States during the 1970s, as environmental-compliance legislation mandated excavation at urban sites that may have previously been dismissed as too disturbed to be of any value to research. In Chapter 3, they turn to issues of landscape, planning, and infrastructure; in Chapter 4, trade, manufacturing, and services; in Chapter 5, race and ethnicity; in Chapter 6, class and gender; and in Chapter 7, cemeteries and commemoration via the analytical lens of the city.

Given the volume's orientation toward the richness of urban life and spaces, the potential topics are truly encyclopedic. Rothschild and Wall explain their thematic arrangement, acknowledging the multiple emphases that urban sites can sustain. For example, the charred remains of peppercorns in cloth bags and coffee beans in barrels from an 1835 era New York grocery store, discussed in a chapter about burgeoning service industries (80), connect with issues of global capitalism, class, consumption, and even fire-code changes for municipal buildings. The comprehensive enumeration of these complex projects—from published academic articles and books, as well as from the "gray literature" of Cultural Resource Management (CRM)—is one of the main contributions of the volume.

Rothschild and Wall's own excavations in New York City laid the groundwork for many of the urban archaeological projects featured within the book. In their conclusion, they write about important comparative work that can be accomplished in the future, as digital repositories

for archaeological and documentary data make more of it feasible. Most importantly, the cases that they cover call attention to how cities that "value their history" (27)—supporting historic-site tourism, employing city archaeologists, and protecting their nonrenewable resources—challenge other city governments and urban dwellers to make the same commitments.

Rebecca S. Graff
Lake Forest College

A History of Family Planning in Twentieth-Century Peru. By Raúl Necochea López (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2014) 248 pp. $32.95 paper $29.99 e-book

This excellent study presents the complexity of the subject of family planning, intimately linked to ideas of progress, modernization, international relations, and the changing roles of men and women of different backgrounds in Peruvian society. Necochea consults an impressive range of archival sources and oral histories to show that families were, indeed, not the key decision makers in family-planning strategies. Instead, physicians, politicians, social reformers, and priests became the movers and shakers who promoted family stability. Family planning, including the state-led or reform-driven initiatives to strengthen families, has a history that is sometimes, but not always, linked to birth control and to concerns about family size. Necochea's analysis of officials' changing interpretations of Peru's demographic needs reveals that Peru did not easily fit the dominant models proposed by population planners in the United States, who often equated large families with poverty and lack of economic development and who promoted population control, especially after World War II. Peruvians, meanwhile, linked family size to family planning and to the future of their nation in complex and changing ways.

In the early twentieth century, Peruvian officials sought to increase population size, initially following the path of countries in the Latin American Southern Cone, attracting European immigrants to improve the quantity and alleged quality of national populations. When, disappointingly, few immigrants chose to settle in Peru, local reformers paid more attention to children, mothers, and families. Health officials also tested scientific concepts that originated in Europe, such as puericulture (the care of unborn children and infants) and eugenics, lured by their alleged potential to prevent national decline and degeneration. New scientific models not only focused on improving the well-being of infants and mothers but also involved female reformers who either helped to fulfill the modernizing missions of political leaders or advocated family-planning strategies of their own design.

Necochea dedicates a noteworthy chapter to the personal history and political influence of Irene Silva de Santolalla, a female reformer

whose remarkable rise in politics as the first female senator reveals the complex negotiations between tradition and change in Peruvian society. Her conservative politics increased her influence on the education of mothers and families. In addition to other existing measures to protect families, such as the regulation of prostitution and efforts to manage male sexuality (including moral and physical instruction), she promoted family education with a moral twist. Between the 1930s and the 1970s, Santolalla connected Catholic values to "natural" female virtues—and to the advantages of heterosexual family life—thus teaching women to protect their families and, by extension, their nation.

The dominant discourse of family-planning programs remained linked to the safeguarding of the family and women's traditional roles as mothers, even as political leaders negotiated the degree of attention that they could give to birth control. Necochea's study invites comparisons to other Latin American countries where the protection of the family and birth-control policies, became subjects of heated debate and where political interests could pit nation-state leaders against alleged foreign prescriptions of population management for the sake of development. Moreover, religious values and Catholic traditions could provide moral sanctioning for, or withdraw it from, family-planning measures.

Necochea's study will incite thought-provoking discussions among scholars of twentieth-century Latin America. It will also provide food for thought to those interested in the politics of rights and health in the Americas.

Jadwiga E. Pieper Mooney
University of Arizona

Brazilian Propaganda: Legitimizing an Authoritarian Regime. By Nina Schneider (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2014) 213pp. S74.95

Schneider's *Brazilian Propaganda* investigates the "official propaganda of authoritarian Brazil" through the thesis that Brazil's military regime could not have maintained power for twenty-one years by force alone. Linking this investigation to her political-historical biography, Schneider asks, "How could my ancestors . . . have prevented the Nazi dictatorship?" One answer is that Nazi's use of "blunt" and "aggressive" propaganda shaped public obedience to authority. Blunt propaganda—which "directly promotes violence" by "prais[ing] the arbitrary regime"—constructs enemies through stereotyping and "prais[es] . . . organs of repression" (12). Aggressive propaganda pursued the same ends with even greater gusto.

In contrast, "subliminal" propaganda, which Schneider finds to have dominated during Brazil's military period (1964–1985), "attempt [ed] to win general support for the military regime . . . [by] draw[ing] a veil over violent repression . . . .[and] . . . refus[ing] to intimidate, threaten, construct enemies, or justify violence." Schneider argues that

subliminal propaganda did not directly create the military regime's violent actions (11–12), even though the organizations that deployed it were subordinated to the military and headed by military officers. The entities behind subliminal propaganda—the Special Public Relations Consultancy (AERP), 1968–1974) and the Public Relations Consultancy (ARP) (1976–1979), delivered subliminal messages primarily through "filmetes" and "radio productions" (22). Their propaganda style contrasted with *Globo* media's more explicitly pro-military ("blunt") delivery and the National Intelligence Service's (SNI) highly aggressive approach.

Schneider discovered a push/pull between propaganda groups; blunt and aggressive propagandists were often backed up by purveyors of subliminal propaganda. The greatest total production of subliminal propaganda came between 1975 and 1977, during General Ernesto Geisel's government (1974–1979), not during General Emílio Garrastazu Médici's much more repressive one (28). Schneider reports that opposition was strong against Geisel especially from hardliners. Hence, Geisel needed a softer propaganda voice propagated by an entity that he established and controlled (the ARP). The blunt and aggressive propaganda of *Globo* media and the SNI, respectively, could be used against his government.

Schneider's claim that in Brazil propaganda's role was to "create the appearance of a democracy and . . . avoid comparisons with a dictatorship" is intriguing (1). She might have extended it to international geopolitics: Is international support easier to obtain if a government does not seem undemocratic? In *Political Policing: The United States and Latin America* (Durham, 1997), I show that the Brazilian military government's increasingly negative image impacted some U.S. Senators' feelings about continuing U.S. funding for Brazil's security forces. In a closed 1971 meeting of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (CFR), Sen. Jacob Javits (R-N.Y.), in an attempt to continue funding for Brazil's police, asserted that the country was a "dictatorship by consent," a designation that struck a bad chord with Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.), who "could not swallow such an oxymoron. CIA chief Richard Helms explained that a "dictatorship by consent" referred to the fact that if there were "free elections in Brazil tomorrow, you would . . . [get] the same fellow [General Médici] as President" (Médici had been appointed Brazil's president two years earlier by the country's ruling military *junta*). Fulbright eventually relented; he was "perfectly willing to accept . . . that this is the [political] system that suits [Brazilians'] particular temperament and degree of political maturity . . . . [Indeed he] doubt[ed] that Brazilians' could do any better than Médici" (Huggins, 161). Schneider would have done well to explore how a country's propaganda can shape its image internationally.

Schneider clearly delimited the focus of her research—Brazil—and her time period (1968–1977). She consulted a rich number of primary and secondary sources and used multiple data-collection strategies—content analyses of film, of propaganda documents, and of *Globo* news, as well as interviews. Schneider's Chapters 2 and 3—"Stars Appearing in the Sky: Unconventional Propaganda Films" and "Beware! More

Propaganda"—are often compelling. Her analysis of propaganda "filmetes," or short films, will encourage other scholars to explore this line of research. So will Chapter 4—"Propagandists' Intentions: Getting into Their Heads"—although for a different reason. This chapter would have benefited from more research. Her claim that the "AERP and ARP did not want to actively promote violence" rests on a weak foundation. Too few of those involved in propaganda production were interviewed; most of the chapter's text relied on two former AERP heads—Col. Octavio Costa (a Médici confidant) and José Maria Toledo Camargo (Getulio Vargas' spokesman). The now retired army generals indicated that they had "wanted a regime in which violent repression played no part." Dignifying this possibly self-serving proclamation by men who at least facilitated government repression begs the question, Would Brazil's National Truth Commission have seen the generals' organization as they do?

Martha K. Huggins
Tulane University

The Long Struggle against Malaria Control in Tropical Africa. By James L.A. Webb, Jr. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2014) 219 pp. $90.00

The Long Struggle is a concise, informed history of malaria as a leading cause of death in sub-Saharan Africa and of the attempts to control the disease. Webb calls his work historical epidemiology. It clarifies the most salient and important medical developments while charting a clear and comprehensible path through what might otherwise appear as a bewildering forest of Latinate species names, insecticide acronyms, and complex drug regimens. An accessible 170-page narrative of malaria and malaria control for all of sub-Saharan Africa is a genuine coup.

On the one hand, this book is a straightforward chronological narrative, ranging from the early colonial experimentation with environmental engineering and drug treatment to the consequences of the World Health Organization's interventions, the postwar dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane (DDT) spraying, the phenomenal successes resulting from the use of chloroquine in the 1960s, and finally the impact of the Gates Foundation and the public distribution of mosquito nets. On the other hand, Webb's history is far from simple, an attempt to navigate a volatile tectonics of ever-shifting and interconnected local variables with economic, political, environmental, and biological overtones. In addition, Webb considers the consequences of decolonization, the Cold War, economic and environmental change, population growth, and urbanization for malaria infections and malaria-control programs.

Webb's presentation ensures that none of the relevant factors and conditions fails to register. His analysis even attempts to account for the racially motivated residential segregation of the colonial era, local African responses to malaria, and the relationship between sub-Saharan Africa's

vulnerability to malaria and its vulnerability to other diseases, like HIV/AIDS. Embedded in Webb's narrative are the unavoidable but sometimes jarring movements between diverse locations, variables, and categories of analysis that continually demonstrate the degree of complexity involved.

Webb, however, does not acknowledge all of the complexities equally. While moving among the different registers of the malaria story, he maintains an oddly remote geopolitical neutrality. He levels strong criticism at African states but not so much at forces outside Africa. Hence, colonialism, Cold War–era neocolonialism, World Bank structural adjustment, U.S. neoliberalism, and modern science receive nearly a free pass in his analysis. Webb does not even mention the colonial and postcolonial tendency to represent African bodies and environments as if they were diseased, or the freewheeling medical experiments made possible by vastly unequal power relations. Colonial and postcolonial science and scientists—which have received considerable censure in the works of other historians and, admirably, in some of Webb's other work—come across as surprisingly homogenous, humane, nonpolitical, and mutually cooperative in this book.

Webb evinces an unfortunate, passive tendency to apportion considerable blame on African malfeasance, as, for instance, when he reports that African importation of cheap cereals favored urban populations at the expense of local farmers without mentioning the extent to which the global north subsidized food dumping (115). Another example is his complaint that the phenomenal mineral wealth of Africa was not effectively applied to public health—"most industrial profits fled Africa" (146)—as if this assertion were adequate to explain the economics of the situation. The rapacious strategies of the multinational corporations that promoted, and continue to promote, this "fleeing" of African wealth from local people and governments is completely neglected in his study. Scholarship that fails to appreciate the ramifications of the vast disparities in power between Africans and outsiders throughout history lacks a key set of explanatory rubrics.

Despite the meager consideration of colonial and neocolonial power relations in his analysis, the medical history at the center of Webb's study is compelling. The seemingly inevitable collapse of every control program eventually resulted in resurgent vulnerabilities for generations of people. Webb successfully demonstrates the extent to which Africans lost whatever immunities to malaria they might have gained with the introduction of even semi-successful control programs. Within dynamic political, economic, and environmental African contexts, the rise and fall of control programs left previously immune generations more, not less, vulnerable.

Added to this problem is the ability of malaria pathogens and mosquito species to develop resistance to a particular drug and then to lose it when that drug is no longer in use. As a result, in the context of shifting geopolitical and natural variables, malaria eradication begins to look like an unachievable goal. Webb, however, is hardly opposed to medical interventions. In full recognition that complete eradication is a fantasy, sustained

to promote governmental and nongovernmental support for public-health programs, Webb argues nonetheless for local and national disease management as well as palliative measures and general health-improvement strategies—a smart and humane conclusion to his detailed research of the subject.

Kirk Arden Hoppe
University of Illinois, Chicago

Rise of a Japanese Chinatown: Yokohama, 1894–1972. By Eric C. Han (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2014) 266 pp. $ 39.95

This book illustrates the complex issues surrounding the identity formation of Chinese immigrants in Yokohama, Japan, from the end of the nineteenth century to 1972. Through a solid examination of such multinational sources as archives; newspapers; and personal collections in Japanese, Chinese, and English, it provides a path-breaking study of Chinese communities in modern Japan. It makes an important contribution to our understanding of the intertwined past of China and Japan, which cannot be fully grasped in any nation-based narrative.

The five chapters of the book follow a chronological order. Chapter 1 examines the history of Chinese immigrants in Japan from the premodern era to the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. A declining view of Chinese immigrants in the archipelago mirrored a discursive shift of Japanese ethnicity from a cultural unit to a modern nation, and consequently the deterioration of diplomatic relations between Meiji Japan and the Qing Empire.

Chapter 2 shows how the Chinese community in Yokohama became a central ground for competition between the two schools of Chinese nationalism—the reformers represented by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao and the revolutionists led by Sun Yatsen. It provides an intriguing story of Chinese identity formation in Japan that aptly synthesizes both the political transformations in China and the Japanese domestic debate about mixed residence.

Chapter 3 argues that Chinese immigrants became more integrated into the Chinese nation during the era between the establishment of the Republic of China and the Manchurian Incident, when both China's and Japan's borders of national identity were strengthened. Chapter 4 discusses how the Japanese imperial state utilized Chinese immigrants in Japan to promote its Pan-Asianist ideology, calling for the collaboration of Chinese diasporic communities around the world. Chapter 5 reveals how the Yokohama Chinese were divided by their ties to either the People's Republic of China (mainland China) or the Republic of China (Taiwan) between 1945 and 1972. These opposing *Huaqiao* identities eventually declined with the further integration of Chinese immigrants into Japanese society as ethnic minorities.

This monograph is the most important scholarly work in recent years to examine the issues of race and citizenship in the Japanese Empire from the perspective of Chinese immigrants. Joining current studies that highlight the role of multi-ethnic racial discourse in sustaining Japanese colonial rule, Han shows the unexpected tolerance of the Japanese imperial state toward Chinese immigrants in the archipelago, citizens of an enemy nation during the Asia-Pacific War. However, different from existing literature that focuses on the racial inclusion of colonial subjects, such as Koreans and Okinawans, Han's book argues that the Japanese did not try to assimilate the Chinese immigrants. Instead, they actively encouraged Chinese to retain an independent ethnic and cultural identity, utilizing them to mobilize other Chinese around the world to collaborate with the Japanese Empire under the premise of Pan-Asianism. The book thus adds one more important layer to our understanding of the complexity of racial discourse in the Japanese Empire.

Focusing on Chinese communities in Yokohama also enables Han to explore the local dimension in the formation of Chinese identity in Japan. Chinese immigrants in Yokohama, as the study argues, embraced the identity of the city's residents, on the one hand to challenge Japan's official refusal to recognize them as Japanese nationals and on the other hand to avoid being exploited by the imperial state to promote Sino-Japanese amity during the war. With rich and fascinating stories, this book shows how Chinese residents in Yokohama negotiated their sense(s) of belonging between the local, the national, and the transnational during moments of peace and war.

Although it is a comprehensive study, the book leaves at least one important question unanswered. How was the experience of Chinese women similar to and different from that of their male counterparts in Yokohama? Gender, as an important facet of migrant identity formation, demands further analysis. Nonetheless, *Rise of a Japanese Chinatown* is a valuable reference for historians of both China and Japan in the twentieth century as well as for scholars interested in the relationship between diaspora and nationalism in general.

Sidney Lu
University of Tennessee, Chattanooga