University of Groningen

Elaine Lewinnek, Chicago's Early Suburbs and The Roots of American Sprawl

Martínez, Anne M.

Published in:
History

DOI:
[10.1111/1468-229X.12370](https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-229X.12370)

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:
2017

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Martínez, A. M. (2017). Elaine Lewinnek, Chicago's Early Suburbs and The Roots of American Sprawl: book review. *History*, 102(349), 169-179. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-229X.12370>

Copyright

Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

The publication may also be distributed here under the terms of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act, indicated by the "Taverne" license. More information can be found on the University of Groningen website: <https://www.rug.nl/library/open-access/self-archiving-pure/taverne-amendment>.

Take-down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Downloaded from the University of Groningen/UMCG research database (Pure): <http://www.rug.nl/research/portal>. For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to 10 maximum.

Reviews and Short Notices

General

***Imagining European Unity since 1000 AD.* By Patrick Pasture.** Palgrave. 2015. xii + 273pp. £53.99.

With this book, Patrick Pasture adds an interesting and innovative perspective to recent works on European integration history (i.e. Desmond Dinan's second edition of his *Europe Recast: A History of European Union*, 2014) and the history of the Idea of Europe (i.e. Michael Wintle's book *The Image of Europe: Visualizing Europe in Cartography and Iconography Throughout the Ages*, 2009). The author challenges conventional and often teleological accounts which tend to tell of European integration as a success story of peace-building, grounded in the rising 'European consciousness' after 1945. Highlighting some long-neglected or blurred facets of Europeanism such as its history in the interwar period or its close links to colonialism, Pasture's narrative centres on the notions of 'peace', 'homogeneity' and 'diversity'. He wants to demonstrate how these ideological formations shaped the social reality of Europe. In this context, Pasture is one of the first historians to take a closer look at the interdependencies between the early phase of European integration after the Second World War and the global history of decolonization. Indeed, despite some recent scholarly works such as Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson's *Eurafrica: The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism* (2014), this has long been a 'blind spot' in EU research – and in EU self-representation.

In a perspective of Braudelian *longue durée*, Pasture interprets imaginations of European unity since the Middle Ages (e.g. the role of Christendom) as forerunners of twentieth-century European unification. The author construes very early imaginations of European 'integration', such as Pierre Dubois's *De Recuperatione Terrae Sanctae*, dating back to 1306 (p. 20), but also well-known twentieth-century ideas of political unification, such as Aristide Briand's *Memorandum on the Organization of a Regime of European Federal Union* from the interwar period (pp. 128–35), as a continuous history of collective imagination.

Unfortunately, Pasture does not quite reach his ambitious goal of questioning established narratives. Although the book is written in a very fluent and vivid style, making it a very accessible read for students or non-professionals, there is a certain epistemological weakness: Pasture considers 'Europe to be obsessed by questions of diversity' (p. 8). This is an interesting point, but the author does not develop this interpretation coherently: throughout the book, his interpretation of European history is told as a story of developing structures, discourses and

cultures aiming at assuring peace on the continent and *not* as a history of this 'obsession with diversity'. The section on the second half of the nineteenth century is a striking example of this conceptual weakness – concerning this period, Pastures construes 'empire', 'market' and 'nation' as historical structures, *not* as aspects of this suggested 'obsession' (pp. 62–88).

Pasture starts out with the 'European Quest for Peace' (pp. 1–10) as an introductory chapter. Subsequently, he examines the role of Christendom in the European discourse since medieval times. Arguably, Pasture does not give these early periods the space and attention they deserve. He does provide some remarks on how Christendom became a driving force in European medieval culture (pp. 13–19), but beyond this offers little information on images of Europe in the Middle Ages (again, pp. 13–19).

In the following sections, the author deals with the history of the early modern period (pp. 19–31), the Enlightenment (pp. 32–48) and 'Peace during the Concert', where he elaborates his view on the period of the 'Holy Alliance' and restoration after 1815 (pp. 49–62). However, the argument that the European system of governance after Napoleon's ultimate defeat should be interpreted as a 'peace-keeping organization' neglects its oppressive character.

Pasture subsequently discusses liberal movements and tendencies after the 1848 revolutions (pp. 62–88). The subsequent chapters on the First World War and the post-war peace treaties (pp. 89–118) and on the interwar period and the Second World War (pp. 119–56) are amongst the most meritorious sections of the book. Historians have rarely offered such a well-balanced and well-informed history of (Anti-)Europeanism, especially in hyper-nationalist and racist political discourses, such as fascism and Nazism. The book's final sections provide an overview of Europeanism in the Cold War period (pp. 157–84) and an epilogue (pp. 185–96), which can be seen as mapping the road for future research in European integration history. Pasture here suggests linking the history of the European Union to the history of colonialism and decolonization. The conclusion, entitled 'In Search of European Unity', summarizes the author's argument, which has its strongest points when stressing the complex history of Europeanism in the interwar period of the 1920s and 1930s, and the close links between the 'European project' and colonialism.

Graz

PETER PICHLER

***The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine.* By Serhii Plokhy.** Basic Books. 2015. xxiv + 395pp. £25.00.

The public reaction to the current Russo-Ukrainian conflict has shown how little is known in the west about the roots of the conflict and about Ukraine in general. This unfamiliarity makes it most urgent to provide the audience with a new, revisionist, short yet comprehensive, engaging and up-to-date history of Ukraine. Serhii Plokhy's new survey of Ukraine's history by right fulfils all these requirements. The title of the volume, *The Gates of Europe*, is a metaphor which highlights not only the significance of Europe in Ukrainian history and identity, but also how important Ukraine has been in European history throughout the centuries.

Plokhy's recent study of Ukraine's history positively differs from those available on the market. His investigation avoids the traps of a state-centred

approach, a teleological view common to native Ukrainian historiography that considers the whole history of Ukraine as a struggle to build an independent and united country. It also avoids regionalism, that is, treating its history as that of its separate regions. Instead, Plokhy takes advantage of the recent cultural turn in historical studies, presenting contemporary Ukraine as a result of a *longue durée* of cultural trends within Ukrainian ethnic boundaries. His work offers a comprehensive survey of thousands of years of history of the Ukrainian lands and its people, focusing on the ideas and identities that at different times linked those lands together and made those diverse peoples Ukrainians.

The Gates of Europe tells the history of the Ukrainian lands from the time of Herodotus up to the current Russo-Ukrainian conflict. The narration is organized in five chronological sections. The first section, 'On the Pontic Frontier', covers the period from Cimmerians and Greek colonies on the Black Sea shore up to the mid-fifteenth century. It is centred on the history of the early medieval kingdom of Kyivan Rus (the term coined by nineteenth-century scholars), which is discussed from the arrival of the Vikings (who named the land 'Rus', managed to consolidate the power in the region and formed the first ruling dynasty, the house of Rorik) up to its disintegration into a number of principalities, wiped off the political map of the region by the end of the fifteenth century, when the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania took over most of the Ukrainian lands.

The second section, 'East Meets West', describes the period when the Ukrainian lands were divided by the great powers and ruled from St Petersburg, Vienna, Warsaw and Istanbul. Although the lands and their people from the sixteenth through to the eighteenth century depended heavily on the territorial interests and ambitions of those imperial rulers, this was the prime time for local actors to define and voice their agenda. The power struggle between Catholic and Orthodox princely elites and disputes among intellectuals contributed to the making of Ukraine and helped establish its distinct regional and cultural identity. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Cossacks changed the map of the region by establishing a new political entity: Cossack Ukraine or the Hetmanate. The turning point of the period, the military alliance with Muscovy in Pereiaslav in 1654, commenced the long and complex history of Russo-Ukrainian relations.

The third section, 'Between the Empires', highlights how gradual modernization of the two empires (the Ukrainian lands after the partitions of Poland were divided between the house of Habsburg and the house of Romanov) fostered a new identity and a new nationalism. The beginning of the twentieth century became a decisive period for the Ukrainian national movement, when the activists formulated the goal of independence. The fourth section, 'The Wars of the World', touches upon the period between 1914 and 1945. The major political earthquake, the First World War, led to the disintegration of the old empires, and inspired local activists in their struggle for autonomy and independence. However, Ukraine's elite had lost its chance to establish a viable state apparatus; hence it found itself once again in the centre of other leaders' imperialist ambitions, namely, the Soviet Union in the 1920s and Nazi Germany in the 1940s.

The last section, 'The Road to Independence', presents the history of the region from the first post-war decade up to the present day, tracing the transition from the Second Soviet Republic to independent Ukraine. It emphasizes how

the Chernobyl disaster in 1986 raised fundamental questions about the relations between the centre and the republic; the 1989 semi-free elections to the new Soviet parliament witnessed the arrival of mass politics and the creation of the first political mass organization; the 1990 elections to the new Ukrainian parliament led to the declaration of Ukraine's sovereignty. Subsequent independence, proclaimed in 1991, however, did not bring the expected sovereignty for the Ukrainians. The price of freedom was high, as shown by the October Revolution in 2004 and the Revolution of Dignity in 2014. As highlighted in the epilogue, even now the development of a national identity is incomplete and the issue concerning the legacy of the Soviet past remains unresolved. These are the main issues, brought to the fore by the current Russo-Ukrainian conflict.

Overall, Plokhly offers a comprehensive and multi-dimensional interpretation of Ukraine's history. The book accounts for the history of the Ukrainian lands and their regions, divided throughout the centuries between different empires and subjected to different political agendas. At the same time, this is the history of the Ukrainians, the largest demographic group, and their constant interaction with other ethnic minorities and national groups in the area. This is also the history of a Ukrainian national idea and various national projects, elaborated and attempted within the borders of contemporary Ukraine. The main lesson taught by Plokhly is that Ukraine's elites hardly learn from their history. At present, there is still no unified view of what Ukraine is or should be – something that enables foreign manipulations and impositions. This survey of Ukraine's ethnic and cultural history is essential reading for those who want to understand the deep historical roots of the current conflict between Ukraine and Russia, as well as Ukraine's claims with regard to its European identity.

University of East Anglia

OLENA PALKO

***Writing the History of Crime.* By Paul Knepper.** Bloomsbury. 2016. 241pp. £19.99.

The title of this book, 'Writing the *History* of Crime', alludes to those who have written and postulated on the subject of crime and the criminal justice process, whether as contemporary commentators at the time or as historians reflecting from a retrospective position, as well as the author's extensive outlining and review of the historiographic literature on crime and criminality, and to a lesser extent the development of the criminal law. In respect of both writers and historiographers the evaluation, breadth, depth and chronology of subject matter and integration of commentators' perspectives (past and present) is astounding. This is not the product of a thesis or a short-term research project. The embedded knowledge and cognition displayed here is humbling and could only have been produced by someone who is most genuinely and assuredly not just a crime history specialist but an 'expert crime history expert'; Knepper therefore more than deserves his place amongst the literary greats and academics he references. Knepper seamlessly synthesizes the narrative of the historical realities, events and public concerns that feature in the historiography of crime history as debated, interpreted and discussed in the chronological accounts of the leading philosophers and authors who contributed to the development of what is now universally regarded as a field of study in its own right. This tome is therefore not just a singular 'history of crime' but a book on the *histories* of crime that superbly incorporates a range of academic, philosophical and theoretical perspectives.

Knepper asserts that 'crime history owes its life to the social history of the 1970s' (p. 233) and the generation of established crime historians that emerged in that decade. But the book also serves as a dedicatory tribute, delivering a 'Who's Who' of the great jurists, legal philosophers and academic commentators from modernity to the present day who have offered critiques and theories about the phenomenon of lawbreaking and society's response to and management of it. Thus we read about the influence of the early commentators including Fitzjames Stephen, Holdsworth, Radzinowicz and Foucault; of the development of crime from the perspectives of legal, Marxist, colonial, feminist and gender historians; the innovations and advances in using archives, digital sources and statistics; the locational and relational setting of crime and how it was policed and managed etc. In this respect the book is an outstanding compendium of the history of crime and the criminal justice process; in terms of that descriptor can be justifiably acknowledged as a usefully concise but comprehensive compilation of an impressive and significant body of knowledge. This is therefore the 'go to' book and 'must read' for not only those starting out on their journey to study and research the history of crime, but for all of us interested and engaged in this work, and we are indebted to Knepper for having accepted this challenge and undertaken such a mammoth and seemingly impossible task.

This is a very clever book which presents compelling and corroborative evidence that articulates what those of us working in this field have been attempting to substantiate and rationalize for some time – that crime history has now significantly carved out and established itself as a discrete subject discipline, though where it does or should fit within the academy is often more contentious. This is evident from Knepper's analysis of the conceptual aspects of the discipline. For example, he argues that the history of crime cannot simply be classified as a branch of social history as it incorporates wider philosophical and methodological approaches; moreover, it is at the forefront of responding to the challenges of cultural history. Similarly, although it has typically adopted and utilized a more recognizable 'law and society' epistemological approach, he argues that legal history does not offer a sufficiently suitable platform either. I would support this supposition as its emphasis can often tend to be more doctrinal and case-based and it is less emphatically contextualized to accommodate the cultural aspects of crime history. As a socio-legal historian myself, trained as a lawyer first and historian second, I was pleased to see the author's acknowledgement and stress on the importance of legal knowledge in writing crime history and the need for lawyers to be involved in order to 'yield a deeper understanding of the complexity of crime as a topic of historical inquiry' (p. 24). However, I was somewhat surprised, especially as the joint founder some fifteen years ago of a genuinely interdisciplinary crime history project, that there is no express statement in the introduction as to its interdisciplinarity and/or multidisciplinary; although this is implicit throughout the book, it is not until the conclusion that we read 'crime history is interdisciplinary history'. The range of contributory facets and features within the subjects, and the diversity of philosophical commentators and theoretical perspectives presented here, reinforce the fact that in my view the history of crime can never be holistically written from the perspective of one discipline alone. The history of crime needs genuine collaborative input from historians, criminologists, legal academics and the humanities, including representatives from heritage studies,

art history and literature; it also needs contributions from legal, heritage and archive professionals. There is also still much work and research to be done, particularly in respect of the more mundane and everyday offending and how that should be classified; analysis and comparisons of offending in relation to rural crime and in provincial towns; a more culturally focused interrogation of the individual judges, lawyers and magistrates who managed the criminal justice process; and evaluation of not just how and why the criminal law was enacted but detailed examination and critique of the subsequent impact and consequences of that legislative shift. But as Knepper's work underlines, the joy of being a crime historian is the fact that there are always such new avenues to explore and archives to exploit that often precipitate the unanticipated and serendipitous discovery of facts and information that then trigger a burst of new ideas and trajectories, making us all privileged participators in writing the history of crime.

Plymouth University

KIM STEVENSON

***Reason of State: Law, Prerogative and Empire.* By Thomas Poole.** Cambridge University Press. 2015. xi + 302pp. £69.99.

Thomas Poole's *Reason of State* is an important book for historians, although it is not a history book. Poole, a professor of law, has taken seriously the injunctions from historians like Quentin Skinner that there are resources available in the past to help us solve present problems. Skinner's concerns were the meaning of liberty and the meaning of the state and, famously in the first case, he has offered modern societies an alternative theory of freedom upon which to rest social order. Poole sets to work on a different problem, which was no less important to older societies and is still relevant today: the problem of how the state acts when legal means prove insufficient. He takes as an example the case of Catiline in the first century in Rome. Catiline was accused of instigating a rebellion against the Republic and the then consul, Cicero, took extra legal action against him. Cicero justified his decision because of the dangers that the state faced from Catiline and argued that although Rome was a republic bounded by laws, in some extreme cases a Roman magistrate was justified in going beyond the law to defend the Republic. Similar problems are current in our debates today. For example, some in the United States have argued that although there is a long-held prohibition in common law against torture, its use would be justified in the 'ticking bomb' scenario where a tortured suspect might reveal the location of a terrorist nuclear bomb. Poole calls this, and the example of Catiline, a case of 'reason of state'.

Poole's book is a study of this problem within the English constitutional tradition. He starts in the early seventeenth century with Coke and the common lawyers, sweeps through civil war, union and empire, and continues up until the debates about the Chagos archipelago, terrorism and control orders that we are all familiar with today. The book examines the liberal response to this scenario. Liberals – generally believers in the rule of law, constitutionalism and sceptics about the power of the state – at first glance face a deep quandary with the problem of reason of state. Poole examines the writings of liberal theorists, from Hobbes through to modern thinkers like Hayek, and also looks at the responses of politicians and lawyers to the same issues at the time. Poole's use of the term

‘reason of state’ to describe a problem that all these thinkers faced might strike some historians as controversial. Reason of state was used in different ways in the past – to denote political wisdom or to describe a situation in which a prince’s political intuitions conflicted with his conscience. Equally some of Poole’s more modern thinkers (F. A. Hayek for one) probably never used the term. Poole’s history is not the history of a term or a phrase though, but the history of a concept that he has chosen to label as ‘reason of state’. He finds that this concept – the concept of extra-legal activity to protect a liberal state – is a core idea within English political thought since the seventeenth century.

Poole’s conceptual history is thoroughly researched. Despite the lack of a bibliography, it is clear that Poole has read many of the key secondary texts. He provides a legal argument about the past that takes historians seriously, and this can be seen in his judgements. Poole follows Glenn Burgess in seeing Sir Edward Coke as a controversialist, not an exponent of consensus (p. 26). Equally, he engages with primary texts in a sophisticated and thoughtful way. His description of the different foreign policy stances of Hobbes, Harrington and Milton is very interesting and perceptive. He rightly points out that republican thinkers wanted to create an expansionary state whereas for Hobbes external peace and internal peace were counterparts (pp. 59, 61, 69, 77). Poole’s decision to examine his thinkers through their analysis of how to respond to threats to the state brings out interesting links and new perspectives. Like many scholars, Poole thinks that the key liberal questions of the twentieth century revolve around the vulnerability of democracies (pp. 210–13). He extends this analysis to figures like Oakeshott and Hayek, showing how they also had theories which responded to chaos and the dissolution of government even as they argued for the limitation of the powers of that same government.

By covering four centuries the project is impressive in its sheer scale. Poole allows himself to develop several themes across this space. He argues, correctly in my view, that British political thought has been shaped by the problems created by empire since at least the beginning of the eighteenth century. This imperial dimension to British history is often neglected – even by historians. Poole ties together anxious eighteenth-century theorists like Hume and Burke, worried about the abuses of public debt and the threat that empire abroad might undermine freedom at home, with developments in imperial law. Poole’s second theme is the interrelationship of British legal and political intellectual communities. At the start of his story, he shows how philosophers seized on the medieval idea of prerogative and developed out of it their notion of reason of state. When looking at the twentieth century he thoughtfully discusses the advance of universal human rights. Thirdly, Poole is interested in the development of the British state: from a feudal state into a commercial and imperial state and then through to a post-imperial state. He argues that in the seventeenth century the prerogative powers of the monarchy were slowly being replaced by a more abstract language of public interest. In the eighteenth century, with Britain established as a commercial superpower, thinkers and politicians fought over the neutrality of the public interest in a world of debt and colonial companies.

If Poole’s long sweep has advantages, it also means he misses out some interesting things. He is confined to telling a story within the tradition he has identified, though this omits some fascinating questions which impinge upon several of the writers that he discusses. There is no discussion here of the

Scottishness of Hume and Smith and how far that played into their discussions of English constitutional history and the British constitution. It is ironic that a discussion of the liberal tradition should be so metropolitan. It would have been interesting as well to hear more about the United States and the trajectory of 'reason of state' theory there – especially in regard to Eric Nelson's work, which shows how far American Revolutionaries looked back to royalist ideas. Does this indicate a flaw in the Whiggish English tradition? Lastly this is a discussion of elite thinking, not popular ideas. In a different book, it would be interesting to see how those two phenomena interrelate: what do Ben Jonson or John Le Carré have to tell us about the resources available to the liberal tradition to think about reason of state?

Poole occasionally makes rhetorical or interpretative slips. When he describes Edmund Burke as the 'conscience of his country', it is not clear either from Poole's own citation or from the work he cites (David Bromwich's recent biography of Burke) why this description is appropriate (Poole, p. 154). He argues that Thomas Hobbes had a doctrine of judicial appeal, in that the subject in *Leviathan* would be allowed to appeal that the sovereign has not fully announced the law (p. 49). This seems to re-erect exactly the judicial authority that Hobbes was so concerned to remove in his writings. In his section on Hayek, Poole says Hayek wrote 'specifically against Schmitt's solution' (p. 228). This may be true, but it is not the only context to Hayek's investigation of law. His career emerged out of the socialist calculation debate of the 1930s. There is a danger for historians of ideas that we presume our canon was their canon.

These are minor points. Poole's book is interesting and thought-provoking. It is a fresh approach to modern controversies about reason of state. His themes are important and do have something to offer to historians. Richard Drayton commented in 2013 that 'it is startling to notice that historians of European economic ideas rarely address the impact of European expansion on them'. Poole's book is not subject to that criticism, and through integrating political theory and legal judgements he shows how far both interacted with each other and how the practical problems of empire lay at the source of many discussions of the evolving state.

London

HENRY MIDGLEY

Medieval

Town and Country in Medieval North Western Europe: Dynamic Interactions. Edited by Alexis Wilkin, John Naylor, Derek Keene and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld. Brepols. 2015. x + 323pp. €85.00.

This collection of essays forms volume XI in a series of books published since 2007 with the overarching title of 'The Medieval Countryside'. It commendably seeks to draw together two pairs of disciplines: those of urban and rural history and those of historians and archaeologists. The Introduction by Wilkins and Naylor sets this out clearly, particularly seeking practitioners of history and archaeology 'who are willing to adopt an integrated approach to town and countryside relations over the long term' (p. 2). There is an emphasis upon the need to challenge existing assumptions such as that of a firm distinction between

medieval towns and the countryside while being aware of differing national historiographies.

The two-word subtitle – dynamic interactions – is a key motif for the essays that follow, and the editors are to be commended for ensuring that all the contributors have followed their brief so diligently. The mix of specialisms is particularly well integrated, ensuring that the volume does not fall into two parts. This is assisted by the order of the contents list within the volume itself, which does not subdivide the chapters; less helpfully, and possibly prejudicially, the publisher's website splits the papers between 'Part I: Social, Economic and Environmental Changes: Developing and Renegotiating Urban–Rural Interactions' (implying work by archaeologists) and 'Part II: Noblemen and Entrepreneurs Mediating and Affecting Urban–Rural Relations' (implying work solely by historians). Both parts actually have contributors from both disciplines.

The geographical range covered by the volume is impressive. The Low Countries, Germany, the eastern Baltic and Scandinavia all receive attention, as does Britain, although this last is perhaps a little too anglocentric (and southern anglocentric at that with two essays on London and its hinterland and one on East Anglia). An essay which explored urban–rural relations from further north, such as Lincolnshire or Yorkshire, or from Scotland would have been welcome. The Introduction makes the point that politically unified England cannot be compared to 'the densely urbanized but politically fragmented areas of the Low Countries', but it would be interesting to explore comparisons between urban/rural relationships in Scotland with those in Scandinavia for example. This reviewer would also take exception to the statement that England 'was distinctive for being relatively non-urban, with only one major city and second rank towns which were *very much smaller* [my italics]' compared to continental counterparts. Norwich (with perhaps up to 30,000 inhabitants on the eve of the Black Death and a walled urban area greater in size than that of London), Bristol and Coventry might beg to differ.

These caveats aside, the volume contains much of great interest, drawing upon a range of evidence and interpretative techniques. The potential of what might seem unpromising archaeological evidence – that of animal bones – for increasing an understanding of economic development is highlighted at the outset by Pamela Crabtree's illuminating essay on zooarchaeological material from East Anglia. Exploring the evidence for both rural and urban sites, she is not only able to identify the likely early establishment of rural specialized pork production but also to see that, in consequence, locations such as the Middle Saxon *wic* emporium at Ipswich were supplied by food resources from this developing rural economy dependent upon a 'low species diversity' of domesticated mammals and birds (p. 43). James Galloway examines the River Thames and its estuary, mainly utilizing documentary sources to consider use of the river and its margins but also highlighting matters such as the exploitation of flooded areas after breaches of estuarine and riverine defences and embankments. His historical essay makes an archaeological observation concerning the 'crucial role of natural forces and environments in shaping and structuring urban hinterlands ... The simple opposition of "town and country" does not do justice to the variety of environments and ecosystems' (p. 140).

Dynamic interaction between town and country necessarily relied upon people and the volume has several essays which explore how elite classes of people both

within the town and beyond it reacted to and worked upon their environments. Most of the studies are of the aristocratic level, as examined by Moore within the political context of London and neighbouring Essex during the Magna Carta civil war of 1215–17; by Charruadas who explores relationships between noble and urban elites in Brussels, where he discovers that there was a ‘social convergence’ with the rural nobility gaining interests in the town and urban elites seeking aristocratic trappings; by Krauskopf, who studies castles, towns and villages in medieval Brandenburg, helpfully noting that urban sustainability was assisted by technological developments such as the introduction of the mouldboard plough but also that political intervention could have a determining influence upon long-term urban survival; and by Janse, who argues that the smaller towns of fifteenth-century Holland saw less noble participation than the large towns of Flanders.

Interaction by individuals slightly lower down the social scale can be seen from medieval Copenhagen in an essay by Ersland, who analyses records from that city, Bergen and Stavanger to investigate urban landownership and rural estates. He rightly notes the methodological difficulties of being unable directly to compare like with like but is nevertheless able to conclude that Bergen was dominated by its aristocracy, Stavanger by the Church and Copenhagen by its merchants. The observations concerning Copenhagen are of interest because of the control of that city, firstly by the bishop of Roskilde and subsequently by the Danish king. One is, however, left wondering about the role of the Germans in Bergen, who are not mentioned and yet who were in control of much of the commercial property of the town in the medieval period. One also looks in vain for any discussion of ordinary people and their interaction between rural and urban environments.

For this reviewer, the core of the volume is provided by three essays, those of Bierman on the establishment of urban sites within the (carefully defined) ‘north-eastern German territory’, Theuws and Bijsterveld on early town formation in the northern Low Countries, and Müller on Hanseatic towns and their surroundings/hinterlands. Bierman explicitly works within a framework defined by ‘central place’ modelling, noting continual change in the relationship of these locations and their surroundings in the Middle Ages. Theuws and Bijsterveld are less explicitly tied to such modelling, although their concentration upon centres within the landscape, and the ‘wandering’ nature of such towns in numerous cases, clearly owes much to central place theory. It is left to Müller, however, both to explore and to offer a critique not only of this theory but of other methodological and interpretative approaches, notably network analysis. He does so with a very useful summary of recent approaches to understanding the relationships of towns and their hinterlands while also providing interesting observations on the physical relationships which could develop between towns and their immediate rural environment.

The final contribution to a stimulating series of papers is by Peter Stabel and is entitled ‘Town and Countryside in Medieval Europe: Beyond the Divide’. This is clearly designed as a summation of the chapters and achieves this aim well, exploring the various case studies and methodologies of the foregoing essays. His short assessment is essentially a review article – and is not an uncritical one. He examines the various essays within an historiographical framework, making the forceful point that there remains too much emphasis

on a Pirenne-induced concept of towns as motors of change (p. 321) set within an essentially passive countryside. This reviewer found his arguments powerful and considered that it would have been useful to have read this concluding essay first!

Any volume of collected essays on a theme will elicit caveats. A major one here is the lack of an index, common in such compilations. Nevertheless, the book presents much to stimulate thought and a great deal of fascinating data. Most importantly, the various essays emphasize the importance of interdisciplinarity. This book should be read by historians and archaeologists alike, practitioners within the common field of the medieval environment.

University of East Anglia

BRIAN AYERS

***King John and Religion.* By Paul Webster.** Boydell. 2015. xv + 250pp. £60.00.

Few medieval kings have received as much bad press as King John. Unlike his great rival, King Phillip II of France, John's image was not moulded by royally sponsored propagandists such as those of St Denis. Instead, the final verdict on John's kingship was for the most part left to chroniclers writing with their own agendas. Unfortunately for John, these churchmen saw a king who had challenged the pope, fought the Cistercians, brought a six-year interdict upon England, was himself excommunicate for five years, and took pleasure in humiliating the churchmen who opposed him. The medieval writers who noticed John's religious practice were thus likely to view it cynically. To them, John's was an empty religion.

In his new book, Paul Webster argues that previous scholarship has been too ready to accept the 'black legend' put forth by medieval commentators such as Roger of Wendover, and to portray John as an irreligious king. Webster's central thesis is that, despite the chroniclers' accounts, King John 'recognised personal religion to be an important aspect of kingship'. It provided for the king a 'means of display', and 'emphasised the aura surrounding authority' (p. 1). As a result, John was keen to maintain the religious practices of his forebears, because, in so doing, he maintained the authority of English kingship. Given the framework he inherited from previous depictions of John, a less cautious historian might have set out to test the sincerity of John's devotion. But, as Webster argues, the surviving evidence is insufficient for the task. Instead, the best that can be hoped for is a better understanding of the extent to which John met contemporary expectations for royal devotional activity. John's inward piety, like the other mysteries of his soul, remains forever hidden.

Following a useful introduction, in which Webster sets out his approach and engages critically with the relevant sources and historiography, in chapter 1, Webster analyses John's participation in the mass. Here, as elsewhere, he is forced to confront a relative dearth of positive evidence for John's behaviour. Much of the chapter's analysis is therefore founded on the (reasonable) assumption that lack of contemporary comment tended to mean that John's practice conformed to the pre-existing norms for royal observance. 'One of the problems of analysing royal religion is that if a king did what was expected, his actions are unlikely to have been deemed noteworthy' (p. 21). As a result, Webster concludes that John was fairly unexceptional in his approach to the mass. Attending allowed John to add to the aura of his kingship through ceremonial crown wearing and the singing

of the *Laudes Regiae*. Yet John also founded a number of chantries throughout his dominions to allow services for his soul and those of his predecessors to be performed in his absence.

Chapter 2 deals with John's relationship with the medieval cult of saints. While Sidney Painter saw John's interest in the saints as superficial, Webster sees it as important and telling. John 'combined his devotion to the saints' rather than picking any one for special patronage (p. 38). He owned a relic collection, sought intercession from specifically English saints (particularly in the early years of his reign) as well as all of the major Christian cults, and visited shrines in succession as he travelled. Analysis of John's patronage of religious houses at Worcester (SS Wulfstan and Mary), Rouen (St Mary) and Reading (SS James and Philip) underscore the point further. In the end, Webster finds that it is John's 'effort to secure combined intercession of the saints that should be stressed' (p. 59). Chapter 3 turns the focus to John's relationship with those charged with securing that intercession: religious communities. Webster states that 'establishment of religious communities to pray for the founder's soul lay at the heart of elite strategies for securing salvation, creating powerhouses of prayer for themselves and their families' (p. 61). A number of foundations are profiled, with Webster finding John's grant to be proportionate to the scale of each community. Yet the obvious focus is on the Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu, which John founded in 1205 following his dispute with the powerful order. Despite other historians' scepticism, Webster finds that 'King John's involvement with Beaulieu was sustained and significant, providing a wealth of evidence for religion as an aspect of his kingship' (p. 70).

Chapter 4 analyses 'how the Angevin kinship network influenced [John's] devotional activity' (p. 86). John made numerous grants for the souls of his family, and paid particular attention to the abbey of Fontevraud (where he had spent much of his early life). Fontevraud became 'a religious symbol of the territorial inheritance Henry II had forged and which he and his successors hoped to maintain' (p. 92). Given this symbolism, it is perhaps fitting that John – the man who lost that inheritance – is conspicuously absent from the Fontevraud martyrologium, which otherwise includes his parents, siblings, son and grandson.

The final two chapters, 5 and 6, deal with the great religious crisis of John's reign, the interdict. Beginning in 1208 and running for six years, three months and sixteen days, it put a halt to routine religious life in England while John quarrelled with Pope Innocent III over the right to fill the vacant see of Canterbury. Webster characterizes the conflict as a political one, which John handled 'with characteristically misplaced confidence' (p. 197). He confiscated the land of churchmen who refused to administer the sacraments, and sought to stand English royal custom against the rising tide of papal authority. Webster's point is, however, that far from abandoning his own religious obligations, John sought to proceed as before even after he was excommunicated in 1209. Seized property was restored to a number of religious communities, new monks were installed in Canterbury, the royal chapel continued to function, the royal veneration of saints continued as before, and alms were distributed.

King John will never be known as a deeply religious king. Yet Paul Webster's study shows that there is much to learn when one looks beyond the headline accounts of unfriendly medieval writers. The sources are just as useful for what

they do not say, and when one digs deeper the caricature of John the monster dissolves into a much more nuanced picture of John the human.

University of Hull

COLIN VEACH

***Popes and Jews, 1095–1291.* By Rebecca Rist.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xxviii + 323pp. £65.00.

Popes and Jews synthesizes the work of Simonsohn, Grayzel and others to better place Jewish communities within medieval society, politics and economics. Rist comes to the topic from a strong background in Crusades history; she has worked not only on the campaigns in the Holy Land, but also on Crusades within Europe. This background is evident through her choice of time period – from the first call to crusade in 1095 through to the fall of Acre in 1291 – and is reflected by the focus of her writing. Her background provides Rist with an innovative perspective for her project, allowing her to draw on her broad knowledge of papal communications concerning Muslims and heretics to support her analysis of papal–Jewish relations. From this basis, Rist discusses a large range of sources from both Jewish and papal perspectives to construct her argument that the popes’ interactions with the Jews were reactive and *ad hoc*. This is a significant argument and forms part of a broader reaction throughout the academy to the oversimplification of the political and social goals and attitudes of the papacy (and individual popes) during the high Middle Ages. Throughout her work Rist presses for greater consideration of the nuance within this relationship, highlighting numerous differences in the positions of individual popes and denying an overarching papal strategy towards the Jews. Beyond this, Rist sets out to investigate Jewish perceptions of the papacy, arguing again that these were much more varied than is normally accepted. This is also an important argument which has implications for broader social, economic, political and religious history.

Rist begins by showcasing a range of sources which highlight the varied and changing attitudes of Jews towards the pope while noting that, although there was an overall tendency to present the pope’s scriptural authority as fundamentally flawed, his ability to protect the Jewish population was nevertheless valued by most Jewish authors. In her second chapter Rist moves on to address the forms taken by this protection, highlighting variations between different popes in their commitment to this cause, the methods they used and how effective this protection was. This segues into a discussion in chapter 3 of the influence of the Crusades on Jewish–papal relations, which highlights in particular the tensions this movement created between Jews and the Christian population of Europe and how and why the popes generally sought to defuse these tensions. Chapter 4 retains a close link to the Crusades as Rist looks at papal attitudes towards Jewish landholding and moneylending. Here she identifies the need of Crusaders to raise funds to travel to the Holy Land as a cause for the sale of lands to the Jews and the increased role of Jews as moneylenders. Rist observes that this in turn led to numerous items of papal legislation which represent attempts to retain control of tithes (which Jews did not pay) and to regulate usury. From here chapter 5 provides an account of the changing papal claims to authority over Judaism while retaining a strong focus on the impact of the Crusades. The last three chapters look briefly at papal views on the place of Jews in society, papal interaction with

Jews within the city of Rome, and the evolving papal rhetoric with regard to the Jews.

Rist's work demonstrates her key arguments very clearly. She provides a great deal of evidence for the complex and varied nature of papal–Jewish relations from the perspective of both parties. She goes some way to explaining these variations through her consideration of the changes wrought by the Crusades and this is a very interesting discussion. However, more could have been done to consider why these relationships were so nuanced. This is something of a missed opportunity to orientate the Jewish communities within the broader arc of medieval studies. How did the Investiture Contest and broader reform movement influence the papacy in this arena? Did other political and economic changes in the kingdoms of Europe and their relations with the papacy play a role? While the significance of the Crusades is undeniable, it is perhaps overstated here.

Rist relies largely on the anglophone material: this makes up the vast majority of her bibliography. She makes nods to French, German and Italian literature, but this still feels like a restrictive overreliance on works in English, especially given the learned and diverse international contributions to the field of papal studies. Beyond this, Rist is heavily influenced by a fairly narrow range of authors. Simonsohn appears frequently as the only source for information and ideas – this is most obvious in her conclusion (p. 269) – but is evident throughout the work. Some individual chapters and sections likewise rely mainly on the work of a single or pair of writers (for example, Champagne and Linder throughout chapter 7). This is unfortunate as Rist develops her ideas well beyond those presented by these authors but could ground her writing more thoroughly in the historiography in several places.

This is nevertheless a very useful addition to the field. It is of relevance to academics in several areas including Church history and Crusades studies and remains accessible enough to serve as an introduction to the topic (although some prior grounding in the period would still be very useful). While Rist's arguments could go further (her last three chapters in particular leave much to be discussed), they build in new and interesting directions – especially through her consideration of the impact of the Crusades. Rist's work is a good basis for further study and, as she states in her conclusion, she has successfully 'chronicled the development of new and important themes in the history of medieval papal–Jewish relations'.

University of Winchester

ROBERT HOUGHTON

The Acts and Letters of the Marshal Family: Marshals of England and Earls of Pembroke, 1145–1248. Edited by David Crouch. Camden Society 5th series 47. Cambridge University Press for the Royal Historical Society. 2015. xviii + 518pp. £45.00.

Having winnowed the sources and completed their synthetic retellings of the past, most historians move on. One of the many causes for gratitude to David Crouch is that he has defied this tendency. Having published a definitive biography of William Marshal in 1990, he has since edited a significant body of primary source materials, beginning with his modern co-edition of the contemporary *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, and now this rich collection of nearly 280 Marshal charters. Crouch himself does not advertise his own

achievements. Indeed, his introduction lacks anything by way of diplomatic analysis, save for a brief description of the Marshal family seals. Readers must therefore compile their own statistical analyses. Here, a rough count suggests that of the 92 charters of the dynasty's founder, William Marshal the elder (d. 1219), here published, 33 have never before appeared in print. A large number of the rest were known previously only from brief and inadequate calendars. Of William's five sons, William II (d. 1231) has bequeathed 67 charters (17 of them previously unpublished); Richard Marshal (d. 1234) 15 (no less than 12 unpublished); Gilbert Marshal (d. 1241) 38 (19 unpublished); Walter and Ansel Marshal (both d. 1245) 31 and a single charter respectively (15 unpublished). The rest of the collection is made up from materials issued by ancestors, widows and female heirs, and by an appendix of royal grants to the family. Compared to the relevant statistics from English *Episcopal Acta*, these figures are impressive, not least for making available more than 100 previously 'unknown' or inaccessible texts. The charters themselves are formulaic, as we might expect, although with great significance residing in their witness lists. For the elder Marshal but not for his sons, these are already deployed in the prosopographical appendix to Crouch's 1990 biography. As a body of text, the charters throw new light upon one of the most remarkable dynasties of medieval Europe. Sprung from relatively humble origins in both Normandy and Wiltshire, from the reign of Henry I onwards the family was promoted first as marshals of the king's court, then, thanks to the knightly prowess of the elder William Marshal, to the earldom of Pembroke with its vast estates in Ireland and South Wales. William's sons married into both the English and Scots royal families. Yet in the space of only twenty-six years, between 1219 and 1245, extinction loomed. All five of William Marshal's sons died childless, in battle, in tournament, or of disease. Amongst the more significant of Crouch's achievements in this present volume is his tracing of the family's fortunes from 1219 onwards, through an introduction that supplies detailed biographies of each of the five sons. The charters themselves offer more than simple routine. We might note here grants by William Marshal's father and brother (nos 5–6) with important bearings on the history of knight service (although I would like to know how the 'militem procuratum' of no. 5 has become the 'militem paratum' of no. 6); what may rank as the earliest full *inspeximus* issued by a lay magnate (no. 68); the dower settlement of Henry III's sister Eleanor, previously considered lost (no. 189); a quite remarkable survival of an ephemeral letter in French requesting the return of a knife (no. 270); and a whole host of other such gems. Readers should be aware that this is a working collection rather than a fully Germanized diplomatic edition. The inch-worm would draw attention to occasional faults in transcription (for example, the gobbledygook offered in the note to no. 125, or the 'quo advixerit', *recte* 'quoad vixerit', of no. 103, and note a similar lapse in punctuation in no. 123, with an unhelpful comma after 'redderet'). There are points where interpretation is stretched (for example, no. 36, where the note is surely wrong to imply that it is a person rather than 'the land' which is the subject of almsgiving, or no. 178, which is surely of William Marshal I, before 1215, rather than his son William II, in 1220–1). Why correct the King Henry I of no. 100 ('father of the empress') into Henry II ('the empress's son')? The subject index is thin (nothing, for example, of the gild merchant of no. 55, of the gild and 'scotenni' of no. 146, or of the 'gliseria'

of nos 32 and 95). Even the persons and places index can be faulted (no notice, for example, of the legate Pandulf of nos 102, 121 and 151, or the 'Insula' of no. 32). Modern editions are not always cited, for example the Fine Rolls Project (no. 39, appendix 1, no. 15), Fowler's calendar of the Dunstable cartulary (nos 35, 183), or the recent edition of the Hobhouse/Hungerford cartulary (no. 16). In a collection of which a substantial part is devoted to Ireland, I wonder whether rather more might have been identified amongst the Irish place-names. This Irish material (24 of the 92 charters of William Marshal I, 23 of the 67 of William II, but declining in volume thereafter) is one of the greater glories of Crouch's edition. A full diplomatic introduction would no doubt have signalled its significance. Such an introduction might also have dealt with scribes and originals, with the question of forgery (only no. 223 is allowed to be a forgery, and even then perhaps on the basis of an authentic grant), and with such questions as the family's choice of first-person singular over first-person plural (particularly noticeable in William II's adoption of the grander, plural form in his dealings as justiciar of Ireland). These, and other such, are mere hiccups in what is otherwise a rich and enjoyable feast. They can be forgiven in any editor with the enterprise, the bravery and the sheer intelligence here displayed.

University of East Anglia

NICHOLAS VINCENT

Henry IV. By Chris Given-Wilson. Yale University Press. 2016. xiv + 590pp. £30.00.

The biography of Henry IV by Professor Chris Given-Wilson in the 'Yale Monarchs' series has been eagerly awaited and, as is to be expected from this distinguished author, it has most certainly been worth waiting for. The level of thoroughness is revealed by its 541 pages of text. Henry IV died a few weeks short of his forty-sixth birthday and was king for little more than thirteen years of his life. But he was the first real usurper of the medieval English throne, and therefore wholly worthy of this deep consideration.

Henry was not the heir to the throne when he seized it in 1399 – or was he? Edward III had attempted to establish an entail by which Henry Bolingbroke, as the male heir through the male line, would have been the rightful inheritor of the royal title. But could the English crown be entailed in this way? Was Henry a usurper at all, or did Richard resign the crown, or is that simply part of the rewriting of the past which followed the stormy events of 1399?

Inevitably a major focus of the book is the making of a king, from the moment Richard sent Henry into exile in September 1398 to Henry's coronation little more than a year later. But a broader perspective – the creation of a Lancastrian family and dynasty – is key to Given-Wilson's interpretation and is evident in his framing of the work at beginning and end through two parallel chapters – Father and Son I, Father and Son II. The first deals with the 'family firm' that was John of Gaunt and his heir. Given-Wilson emphasizes not only the personal closeness of Gaunt and Henry but also their joint role in the creation of the Lancastrian affinity, evidenced through the distribution of SS badges. Henry was reluctant to become involved too deeply in politics (as Given-Wilson summarizes, 'with the resources of the Lancastrian inheritance behind him he felt no need to compete for favours, preferring to cultivate a discreet, though not aloof, distance

from the court'). For his part, Gaunt was determined to protect his sole legitimate heir from the consequences of his dalliance with the Appellants in 1387–8. Yet the king already felt challenged. The 'livery badge race' of the early 1390s, where Richard began to distribute his own white hart badge, was a sign of this.

Most significantly, it was apparent that Richard, without an heir of his body and with an underage queen, did not want Henry to succeed him. Given-Wilson emphasizes the tense situation before Gaunt's death as well the latter's anxieties, not simply about his son's future but also about the Lancastrian inheritance as a whole. Henry's behaviour in 1399 is therefore explained by longer-term issues of crown and duchy as much as by the specific circumstances of an invasion launched whilst Richard was in Ireland. This was indeed a 'Lancastrian' usurpation, and it was Richard who triggered it by believing that the Lancastrians presented 'a challenge to the fullness of his kingship'.

At the other end of the framing, Given-Wilson considers the relationship between Henry and his eldest son, although with perhaps less of a personal and more of a political interpretation. By the spring of 1411 the king was a shadow of his former self. Much of his time was now spent with Archbishop Arundel, and six weeks were spent in Canterbury in the spring of 1412. This was a man waiting for death. The withdrawal of the king from active kingship had already damaged the body politic. Given-Wilson emphasizes the impact on law and order and links it to the attitude of the son to his father, noting that the early parliaments of Henry V's reign dwelt on the failure to control lawlessness in the last years of his father's reign. But he also considers that Prince Henry acted with 'presumption' in foreign dealings, forcing his father to take back the reins of government. There was indeed a battle of wills of a kind we could never imagine between Gaunt and his son, but Given-Wilson presents a rather positive view on the final reconciliation of Henry and Hal.

In between we have thirteen years of an eventful reign superbly and definitively treated. The events are well known and have been studied in depth as individual topics, whether Welsh wars, Percy rebellions, financial crises, parliamentary pressures or religious issues, but there has been a tendency for historians to lose interest as the reign goes on. The real value of Given-Wilson's book is the excellently integrated narrative and superb analysis across the whole life and reign. It covers so many areas that it will certainly be a 'go-to' book for all interested in or researching any aspect of the period. The detail is rich and well chosen, and always contextualized. Given-Wilson shows a complete mastery of the sources and writes exceptionally fluently, with some nice asides: in a discussion of spying, for instance, he notes that the price paid for Henry's surveillance methods was the creation of a culture of suspicion, 'but governments generally mind less about this than do historians'. The majority of chapters are chronological, showing how Henry developed his kingship and responded to crises, but there are also thoughtful thematic chapters on the nature of Henry's kingship and on the man himself. The king emerges well. Given-Wilson concludes that his achievements rank high – at least 'on the scale of the possible for a usurper'. He even suggests that Henry could have been a great king under different circumstances. Now there's a good exam question!

University of Southampton

ANNE CURRY

***Rural Society and Economic Change in County Durham: Recession and Recovery, c. 1400–1640.* By A. T. Brown.** Boydell. 2015. xv + 288pp. £60.00.

Durham's 'Bishoprick', Daniel Defoe tells us, 'is esteemed one of the best in England; and the Prebends, and other Church Livings, in Gift of the Bishop, are the Richest in the Kingdom' (*A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (3rd edn; 1742), p. 196). Though he found parts of the county 'hilly and mountainous' and nearby fields 'naked and barren', Defoe remarked that the 'Iron mines they produce within their Bowels' clearly made 'ample amends' for tenants. Both medievalist and early modernist economic historians of rural society, agrarian change and industrialization have long looked at palatinate Durham as a crucial piece of the larger picture of economic transformation in the critical two centuries or so after the Black Death. A. T. Brown's study of tenure relationships, rent, income and land both in Durham's extensive ecclesiastical holdings and in its lay estates is a meticulous effort to unpack the long-term consequences of critical decisions about leaseholds, rent and tenure that were taken in the fifteenth century, and to chart their enduring effects as late as the seventeenth century. While doing so, Brown argues that 'path dependency' (p. 7) – the power of institutional constraints to shape long-term economic outcomes – ought to be enshrined alongside demography, migration and class conflict in our explanations of long-term economic change in rural society. His book aims to intervene in several long-standing debates over the nature of 'the causes and consequences of capitalism' (p. 2), the 'rise' of the gentry and 'crisis' of aristocracy (p. 27), and whether economic historians should focus more on social status or land usage in their assessments of economic change.

The book is divided into seven chapters of varying length, alongside a longer introduction and short conclusion. Chapters 1 and 2 are devoted to the extensive archival records of the estates of Durham Priory and of the Bishop of Durham. In this section Brown lays out in detail how critical decisions made in response to fifteenth-century recession caused an immediate divergence in tenurial practices between the two huge estates. It is here I feel that we find the most direct story of path dependence: Durham Priory's monks (later prebendal families) chose relatively early on to move tenants towards leasehold tenures on shorter terms, which carried higher annual fees and a smaller suite of tenant rights, as opposed to more traditional copyhold agreements; the form remained prevalent on the bishop's estates long after it had vanished on priory lands. Chapter 2 is devoted to exploring the economic (and briefly, when tenants protested or resisted, the social) implications of the path dependency these decisions created (p. 82), and the entire first section is wonderfully situated waist-deep in the voluminous Durham ecclesiastical archives, replete with clear and detailed tables and an excellent comparative section as the concluding segment. Brown concludes that estates were the all-important 'vehicle' by which demographic, economic and social changes were 'carried out' (p. 106), and after seeing the evidence it is hard to disagree.

The middle chapters (3–5) are each devoted to the other major land-owning and land-renting economic groupings of Durham county: the local aristocratic magnates in the form of the Nevilles, Lumleys and Percys; Durham's gentry class; and elite merchant families based in Newcastle. In each case, Brown argues that seeing these social groups in Christopher Hill's terms as either 'rentier landlords' or 'agricultural producers' offers a much better avenue for analysing

their economic affairs, successes and failures than the prevalent consensus (p. 110). This focus on economic interests rather than social categories allows Brown to make the case for a 'crisis of rentier landlords' rather than a crisis of the aristocracy, as Lawrence Stone famously argued for (p. 147). In the final two chapters (6 and 7) Brown returns to the priory and bishopric estates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to unpack in detail the economic consequences of his findings in the first two chapters, by examining the fortunes of church leaseholders, yeomen farmers and smallholders. The takeaway is that priory leasehold tenants experienced very modest increases in their real incomes and the pattern of landholding remained relatively equally distributed in a 50–150 acre range, while on the bishopric estates the completely static nature of the rent rolls and low nature of annual fines gave rise to a class of very wealthy 'elite' yeomen, many of whom would usher their families into the ranks of gentility across the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Brown's findings are thoroughly grounded throughout in the archives of Durham's great ecclesiastical institutions and the county's lay landowning families. Thirty-two tables and nineteen figures throughout the book attest to the level of detail about the economic fortunes of Durham's middling and upper inhabitants, and for instance I found the comparative tabulations of Newbottle tenants particularly revealing (p. 232). The four chapters which bookend the monograph presented, to my mind at least, the powerful evidence of path dependency that was introduced so successfully in Brown's introduction. The prosopographical sections in the middle of the text seemed slightly disconnected from the core argument, in part because the strong narrative detailing institutional constraint seemed to take a back seat to successive, chapter-length interventions into historiographical controversies such as the 'storm over the gentry' or whether urban elite merchants really wished to retire in landed splendour to the countryside. In sum, however, I read a nuanced, excellently researched and thoroughly grounded economic history of land and tenure in Durham that was equally at home in both the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries in both archival and historiographical terms, and while I might wish to know more about the social negotiations of arrears payment or relationships *behind* these accounts, Brown's monograph delivers an economic history of Durham across two centuries that is necessary to begin that sort of investigation.

Canterbury Christ Church University DAVID HITCHCOCK

Taxonomies of Knowledge: Information and Order in Medieval Manuscripts. Edited by Emily Steiner and Lynn Ransom. University of Pennsylvania Press. 2015. x + 163pp. \$45.00/£29.50.

This handsome book contains six essays, illustrated generously, equipped with notes on the contributors and index, and well proofread (I noted only one slip: on p. 6, n. 3 'fit' should read 'fits'). In a two-page 'Preface' Lynn Ransom reminds the reader of the gift of nearly 300 manuscripts to the University of Pennsylvania library by Lawrence Schoenberg, to whose memory the collection is dedicated. From Emily Steiner's 'Introduction' (pp. 1–6) we learn that five of the essays arise from the Fifth Annual Schoenberg Symposium for Manuscripts in the Digital Age, 'Taxonomies of Knowledge', held in November 2012; Charles Burnett's

paper from an earlier conference (2008) is included as fitting well in the present volume.

In chapter 1, 'The Poems of "Ch": Taxonomizing Literary Tradition' (pp. 7–36), Elizaveta Strakhov examines the organizing principles of Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania MS Codex 902, a collection of French lyrical poetry, casting doubt upon the ascription of the fifteen lyrics designated 'Ch' to Chaucer. Pointing out that what is important are the distinctive features of the poems gathered together, not their authorship, she argues that the poems headed by 'Ch' occur at a point where the collection moves towards 'later, longer, and purely literary *formes fixes* verse' (p. 31). The second chapter, Alfred Hiatt's 'Worlds in Books' (pp. 37–55), focuses on a single subject, geography, in two types of books, chronicle and encyclopaedia. He points out that historical chronicles from Orosius onwards typically begin with geography and describe space in terms of contiguity, deploying relative clauses and prepositions, whereas there is no similar obvious stance in encyclopaedias. Even though for the most part the world is divided, as in Orosius, into *tres partes*, geographical information may be found in different locations. There is a greater likelihood of illustrations, whether in the margins or as a frontispiece, and developments emerge in presentation. Alphabetical lists appear first in Bartholomaeus Anglicus, a lead followed in humanist geography, with the contingent problems of what forms to use and how to match places taken from different sources. Nevertheless, contiguity is shown to remain an important organizing principle alongside newer orderings of information.

With the third chapter, 'Poetry's Place in Scholastic Taxonomies of Knowledge' (pp. 56–79), the seemingly intractable problem of how to categorize poetry is examined, whether by discipline, or into categories on shelves and other places, or according to intrinsic worth – poetic writings do not fit tidily within any single discipline, the old suspicion of pagan poetry in the late Antique period casts a long shadow, but theology is golden. Mary Franklin-Brown reflects on the place of poetry within the seven liberal arts, the organization of book collections (not just on shelves and in book-chests, but scattered also among church, infirmary and schoolroom) and on taxonomies adopted in encyclopaedias. Poetry is, however, 'a silent omnipresence' (p. 62), a register rather than a genre. The range is huge. Looking beyond Latin to Arabic, she discusses how in particular the writings of Ramon Llull in Latin, Arabic and Catalan 'test the limits and explore the contradictions of scholastic encyclopedism' (p. 71). In 'Manuscripts of Latin Translations of Scientific Texts from Arabic' (pp. 80–9), Charles Burnett examines examples of diagrams, letter forms and numerals carried over from Arabic into Latin translations, highlighting the 'problem of directionality' (p. 85). Sometimes illustrations are reversed, appearing as mirror images of themselves; and in the earliest mid-twelfth-century manuscripts boxes surround numerals which, he points out, are 'inserted into the text, just as geometrical figures might be inserted' (p. 87).

The last two essays engage with vernacular religious texts. For Katharine Breen, in 'Reading Step by Step: *Pictorial Allegory and Pastoral Care in Piers Plowman*' (pp. 90–135), the *passūs* or steps of Langland's work are the organizational divisions of his Dreamer's journey to Truth. As the moral landscape is walked, the direction is towards the east – a clearer orientation in the C text than in B. Diagrams that would have been familiar from pastoral teaching

are shown to resonate strongly at many points throughout Langland's work and are exemplified in five colour plates from the De Lisle Psalter (London, British Library, MS Arundel 83, II): wheels of Sevens, of the Ten Ages of Man, a table of the Ten Commandments, and trees of the Virtues and of the Vices. Imagery and teaching intertwine in a rich reading of this English poem. Sara S. Poor, in '"Life" Lessons in Anna Eybin's Book of Saints (ca. 1465–1482)' (pp. 136–53), looks at a German legendary 'put together with a distinct sense of purpose' (p. 136), as is evident not only from the manuscript's lengthy table of contents and its introductory instructions on how to use the table in reading the book but also from editorial changes made in the presentation of lives. For Poor, three models of holiness encapsulate lessons of particular interest to enclosed women: tales of a celibate marriage (Julian and Basilissa), of a married woman of great piety (Achahildis of Wendelstein) and of imposed chastity (Anastasia).

Overall, this is a slim volume and a rewarding read. The essays, of varied length, are intrinsically substantial, providing many insights into how knowledge is presented in medieval manuscripts. The taxonomies explored are for the most part implicit rather than laid out plain upon the page, and it is good therefore to be guided towards what they reveal.

Institute of English Studies, University of London

JANE ROBERTS

***Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles.* Edited by Kate Buchanan, Lucinda H. S. Dean with Michael Penman. Routledge. 2016. xviii + 284pp. £95.00.**

This collection of fourteen short essays engages with themes, places and time periods of a wide scope, a variety consonant with the laudable stated aims of this volume to cross the chronological divide between 'medieval' and 'early modern' (p. 5) and to take an 'interdisciplinary' approach to the study of how authority was represented (p. 6). Indeed, the range of social groups covered by the essays, and the variety of places considered within the 'British Isles', are likewise considerable strengths.

The editors have organized the volume into four sensible sections, within each of which a mixture of chronological foci and disciplinary interests feature. These, 'Using and Reusing Internal and External Spaces'; 'Pious Rituals and Military Display'; 'Representing Female Power and Noble Authority'; and 'Privileged Poetry, Music and Material Culture' helpfully highlight some of the volume's major themes.

Whilst the chapters are drawn from a range of disciplines, Jamie Reid-Baxter's exploration of the work of the composer Robert Carver is one of the few pieces which within itself takes a truly interdisciplinary approach. Starting with a reminder that music is often ignored by historians (p. 235), Reid-Baxter argues for the significance of Carver's oeuvre in James IV's projection of his authority, setting the music in a rich iconographic and military context, drawing on evidence including the honours of Scotland (objects more familiar to English readers as 'crown jewels'), numismatic designs and James IV's warship, the *Great Michael*. This use of a wide range of evidence types is likewise a strength of Kate Buchanan's offering, drawing on the subdiscipline of landscape history and turning to archaeological and cartographic remains to mount a case for the

ways in which landowners' control of key natural resources could be exploited to project their authority to those dependent on access to such essentials. A similarly broad range of source material is employed in Richard Oram's exploration of the connections between secular-style gatehouses and legal powers of regality exercised by monastic communities to mount a subtle case for 'zoning' within monastic foundations whereby 'tainted secular' activities were confined to the peripheries of the site (pp. 47–9). Oram's chapter is one of the few which engages explicitly with the boundary between medieval and early modern, arguing that for Scottish regalities the traditional division date of 1560 still makes good sense (pp. 50–3).

Buildings also take centre stage on James Hilton's study of the iconographic scheme of Westminster's St Stephen's Chapel. Impressively close attention to details such as clothing styles (p. 109) pays off in allowing Hilton to relate changing iconographic emphasis in the chapel to broader political developments in the reign of Edward III. The building activities of this monarch's predecessor Edward I also receive attention in David Simpkin's fascinating study of how the invading English court projected its majesty in Scotland, taking in a wide range of facets of the campaign trail. This combines with Simpkin's very interesting discussion of the tension between the competing needs for privacy and display in the projection of majesty (pp. 23–4), to make this a stand-out chapter in the collection. The ghost of Edward I likewise lurks in another of the volume's strongest chapters, Michael Penman's compelling discussion of how Robert Bruce and his episcopate exploited the liturgical calendar to send strong messages of Bruce's legitimacy and Scotland's independence through careful planning of key dates such as the dedication of St Andrews Cathedral.

Bruce's fight for authority recently assumed by the English is not the only Anglo-Scottish conflict explored in the volume. Tom Turpie's discussion of St Ninian's cult in a cross-border context reveals how Scotland's 'unofficial patron saint' (p. 124) sat uneasily within Scotland's saintly pantheon, and, conversely, how Richard III of England saw in Ninian a potential vehicle for his own territorial ambitions (p. 131), whilst many of his subjects perceived Ninian as the apostle of the north, rather than simply Scotland. Moving forward in time, K. M. Mackenzie offers a thoughtful consideration of how the Anglo-Scots tensions of Cromwellian occupation played out in Glasgow, offering a useful detailed account of burgh politics in this period, framing her sound research with the trendy (but over-used) framework of a 'contested space'. This type of detailed burgh-level history also shows dividends in Bowman's exploration of the authority by members of the hammermen craft, particularly in the case study of a piece of decorative stonework dating to 1686 which, fascinatingly, features the imperial crown.

The welcome broadening of those who might hold authority beyond the aristocratic lowland Scots elite continues in Alan Kennedy's compelling discussion of how understandings of elite authority in the Highlands changed over time, subtly making the case for a continuity of emphasis on martial prowess (pp. 179–81) alongside the changing modes of projecting that authority, in particular in terms of the gradual growth of the lowland emphasis on conspicuous consumption (p. 185) amongst the highland elite.

The second offering on authority within the Gaeldom, Elizabeth Fitzpatrick's study of fourteenth-century material expressions of Gaelic lordship, likewise

emphasizes change. In particular, Fitzpatrick's close reading of the material evidence mounts a strong case that this period witnessed not a simple 'revival' of lordship in the face of English claims to superiority, but rather a more complex 'refashioning' (p. 210). One could quibble that the volume's overall title might have included reference to Ireland, which, despite the best efforts of Edward I, Elizabeth I et al., was not, and is not, 'British'.

Whilst Fitzpatrick's chapter looks west, Lucinda Dean's exploration of the ceremonial of Marie de Guise, queen consort of James V and regent of Scotland, inevitably has a more south-eastern pull towards France. Dean engages with an area fast becoming one of lively debate, and as her engagement with my work shows we disagree on a number of points (pp. 152–4). To her discussion of issues of nomenclature I would respond that the claim that Guise was called 'regent' prior to 1554 is based on a mistranslation of the word 'Regina' in the 'translation' text produced by the Records of the Parliament of Scotland edition, and that the term 'regent' was not 'coined' for Guise but was in fact current in Scotland from at least 1516 when it was applied to those who governed Scotland during the absence of the duke of Albany. Beyond our differences, however, Dean's discussion of the English ceremonial reception of Guise in 1551 (pp. 149–52) is both detailed and interesting, adding a fresh perspective to our study of that important moment, and her consideration of the ceremonial which accompanied the marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots to the Dauphin beyond Edinburgh is a welcome widening of focus beyond the capital (pp. 155–8).

Female authority is also considered in Estelle Paranque's discussion of the 'female kingship of Elizabeth I', which attempts to give a new spin on the well-covered ground of Elizabeth I's self-portrayal, including by nuancing the idea of Elizabeth-as-warrior to that of Elizabeth-as-'fair warrior'. Attention to language and rhetoric is likewise a feature of the final chapter, another of the volume's most important offerings. Kylie Murray vividly discusses royal authority as articulated in the *Kingis Quair*, the *Scotichronicon* and *Lancelot of the Laik*. Murray draws striking new connections between the texts, whilst robustly arguing for the political nature of the *Kingis Quair* as a book concerned with the assumption of authority over both wife and kingdom (pp. 217–18 especially), a case which is in turn rooted in Murray's pre-eminent expertise in the genre of dream visions.

Taken as a whole, the essays in this volume, though diverse, display many points of contact, and in so doing make a clear case for the value of an interdisciplinary and cross-period approach to a topic whose importance is receiving increasing historical recognition. The broad chronological and geographical coverage should make this volume of interest to a wide range of scholars.

University of Kent

AMY BLAKEWAY

Early Modern

***The Absence of America: The London Stage, 1576–1642.* By Gavin Hollis. Oxford University Press. 2015. vii + 262 pp. £55.00.**

Gavin Hollis's interrogation of the *presence* of America on the London stage is deeply engaging, drawing on a large body of early modern theatre and employing

several lenses, including gender, sexuality and race, to develop his convincing arguments. Hollis's thesis is that although no extant play was set in America and no Native American characters appeared in plays, there were numerous allusions to America on the London stage in this period. Throughout the book he employs a key term to demonstrate how they emerged: the 'theatermeme', or the shared allusions in theatre that travelled 'from playhouse to playhouse' (p. 3). These memes materialized in opposition to the promotional literature that was circulated by the Virginia Company in the early seventeenth century. Despite the network of patronage between London theatres and investors in the Virginia Company – a web of connection that Hollis vividly maps out – the theatre mocked rather than celebrated colonization in the New World. At the pulpit and in print the Virginia Company 'stressed the transformative possibilities of the New World' (p. 3), but their ideas were consistently undermined in plays. There was, according to Hollis, no real absence of America on the early modern stage. Rather, his title alludes to the refusal of playing companies to 'parrot' the Virginia Company; instead 'they established the playhouses as alternative news outlets' (p. 4).

This book, of two parts, explores how the Virginia Company's transformational agenda was turned on its head by theatrical representations of the adventurer and Virginia Indians. Chapter 1 examines how the theatermeme adventurer was far from ideal, driven like the Spanish *conquistador* by greed, excess and tales of 'chamber-pots' of gold. Their prioritization of private gain over spiritual transformation – their own or the Native Americans' – unsettled the Virginia Company. In a sermon delivered by William Crashaw the player was thus grouped along with the devil and the papist in an 'unholy trinity', being the 'enemies to this noble action' (p. 33). At the end of this chapter Hollis's analysis moves effortlessly between literary texts and the geographical and commercial fabric of early modern London to question why conflict emerged between playing companies and the Virginia Company. He argues that the answer could lie in their status as 'rival commercial ventures' that both sought investment for 'imaginary constructs' (p. 61). Theatre-going was constructed, then, as an alternative 'enterprise in imaginary travel' (p. 65), but one that audiences could experience without leaving London.

Chapter 2 picks up on similar themes, exploring the disturbing transformative experience of adventurers who turned cannibal in the New World. Virginia's 'starving time' in 1609–10 sets the scene, as stories circulated in England of colonists forced to eat human flesh. The most alarming rumour was of the man who killed and salted his wife with the intention of eating her. The new 'figure of the cannibal husband haunted the English imaginary' (p. 75) and found its way onto the London stage. From acts of colonist cannibalism sprung the theatermeme that it was unwise to bring women to Virginia as uncontrollable male carnal desire threatened to devour them. In plays like *Eastward Ho!* and *The Roaring Girl*, the female body was substituted for Virginia: both were threatened with rape and 'absolute consumption' (p. 89) by intemperate colonists. Even though the Indian uprising of 1622 saw the 'grafting of the Indian and the Cannibal' (p. 113) the theatermeme of the colonist-as-cannibal did not disappear altogether.

Londoners encountered the display of Indian bodies in the early modern period; in 1611 Epenow, captured from Martha's Vineyard, was 'shewed up and downe' the city 'as a wonder' (p. 121). This promenading of Indians

was meant to remind observers that the central aim of colonization was the conversion of natives, and also to convince the English 'that it was possible to live and thrive in the New World' (p. 123). In chapter 3 Hollis discusses how these transformative possibilities were undermined in plays such as *The Triumph of Time*, where there is no native conversion, and *Henry VIII*, where the English public are transformed into a 'carnavalesque mass' (p. 149) in their clamour to gaze upon Indian bodies. While the Virginia Company would have had audiences believe that English colonizers heralded civilization in the New World, according to London theatre, Virginia and Virginians did, in fact, 'mark the possibility of England's degeneration' (p. 144).

Indian disguise is the subject of the final chapter. Here Hollis examines the 'theatergram' of the European male disguised as an Indian and contemporary attitudes to cultural and racial difference. Looking at three plays in the context of the 1590s, 1620s and 1630s Hollis shows how attitudes towards the relationship between Indians and colonists changed. In post-Armada London, the first play draws on the hope that 'indigenous Americans would rise up against Spanish oppression' and 'the English would gain access to the fabled New World riches'; *The Fatal Marriage* 'reflects fears about the effects of contact with Indian fashions' – furs, skins, and the lovelock – in the 1620s; and in the third, *The City Madam*, Indian disguise is used to 'satirize the depravity – or savagery – of London's inhabitants' (p. 166). The supposed 'excessive self-fashioning' (p. 199) of Londoners was in contrast to the way that clothing served as a 'metaphor for civility and conversion' (p. 203) in promotional literature. Hollis draws on 'racial cross-dressing' theory and the practices of cross-dressing – darkening the skin, clothing – to illuminate how Indian disguise was used to demarcate madness and (in)civility in the theatre. It is only at the end of the period, in *The City Madam*, that Virginia emerges on stage as a 'transformational place' (p. 210). After ten years of war between the English and Virginia Indians, the play shows the absolute removal of Indians from the colony; this is signified by Sir John's wiping-off of his blackface – his Indian disguise.

In all, this book is an impressive first in a new series entitled 'Early Modern Literary Geographies'. It contains many beautiful illustrations, including reproductions of Theodor de Bry and Inigo Jones, and its structure of clearly signposted and digestible parts ensures that this text – full of detail and vivid imagery – is easily navigable. Hollis has made a perceptive new departure on a topic that has in recent years, as he acknowledges, stagnated. The book offers innovative readings of familiar early modern theatre like *The Tempest*, *The Memorable Masque* and *Eastward Ho!*, but by keeping London and the Virginia Company at the fore throughout much of his analysis, Hollis brings something fresh to the exploration of representations of America on the early modern stage.

University College London

MISHA EWEN

***The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France.* By Joseph Bergin. Yale University Press. 2014. xi + 379pp. £40.00.**

Entitled *The Politics of Religion in Early Modern France*, Joseph Bergin's masterful treatment of the relations between religion and politics from the onset of the civil wars of religion in 1560 to the death of Louis XIV in 1715 might just as

well be subtitled 'the religion of politics' during the same period, so inseparably intertwined are the connections between them. In an era when the Reformation's rending of the seamless robe of Christ had not yet resulted in any comparable 'schism' between rival confessional allegiances and other aspects of human experience, every political issue had religious implications and every religious or even moral issue had political implications. Nowhere was this truer than in Old-Regime France, where thirty years of religious warfare left a weakened monarchy with the task of redefining its religious identity amidst a permanent Protestant presence and an ongoing 'devout' French Catholic Reformation.

The first of the seventeenth-century developments charted by Bergin is therefore the rise of an 'absolute' and religiously redefined monarchy. But in order to free itself from fiscal and legislative dependence on the Estates-General, this would-be absolute monarchy reinforced the power of the Parlement of Paris, institutionalized a General Assembly of the Gallican clergy, and collaborated with both, as well as with the papacy, to weaken the doctrinal authority of the Sorbonne. In addition to having to manoeuvre between these powers and institutions, it also fell to the monarchy to thwart the threat of renewed Protestant revolt while domesticating the newly admitted Society of Jesus without, however, becoming totally beholden either to a militant Catholic '*parti dévot*' or – its opposite – an equally adamantly anti-papal Parlement of Paris. While for the clergy the Gallican 'liberties' still meant the election of its own members and the restoration of national councils – neither of them acceptable to either the monarchy or papacy – for the Parlement these 'liberties' meant the monarchy's total independence from the papacy as well as ecclesiastical jurisdiction – neither entirely acceptable to the monarchy or papacy either.

What made the monarchy's negotiating of all these institutional and ideological shoals more difficult was the need to defend the Bourbon dynasty's interest in a war on the side of Protestant states against the Catholic Habsburgs in Spain and the Empire. The monarchy could not therefore satisfy the clergy's and *dévot* demands by pressing the offensive against the French Protestants too far without alienating its Protestant allies elsewhere. Nor could it satisfy the Gallican Parlement of Paris by divorcing foreign 'reason of state' from religion or proclaiming its radical independence from the papacy without alienating Rome, its *dévot* allies, or the clergy on which it had become financially dependent. Always convincing, sure and subtle in his historical judgements, Bergin is at his best in showing how Louis XIII and his cardinal-minister Richelieu artfully contented themselves with partial solutions to problems and crises as they arose, never responding to any of them with a 'total' solution that would enlarge the space for others. The implicit political theology undergirding Richelieu's practice was one that paired belief in divinely sanctioned absolute monarchy with an acceptance of the papacy's doctrinal infallibility, reserving the Gallican 'liberty' to limit that infallibility in France.

No better illustration of the political minefield of conflicting theologies and ecclesiologies through which the monarchy manoeuvred is its response to the fissure within the *parti dévot* that produced 'Jansenism' and the Jansenist controversy, which Bergin recounts with perfection. Perceiving in Jansenism at once a *dévot*-like threat to its foreign policy and a Protestant-like threat in Catholic form, the cardinal-minister Mazarin supported an episcopal deferral of some Protestant-sounding propositions from the Flemish theologian Jansen's

restatement of St Augustine's theology of grace to Pope Innocent X, who responded with a condemnation of five of them in 1653. But the acceptance of papal bulls was no simple matter in Gallican France, and the desire of the monarchy and Jesuits for a quick and easy passage got caught in the crossfire between rival episcopal, parochial and parliamentary versions of their Gallican rights, to say nothing of papal impatience and the conscientious resistance of Jansenist theologians and the sisters of the abbey of Port-Royal-des-Champs. With the stand-off persisting and war again a priority, the monarchy had to settle for another partial solution in the form of the papal 'peace of 1668', which left the Port-Royal community still largely intact.

But by this time the monarchy was at war against the Dutch Protestant Republic rather than with Port-Royal, while the Peace of the Church was a pause *faute de mieux* in an ongoing offensive rather than the practice of the politics of partial solutions. A force for moderation in the first half of the century, the post civil-war 'absolute' monarchy's religious identity became a liability in the hands of Louis XIV, who replaced partial solutions with the pursuit of total ones with the intention of creating a France purged of heresy and *toute catholique*.

The last third of Bergin's book is devoted to these Louis Quatorzian total solutions, beginning with the Gallican Declaration of 1682, which, going where the monarchy had heretofore feared to tread, proclaimed the total, yet still religious, independence from the papacy. That total solution cleared the way for another in the form of the total liquidation of the Protestant presence in France with the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685, creating a Huguenot 'refuge' in the Dutch Republic that inundated France with subversive literature in the century that followed. With the need for papal help in pursuit of a similarly total solution of the Jansenist 'problem' in the form of the bull *Unigenitus* in 1713, the Sun King backed away from his Gallican Declaration in 1693, leaving the Gallican tradition in the hands of a revived Jansenism that eventually turned it against absolute monarch and papacy alike.

A consummately accomplished treatment of the relation between religion and politics in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France and a totally reliable history of each of its many subplots, Bergin's book nonetheless ends without an overall thesis. Yet the book's premises clearly imply the conclusion that Louis XIV altered the structure of those relations in such a way as to create a religious and political opposition that ended in Revolution. This is a conclusion with which this reviewer finds it hard to disagree.

Ohio State University

DALE K. VAN KLEY

***The Great American Speech: Words and Monuments.* By Stephen Fender.** Reaktion Books. 2015. 192pp. \$20.00.

As far as Stephen Fender is concerned, 'The Great American Speech is the national culture' (p. 10). For Fender, Honorary Professor of English at University College of London, the speeches in this slim volume trace the evolution of an American identity rooted in equality and community in stark contrast to Fender's conception of an individualized and covetous American Dream. Analysing these speeches within their historical context as well as in relation to each other, Fender highlights the ways in which national identity – and interpretations of the nation's

potential – shaped public rhetoric at key moments ranging from the Puritan settlements and the Early Republic to the Civil War and through to the Cold War and after.

The text itself is divided into thematic sections with Fender first examining the role of speeches in the creation of a common culture, then analysing selected Great American Speeches, and finally extending his discussion to speeches in film. Situating the Great American Speech (the phrase is invariably capitalized) as part of a larger tradition, Fender examines speeches ranging from the relatively obscure – a 1621 sermon by Robert Cushman which he presents as the first such speech – to the well-known – including Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Martin Luther King, Jr's 'I Have a Dream' speech.

Taken as a whole, the speeches analysed and referenced throughout the text conform to Fender's primary criteria for a Great American Speech: such speeches must (1) be spoken aloud to a live audience, (2) be about America, (3) offer listeners optimistic hope for the future, and (4) not take a partisan political position. Furthermore, authorship of these speeches is less important than their circumstances and goals. Thus, in Fender's analysis, a Great American Speech can be ghost-written or even written by a team of speechwriters as it will be remembered for the man – and all of the speeches in this book are by men – who ultimately gives those words voice. Although Fender takes great care to outline the core elements of the Great American Speech, he fails to offer a comparable explanation of how he chose the speeches analysed in the text as he clearly believes speeches by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Barack Obama, and others also qualify as Great American Speeches. Without making his rationale explicit, Fender's selection of speeches appears idiosyncratic instead of representative.

A literature scholar, Fender is most comfortable when discussing the symbolic and structural elements of these speeches: his examination of the ways that the form is replicated and modified in cinematic representations of US ideals is particularly strong. However, his efforts to situate these speeches in their historical contexts are less skilful. Fender has clearly done his research into the motivations and influences behind his chosen examples, but struggles to balance this historical detail with his rhetorical analysis of the speeches themselves. Significant space is devoted to the circumstances leading up to the speeches, but even so these discussions often elide or overly simplify key historiographical debates – such as those about regional and political tensions in the New Republic or John F. Kennedy's status as peacemaker or Cold War warrior. Factual errors, such as Fender's crediting the post-Second World War Marshall Plan to Senator, not Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, are similarly problematic (p. 87). On the other hand, Fender spends so much time developing the context for these speeches that the rhetorical analysis is often rushed and disjointed with key terms, such as *anaphora*, not defined until long after their first (and second and third) uses.

These and similar problems may well be rooted in Fender's determination to analyse in what is a slim book a representative sampling of speeches while still writing for a general audience. Although this is an admirable goal, *The Great American Speech* would be stronger were it either long enough to examine the chosen speeches in sufficient depth or more narrowly focused on a smaller selection of speeches. Consequently, this study is likely to be most useful for non-experts – both in history and in rhetoric – curious about the evolution

of American national identity. Not a rhetoric scholar myself, I found Fender's discussion of the structural elements of the speeches he analyses to be very engaging and readable and, despite a few flaws, I was often impressed by the scope and depth of the historical context provided throughout the text. Furthermore, this book provides a useful perspective on the evolution of US national identity and the ways in which that identity is communicated and remembered.

University College Cork

SARAH THELEN

***The Gages of Hengrave and Suffolk Catholicism 1640–1767.* By Francis Young. Catholic Record Society. Boydell. 2015. xxxiv + 241pp. £50.00.**

This is a model study of a Catholic family living amongst the embers of persecution. The Gages were a gentry family spread out into several counties from a base in Sussex, and the Gages of Hengrave, elevated by a baronetcy earned by the civil-war loyalism of another branch, stood out amongst the Catholic families of Suffolk throughout the period covered by this book, having been the third family in as many generations to inherit through the failure of another family in the male line. They are a prominent family who kept exceptional estate records and indeed inventories and library lists, together with enough correspondence to flesh out what these papers tell us. They hosted missions by Benedictine religious and Jesuits and for part of the period papers relating to those missions survive. A well-chosen selection from these records is included in this volume in six appendices, which take over fifty pages. So this is an unusually rich archive for a Catholic gentry family, and it allows for a full account of their marriage strategies, of their reliance on continental schools to educate and nourish the faith of new generations, and of how far they were part of a separatist Catholic network and how they were part-integrated into regional and indeed national political culture. The book is also more than a study of a gentry family, for it also contains a detailed account of the ups and downs of the Catholic community of Bury St Edmunds. This was one of the strongest urban Catholic communities in England, rivalled only perhaps for this period by those in Walsall and Baldock, even though its waxing in the 1680s led to a temporary waning after the fall of James II. Bury was hardly a seigneurial borough of the Gages, but the proximity of Hengrave and of the priests they retained was no hindrance, except when the international disputes of the Jesuits and Jansenists divided Hengrave Hall from the leading Catholics of the town.

Francis Young has already written extensively about East Anglian Catholicism, including two other Suffolk gentry families (the Tasburghs and the Rookwoods) and his immersion not only in Gage texts but in local, regional and national contexts is highly secure. He writes with authority and great precision. He gives a vivid account of the number of really tough choices that the family had to make, which changed from generation to generation and which were rooted in a clear end (to preserve the family's faith and its fortune) with a constantly changing pragmatism over means. It gives the lie to any thought that, with the lifting of the rigour of the penal laws, Catholics could relax and live in 'a humble hidden state', as Alban Butler put it in 1780. The choices facing Catholics in 1640, 1685–8, or even in 1715 or 1745, were far from straightforward, and even if the Gages were resolutely loyal to the Church

of Rome and the crown of England, this was not always easy, especially with relatives and neighbours (over whom the authorities assumed the Gages had influence) putting their faith before prudence. This book also captures something of the inner spirituality that allowed the family to keep the faith and keep their nerve. Catholic historiography has too often been hagiography and too often seen through the eyes of the clergy. This is a very welcome corrective.

Selwyn College Cambridge

JOHN MORRILL

***Elite Women in Ascendancy Ireland, 1690–1745: Imitation and Innovation.* By Rachel Wilson. Boydell. 2015. xiii + 208pp. £60.00.**

Despite valiant efforts amongst some leading historians, the history of women in Ireland remains remarkably understudied in comparison to its English, and even Scottish, counterparts. This has been slowly corrected in recent years by the publication of a number of works by new scholars, seeking to bring light on what makes Ireland different, if anything, from its nearest neighbours. This question is perhaps particularly fraught for those studying the social elite of the eighteenth century, who lived in a cosmopolitan whirl, with homes and estates across the United Kingdom, and social relationships that created connections even more widely. Rachel Wilson's *Elite Women in Ascendancy Ireland* explores the transnational lives of the women of the Irish aristocracy in the first half of the eighteenth century; her subtitle 'imitation and innovation' is suggestive of the complex ways in which such women positioned their identity.

This is a relatively comprehensive book that uses letters, diaries and estate papers to build a picture of the many facets of the lives of landed and elite women. It begins with a chapter on marriage, moves through child-rearing, housekeeping, estate management and widowhood, before focusing on women's roles as society hostesses, as political players and as philanthropists. In providing this sort of coverage for women's lives, Wilson covers a wide number of historiographical debates and discussions that are difficult to summarize in a single review. Her overarching thread is to seek to locate these women in the wider UK historiography whilst also pointing to the ways in which their experiences were distinct. Of course, one of the key issues here is that in many ways they were not. Elite Irish women, as elsewhere, were engaged in a shared culture of fashions and goods, of forms of sociability, of 'politeness', of political debates and groupings, and of family life. This is perhaps particularly marked for a number of women who spent considerable parts of their lives in London, as well as a single example of a woman who, despite being Irish, never travelled to the island.

Despite this challenge, Wilson does make a case for these women as Irish and for the ways in which geographical location and a sense of Irishness informed their behaviour. She points to the importance of geographic endogamy in marriage partners, of a greater unwillingness to marry 'commoner heiresses', more favourable jointures, the greater independence of wives in house and estate management (owing to greater difficulties communicating with often absent husbands), more difficult relationships with tenants and factors, greater social mixing amongst the 'elites' (particularly in terms of gender), less opportunity to be a society or political hostess, more comfortable seats for women in the Irish parliament (!) but less opportunity for political canvassing, and so on. These are

no doubt differences of degree, rather than kind, but they do suggest the ways in which local conditions shaped the lives of even those who lived across borders.

This reader's impression at least is that Wilson is ultimately an optimist in the wider debate around women's social positioning in a patriarchal world; these women hold power, have social position, make a difference to the world around them. However in making this case, Wilson's focus has been on women's proactive engagements in claiming power or authority. In contrast, the ways in which gender norms and hierarchies acted to restrict women's activities is often assumed, rather than the boundaries clearly articulated. This is a weakness in this text as at times it makes it difficult to judge what the significance of women's actions were in the Ireland of this period; it sometimes feels as if acting at all was what mattered, but of course patriarchy was never so absolute. Some greater reflection on these dynamics, as well as what women achieved, would have deepened the argument being made here and may also have helped demarcate what was distinct about Ireland. This work makes an important contribution in highlighting the significant place of elite women in Irish society; in demonstrating the breadth of women's lives, it also reminds us of the work that still needs to be done.

University of Adelaide

KATIE BARCLAY

***The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin.* By Stephen Brogan.** Royal Historical Society. Boydell. 2015. xii + 265pp. £50.00.

The 'royal touch', whereby French and subsequently English rulers claimed the ability to cure the disease known as scrofula, was practised intermittently from the eleventh and twelfth centuries respectively and did not finally die out, in France, until the 1820s. Involving a tubercular infection of the lymph glands, scrofula also has a natural tendency to go into remission, which helps to explain the apparent cures worked by the monarchs in question. *Les rois thaumaturges*, by the distinguished French historian Marc Bloch and published as long ago as 1924, still remains the classic study of the subject. But, as Stephen Brogan points out, Bloch's book is mainly about the medieval period and France at that, despite the increasing abundance of evidence from the sixteenth century onwards. Hence this present fascinating study, which focuses on England during the early modern period, deserves an especially warm welcome. The royal touch was a particular manifestation of the idea of sacral monarchy and served, among other things, to reaffirm royal authority at times of political upheaval or uncertainty. Thus it looks to be significant that after an abeyance of over a hundred years Henry VII revived the practice in England, following on from the civil wars of the late fifteenth century, and it is probably from his reign that there first dates a formal liturgy for the ceremony as well as the custom of presenting sufferers with a gold 'angel' coin for wearing around their neck. Until 1688 all the Tudor and Stuart monarchs touched for the 'king's evil', as it was known, demand reaching an unprecedented height under Charles II with nearly 100,000 recipients over twenty-five years. This was despite the English Reformation and the tendency of more radical Protestants to regard the royal touch as 'superstitious'. In seeking to address this paradox, Brogan rightly stresses both the limitations of contemporary medicine and the continuing idea of illness as a punishment for

sin, along with attempts to assuage Protestant doubts by means of changes to the ceremony itself. In addition, however, it is possible to apply here some of the insights of Keith Thomas in his justly famous study *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971). Thomas suggested, *inter alia*, that Protestant attacks on 'the magic of the medieval church' led in the short term to an upsurge of people resorting to alternative 'magical' sources of 'material relief', and a similar spur may have operated in the present case.

Brogan's book on English royal thaumaturgy arguably also demonstrates a growing divide between popular and elite thinking about such matters, with hard-line Protestant attitudes gradually morphing into so-called Enlightenment sceptical ones. Yet clearly disbelief in the royal touch was not simply dependent on the emergence of more scientific ways of thinking. As regards this last point, it is striking that the Calvinist William III and his fellow ruler Mary II declined to touch for scrofula despite their Stuart ancestry. After a restoration of the practice under Anne, the Lutheran George I – a descendant of James I – followed in the footsteps of William and Mary, as did his successors. Conversely the Catholic Jacobites continued to touch until the death of Cardinal Henry Stuart in 1807. Another much earlier and very interesting case is that of the Calvinist James I, who on his accession to the English throne in 1603 was initially reluctant to treat sufferers from the king's evil, on the grounds that the practice smacked of 'superstition' and anyway the age of miracles was past. Moreover after having been persuaded to resume the royal touch, the king continued to play down both the miraculous and hereditary aspects, concentrating instead on the power of prayer. His attitude contrasts with that of the leading Elizabethan apologist William Tooker, who in his *Charisma sive donum sanationis* (1597) was happy to claim a miraculous dimension and to invoke the precedent of Edward the Confessor as an alleged practitioner. But since the views of James I remained unpublished it was a version of the Tooker line which prevailed for most of the seventeenth century, reinforced furthermore by the wording of the royal touch liturgy – something unremarked either by Brogan or previous commentators. Whereas the various English Bibles from the Elizabethan period onwards approximate to the Jacobean (1611) rendering of St Mark 16.20 as 'And they went forth and preached everywhere, the Lord working with them and confirming the word with *signs* following' (my italics), the royal touch liturgy when quoting this verse refers to 'miracles' not 'signs' in all the extant versions from James I to Charles II, and by implication those of Edward VI and Elizabeth I too. This wording, in terms of 'miracles', followed the Henrician Great Bible and was not altered until the reign of Queen Anne, when a number of other modifications were also made to the liturgy. Remarkably, however, the Catholic James II had already approved this change of wording, from 'miracles' to 'signs', with the publication in 1686 of an English-language version of what purported to be the royal touch liturgy of Henry VII. Therefore it would seem that by now doubts existed right across the religious spectrum about the miraculous element involved in curing the king's evil.

One of the frustrations encountered by Brogan, and others working on the topic, is the lack of direct evidence concerning critics of the royal touch until the beginning of the eighteenth century. Generally we only encounter such opponents via the writings of those defending the practice, which is why a surviving call for reform, by Puritans, to the 'manner of healing the kinges evill', dating from the

start of the reign of James I, is so invaluable. Unknown to Brogan, this request features on a list of religious grievances probably presented to the king in March 1603 (TNA, SP 14/1, fo. 131). It describes the practice as being ‘to men of sound judgment a thing offensive and ridiculous’, and two ‘abuses’ are singled out. Firstly, there is ‘a presumption of the gift of healing, either by inheritance and propertie of substance of the princes of theis kingdoms [England and France], or by an extraordinary and miraculous faith without warrant from the word of God’. The second abuse consists ‘in makeinge some parte the worde of God as a charm in that action, viz. att the towching of everie one the kinges chapleyn doth repeate that place of scripture “They shall lay there handes on the sick, and they shall be healed etc.”, and “This is that light that lighteneth everie one that cometh into the worlde etc.”’. Although in the event James I swallowed his scruples on the subject, the critics were of course ultimately to prevail. Here, as part of the excellent dossier built up by Brogan, it is very revealing that by 1647 members of the Long Parliament can be found talking in terms of ‘the superstition of being touched for the healing of the king’s evil’ (pp. 91–2). The medical profession also appear to have become divided along politico-religious lines in their attitudes to the royal touch by the 1720s, between ‘Whig’ critics and ‘High Church Tory’ defenders (p. 206), but one does wonder about the situation earlier. All in all, however, Brogan has produced a fine book which, while building on the pioneering work of Marc Bloch, serves greatly to advance the subject.

University College London

NICHOLAS TYACKE

***London Lives: Poverty, Crime and the Making of the Modern City, 1690–1800.* By Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker.** Cambridge University Press. 2015. xvi + 461pp. £21.99.

Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, well known for their previous scholarship and online projects on the eighteenth-century metropolis, have published an important new analysis of the relationship between ‘plebeian’ Londoners and their civic ‘superiors’ in this long-awaited book. *London Lives* offers a forceful and provocative argument, emerging from an innovative methodology, which will shape future discussions of this period for some time to come.

Their central claim is that criminals and the poor directly and substantively shaped the nature of the state through innumerable personal decisions and actions. Hitchcock and Shoemaker argue that these plebeians had ‘agency’, rather than merely being the objects of policy or victims of oppression, and this had material consequences. They suggest that this included not only *individual* agency and ‘negotiation’ – themes that have been emphasized by many recent historians of crime and poverty – but also ‘collective pressure’ through ‘shared and copied tactics’ (p. 23). Such ‘tactics’ included everything from spectacular riots and mutinies, to informal cooperation among prisoners and alliances with outside sympathizers, to counter-prosecutions against informers and carefully formulated petitions for aid. The range of actions that they uncover and analyse is impressive and there is much to be said for looking at – for example – the role of striking workers in Wilkite political mobilization alongside neighbourhood-level

solidarity against the intrusions of an increasingly bureaucratized judicial system in the 1760s (pp. 273–85). According to the authors, the effects of these various tactics was substantial. Over the course of this century, it led to the rising levels of poor relief spending and changes in the specific forms of relief taken, including the shift from workhouses as punitive institutions to primarily medical facilities for the ill and the elderly. It also contributed to the shifting patterns of judicial punishment, such as the decline of public hanging and the rise of transportation overseas and later incarceration. In smaller ways, plebeian resistance also helped to defeat the ambitions of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners and even the routine prosecution of prostitution (p. 310). Teachers will be particularly grateful to the authors not only for offering such interesting arguments but also for making the distinctiveness of their interpretations absolutely clear by directly engaging with the key previous scholarship on these questions (pp. 16, 21–2).

The methodology adopted by Hitchcock and Shoemaker reinforces their claims, for they attempt to present their findings through material that gives the view ‘from below’. Rather than focusing on piecing together the sometimes esoteric debates among the elite at this time, they have ‘privileged a plebeian perspective’ by drawing on documents in which the voices of the poor and criminal can often be heard (p. 25). The range of material exploited here demonstrates their intimate familiarity with the period: Old Bailey court proceedings, prison chaplains’ accounts, pauper petitions, parish overseers’ accounts, sensationalist ‘rogue literature’, newspapers, parliamentary reports, and much else besides. All of these types of sources have been used by scholars in various ways before, yet in this case the cited material is genuinely just the tip of the proverbial iceberg. Readers can follow the footnotes to access most of the material freely online as a substantial part of it is hosted on the website of the precursor project (www.londonlives.org). Although the ability to move smoothly between the text and the original sources is impeded somewhat by the traditional monograph format – a frustration acknowledged by Shoemaker in blog post (<http://www.historymatters.group.shef.ac.uk/future-ebook/>) – it still means that this makes it possible to leap into the primary sources much more easily than in a conventional scholarly book.

London Lives raises important questions about the period and so, inevitably, it will face substantive critiques. At the very least, the advantages of addressing poverty and crime together also bring disadvantages: should we conflate ‘criminals and the poor’ in order to argue for an ‘emerging self-consciousness’ among them (pp. 4, 344)? Also, there will be debates about the limits of ‘agency’: were the mothers of illegitimate children really able ‘negotiate with the parish from a position of relative strength’ (p. 303) or does this underestimate the forces arrayed against them? How can we account for those paupers and criminals who did not explicitly resist or even negotiate, and thus left less impact on the archive? More generally, the story told here is broadly optimistic. It is well nuanced and the hardships of the period are readily acknowledged, but there will still be some scholars who take a more pessimistic view of the lives and agency of plebeian Londoners in the eighteenth century.

Such critiques are a testament to the clarity and vigour with which Hitchcock and Shoemaker tackle this transformative period in metropolitan history. The authors have succeeded in producing a forceful historiographical intervention,

using inspirational methods and offering us a wide-ranging series of evocative stories about Londoners struggling to get by.

Birkbeck University of London

BRODIE WADDELL

***A Tale of Three Cities: The Life and Times of Lord Daer, 1763–1794.* By Bob Harris.** John Donald. 2015. vii + 280pp. £25.00.

Basil William Douglas, Lord Daer, Scottish nobleman, heir to the earl of Selkirk and fledgling radical politician, who was celebrated in poetry by Robert Burns following a brief and accidental meeting in Ayrshire in 1786, was a tragic figure twice over. Well-born, intelligent and full of promise, he succumbed to consumption and died unmarried at the age of just thirty-one. This personal and family tragedy was compounded a century and a half later in 1940 when the family home including the library at St Mary's Isle in Kirkcudbrightshire, with all personal letters, diaries and estate papers, was destroyed in fire. Little therefore survives to offer a direct insight into the life and opinions of Lord Daer, though he was known, admired and described by many. He lived in three great cities – Edinburgh, London and Paris – during a time of unprecedented intellectual excitement and revolutionary fervour.

This book is an expansion of Bob Harris's 2013 essay 'Lord Daer, Radicalism, Union and the Enlightenment in the 1790s' that appeared in *Cultures of Radicalism in Britain and Ireland*, edited by John Kirk, Michael Brown and Andrew Noble and published by Routledge. It also includes themes and preoccupations that have their genesis in Harris's research and writing for an earlier project on Scottish towns in the age of Enlightenment, which was a collaboration undertaken with Chris Whatley and the late Charles McKean. The present volume offers an elegant dissection of the milieu in which Daer was formed and acted out a series of somewhat curious roles, not all of them, it is fair to say, in the three cities that feature in the title.

The first chapter deals with his father, the earl of Selkirk, a democrat of sorts and an unusual boarding school education that the father arranged for his son in Palgrave in Suffolk at the dissenting academy of Rev. Rochemont Barbauld and his wife, the writer and poet Anna Letitia Barbauld. Here the teenage Daer was joined by several younger brothers, including Thomas, who eventually succeeded to the earldom and had a distinguished career in Canada as the philanthropic founder of Scottish immigrant settlements. It was the Palgrave curriculum and contacts that set the tone for Lord Daer's later preoccupations, which were further refined when he moved back northwards to Edinburgh as a student at the university for three years from 1782, taking lodgings with Dugald Stewart, successively Professor of Mathematics and of Moral Philosophy. Little detail survives of Daer's sojourns in Edinburgh, but the city at this time is well researched and described and the second chapter, entitled 'The Lyceum of Britain', gives a detailed account of the life and intellectual preoccupations of professional and elite democrats in the 1780s. This is followed by a more focused chapter on the Dugald Stewart circle, including the influential and still surviving student debating society the 'Spec', which Daer joined and through whose records and minutes we have some insights into the subjects on which he spoke, ranging from capital punishment to the liberty of the press.

Having completed his formal education, Lord Daer was handed control of the family estates in and around Kirkcudbright, where he set off swiftly on an expected path of agricultural innovator and improver. This forms the subject of the next chapter, where we are also given insights into the character and politics of a small town in south-west Scotland, where Lord Daer was elected both councillor and provost and thereby shaped improvements in the town's infrastructure. The politics of 'North Britain' as they intersected with the Selkirk family at this interesting period are next considered before the history of Lord Daer is continued through his several visits to Paris, mostly as companion to Dugald Stewart, where he was witness to the unfolding revolution. In looking at the events of revolutionary Paris through the lens presented by Lord Daer and what we know of his radical tendencies, Harris also seeks to uncover the layers of connection between the democratic impulses in elite Scotland and France. The earl of Selkirk, with his record of independence in Scottish and British political life, was clearly an influence on the son, but just how deeply embedded was the position adopted by Lord Daer and where was it leading him? His early death means we will never know – though following death and in the subsequent obituaries his family sought to clear his reputation. And they had good cause, for as we discover here and in the following chapter when the scene moves to London, he adopted a political stance that was increasingly egalitarian in character and made public statements of challenge to the political status quo through his attachments to some daring and dangerous groups. In the year 1792–3 he was closely associated with the first fully articulated British movement for parliamentary reform, joining several bodies including the Revolution Society, the Society for Constitutional Information and the London Corresponding Society and for a brief time taking important roles in all of these organizations. He also acted as a delegate in Edinburgh to the December 1792 Convention meetings of the Scottish Friends of the People, where he advanced ideas of a fairly inflammatory and negative hue on the 1707 Union along with other aspects of contemporary political life. His swiftly developing illness and the desperately inadequate medical interventions that were made in response, described in visceral detail in the conclusion, brought an end to further involvements with radical reform, as it also ended a brief life that is elegantly told in this book.

University of Edinburgh

STANA NENADIC

***Competing Visions of Empire: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire.* By Abigail L. Swingen. Yale University Press. 2015. xv + 271pp. \$85.00/£60.00.**

An unfortunate aspect of modern media, social media and politics is the reality that nuanced histories and uncomfortable histories are very seldom welcome in the public sphere. In some cases there has been a push for uncomfortable aspects of history to be actively ignored or repressed. For example, the University of London Union in 2013 attempted to ban its leaders from attending Remembrance Day ceremonies, arguing that to do so would be to perpetuate imperialism and promote war. In Canada recently, there have been significant debates about how, or whether, to remember or celebrate John A. MacDonald, Canada's first

prime minister, over his racist attitudes and comments. In 2015, a plan by Wilfrid Laurier University to install statues of all of Canada's prime ministers was heavily debated as students, faculty and community members felt that this plan was insensitive to First Nations peoples, and the University of Cape Town removed a statue of Cecil Rhodes, which was regarded as a symbol of racism, imperialism and apartheid. More specifically to the topic of *Competing Visions: Labor, Slavery, and the Origins of the British Atlantic Empire*, it was not many years ago that the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich had to redesign a gallery on slavery and the Atlantic world after it was received poorly for too strongly pointing out the importance of non-free labour to England and Britain's economy. This book objectively and intelligently discusses the topics of slavery, empire and imperialism.

Dr Abigail Swingen takes a nuanced and complex look at the operation of the English economy and the 'empire'. She argues that the intricate connections between the colonies in the Caribbean and the metropolis must be examined over time to understand how slavery and empire were used to justify each other by the early eighteenth century. The author's foremost argument is that slavery became important to empire largely as a result of the relationship between the metropolis and the colonies; however, this was something that happened over time, and as a result of the competing priorities of the colonial governments, the monarchy, the English state bodies like the Board of Trade and the Admiralty, and private corporations like the Royal African Company. She begins with a discussion of imperial policy under the Commonwealth, focusing on the 1655 capture of Jamaica. This is followed by discussions of the Restoration, Glorious Revolution, Hanoverian Succession and their aftermaths. Particular themes include how politics in England, particularly the rise and fall of the Whigs and the Tories, directly influenced the colonies and their antagonism towards the Royal African Company. Another primary theme is the relationship between royal prerogative and authority in relationship to the colonies' attempts to government themselves.

This is a book of rare quality; it is academic, but should be read as widely as possible. Dr Swingen presents her arguments clearly and convincingly. The depiction of the competing interests, their developments over time, and how non-free labour and the slave trade became increasingly important to all parties as a result of private as well as political interests, is a very good example of mercantilist economic philosophy in practice. Also, despite the complexity of English and colonial politics in this era, the author is able to indicate clearly and describe the trends, to put each development into context.

There are only a few things to criticize in this book, for example one reference to the Duke of York as Lord High Admiral in 1676; however, this is a minor quibble, as the argument presented makes good sense despite Prince Rupert being Lord High Admiral at that point.

Overall, this book is highly recommended for both academics and non-academics, especially for those studying the Restoration, the Atlantic world, or English/British state development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

King's College London

SAMUEL MCLEAN

Late Modern

Scotland and the French Revolutionary War, 1792–1802. By Atle L. Wold. Edinburgh University Press. 2015. viii + 234pp. £55.00.

An anonymous Scottish correspondent wrote to Henry Dundas in January 1793, complaining that: 'I observe in the Star 16th Curr[ent] a Copy of Lord Grenvilles Answ. To the French Court in which the word England occurs repeatedly. It has given great offence to the foes of government, & much distress to its friends. Why not Great Britain[?]' (cited by Wold, p. 207). Atle Wold's book on *Scotland and the French Revolutionary War* aims to offer a comprehensive approach to British government policy in Scotland and Scottish public support for government in the 1790s, building on the examination of various elements of these topics recently examined by others. He explores in turn government policy, the political trials of 1793–4, military recruitment and attempts to raise taxes and voluntary financial contributions, before turning to public support in practice and in propaganda. He argues that, despite the relative poverty and sparseness of the Scottish population, its role in supporting the British government in the 1790s was more prominent than ever before. Thus Dundas's correspondent's objection: why 'England'? 'Why not Great Britain'?

Wold rightly acknowledges Henry Meikle's still seminal *Scotland and the French Revolution* (1912), although it finally seems, after decades of neglect, that this period in Scottish history is now being paid the attention it deserves. The important books and theses written by Kenneth Logue, John Brims and David Brown in the late 1970s and early 1980s have eventually produced substantial momentum in the early decades of the twenty-first century, in the work of Bob Harris, Christopher Whatley, John Cookson, Andrew Mackillop, Michael Fry and others. This does not mean that Wold's book is redundant – on the contrary, it will still be some time before work on Scotland in the 1790s produces a comparable wealth of local detail to that which has now accrued on England in that decade. One of the great strengths of this book is indeed the depth of archival work on which it is based, and the correspondence of local government officials and members of the public up and down Scotland, together with newspaper copy, on which Wold draws to deploy many powerful local examples and less well-known incidents in support of his arguments.

For instance, Wold shows that the opposition to the Militia Act of 1797 has overshadowed the evidence of many places where the Act was accepted quietly, or even supported, so that we have a skewed impression of its reception. His sources in this case are government officials with an interest in emphasizing peace and good order, but presumably evidence of unrest in these places would also have existed if resistance had occurred. Wold also makes the important argument that, contrary to accusations at the time and since, there was a Scottish law of sedition before the 1790s, but that the establishment of what it meant 'in a situation where there were no actual statutes to rely on' was a significant feature of the Scottish political trials of 1793–4. He shows that the famous subscription to supply flannel waistcoats to the British army fighting in Flanders in autumn 1793 was initiated in Scotland (p. 167), although it is to be doubted that the London government initiated national fast days entirely on Scottish suggestions in 1793 (pp. 154–5), since this was a well-established British practice in wartime. While Scots do not seem to have paid tax in the same proportion as the English, they gave a surprising

amount in voluntary contributions and, as he says, the numbers of donors are impressive in size and in social reach. Individuals such as the 'Poor Woman' who was reported to have given a week's wages to the flannel waistcoat campaign in October 1793 show that 'ordinary Scots – who may have had little or no direct stake in the British state – were prepared to make sacrifices in its defence when it seemed to be of some direct relevance to their own lives' (p. 171).

Moreover, the evaluation of the Scottish contribution to the war, rather than its responses to the Revolution in France, is an important one on which no book-length study yet exists, and Wold has written this one stylishly. There is, perhaps inevitably, a certain amount of synthesis here, and Wold might have done more to compress the familiar and to highlight his own contribution. He does not, for instance, articulate clearly what he has added to Bob Harris's substantial work in *The Scottish People and the French Revolution* (2008); he might also have engaged with work by Joanna Innes, given the importance which he lays on moral reform in Scottish loyalist argument, and with Mark Philp's recent work on the nuances of ideology and rhetoric in the 1790s in England (*Reforming Ideas in Britain*, 2013). Distinction of the Scottish experience from the wider British situation is not always absolutely clear, so that sometimes the evidence in fact comes from England rather than Scotland (pp. 23–4); and while he is generally judicious, perhaps occasionally Wold over-eggs the Scottish pudding in his assessment of the Scottish contribution to the British war effort – Robert Hole and others have made clear the 'extensive use' of religion in the political debate in England in this decade also, and it is not obvious that it was an 'original Scottish contribution' to the British debate (p. 213). Nevertheless, this is an elegant contribution to the establishment of an up-to-date understanding of Scotland in the 1790s, which adds weight to the less well-represented loyalist side of the story.

University of Stirling

EMMA MACLEOD

***Napoleon: A Concise Biography.* By David A. Bell.** Oxford University Press. 2015. x + 139pp. £12.99.

There are plenty of big lives of Napoleon, and the last few years have seen the appearance of a whole new crop. Their general standard has been very high, but the detail is often daunting, not to mention the weight in the hand. Pocket-sized biographies by reputable scholars have been surprisingly less common. The best English one in recent times, by Felix Markham, was published as long ago as 1963. Napoleonic studies have moved on considerably since then, and David Bell has been one of the leaders in advancing the field with his survey in 2007 of what he called the First Total War. Now he offers a crisp and up-to-date introduction to the amazing career of the man at the centre of it all.

Clearly written and organized, while recognizing the power and achievement of Napoleon's extraordinary personality it always tries to set him in the wider context of his times, which provided him with unique opportunities. It begins with the famous confrontation at Laffrey on 7 March 1815, when Napoleon on his return from Elba dared his former soldiers to fire at him. None did, so the reader knows from the start what a charismatic figure he was. The various phases of what he called the romance (surely a better translation than the usual 'novel') of his own life are then followed chronologically: Corsican, General, First Consul,

Emperor, downfall. A brief epilogue surveys the echoes and legacies of his achievements down to the twentieth century. There are several illustrative maps, and reproductions of some of the better-known images. And it is a particular relief to have a whole volume about Napoleon without a single one of those irritating battle-plans that scar so many surveys.

Napoleonic history is notoriously self-referential, with many simple errors of fact perpetuating themselves down through generations of secondary works. Even Bell transmits one by referring to recreated Poland as the *Grand Duchy* of Warsaw. Only a slight solecism, perhaps forgivable in an American, is to continue referring to 'Lord Wellington' after he had become a duke; although two different dates are given for the battle of Leipzig, one of them is correct.

Otherwise this is a very reliable account. It is enlivened by some sharp characterizations, such as the Enlightenment as 'more a moment than a movement', or the infernal machine of December 1800 as a 'cart-bomb'. There is an excellent page on what Napoleon liked about the Revolution, and a welcome avoidance of the tired old exam chestnut about whether he betrayed it or not.

Inevitably when space is so tight there are areas where things are less than clear, or disputable. Marooned in the east for much of 1799, for instance, General Bonaparte was surely less aware than Bell implies of how the situation had deteriorated in Europe; and the obscure circumstances of his escape, a pretty disgraceful case of a commander abandoning his men to almost certain defeat, are glossed over with too little comment. On a different level, there is no mention of how Napoleon's regime benefited from the economic windfall of a decade of good harvests, before three years of dramatic downturn after 1810. It is also quite surprising, in these days of gender history, to find no sustained discussion of Napoleonic misogyny. And were the Bourbons quite as forgotten by the time of the Empire as Bell (joining a current consensus) claims? Their loyal Knights of the Faith only appear here with the raising of the white flag of the legitimate dynasty in Bordeaux in March 1814, but royalism had been reinvigorated after the pope had excommunicated the emperor in 1809, opening the way to reforging the alliance between church and king blown apart by the First Consul's Concordat.

Even in a career as well-documented as Napoleon's, there is still plenty of scope for differences of emphasis or interpretation; but nobody should underestimate the challenge of distilling so much information into such a concise format.

University of Bristol

WILLIAM DOYLE

***Russia and the Making of Modern Greek Identity, 1821–1844.* By Lucien J. Frary. Oxford University Press. 2015. xv + 296pp. £60.00.**

In niche subjects like Modern Greek history, the publication of a new English-language study is something of an event. When the work focuses, like this one, on a period that still has so much to offer to historians, then it is cause for celebration. Lucien J. Frary's theme is Russian involvement in the emergence of a Modern Greek identity. His chronological limits are the outbreak of the Greek struggle for independence from Ottoman rule in 1821 and the promulgation of the first Greek constitution in 1844. Russia's role as a leading player in Near Eastern and Balkan political developments from the late eighteenth century onwards is a well-known theme. Indeed, Russian involvement in both the creation of the Modern

Greek state and its early political life has attracted a certain amount of scholarly attention over the past fifty years. This book, however, represents an important contribution to the relevant historiography on many different fronts.

First and foremost, there is Frary's convincing revisionist approach to the subject. He argues that the foreign policy of Nicholaevan Russia never included expansionistic designs on Greek territory. Rather, within five years of his accession in 1825, Tsar Nicholas I had to accept the unpalatable fact that a revolutionary movement had successfully detached territory from a fellow imperial power. Faced with the competing interests of Great Britain and France in the region, Nicholas sought to enhance Russia's involvement in Greece by stressing his role as the natural protector of the Orthodox inhabitants of the newly independent state. In practical terms, the Russian diplomats and ecclesiastics sent to Greece were expected to ensure that their master's ideas about the shaping of the fledgling Greek monarchy and the relationship of the Greek Church with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople were put into action, and that the results reflected as closely as possible the doctrine of 'Official Nationality' proclaimed in 1833. Russia's Graeco-Byzantine cultural inheritance and its position as the sole Orthodox power in Europe were viewed as adequate justifications for propagating the tenets of Nicholas's autocratic ideology within the borders of the independent Greek state. Moreover, in Frary's view, the lessons learned in Greece between 1821 and 1844 provided Russia with a useful model for subsequent interventions in the Ottoman Balkans.

Secondly, the book is based on a wealth of largely untapped Russian primary sources, making most of them available in English for the first time. Apart from official state and diplomatic papers, Frary makes extensive use of contemporary Russian newspapers. The detailed coverage of Greek news in these publications reflects the fact that the unfolding of events in the only other independent Orthodox nation in Europe struck a chord with their readership, presumably made up largely of members of the administrative classes and the mercantile bourgeoisie. One marvels at the dexterity of editors who were able to publish reports of anti-establishment activity in a manner which successfully eluded the radar of state censorship. On the other hand, one cannot help but be impressed by the meticulousness of the Russian diplomats, interpreters and agents in Greece. They scrupulously gathered and analysed intelligence of all kinds, ranging from the innermost thoughts of the Greek sovereign to popular gossip about who was behind the latest conspiracy, and dispatched it to colleagues in St Petersburg with astonishing speed.

Perhaps the greatest strength of Frary's book is the skill with which he brings to life the main protagonists in the story of Russian involvement in the creation of a Modern Greek identity. He paints a vivid portrait of Nicholas I and his idiosyncratic approach to mentoring young King Othon of Greece, the son of Ludwig I of Bavaria, in the finer aspects of absolutist rule. One can imagine the effects on his devout Catholic 'brother' of the tsar's repetitive lectures on the importance of converting to Orthodoxy in order to secure his throne. Many other historical figures make a memorable appearance, most of whom are little known outside Greek and Russian scholarship, but who nevertheless played prominent roles in the creation of Modern Greece. These include battle-hardened and often obstreperous veterans of the Greek War of Independence like Theodoros Kolokotronis and Ioannis Makriannis, and their antithesis Ioannis

Kapodistrias, the punctilious public servant whose career trajectory took him from Corfu, via St Petersburg, to Nafplion, where his term as the first president of Greece was abruptly ended by an assassin's bullet. We also encounter Theophilos Kairis, the enigmatic priest and teacher who inspired fervent devotion in his students, but fell foul of the conservative ecclesiastics who came to dominate Greek religious affairs thanks to the support of their Russian backers. But above all, it is the gripping story of Gavriil A. Katakazy, the first Russian ambassador to Greece, which forms the backdrop of Frary's book. Of ethnic Greek origin, like all of his colleagues in the first Russian diplomatic mission to Greece, Katakazy faithfully and efficiently served both sovereign and empire from 1833 to 1843. His entirely understandable failure to prevent Othon's capitulation to the revolutionary movement demanding a constitutional regime was viewed as tantamount to treason by Nicholas, and led to his tragically precipitous fall from grace.

Overall, this is an excellent revisionist account of Russian political and religious policy in action during the first decades of Greek independence. Frary succeeds in unravelling a number of highly complicated and simultaneous plotlines and his conclusions are supported by references to a rich range of contemporary Russian sources. In closing, I would like to offer a few clarifications. The ideologue Aleksandr S. Sturdza was not Greek, as per the footnote on page 12, but rather of Moldavian origin, though he did have a Phanariot mother. The diplomat and writer Konstantin M. Bazili was actually descended, like Katakazy, from a Greek family. Finally, the statement on page 245 that Othon's successor George I (born Prince William of Denmark) adopted Orthodoxy on the eve of his accession in 1863 is misleading. Although conforming outwardly to the forms of the Orthodox Church, George remained a staunch Lutheran until the end of his life. The Russian origins of his wife Olga and the fact that their eight children were raised in the Orthodox faith certainly eased the naturalization process of his dynasty. However, it was George's son Constantine I who became the first Orthodox king of Greece in 1913, eighty years after Nicholas I began insisting that it was necessary for the Greek sovereign to profess the religion of his subjects.

Royal Holloway, University of London

GEORGE VASSIADIS

Victorian Political Culture: 'Habits of Heart and Mind'. By Angus Hawkins. Oxford University Press. 2015. xi + 428pp. £65.00.

The death of nineteenth-century political history and its replacement by cultural history has long been proclaimed, but Hawkins's book is a splendid demonstration of why political history matters in understanding Victorian Britain. The aspect of culture it embraces is that drawn from his Tocquevillian subtitle, for Hawkins plays close attention to tradition, religion, morality, imagination and the understanding of the past itself rather than to ideology or class in this deft interpretation of Victorian politics, which seeks to challenge superficial accounts of Britain in this period as a liberal modern state. For the most part, the outline of the narrative he presents will be familiar to specialists of the period, but this book offers the best single-volume interpretation of the course of political change in nineteenth-century Britain.

After an informative introductory account of parliamentary sovereignty, Hawkins begins with a compelling overview of the Reform crisis of 1828–36, and ends with an enlightening analysis of the consequences, for state, party and society, of the 1886 crisis over Home Rule for Ireland. He is at his best in his central account of the nature of parliamentary government in the Age of Equipoise and its ‘demise’ following the Second Reform Act, with the shift of power from parliament to leaders and increasingly national parties seeking to mobilize the people, even if the latter might be conceived not as a secular democracy but as, for Gladstone at least, the expression of a divinely inspired morality. Throughout the emphasis is on Conservative (and conservative) resilience and successful adjustment in the face of change, and the fragmentation of the forces of whiggery, liberalism, radicalism and reform in a series of political crises which exposed the limitations of their electoral support. At the root of British politics (for Hawkins is fully sensitive to the ‘four nations’ dimension) we find therefore a series of moral communities whose varying loyalties lay at the heart of party, leadership and electoral choice. The whole is written with style, elegance and lucidity, although there are some curiosities, such as the idiosyncratic preference for the term ‘Nonconformism’, rarely used by the Victorians (but often by the less attentive undergraduate), rather than Nonconformity. Despite the meticulous addition to detail, it surely cannot have been the constituency of ‘East Dulwich’ that was abolished in 1832 (East Grinstead?), while George Moffat(t), as MP for Ashburton, was a carpet-bagging London tea-broker, not a representative of Devon independent-mindedness.

Hawkins builds carefully on existing studies, making good use of the published and as yet unpublished *History of Parliament* volumes, but produces here an original and powerful interpretation which will command the field for some time. Whether it will turn out to be the last of a dying breed of political history or the spur to its preservation and evolution of a new variant cultural species will be an intriguing question for the future historiography of Victorian Britain.

University of East Anglia

ANTHONY HOWE

***Sport and the British World, 1900–1930: Amateurism, and National Identity in Australasia and Beyond.* By Erik Nielsen. Palgrave Macmillan. 2014. xii +257pp. £60.00.**

Erik Nielsen’s argument rests on the premise that ‘Britishness’ was a key component of national identity in Australia and New Zealand in the early twentieth century. He also proposes that modern sport provided a significant cultural underpinning for an imagined transnational community identified here as ‘the British world’. Those who took it upon themselves to administer, promote and regulate athletics in Australasia may not always have agreed with each other or with their counterparts at the Amateur Athletic Association (AAA) in London, but Britishness remained fundamental to their understanding of who they were and how they were connected. More specifically, Nielsen argues that a shared preoccupation with amateurism in sport was indicative of ‘pan-British’ identity.

He assigns a central role to Richard Coombes, founder of the New South Wales Amateur Athletic Association (NSWAAA) in 1887, president of the Amateur Athletic Union of Australasia (AAUA) from 1899 to 1927, and a member of the International Olympic Committee from 1905 to 1933. It is clear that British-born Coombes, who emigrated to Australia as a young man, was a hugely influential figure in the development of Australasian athletics, not least because he had to find practical ways of resolving the tensions that lie at the heart of Nielsen's arguments about amateur sport and identity. Keen to popularize track and field sports in Australasia, Coombes took a pragmatic view of rules relating to amateurism that British officials were inclined to apply more stringently. Nielsen attributes this to the formative influences of family and education. His parents owned the Greyhound Hotel at Hampton, Middlesex, profitably exploiting its connection with the money-driven sport of coursing, and Coombes was educated at the local grammar school, perfectly respectable but not one of England's elite establishments. Thus he 'was not raised in an environment that shared the traditional amateur antipathy towards the commercialisation of sport', though Nielsen overstates this factor in his account of the development of athletics as spectacle in Australia (p. 38). Stephen Hardy's argument – acknowledged elsewhere by Nielsen – that organizers of amateur sport, even when they professed antagonism to the profit motive, inevitably discovered that they were running a business, seems more important here.

That said, any discussion of amateurism that transcends national boundaries and shifts the focus away from sporting gentlemen whose world-view was shaped on the playing fields of Victorian England's so-called 'public' schools is to be welcomed. Their shining example has bedazzled historians for too long and we remain largely ignorant about what sport meant to most of those who engaged with it as 'amateurs'. Nielsen's approach liberates us from the constraints of existing historiography in this area by pointing out that amateur sport in Australasia had a wider social base than in Britain. 'Rather than seeking to exclude athletes that did not conform to the white middle-class ideal', he argues, 'Australasian amateur administrators sought to include working-class and indigenous athletes' (p. 22). In this, it transpires, they were more successful with regard to the former than the latter, where inclusion was subject to local jurisdiction. Aboriginal Australian Tommy Pablo was refused entry to an event organized by the Queensland Amateur Athletic Association in 1903 on account of 'his alleged inability to understand amateurism' and the NWSAAA, though more progressive in outlook, let such exclusionist policies go unchallenged. It simply observed that 'what might hold good in Queensland would be altogether unacceptable in New Zealand where the native race had a very high standard of intelligence', but this left most Australian aboriginals marginalized or excluded (pp. 60–2).

One of the ways in which the AAUA sought to foster public interest was by inviting celebrity athletes to undertake extensive tours even though this entailed rewarding them in ways that clearly breached amateur rules and compromised relationships with the purists at the AAA. The English distance runner Alfred Shrubbs, having toured Australia and New Zealand in 1905, was suspended *sine die* soon after returning home 'for malpractices in connection with the receipt of expenses' (p. 47). Australasian governing bodies also found ways of enabling athletes who had played with or against professionals in team sports such as rugby

league to retain amateur status, again taking a different line from their British counterparts, who were notoriously intolerant in this respect. Despite these differences and the reluctance of the AAA's secretary Charles Herbert to offer encouragement and practical assistance, the AAUA remained staunchly empire-minded in pursuit of its ambitions for Australasian athletics. While refusing to defer to Herbert and those who shared his patrician indifference towards Britain's former colonies, Coombes pursued a strategy designed to remind the mother country that they were 'an important and integral part of the Imperial family' (p. 119). At the Olympic Games held in London (1908) and Stockholm (1912) athletes from the Dominions had been unofficially attached to the British team. Coombes, backed by the AAUA, advocated the formation of a British Empire Olympic Council to ensure that a fully integrated empire team would compete at the games scheduled for Berlin (1916), an example of the kind of imperial thinking favoured by Joseph Chamberlain and more advanced social imperialists in Britain at the time.

Forced to work around the conservative establishment at the AAA, Coombes and his AAUA colleagues sought allies elsewhere in the athletics world in order to gain some political leverage. This meant sustaining Australia's link with New Zealand through to the late 1920s, cultivating a close connection with Canada, and finding officials and journalists in Britain who sympathized with the AAUA's positions on amateurism and pan-imperialism. In this way, 'Coombes was able to participate in English domestic debates about the nature of sport, thereby capturing for himself and his organisation a place in the British world' (p. 185). Nielsen's assiduous work in the archives reveals that Coombes was instrumental in establishing a network of contacts who were empire loyalists rather than colonial nationalists. At times, however, the focus on amateurism, where they failed to develop a united front, seems a little narrow, even though it generates new perspectives that cultural historians will find useful. Perhaps sport in general, rather than amateur sport in particular, was more important in underpinning the imagined community of Nielsen's transnational British world.

De Montfort University

DILWYN PORTER

***The First World War.* By A. W. Purdue.** Palgrave. 2015. xx + 217pp. £21.99.

Over exactly 200 pages, Professor A. W. Purdue provides a concise overview of the First World War, covering not only the military dimensions of the conflict, but also the fields of diplomacy, economy and politics. Part of the Palgrave series 'European History in Perspective', the book is mainly aimed at students and newcomers to the subject, who wish to learn the most basic facts about the 'Great War' in one comprehensive volume.

The twelve chapters of the book offer no big surprises. Among other things, the reader learns about the origins of the war, the indecisive offensives of 1914, the rapid change of the nature of warfare in 1915, the monumental battles of 1916 and the global impact of the events of 1917, namely the entry of the United States and the Russian Revolution. The last two chapters deal with Germany's eventual defeat in 1918 and the abortive struggle for a lasting peace in Europe. Several minor topics, such as the war in Africa or the Italian front, do not receive a separate treatment on their own, but are embedded in the larger

sections of the book. Overall, Purdue always remains mindful of the complete picture.

Nevertheless, all of these topics have been analysed and summarized before, so what makes Purdue's take on the subject different? The honest answer is: not much. However, as history is not a static science, but subject to constant change and incessant debate among scholars, his book might still be worth reading. By presenting the most important discussions and research results of the recent years in an accessible manner, even a mere overview gains a right to exist. In the following discussion I will try to examine whether Purdue achieved this goal.

The first two chapters of the book, entitled 'Why Did It Begin?' and 'How It Began', deal with what might easily be one of the most important questions of the past century, and Christopher Clarke's ground-breaking study *The Sleepwalkers: How Europe Went to War in 1914* (2013) gets its due treatment here. Purdue seems to favour Clarke's thesis but also presents other contemporary and older works on the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 and the question of whether Germany was solely to blame. Examples of these are *The Russian Origins of The First World War* by Sean McMeekin (2011) or Fritz Fischer's *Germany's War Aims in the First World War* (1967), a book which led to a heated debate when it was originally released in Germany and has remained controversial ever since. Despite the complexity of the topic, Purdue's narrative remains easily readable and understandable, so that at the beginning of chapter 4 ('Elusive Victory') the reader has obtained a clear idea about the reasons for the outbreak of the First World War. It is important to underline that he does not put his personal opinion too prominently in the foreground and allows the reader to make his or her own conclusions.

Unfortunately, Purdue only makes reference to scholarly literature in English, which is understandable but means that some standard works are missing. In addition, he ignores many books that were published in the wake of the centenary. This is best exemplified by the absence of Manfred Rauchensteiner's essential classic *Austria-Hungary and the First World War*. The reader learns neither of the availability of a new English version, which was released in late 2014, nor of the old German version *Der Tod des Doppeladlers* from 1994. As it is, *The Unknown Lloyd George* by Travis L. Crosby remains the only release from 2014 which is mentioned in the book.

However, Purdue still manages to debunk a plethora of old myths and misconceptions about the main battles of the war and the motivation of the generals who planned them. As with earlier chapters, the reader is always given more than one possible explanation of why men like Haig or von Falkenhayn sacrificed the lives of hundreds of thousands at the Somme, Verdun and other eerie places forever etched into Europe's consciousness. The same is true for the description of the war at sea, which mainly focuses on the battle of Jutland and Germany's submarine warfare. Throughout the whole book, the author remains remarkably fair and balanced when speaking about Imperial Germany and its armed forces. Nonetheless, some words on the behaviour of German troops in Belgium in 1914 or Austro-Hungarian atrocities in Serbia would have been useful and important.

Purdue's lengthy descriptions of battles come at a price. In the past decades, historiography has shifted its focus away the blood-soaked frontlines to fields not necessarily connected with the military, such as the role of women in war, morale

at the home fronts or gender as a general topic. Apart from a short subchapter of ten pages on 'The Social Impact of the War', the book does not offer much in this regard. Military campaigns and diplomacy clearly constitute the centrepieces of Purdue's volume, which might seem somewhat old-fashioned today but will undoubtedly appeal to readers mostly interested in the military history of the First World War.

To sum up, apart from certain shortcomings in the book's bibliography and the somewhat conventional approach, there is not much to criticize. Purdue has not reinvented the wheel with his short volume, but the outcome is nonetheless more than solid. In fact, of the considerable number of introductory volumes about the First World War that have appeared in the last few years, Purdue's book is among the most impressive and accessible.

*Institut für Ost- und Südosteuropaforschung
(IOS) Regensburg*

JEREMIAS SCHMIDT

***Family Men: Fatherhood and Masculinity in Britain, c.1914–1960.* By Laura King. Oxford University Press. 2015. xi + 233pp. £60.00.**

Laura King's *Family Men: Fatherhood and Masculinity in Britain, c.1914–1960* provides a significant and much-needed contribution to the emerging body of work on fatherhood. Delivering the first academic study that comprehensively explores fathers and families in the first half of the twentieth century in Britain, it challenges the notion that men were marginal and peripheral to family life during this period, and questions popular assumptions surrounding a linear social shift from Victorian patriarchs to practically and emotionally involved 'dads'. In doing so, its findings have implications not only for historical scholarship, but also for contemporary debate. As King rightly asserts, assumptions about fathers in the past are frequently employed to support interpretations about fatherhood today. Using a wide-ranging and impressive array of source materials, including newspapers, novels, parenting literature, social surveys, letters and existing oral testimonies, King effectively demonstrates that fathers were very much involved in the lives of their children and families, and moreover that fatherhood was highly significant to many men's identities.

The central argument of *Family Men* is that fatherhood changed considerably in the first half of the twentieth century. While its fundamental duties remained more or less constant throughout this period, the meanings associated with these responsibilities shifted in the wake of significant social, economic and cultural change. There was new importance placed on the father–child relationship, as well as the declining domestic authority of men, with increased emphasis on equal and democratic family relations. The central causes of these shifts, according to King, were the rise of popular psychological theories about parenting and childhood, reflected in the press, the circumstances of the Second World War and the rising standards of living of many families in its aftermath. These developments had their roots in the interwar period; however, the 1950s is positioned as a key turning point in the history of fatherhood. During this decade, King notes, a 'family-oriented masculinity' developed, crossing class boundaries.

King uses fatherhood as a lens to explore these social developments, examining the cultural representations, ideas and norms surrounding fatherhood as well as

the individual experiences of men and their families. In doing so, the relationship between representation and experience is shown to be complex, with the oral testimonies particularly effective in exploring how individual men understood their roles as fathers and their actions as parents. Taking a thematic approach, King addresses continuity and change across a number of key aspects of the male parenting role, including providing, disciplining, entertaining, guiding, as well as the role of emotion. Chapters are effective in highlighting the various roles men played within their families, challenging the assumption that fathers were mere financial providers, and little else.

By exploring both continuity and change, a key strength of King's work is the nuanced understanding of fatherhood it provides. Chapter 2, for example, demonstrates that while breadwinning remained at the core of fatherhood during this period, there occurred shifts *within* the meaning of this role. Provision extended to include sweets, pocket money, and gifts in the wake of modern consumer culture and the mass media. A further significant finding of this research surrounds men's changing emotional relationships, discussed in chapter 4. The father-child relationship was imbued with greater, social, cultural and psychological meaning, particularly in the press from the 1930s onwards, and was reinforced in the post-war period, in which successful family life, and so fatherhood, was central to peacetime reconstruction. Despite a dominant expert focus on the mother-child relationship, the status of fathers was also elevated, and as noted, rising standards of living, decreased working hours and more leisure time enabled men to spend more time at home.

While the book is largely a story of change, King is also keen to highlight continuity. She gives full recognition that some men were not only uninterested in family life and failed to fulfil their parental responsibilities, but also constituted a 'difficult and unpredictable element within it' (p. 101). Moreover, though men were increasingly encouraged to embrace family life, show their emotions more openly and participate more fully in child rearing and care, such shifts were limited by gendered norms. The distinction between mothers' and fathers' roles, and a gendered division of labour in men and women's paid work, remained profound during this period. As King notes, the period did not provide a linear progression towards gender equality, and should not be mistaken for the more radical changes that occurred in gender relations from the 1960s and 1970s.

Another key contribution, therefore, is King's conceptualization of a 'family-orientated' masculinity, set out in chapter 6. This concept provides an important way of examining fatherhood as a 'specific' experience, as a role distinct from that of husband, and for understanding change and continuity in the relationship between fatherhood and masculinity. As King effectively shows, significant shifts can occur *within* gender constructs and identities, even when the differentiation between them remains. Men, for example, could foster positive relationships and be 'family men', while unequal divisions of labour remained intact. Fathers were increasingly willing to take on the more pleasurable aspects of child rearing, for example, and were able to embrace fatherhood more fully without challenging their masculinity. This original contribution is useful for scholars examining gender in the twentieth century, as well as those exploring men's experiences of fatherhood.

A minor criticism of the book is that while King successfully engages with the wide range of source materials employed, which themselves offer much diversity,

engagement with a more targeted source base may have proved beneficial, and strengthened the key arguments. For example, rather than focusing on a small number of topical novels and films, greater attention might have been paid to the political and legal debates surrounding parenting and family life which King examines. The state plays a central role in the definition and construction of fathers and fatherhood, and policies and laws relating to parenting have significant effects on how men 'do' fathering.

Overall, *Family Men* makes a significant and original contribution to the histories of gender, family and everyday life in twentieth-century Britain, marking it as essential reading for scholars interested in those fields. It adds complexity and nuance to our understanding of both masculinity and fatherhood, uncovers the multiplicity of men's, largely unexplored, family identities and experiences, and effectively demonstrates that fathers have been central to both the cultural construction and lived experience of family life during this period. More research into fatherhood in the twentieth century is required; and this book provides an exceptional starting point for the development of this historiography.

University of Edinburgh

AIMEE MCCULLOUGH

***The Great Fear: Stalin's Terror of the 1930s.* By James Harris.** Oxford University Press. 2016. x + 205pp. £30.00.

In this well-researched and tightly argued study, James Harris puts forward the theory that the Stalinist leadership unleashed the Great Terror because they were afraid. They had exaggerated a variety of threats so that 'the leadership convinced itself that it could only survive if it resorted to the kind of terror it had unleashed in the Civil War' (p. 142).

What were they afraid of? Literally everything: domestic underground resistance, dissatisfied workers and peasants, uncooperative officials, corrupt party secretaries, former oppositionists, and above all, foreign intervention to overthrow the Soviet state. They constantly thought invasion was imminent and felt themselves under siege from multiple related domestic and foreign conspiracies that could trigger defeat. Stalin thought he faced an elaborate and extensive anti-Soviet bloc, a grand conspiracy.

Bolsheviks interpreted everything as a potentially mortal threat. Industrial accidents were deliberate sabotage in the service of foreign powers. The Great Depression did not weaken the capitalists and their threat of intervention, but rather brought war closer. Western appeasement of Hitler was a clever interventionist strategy. Failure to meet impossible plan targets did not show defects in the plan, but rather lazy, corrupt or hostile administrators in league with Trotsky in exile. All of these threats came together in a perfect storm (the title of the book's last chapter) in 1936 which set off Stalin's terror.

Harris is not shy about taking on sacred cows and rejects a number of current explanations of Stalin's motivation for terror. In Harris's view, the Bolsheviks and their leaders were not naturally bloodthirsty. Instead, he argues that for them violence was not an innate characteristic, but a matter of expediency. Explanations of this mass murder that focus on Stalin's personal psychopathology are also inadequate because it was not just about Stalin:

both Stalinists and those who opposed them believed in foreign and domestic conspiracies. Harris also rejects the popular notion that Stalin and the Bolsheviks constantly and cynically invented threats, that they needed someone to fight in order to stay in power. They really believed in these threats; they were sincerely afraid of their shadows.

Although by the mid-1930s the Bolshevik state was stronger than it had ever been, the Stalinists perceived that it was weak. They thought they were living on borrowed time.

Why? If one rejects cynical opportunism, clinical paranoia and innate homicidal tendencies, how does one explain these seeming irrational fears? Harris adduces several factors, many of which preceded Stalin. From the tenth century on, Russian history was a story of constant fear of invasion, of defeats in wars from Mongols to the First World War, of palace conspiracies, of uprisings. As for the Bolsheviks, Marxism told them that the possessing classes would do everything in their power to strangle the revolution and 'they understood that they had to deal with that threat consistently, ruthlessly, and to the end' (p. 16). Lenin and Trotsky were constantly looking for analogies to the French Revolution and Paris Commune, and their study of failed revolutions convinced them that they had to be prepared to combat counterrevolution to avoid their predecessors' fates.

In Stalin's time, according to Harris, the actual proximate cause of the terror was misinformation that fed existing fears. The Stalinists were prepared to believe and magnify all kinds of threats, and the secret police fed them grist for that mill. A dysfunctional relationship between information gatherers and Soviet leaders 'substantially explains Stalin's terror of the 1930s' (p. 5).

In order to justify themselves, the secret police magnified all kinds of problems. 'Rarely did a week pass when he [Stalin] did not receive reports of border incursions with the aim of committing acts of sabotage, assassination' (p. 149). Domestically, police reports to the Politburo on the 'mood of the population' were dire and were linked to possible foreign enemies. Their comprehensive picture of mortal danger was misleading. The methods of intelligence gathering and processing served to exaggerate the threats the regime faced. Excessive zeal on the part of information gatherers reinforced Stalin's conspiratorial fears. Along with other Bolsheviks, he was prepared to believe the worst.

Harris has managed to pack a tremendous amount of research in his 200 pages, the most important of which comes from Stalin's personal archive, declassified in the past few years. Nobody knows these files better than Harris and he has judiciously sifted them to make a convincing case for a Great Fear. In bringing the story of the prelude to terror up to date with these new materials, he has produced the most important book we have on the origins of the great purges. But in the process he has done more than that. The chapters tracing the story up to the perfect storm of 1937 are in themselves a very attractive general survey of the first two decades of Soviet history. This clearly written book will be required reading for specialists in the field; general readers will find it useful as a compact survey of the state of the field. In the happy event that Oxford decides to bring out a paperback, it will be perfect for course adoption.

UCLA, Los Angeles

J. ARCH GETTY

***The Left Side of History: World War II and the Unfulfilled Promise of Communism in Eastern Europe.* By Kristen Ghodsee.** Duke University Press. 2015. xxii + 231pp. \$23.95.

The Left Side of History presents some aspects of Bulgarian history during the Second World War and the following rule of the Communist Party. Kristen Ghodsee focuses on the stories of British officer Frank Thompson, who was sent by the Special Operations Executive to work together with Bulgarian partisans, and the Lagadinovs – a family that took part in the resistance movement. There were no obvious links between Thompson and the Lagadinovs except their common belief in communism. Their approach to this ideology was quite idealistic and while Thompson died during his mission in Bulgaria, Elena Lagadinova survived to see the communist period in the country and tell her memories.

Kristen Ghodsee tells a tragic and beautiful story. She leaves aside broader political and diplomatic history and concentrates on personal stories. In this way she makes interesting contributions to the existing academic studies regarding the resistance movement in Bulgaria and the period of communist rule. In the first part of this well-written piece of research, we can see the formation of communist beliefs and their manifestation, while the second part shows their sustainability over the years. As the cases of Thompson and the Lagadinovs demonstrate, the aim of social justice and aspiration for freedom was at the core of their activism. An important component in their behaviour was their resistance against fascism and willingness to change the world. These views led to the following crucial step – the readiness to struggle, suffer and even die for the realization of a bright ideal. While the Lagadinovs were forced to go underground by the persecutions and repression of the Bulgarian authorities, Thompson came to Bulgaria voluntarily. He highly esteemed his comrades, and the culture and history of eastern European nations fascinated him.

The book covers a very large period of time and this approach displays some weaknesses, particularly in the background details. For instance, it was not possible for ‘opposition parties’ to form the Fatherland Front in 1942 (p. 44) because all Bulgarian political parties had been banned in 1934 and it was not before August 1943 that some agrarian, social democratic and other political leaders agreed to cooperate with communists. The same might be said about the possibility of E. Lagadinova being sent to a labour camp because of her brave letter to the leader of the Soviet Union in 1967 (pp. 112–14): the Communist Party had closed the labour camps in 1962. It is difficult to agree that partisans are remembered today as ‘red scum’ and communism is depicted as ‘irredeemable evil’ (p. xvi). These images were popular in the early 1990s, but I do not think that this is the case now. Indeed, the second half of twentieth century was, and still is, the subject of passionate discussions, but, as the interviews in the second part of this book clearly show, the debate today is dominated by nostalgia rather than anti-communist rhetoric.

Konstantin Preslavski University

VASIL PARASKEVOV

***The Regional Cold Wars in Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East: Crucial Periods and Turning Points.* Edited by Lorenz M. Lüthi.** Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford University Press. 2015. ix + 387pp. \$65.00.

The field of Cold War studies has taken a new turn over the past decade or so, particularly since the publication in 2007 of Odd Arne Westad's *The Global Cold War*. That work successfully argued for a reorientation away from eurocentrism and towards seeing the Cold War as a global conflict. With the opening up of archives in the former socialist states in eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, China and other parts of the world, a generation of scholars are now emerging who look at the Cold War from new perspectives – from the periphery and from the so-called Third World. This means that today Cold War studies has become a vibrant field containing a multitude of approaches and interpretations, practised by scholars from across the globe, and not, as was its origins, pursued by Cold Warriors with intimate links to Washington or Moscow. The current volume has brought together some of these scholars, both established academics and up-and-coming researchers. This is a commendable effort, and the resulting volume is an interesting mix of scholarly approaches and methods, using new sources to provide fresh perspectives on a much-studied subject.

That said, there are some inevitable shortcomings. Other than bringing the scholars together, which as noted is a laudable aim, the book seems to lack a clear purpose. It has no overarching framework, and presents very little in terms of a general thesis. Furthermore, as indicated by its title, the book is not actually a global history of the Cold War, as it only features contributions on Europe, East Asia and the Middle East. As the editor of the volume makes clear in the introduction, the omission of Latin America and Africa was done not on an academic basis, but purely due to space restrictions. However, looking at the structure of those chapters that were included there is a lot of overlapping and repetition, and one wonders if it would have not been better to cut some of the chapters to feature some scholars of Africa and Latin America.

Another aspect of the volume which strikes me as somewhat problematic is the methodological approach. As the subtitle makes clear, the main focus (indeed the entire focus) is on what is called 'crucial periods and turning points'. These 'turning points' are four in total: 1953–6; 1965–9; 1978–83; and 1985–9. Undoubtedly, these four periods were very eventful, and in defence of this methodology the editor quotes a number of events and watershed moments that took place in the three regions during said periods. However, apart from happening at roughly the same time, were these events interconnected? Some undeniably were, whereas others clearly were not. For instance, the first period 'encompasses the period between Stalin's death ... and the triple crisis in Poland, Hungary, and Egypt'. What, one wonders, is the connection between Stalin's death and Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal? Very little, I would argue. Looking at each region from a coherent (and regional) perspective would have been more fruitful.

Most of the chapters in this volume conclude that the influence of the two superpowers was far from hegemonic, and that there was scope for independent agency on the part of other actors, not least in East Asia and the Middle East. However, even in Europe the consensus seems to be that the autonomy of local actors gradually increased, as evidenced by revolt in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the stance of Charles de Gaulle, and the political developments in Poland in

the 1980s. As for the Far East, China pursued an independent foreign policy already from the mid-1950s (and here the death of Stalin might have been a useful analytical tool).

Overall, the volume provides much insight and food for thought, but at times some scholars are guilty of over-generalization and conjecture. Cases in point are the chapters on the Middle East. The editor concedes (p. 7) that Middle Eastern conflicts 'did not really originate in Soviet–American antagonism', but nevertheless that these conflicts became 'intensified' by the Cold War. I would go as far as stating that before the Second World War, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union had much influence in the region, and that the main conflicts in the region – between Arab nationalism and imperialism, Arab nationalism and Zionism, and, later, Islamism and Zionism – had very little, if anything, to do with the rivalries of the two superpowers. Thus, when it is stated (p. 9) that 'Nasser's positive neutralism was a response to the impact of the superpower conflict', I would argue that this is missing the point. Positive neutralism, as interpreted by Nasser, was a concept rooted in his conceptualization of Arab nationalism as being a 'third way' between east and west – a notion elaborated by Arab intellectuals as early as the 1930s, and which ultimately rested on notions of 'Islamic exceptionalism' envisaging the Arab (Islamic) world as a singular entity. In fact, despite paying lip service to 'positive neutralism', and showing an interest in Yugoslav socialism, Nasser demonstrated beyond doubt that his pursuits were firmly rooted in the Arab World through dissemination of his own brand of pan-Arabism. The threat to US interests in the Middle East thus did not come from local communist movements, as in the Far East, but from independent-minded nationalist leaders. The support for Israel – which from a Cold War perspective made little sense as Israel in the mid-1950s was far more 'socialist' than Egypt or any other Arab state – compounded this problem immeasurably. Not until a series of revolutions/coups had taken place throughout the region (Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Algeria, Tunisia, etc.) did the Soviet Union actually get a foothold there, whilst the United States continued to prop up Israel and its other motley crew of regional allies (Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, and so on). The inevitability of conflict between Israel and the surrounding Arab states eventually forced the various regional actors to become dependent on superpower assistance – at least in the military field. It is therefore a strange conclusion to state (p. 10) that the 'Six-Day War in 1967 revealed the transition of power from the superpowers to the smaller allies and the increased inability of the former to control the latter'. In actual fact, the complete opposite happened. Only from the Six-Day War were the superpowers able to exert influence (mainly due to the military dependencies on both sides), and it could therefore be argued that only from that point onwards did the conflicts in the Middle East become part of the Cold War. Yet, due to dwindling Soviet capability in the 1980s Cold War power balance was soon transformed into US hegemony in the region.

These criticisms aside, this volume provides a welcome addition to the literature on the Cold War, not least from the global perspective. The chapters are well written, and should appeal not just to the academic reader but also to a wider audience. However, since the volume lacks an overarching focus, it would be most fruitfully read as a collection of individual research chapters.

University of East Anglia

JOHAN FRANZÉN

***The East is Black: Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination.* By Robeson Taj Frazier.** Duke University Press. 2015. xiv + 314pp. \$25.00.

The East is Black is a compelling account of transnational interaction between American black political radicals and China from the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 until the 1970s. Robeson Taj Frazier's book is a valuable addition to an exploding historiography on transnational contacts between individuals and groups separated by territorial borders but united by commonalities beyond the nation-state. The black radicals that are Frazier's protagonists are transnational *par excellence*, yet, as Frazier shows, their interactions in China were almost exclusively with the Chinese state: visitors to China wanted to form links with the populace, but rarely could. Frazier traces these engagements by perceptively detailing the experiences of a number of prominent black radicals who spent varying periods of time travelling to or living in China, including figures such as W. E. B. and Shirley Graham Du Bois, Robert F. Williams, William Worthy and Vicki Garvin.

The subtitle of the book is *Cold War China in the Black Radical Imagination*, and Frazier's chief contribution is a fascinating account of how these black radicals saw and understood the China of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. He offers a critical and thoughtful historical, literary and gender analysis of their accounts of China. Building on pioneering work by Mary Louise Pratt, Frazier is not content merely to represent these accounts, instead advocating 'interrogating the dissonance of imagining' (p. 10), or highlighting when imagining gave way to fabrication. Most black radicals came away from China with what Frazier calls 'a rewarding, though uncomplicated, image of nationalism and communist success' (p. 58). Deeply anti-imperialist and anti-racist in their ideology, these radicals nonetheless constructed an orientalism that, while sympathetic to the goals of the Chinese state and revolution, reduced the country to simplistic and essentialized depictions – in a similar mode, perhaps, to how other supportive (albeit politically dissimilar) Americans had before and would again.

This critical reading of black imagining of China is engaging and useful. But Frazier goes beyond this to explore the political consequences of these perceptions, too. As Bill V. Mullen has done before, Frazier shows the impact that the PRC had – from afar but also, which is new, up close – on particular radicals and, in turn, the US black radical movement. Frazier convincingly demonstrates how the experience of touring and living in China led some radicals to conclude that the PRC offered, 'not ... an archetype to be replicated' but nonetheless 'instructive principles and praxis' for the revolutionary movement in the United States (p. 34). William Worthy, the first American journalist to report from China, advocated understanding the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which ended three days before he arrived in China, in the context of the anti-imperialism concurrently erupting in the Third World. Travel to China globalized black radicals' anti-racist politics.

Black radical imaginings of China, then, were consequential. One reason for this was the pragmatic politics that lay behind many of these interactions. Frazier shows, as Yunxiang Gao has before him, that black radicals were attracted to China and the Chinese (government) in turn to radicals for reasons that were often self-serving and even mundane. For the Chinese state, physically and ideologically attracting high-profile black radical leaders to Beijing furthered the Maoist state's appeal among the American black community and in the

Third World. The Maoist state also gained domestic legitimacy from these noted figures coming to pray at the altar of Chinese communism. Meanwhile, several radicals were glad to spend time in the PRC because they were on the run from the American government. Others, including the communist convert Du Bois, enjoyed the lavish hospitality and celebrity treatment they were denied at home. This influenced the impressions formed from their trips (or at least what they wrote publicly), as did other practical considerations. Frazier suggests that Du Bois and others were content to paint a rosy picture of the PRC not only because doing so rewarded the rich hospitality of their hosts (and avoided political recriminations that befell some other foreign visitors), but also because it allowed them to draw out starker points about their real subject: contemporary racist America. China worked as a more effective foil to the ills of America when depicted in a simplistic, essentialized form.

The book's conclusion concedes its primary limitation: 'While this book has mainly been concerned with black radical imaginings of China, an interesting question is how did the corresponding side of these relations – Chinese citizens – alternatively imagine and represent the Black Freedom Struggle?' (p. 212). Frazier offers no answer to this question; perhaps he could have done. Fascinating Chinese archival documents on this question do exist, albeit behind linguistic and bureaucratic barriers. But so, too, do sources in English: Matthew D. Johnson's work has made use not only of Chinese archival sources, but also of English-language sources that detail coverage of black radicals in the Chinese state media, both while they travelled in the PRC and while at home in the United States. Frazier suggests in his introduction that existing scholarship on black engagement with China offers 'primarily a US-centred narrative, where Chinese life and politics are difficult to locate' (p. 15). Frazier's book goes some way to correcting this, detailing the experiences of radicals while physically in China, but the Chinese actors in the book speak only through the prism of the American sources that the author concludes are self-censored and at times deeply misleading.

There are other times when this account seems incomplete. The book gives a good overview of episodes of interaction between the US state and black radicals who travelled to China, such as the American government's battle to confiscate Worthy's passport in retaliation for his travel to the PRC in 1956. But further analysis of both motives and sources would be welcome. The book rightly suggests that the primary mode of these interactions was the state seeking to restrict black radicals political movements. But were there exceptions to this? In one instance, Frazier suggests that one reason for the US government encouraging, in 1969, Robert F. Williams to return from exile in the PRC – a decision significant enough to include President Nixon's personal involvement – was gaining access to sensitive information Williams had on the Chinese leadership, and even the possibility of using Williams as a backchannel to the PRC. But this allusion remains just that, in spite of the fact that the State Department documents concerning this decision are now available. Neither Chinese perceptions nor the policies of the US government are the focus of this book; the author, then, should be thanked for flagging these interactions for further research for those of us interested particularly in the interaction between state-level diplomacy and transnational links with China.

These limitations notwithstanding, Frazier has provided an innovative, rich and lively work that deepens our understanding of the myriad interactions between Cold War America and China. His work will inspire further research and analysis that will begin to answer some of the questions posed but not answered by this story; this book provides an invaluable foundation for research on a captivating topic that has received insufficient attention from historians.

University of Oxford

PETE MILLWOOD

The Americas

***Between Sovereignty and Anarchy: The Politics of Violence in the American Revolutionary Era.* Edited by Patrick Griffin, Robert G. Ingram, Peter S. Onuf and Brian Schoen.** University of Virginia Press, 2015. ix + 313 pp. \$45.00.

The American Revolution has become a fascinating aspect of American history due to recent revisionism and the subsequent transformation in how we interpret the actions of the period. *Between Sovereignty and Anarchy: The Politics of Violence in the American Revolutionary Era* contributes to this revision, providing discussion of key aspects of the revolutionary period linked through the subject of violence. What makes this collection of articles edited by Patrick Griffin, Robert G. Ingram, Peter S. Onuf and Brian Schoen different is the book's merging of the traditional and the revisionist approaches to the American Revolution that emerged in the twentieth century.

The book's central theme is that the war of American Independence, which includes events immediately before and after, was just another sequence in a chain of events that could be described as the British-Atlantic transformation of the region. While American exceptionalism is commonly associated with American independence, the articles in this book posit that it is impossible to see it as something unique or separate from the British-Atlantic experience. Through the medium of violence, the American Revolution is seen as a continuation and further evolution of British history starting with the English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution to the expansion of the British empire in North America. In recognizing that it was a further evolution of the British experience, the traditional approach that emphasized American exceptionalism is incorporated into the revisionist approach that has normally portrayed the revolution as incomplete or unfulfilled.

Between Sovereignty and Anarchy makes excellent points that vindicate this further revision of the American Revolution. Andrew Cayton with 'The Constant Snare of the Fear of Man' outlines how the initial motivation behind American resistance was framed within the British justification of violence in defence of liberty and not through some concept of American exceptionalism. Patrick Griffin with 'Destroying and Reforming Canaan' demonstrates how the role of British history in Scotland and Ireland in marginalizing natives through violence there influenced the violence that appeared on the American frontier before, during and well after independence. Jeffrey Pasley with 'Whisky Chaser' argues that the American reaction to the French Revolution was genuinely an Atlantic one, combining the similar concerns of those normally associated with Edmund Burke with those of Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine. John C. Kotruch with

'The Battle of Fallen Timbers' outlines how Americans viewed their international security through the Atlantic balance of power and the need for conventional state protection and not through some notion of democratic peace.

While all the essays are strong overall, there are weaknesses that detract somewhat from the collection as a whole in respect of this further revisionist approach. Indeed, some essays fall short of establishing a concrete continuation of the Atlantic approach to the American Revolution and support more the traditional approach of American exceptionalism. Two examples are Peter Thompson with 'Social Death and Slavery' and Kenneth Owen with 'The Violence and the Limits of the Political Community', which are more of a commentary on how Americans viewed African American slavery in conjunction with their own subjugation and the emergence of Democratic-Republican associations post-Independence – both of which appear uniquely American. While they offer new insight into revolutionary-era violence and do make some token reference to the British experience, they do not fit easily within the overall narrative of the volume.

What is most interesting and simultaneously disappointing about *Between Sovereignty and Anarchy* is the unintended effect of choosing this narrative of a British-Atlantic approach to the American Revolution together with the title that includes 'anarchy'. Several articles include the very questioning of authority and the role of direct democracy in society, with Jessica Choppin Roney's 'Government without Arms; Arms without Government' being a notable example. This brings the legitimate question of whether there were American revolutionaries in favour of anarchism or a more direct democracy as a result of their British heritage. In highlighting the English Civil War and Oliver Cromwell, the connection to the Levellers and the Diggers, contemporary democratic and anarchist activists during the English Civil War, becomes a natural next step with this argument. While it may have been implied indirectly in Roney's essay and those of others, a more direct connection could have been made to the issue of direct democracy and anarchy that would have radically advanced further this new revisionist approach.

Nevertheless, this is a riveting collection and belongs next to other revisionist approaches to American independence, like *Revolutionary Founders: Rebels, Radicals, and Reformers in the Making of the Nation* (2011), which was edited by Alfred F. Young, Gary B. Nash and Ray Raphael. It dispels the idealism associated with the traditional approach of American exceptionalism but is more expansive than previous revisionist works, making it a rather fresh approach worthy of attention.

King's College London

ALFRED CARDONE

***Slavery and Forced Migration in the Antebellum South.* By Damian Alan Pargas.** Cambridge University Press. 2015. xii + 281pp. £19.99/\$29.99.

In a new addition to the 'Cambridge Studies on the American South' series, Damian Alan Pargas closely examines the domestic slave trade in antebellum America. Pargas's methodology of comparing interstate, local and urban slave migrants is clearly constructed and consistently adhered to. The book is divided into two sections, the first studying migration and its impact on slaves, while the

second section focuses on the process of assimilation. Throughout each chapter, the ordeals of interstate, local and urban slave migrants are diligently compared. A plethora of interesting examples of slave experiences support Pargas's thesis that the agony of interstate migration should not be underestimated. In contrast to interstate migration, the extent of trauma endured by local and urban migrants varied significantly depending on the specific circumstances involved in the forced removal of a slave.

Pargas places his thesis within the existing historiographical debate concerning prevailing interpretations of slaveholders' paternalist ideology. In perceiving forced slave migrations as evidence of the prioritization of slaveholders' economic rather than paternalist concerns, Pargas consistently supports the view upheld in Walter Johnson's study, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (1999). Pargas distinctly contrasts his thesis with that presented by Eugene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese's in *Fatal Self-Deception: Slaveholding Paternalism in the Old South* (2011). In comparison to *Fatal Self-Deception*, Pargas believes the paternalist ideology of slaveholders to have been incompatible with forced migration.

The implication of Pargas's understanding of paternalist ideology is that the Civil War derived from slaveholders' economic self-interest, rather than a shared belief in pro-slavery ideology. The distinction deserves further research among antebellum historians more broadly. In relying on primary sources such as slaveholders' diaries and slave narratives, some of which were written at the end of the nineteenth century, the evidence that underpins Pargas's thesis can be brought into question. While Pargas briefly recognizes this in his introduction, more consistent analysis of the evidence employed would better support his thesis (p. 10). For instance, Pargas does not fully discuss the issue of slave illiteracy. Broader consultation of the historiography to include, for example, Gavin Wright's *Slavery and American Economic Development* (2006), would also question Pargas's assertion that, 'from browsing the historical literature, one would be excused for believing that for American-born slaves in the nineteenth century, little or no adjustment was involved in moving' (p. 5). However, Pargas should be commended for his emphasis of divisions that plagued slave communities, a matter rarely focused upon. Indeed, he could have furthered his argument by considering the extent to which a forced unity existed amongst slave communities, in response to enclosed living quarters.

One of Pargas's greatest achievements is his clear structure and poignant use of questions at the beginning of every chapter. Nevertheless, his separate discussions of migration and assimilation could be considered in a more intertwined manner. For example, Pargas describes the ability of interstate slave migrants to form friendships during their forced journey but later depicts the loneliness of new slaves within communities. Indeed, the psychological impact of forced migration is another area that requires greater attention. Furthermore, while Pargas's abundant use of examples demonstrates the impressive depth of his research it remains challenging to distinguish the exceptions among slave migrants, as opposed to the general trends. Evidence used to support the opposing understanding of paternalist ideology exemplified by Genovese and Fox-Genovese also deserves greater acknowledgement. In conjunction with the emphasis Pargas places upon slaveholders' self-interest, the inclusion of Benedict

Anderson's thesis *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (2006) would have provided an interesting lens through which to analyse the development of nationalist sentiments within the South.

A central tenet of Pargas's thesis is his emphasis on the forced rupture of slave families as an inherent result of slaveholders' self-interest. Pargas interchangeably refers to separate white and slave families and a broad concept of a slaveholder's 'family' including both whites and slaves. However, further research and analysis may help to clarify the extent to which paternalist ideology encouraged slaveholders to recognize slave families as committed family units comparable to white families. Pargas comprehends paternalist ideology as intrinsic in developing slaveholders' perception of slaves as children, but does not explore the possible consequences (p. 197). Arguably, paternalist ideology could have resulted in the inability of slaveholders to recognize the capacity of slaves to have familial relations comparable to whites. Overall, scholars of slavery and the antebellum South will find Pargas's comparative study of forced migration a useful contribution to the historiography, while also demonstrating the need for further research.

University of Mississippi

LAURA ELLYN SMITH

***The Working Man's Reward: Chicago's Early Suburbs and the Roots of American Sprawl.* By Elaine Lewinnek.** Oxford University Press. 2014. ix + 239pp. £30.99.

Elaine Lewinnek opens *The Working Man's Reward* with the simple claim that real estate was 'Chicago's first product' (p. 3). Thus begins an ambitious study, which uses the real estate landscape of Chicago to map the complex diversity of American urban sprawl from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. She argues that the 'working man's reward' of home ownership was used to promote the idea that the American Dream included a degree of control over a space of one's own, in contrast to the long hours and high demands one faced in the workplace. This dream, of course, was not equally available to all 'working men'. As many authors have noted, 'working men' has often not included people of colour, let alone women, who also toiled in the City of Big Shoulders. The early suburbs, the areas that eventually became part of the city of Chicago, were, Lewinnek argues, the reward for white working-class men.

The Working Man's Reward is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 is centred on the nineteenth-century growth of Chicago. Lewinnek traces shifts in Chicago's economic and social worlds, whereby 'elites moved to suburbs to be near parks and workers moved to suburbs to be near factories', feeding a complex diversity across the rapidly expanding suburbs (p. 18). She shows how Henry Fuller and James Farrell marked the city in terms of race, ethnicity and class, down to the very block. These fictional claims on the city echo the obsessive divisions realtors made to keep homeowners in or out of particular areas of the city.

The Great Chicago Fire of 1871, featured in chapter 2, provided a distinct opportunity for Chicagoans to plan much of their city in ways that were not possible over the previous century of growth. Inner city immigrant neighbourhoods were replaced by commercial districts, creating a segregation pattern that relocated factories and their workers to the suburbs, leaving the

city centre to elites and their businesses. The health, morality, sexuality and very citizenship of Chicagoans depended on moving humble dwellings to the outskirts of the city, where larger plots allowed more isolation, reducing the likelihood of another devastating fire – and of direct contact with elites.

In chapter 3, Lewinnek demonstrates how suburban sprawl was based on remaking urban space around assembly-line industries and their immigrant workers, who could afford to buy homes at walking distance to work. In contrast, chapter 4 concentrates on the financing schemes which promised the wealth and riches of the likes of Potter Palmer and John Peter Altgeld to those who invested in property in Chicago. Yet for most working men, their fate was more like characters in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, for whom the divide between homeownership and prosperity was sizeable.

Chapter 5 is perhaps the most intriguing part of the book, illustrating the divergent visions of working men based on cartographic maps, the images they were sold about their city, and their reality of undeveloped and often swampy swaths of land in and around the city. Lewinnek challenges Ernest Burgess's zonal theory of concentric circles, using the same laboratory as Burgess – Chicago. The Burgess model, and others like it, provided the 'scientific' rationale for realtors and lenders to exploit the working man's dreams. Lewinnek shows the mixed land use that shaped Chicago and was at the core of conflicts in and around the city in the early twentieth century.

The Working Man's Reward is framed by the 1872 and 1919 riots, which, Lewinnek notes, were both based on the working man's desire to control housing and neighbourhoods. Chapter 6 examines the struggles among Chicago's white and black working men and their desire to own homes in the neighbourhood in the early twentieth century, comparing and contrasting the forces which drove the 1872 and 1919 riots.

She makes passing reference to the Catholic Church, but underplays the role it had in shaping segregation and other spatial dimensions of Chicago. The Archdiocese of Chicago, after all, was one of the largest landowners in the city, and over the course of the nineteenth century Catholics came to occupy many of the city's most powerful political positions.

Lewinnek's under-articulated claim is that the suburban expansion that is often credited to the post-Second World War era overlooks the social, economic and political infrastructure built over the previous century in cities like Chicago. The promised upward mobility of homeownership in the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries was not enough to overcome the economic, racial and social factors that weighed on the city. The working man's reward, as Lewinnek proves, was ideologically powerful but materially fleeting.

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen

ANNE M. MARTÍNEZ

Franklin D. Roosevelt: Road to the New Deal, 1882–1939. By Roger Daniels. University of Illinois Press. 2015. xxii + 522pp. \$34.95.

The dust jacket of this work on Franklin D. Roosevelt proclaims it to be the first volume of an 'epic' two-part biography. Thus, it arguably does a disservice to the scope and intention of the work, which is laid out in the author's interesting preface. Roger Daniels explains that his design was to write a

‘political biography’ and thus he would all but ignore FDR’s personal life, freely admitting also that despite a lifetime of study he has no idea of his subject’s inner essence.

I would actually be tempted to describe this as less a political biography and more of a presidential one. The reader is taken at an almost breathless pace through the first fifty years of FDR’s life, these occupying a scant 111 pages. What this does subsequently allow, in what still remains a relatively concise volume (386 pages), is detailed exploration of many of the aspects of the New Deal. Professor Daniels is particularly strong on labour relations issues and also the contributions of the many programme administrators. The story is told in a largely chronological format, suiting this particular reader and thus also allowing insight into the pattern of FDR’s presidential life in the years between 1933 and 1938. The exception is foreign affairs in the first term, which are quarantined to a single chapter; they do appear more regularly in the chapters devoted to the second term.

What we have less insight on, despite the book’s subtitle of the ‘Road to the New Deal’, is when the New Deal originated in Roosevelt’s mind. In the chapters covering his time as governor, presidential candidate, president-elect and the first one hundred days as president, Professor Daniels looks for the answer to this question, variously noting (pp. 84, 87, 89, 96, 108 and 131) that it is not yet to be found. At one point (p. 99) a precursor of the New Deal is identified, in the form of New York State’s Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, but that is all and the question is never really answered. Perhaps insight on this is a little too much to expect from a president one of whose favourite cartoons was of a sphinx with his own face, and Professor Daniels has made a deliberate decision to focus on the president’s public pronouncements. However, more discussion of how Roosevelt became a New Dealer would have been appreciated by this reviewer. Perhaps this question could have been revisited and answered in a conclusion to the work, but it does not contain one, the volume coming, despite the time span mentioned in its title, to an abrupt close at Christmas 1938.

The author does make clear how Roosevelt as president may have become a Keynesian in fact but never did in name. Proclamations of fiscal rectitude issued forth from the White House on a regular basis, but these were of the Augustinian variety, balancing of the budget being just three or four years away through all of the administration’s first six years. Also, Roosevelt’s administrative style of receiving advice from a wide range of sources is touched upon in various places, although it does at one point (p. 298) generate the arguably bold statement that he got more accomplished in less time than any other president.

The work contains some small oddities. A Patricia Mullins appears (p. 7) described as ‘yes, *that* Patricia Mullins’ without further explanation; Thomas Jefferson is described (p. 43) as having been the last incumbent vice-president elected president until George Bush in 1988 (overlooking Martin van Buren); and the four conservative justices of the Supreme Court are referred to by their nickname of the Four Horsemen without said nickname ever being explained (and only the index giving all their names in the same place). Also, in the set of photographs between chapters 9 and 10, the reader’s attention is drawn, for no reason that is then stated, to a cuspidor in a picture of Roosevelt and Al Smith. These anomalies are, however, very few and, overall, and for those not wanting a traditional-style biography of FDR and instead seeking a

comprehensive but readable explanation of the New Deal, this book will do very well.

Leighton Buzzard

RICHARD DOWLING

***This Nonviolent Stuff'll Get You Killed: How Guns Made the Civil Rights Movement Possible.* By Charles E. Cobb Jr. Duke University Press. 2016. xxi + 294pp. £16.99.**

In his preface to this paperback edition of his 2014 volume, Charles Cobb, Jr warns the reader that Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party will not feature in his book. This is not a study of the 'larger discussion of armed struggle in the United States', nor does it analyse the 'the Pan-African influence' guiding the thinking of some black activists (pp. xviii–xix). Rather, it is 'a book focused on grassroots organizing in the South', where events often blurred the lines between non-violence and self-defence (p. xix). Non-violence was affecting change, and many were prepared to take up arms to protect it. While this may appear contradictory, Cobb emphasizes the power and practicality of what Richard Haley of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) called 'protected nonviolence' (p. 202). It is here that Cobb's work is strongest, reflecting his own experiences as a Field Secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Mississippi during the 1960s.

Cobb's examination of weapons in the movement sits amidst a broader discussion of southern gun culture and the guiding principles of the US Constitution: conversations that endure today. Yet, his suggestion that the now controversial 'Stand Your Ground' stance began with African Americans protecting their families and properties from white terrorism proves little more than an aside: an insight into how another version of this study could have spoken more powerfully to contemporary issues of gun control and race in the United States. Rather disappointingly, given Cobb's role within SNCC, his narrative ends in 1966, after Stokely Carmichael's call for Black Power 'initiate[d] a different dynamic of black struggle' (p. 13). One cannot help but wish Cobb had seized this opportunity to guide readers through SNCC's radicalization and the evolving tensions surrounding the practicalities of armed black resistance from the late 1960s onwards.

Overall, Cobb fails to situate his wider narrative – which includes the more familiar stories of slave rebellion and post-Second World War black resistance – amongst the existing scholarship, notably Timothy Tyson's *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (1999) and Nicholas Johnson's more recent *Negroes and the Gun: The Black Tradition of Arms* (2014). It is therefore unlikely that *This Nonviolent Stuff'll Get You Killed* has much to offer scholars entrenched in extensive studies of black self-defence. That said, Cobb's volume is an accessible introduction to many of the themes evident in the wider field. For example, Cobb works hard to alert readers to the specific links between potential black citizenship and the right to bear arms in the nineteenth century. He quotes Thomas Jefferson's 1810 concerns that slaves were 'to be presented with freedom and a dagger' and draws attention to the rhetoric of the Supreme Court's 1857 Dred Scott decision, which ruled against awarding African Americans constitutional rights on the basis that this would enable them to, amongst other

things, ‘keep and carry arms wherever they went’ (pp. 33–4, emphasis added). And yet, Cobb goes on to show that this age-old fear of an armed black populace was no match for southern gun culture in the mid-twentieth century, building on work by David T. Beito and Linda Royster Beito. A September 1954 proposal enabling Mississippi law enforcement officers to confiscate guns and ammunition ‘from those likely to cause us trouble’ was part of a wider segregationist backlash to the 17 May 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. But the bill failed to make it out of the committee stage at the state legislature and it remained relatively simple for black Mississippians to obtain firearms. Such historical insights, while not entirely new, could provide welcome nuance to more contemporary debates surrounding the intersections of violence, race and gun control in the United States, and yet they remain for the most part unexplored.

The most enlightening elements of Cobb’s study remind us that the civil rights movement was one of individuals making rapid and often emotional decisions, not just national organizations with coherent and traceable policies. ‘The way that [organizers] accommodated themselves to guns provides insight into the complexities of the Freedom Movement and, in fact, humanizes it’, Cobb writes, ‘stripping away the image of noble nonviolent icons prepared for martyrdom to which movement activists have been reduced’ (p. 138). Indeed, very few activists had any real training in the philosophy of non-violence, while many black southern households already had guns. It was not for the young activists – many of them hosted by locals – to tell people if and when to use their weapons.

Here, Cobb’s own experiences, and those of his colleagues and interviewees, present readers with stirring stories of individual courage and resistance that would perhaps otherwise remain unknown. In accepting each civil rights worker, and indeed each black southerner, as an individual free to act as they saw fit in each and every situation they were faced with, *This Nonviolent Stuff’ll Get You Killed* invites a more detailed analysis of the role of the individual in the movement and the often-blurry distinctions between non-violence and self-defence.

Northumbria University

MEGAN HUNT

***LBJ’s Neglected Legacy: How Lyndon Johnson Reshaped Domestic Policy and Government.* Edited by Robert H. Wilson, Norman J. Glickman and Laurence E. Lynn. University of Texas Press. 2015. x + 481pp. \$29.95/£20.99.**

Lyndon Johnson has become an ‘invisible president’ (p. 21) writes Robert Dallek in the introductory essay to this excellent collection. Though the ‘many achievements of the Great Society’ have not disappeared, LBJ apparently has. He was not prominently featured during the 2008 convention, for example, even as Barack Obama became the first African American to accept the presidential nomination of a major party, when one might have expected at least a nod to Johnson’s role in passing the landmark civil rights legislation that helped make that moment possible. The principal reason for this, concludes Dallek, is Vietnam. The toxic legacy of that war has ‘eclipsed everything and pushed everything else into the background’ (p. 23).

Yet the reputations of presidents are tied to the political exigencies of the times. In fact, Johnson has become somewhat more prominent in recent years,

mostly because he can serve as a handy foil for President Obama's supposed shortcomings. Many commentators have argued that if only Obama had tried harder to emulate Johnson's political skills – if only he was prepared to schmooze and coerce members of Congress – he would have been able to accomplish considerably more of his legislative agenda.

It is a high bar to clear. As the editors write, this collection of case studies demonstrates that Johnson produced extraordinary domestic policy successes. Some are well-remembered, such as the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts. Others have been, as the title suggests, neglected. Head Start falls into that latter category, and Elizabeth Rose's essay on this early-intervention childhood development programme is a particular highlight of this volume. As Rose shows, Head Start was designed as a Trojan horse for the Johnson administration's anti-poverty efforts – 'to create an appealing image of the War on Poverty by focusing on children' (p. 153) – expanded incredibly rapidly as its planners sought to demonstrate both its effectiveness and its community-based approach, and evolved from being 'a survivor of the War on Poverty to a program with broad-based support' (p. 175). Even in 1981, as the Reagan administration was abolishing the Office of Economic Opportunity and declaring the War on Poverty lost, Office of Management and Budget director David Stockman (more Reaganite even than Reagan) was urging that Head Start be placed in a 'safety net' of social programmes that should not be cut.

Another of the most overlooked, and yet most important, of Johnson's legislative accomplishments was the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, which junked the national origins quotas that had governed US immigration policy since the 1920s, and brought about a wholesale demographic transformation of the nation. In their essay on the legacy of that act, Frank D. Bean, Susan K. Brown and Esther Castillo argue that the arrival of many new immigrants from Asian and Latin American nations has undermined once rigid racial and ethnic barriers and seems to be 'exerting beneficial effects on white-nonwhite relations ... that have helped offset some of the negative reactions to the early civil rights legislation' (p. 125). Here the authors' survey data is persuasive, even as the recent reinvigoration of white nationalism in the presidential campaign of Donald Trump underscores that America is a long way from being 'post-racial'.

Several themes stand out in this book, highlighted by the editors in their concluding essay. One is the urgency of Johnson's legislative efforts. This was, note the editors, 'the one consistent characteristic' of LBJ's 'pragmatic, highly varied approaches to policy design and implementation' (p. 427). As Gary Orfield puts it, 'LBJ's basic idea was to move everything he could through Congress as quickly as possible before the 1966 midterm elections' (p. 190). When those congressional majorities shrank after 1966, the flood of legislation slowed to a trickle (this often overlooked fact is the main reason why the unfavourable Johnson–Obama personal comparisons are so fatuous). However, LBJ's presentiment produced the astonishing burst of liberal reforms in 1964–5 and shaped the nature of those reforms, for good and ill.

Healthcare policy is a prime example of this. Medicare and Medicaid – which are considered by many to be LBJ's most important achievements in welfare state expansion – exemplify for Paul Starr 'the greatest and the worst aspects of Lyndon B. Johnson's leadership and legacy' (p. 235). The positives are obvious:

these programmes have increased access to medical care and financial security for the elderly and eligible groups among the poor. Many of the negatives were tied to Johnson's desire to enact the reforms quickly. The decision to accommodate existing interest groups (particularly private insurers) and to design Medicaid as a state-administered programme, while keeping Medicare at the federal level, has left the United States with a strange two-tier system of healthcare in which the poorest are the most vulnerable to retrenchment and the obstacles to extending coverage have only grown. Obama's Affordable Care Act succeeded, even with the firestorm of controversy it encountered, because 'it was an effort to fill the holes of the existing insurance system with a minimum of disruption to established institutions and the protected public' (p. 255). Universal health insurance remains an elusive goal for liberals in no small part because of decisions taken by LBJ.

The central theme of this book, however, is the transformation of the relationship between the federal government and the citizen effected by the Johnson administration. When Franklin Roosevelt signed the Social Security Act in 1935, he affirmed that Americans had the right to expect some protection from 'the hazards and vicissitudes of life'. This was one of the animating impulses of the New Deal, and LBJ dramatically expanded the range of hazards that fell under that rubric. Once expanded, as anti-statist American conservatives have learned time and again, government can prove extremely tricky to retrench. Johnson's innovative expansions of federal power broke through innumerable 'legitimacy barrier[s]' – to borrow a phrase from political scientist James Q. Wilson (Wilson, *Commentary*, 1979) – as Americans simply accepted that the federal government had a right to intervene in areas of life where it had once been absent. One striking example of this is given in David J. Eaton's essay on Johnson's water quality legislation, which shows that it was under LBJ that the issue of federal leadership on water-pollution control initiatives was decisively settled. As we have been reminded by the national debates surrounding the water crisis in Flint, Michigan, it is hard to imagine a time when water quality was not a government responsibility. This collection demonstrates, as the editors conclude, 'that today's national public policy agenda ranges over the same policy spaces created by Johnson, even if the scope, purposes, and forms of federal action have changed substantially' (p. 428).

Lyndon Johnson has a strong claim to be considered the most consequential president of the twentieth century. The contributions in this outstanding collection underline the extent to which the legacies of his Great Society, monumentally ambitious and deeply flawed as it was, continue to shape the United States. This is an indispensable book not only for students of the Johnson administration, but for scholars of public policy since the 1960s.

Queen Mary University of London

PATRICK ANDELIC

***In Spies We Trust: The Story of Western Intelligence.* By Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones.** Oxford University Press. 2013, 2015. xvi + 297pp. £12.99.

There may be honour among thieves, as the saying goes, but do not look for it in the world of espionage. Indeed, a possible subtext of Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones's *In Spies We Trust* might make use of an old advertising slogan which included the phrase '... even your best friends won't tell you'.

In Spies We Trust: The Story of Western Intelligence offers readers a glimpse of the special intelligence relationship which existed between the United States and Britain throughout the twentieth century. Like many relationships, this one had its share of ups and downs, walking a fine line between cooperation and competition. Not every relationship is destined for a happy ending, and the one between Washington and London seems to falter, he suggests, because the United States outgrew it. Breaking up may be hard to do, as the song goes, but when both sides try to strike out in different directions, things can get messy.

In the beginning, though, it seems to be good. *In Spies We Trust* takes note of the US–UK collaboration, telling readers in the preface that ‘Few would dispute that the twentieth century’s leading example of an intelligence alliance was the Anglo-American relationship ... understood to be special in ... that it excluded others’ (p. viii). It may have been special, but it was hardly a model of cooperation. Britain was reluctant to share its code-breaking expertise with anyone, including the United States, and according to Jeffreys-Jones, Reginald ‘Blinker’ Hall, head of Britain’s cryptographic unit (the famous Room 40), joined forces with the War Office, and together they broke America’s codes and routinely read its messages in hopes of bringing the United States into the First World War (p. 40). The practice, he says, continued until the start of the Second World War (p. 39). The activity led the State Department’s Adolf Berle to warn his colleagues about how British intelligence had tricked the United States into the First World War by means of ‘half truths, broken faith, [and] intrigue’ (p. viii). But misgivings aside, argues the author, the special relationship was at its best when the chips were down. Its finest hour, he says, came during the Second World War, when both sides cooperated to break Axis codes and run clandestine missions behind enemy lines. The shared learning curve was consistent with other highlights in the relationship, including how the Americans were schooled by the British on intelligence tradecraft (p. 49), and later when Washington inspired London to make its intelligence apparatus more transparent.

The Cold War became something of a fork-in-the-road moment for both countries, as America’s intelligence community came of age and Britain’s grip on world affairs began to loosen. That grip was permanently broken, Jeffreys-Jones, says, when the world learned about Kim Philby and the rest of the Cambridge Spy Ring. Their actions helped to solidify Washington’s reservations about British intelligence which, according to Sir John Keegan, whom Jeffreys-Jones quotes, poisoned operational relations between MI6 (British Intelligence) and the CIA (p. 119). The erosion of the ‘special relationship’ reached its climax in Vietnam, when British advice on counter-insurgency measures was ignored as Washington embarked on full-scale military action, causing widespread civilian casualties (p. 132).

Britain vanished from the world stage at about the same time the Cold War ended, says Jeffreys-Jones, with the result being an obvious imbalance in the Anglo-American relationship. America was now the dominant partner. Terrorism, the new threat to global security in the post-Cold War world, further outlined the decline in the relationship. Both nations, he says, still clung to the old linkages, if only out of familiarity. But he makes the case that Britain moved on from the alliance to play the field of multilateral cooperation, closing the book on the ‘foolish adventurism’ that had characterized the US–UK ‘special intelligence relationship’ throughout the twentieth century (p. 233).

But despite Jeffreys-Jones's critique, it is that 'foolish adventurism', that sense of derring-do by people with names like Wiseman, Cummings ('C', the legendary first head of MI6), Davies and Donovan, that gives intelligence history its shape, and in the case of this work, its backbone. Even the black-hearts – Kim Philby, Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean, exploiting their Oxbridge pedigrees and their clubbable personas while harming Anglo-American security – create an energy which coaxes readers to want to know more. When Jeffreys-Jones takes the reader from the world of shadows, which seemed to characterize the business of espionage for most of the twentieth century, and into the not too clandestine world of bureaucratic-institutionalized intelligence-gathering, the thrill is left behind. Yes, names such as Agee, Ames, Hanssen and Plame surface in the post-Cold War round of spy games, but they seem peripheral to Jeffreys-Jones's message that humans have largely been replaced. No trench coats, microdots or dead-drops needed anymore. It is spying by a consortium of nations, relying on technology and trusting in the consensus of committees, and not the courage, verve, panache or gut instincts of human assets. It is enough to make a real spy reject offers to come in from the cold.

DeVry University

JOHN MORELLO