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Reviews and Short Notices

General

***The Strait Gate: Thresholds and Power in Western History.* By Daniel Jütte.** Yale University Press. 2015. 376pp. £30.00.

In Daniel Jütte's compact but thorough examination of the power of doors and thresholds in western history, there are many insights that lead us beyond his topic and spur thinking about the human experience. Near the beginning, for instance, we learn about a threshold that has had meaning on many levels for five centuries. After conquering part of the Americas, the Spanish kings changed the motto on their coat of arms from *non plus ultra*, 'nothing further beyond', a reference to the fabled Pillars of Hercules off the Spanish coast beyond which humans could not go, to *plus ultra* to commemorate that Spain had 'crossed a threshold that no other nation had yet crossed'.

An historian of early modern and modern Europe, Jütte is principally interested in primal anxieties associated with these human sites of passage. His epigraph sets the tone. It is 'The door speaks', from an essay by Georg Simmel in which the sociologist maintains that historians of society must not limit themselves to the natural scientific viewpoint and highlights the larger meaning implicit in any door: 'It is absolutely essential for humanity that it set itself a boundary.' What we have done with these boundaries is what Jütte sets out to find. There is no more basic social boundary than the home, which, like any nest or den, has an entry into protection and a way out to the world. We build up our homes to build ourselves up. Then around ourselves we add more doors, walls, gates and portals and so create a life-grid with meaning: life becomes a journey with entrances and exits.

In the literal and figurative power of the doors of the Christian Church, security, stability and hope entwine. This is clear in the photo of the inviting nested doorways of Chartres. A church entrance, its narthex (a 'transitory zone for those even slightly outside the church body like those awaiting baptism') and its nave have meaning connected to the power of Christ to let people in or keep them out of the body of believers. In pre-modern Europe, marriages could end at these doors, two separate ones being used as each party of a divorce left the building. Jütte reminds us that since church doors are now mostly an aesthetic experience, it is hard to fathom how for ages they were symbols of those meta-doors invisible to the living which one would sooner or later have to pass through to gain admission to Heaven or Hell. Through Jütte's weaving of theology, art and architecture, we feel the reality of these gripping shared meanings and the social control they provided.

Jütte notes the connection of 'façade' to face and shows that in the western home doors were and are clearly the 'front' of the family. The cover photo is of the huge and hilarious 'monster portal' built of stone by the artist Zuccari for his Roman palazzo in 1590. But it is what is inside that counts. The western homeowner's view that inside there is a lot more at stake and that privacy is connected to power is brought home by a look at locks and keys. Much is communicated by Jütte's photo of a late fifteenth-century south German key and lock, which comes across like a still-life of an essential western object. One can feel the weight of the ornate handle. The functional end, much more complex than our keys, is a rectangle about an inch by a half-inch with thirteen rows of a repeating design that looks like an abstract rendering of a computer keyboard. Inside the large, heavy lock is a matching mini-keyboard ready to mesh with the key to turn the lock. This kind of set must have been in the minds of western explorers and travellers when they boasted of 'their civilizing superiority' and denigrated foreign cultures' lack of locks, their inferior locks made of wood, or Japanese paper walls, which, of course, denote a wholly different social philosophy.

Centuries-old practices around entering the front door of western buildings 'reflect an interplay of rational and irrational ideas' and consistently bewildered immigrants from other cultures. There was the legal aspect: just grasping the door ring could seal a sale or legal agents could chip off a piece of the door for the new owner. For delinquent debtors, officials could take the door off the house. If a fugitive grasped the church's door ring it could automatically confer asylum. 'As late as the eighteenth century in France, citizens who allowed guests to leave after curfew risked having their doors bricked up by the authorities.' For families who could afford it, architects incorporated special alcove-like antechambers, neither porch nor drawing room, that allowed women to watch life outdoors with no glass between them and the street, have eye contact with inferior people they would never invite in, and at the same time avoid being seen as loitering at the threshold. In Germany, thresholds that were compromised by death, disease or immorality made the home *unheimlich* (uncanny), an expression that has a place in Heidegger's analysis of the entire phenomenon of human anxiety. In Mediterranean countries, those who died inside the house were not carried out through the door but through a window or side door, in Italian the *porta di mori*. Then as now, Jewish *mezuzahs* were fastened as the Pentateuch dictates 'on the posts of thy house', designating the inner space as Jewish. In a photo taken by an anthropologist around 1900 a child poses before a Christian home in Salzburg with bold markings showing the family's 'apotropaic' intention to keep out evil: the first letters of the names of the three magi drawn in chalk, the monograms of Jesus and Mary carved in the wood, and religious medallions buried beneath the threshold. Archaeologists excavating medieval and early modern towns consistently find animals that were buried alive under and over doorways. Though Church doctrine dismissed these 'construction sacrifices' as pagan, they still acknowledged the hope that lay behind them.

Jütte's chapter 'Reading doors' explores the significance of church doors as media. Luther's use of Wittenburg is the famous example, but Jütte makes the point that debates over whether it happened and whether he used a hammer or glue are not as important as the consideration that this essential public space served a purpose parallel to our computer screens for 'controversy and conflict...publicity and the circulation of knowledge'. There were plenty of

theses, but also broadsheets, summonses, writs, banishments and services offered by lawyers, physicians, teachers and innkeepers. There were also insults, *pasquinades* and *scheltebrife*, which brought to the public's attention 'social transgressions and deviance, proven or alleged'. This edgy messaging reminds us of today's concern over social media. The same concern must have led authorities in the late Middle Ages to issue a ban on feuding and to institute a Perpetual Public Peace decree.

Jütte's unearthing and ordering of facts about western entrances and exits continues with city walls, which Shakespeare termed the city's 'eyes', a companion metaphor of his admonition in *King John* to 'save unscratched your city's threatened cheeks'. The photos tell a tale of the way Europe used to live: towers that are handsome from both the city and country sides along with their moats and bridges make an imposing boundary between worlds that are no longer pertinent but bring home the perennial human grid we navigate. Jütte's emphasis on material culture, what people touched and where they passed, offers an alternative to the tumult of many histories, and as one reads about thousands of years of community gates and walls, one remembers reading Kafka's *The Castle*. Jütte's photos and descriptions bring back the eerie feeling of pre-modern geography that Kafka communicates: his streets, his walls and homes, and over everything the looming power of the castle and cathedral. Good history brings us back to more than old facts. We respond intuitively to Jütte's details that show the relation of an older sense of 'public' to an older sense of 'private'.

The walls came down of course as nations usurped the authority of cities and principalities, cities blended into suburbs, and industry opened up the freedom to move and try new places. Three photos from *The Strait Gate* will bring this story of entrances and exits to an end. First, we see 'the stately exterior of St. George Gate, Antwerp with a group of guards', an impressive portal in every sense. Its Latin inscription commemorates that the first person to pass under its arch in 1545 was Emperor Charles V. Next, c.1865, we see the demolition of this monumental gate: modern-looking workers and police pose around what looks like the carcass of a once-formidable structure. A few pages later there is a current photo of the still-intact gate of the walled city of Monteriggioni, Italy. The light on Tuscan fields is framed by a perfect arch within a shadowed wall. In the foreground is the walkway to the arch with its handsome geometric design. Then we ponder Jütte's caption: 'View through the two gates of the medieval walled city, near Sienna. In the Middle Ages, the city *enceinte* with its mighty gates and towers, evoked Dante's awe and secured the survival of the small town. Today, the gates stand always open, offering picturesque views of the Tuscan countryside but no longer serving any practical or defensive purpose.' It is a beautiful picture.

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TONY SCHWAB

Ernst Kantorowicz: A Life. By Robert E. Lerner. Princeton University Press. 2017. xvi + 400pp. £32.95.

This biography has been long awaited by both the academic world and a wider readership concerned with intellectual issues – and especially, in this case, civil resistance. Ernst Kantorowicz was the author of three books whose

quality and erudition have made him a canonical historian. His monumental biography of the great medieval emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen of Germany, a prodigy of erudition and historical perspicacity published in 1927, caused a great stir in its time (and when it was republished in North America after the Second World War), with its attempts to draw analogies between the medieval emperor and the Nazi Führer, but it remains a classic of historical biography. His analysis of the acclamations of the medieval monarchs (*Laudes Regiae*) published in 1946, while perhaps the least widely read of his three great works, has become indispensable for anyone seeking to deepen their understanding of the profound links between the sacred and the profane, the spiritual and the temporal, in the Middle Ages, and permanently established liturgy among the primary sources that every historian of traditional societies must use. Finally, his monograph *The Two King's Bodies* (1957) is one of the most influential works of contemporary medievalism and, half a century after its publication, continues to sell well, having transcended the borders of the historical discipline to become a reference point in history of art, history of law, political philosophy and literary criticism.

These three works alone would suffice to configure a unique personality from an intellectual or academic perspective, but Kantorowicz also carves a path as a citizen that requires the nuanced and erudite elaboration evident in Robert E. Lerner's documented biography. Born in 1895 into a wealthy Jewish family in Poznan, Kantorowicz was in his youth an ardent German patriot, voluntarily enlisting in the German ranks in the First World War. Formed within the orbit of the visionary poet Stefan George's circle in the 1920s, he decisively fought the rise of Nazism in the 1930s, worked as a professor at Berkeley during the 1940s until he was fired for refusing to sign the anti-communist 'loyalty oath', and ended his career in the 1950s at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, until his death in 1963. His passionate civic commitment, his intense historical experiences, his extraordinary capacity for intellectual attraction and his complex personality endow him with a charm that goes far beyond an academic career that is already in itself extraordinary.

Kantorowicz was worthy, then, of an exhaustive biography such as the one now offered to us by Robert Lerner. This biography lives up to the enormous expectations generated by those of us who already knew snippets about Kantorowicz's life (for example, the acute but dispersed commentary of Alan Boureau in his *Kantorowicz: Stories of a Historian*, or the unreliable and distorting reflections of Norman Cantor in his *Inventing the Middle Ages*, to cite just a couple of sources available in the English language), but had to wait until now for the appearance of a complete and integrated portrait. In the first place, it seems to me highly appropriate that the biographer should be a medievalist, and one who has also furnished ample evidence that interest in the present (or recent history) need not necessarily be detrimental to his rigour as a medievalist. Lerner combines the extraordinary erudition of a historian who has spent his life researching in the documentary archive, with a perspicacity that draws him to the best kind of intellectual history and a meticulous narration that has the virtue of completely debunking some long-standing misconceptions that still circulate about Kantorowicz's life. The fallacy of a supposed empathy for Nazism is, for example, completely refuted thanks to the author's scrupulous work, while Kantorowicz's honourable conduct in the painful matter of the Berkeley 'loyalty

oath' is brought to light, in the context of the North American anti-communist 'witch-hunt' of the 1950s. With detailed care, Lerner relies above all on primary sources, such as Kantorowicz's nearly one thousand surviving personal letters, while at the same time bringing to bear the abundant secondary sources (both biographical and academic) available on the life of the German historian. The lengthy duration of the project (Lerner says he spent four years writing this work, but he began to collect material over two decades ago) is reflected in the maturity of the writing, the rhythm of the exposition and the careful erudition.

The biography is strictly chronological, which is clearly reflected in the index. However, Lerner has the good sense to privilege at every moment of Kantorowicz's life the aspect that is the kernel of that moment: his places of residence (Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Oxford, Berkeley, Princeton), the stages in his academic life (the formative years, the years of drama, exile, the struggle for a permanent post, retirement), the influential figures in his life (his lovers Josefine von Kahler ('Fine') and Vera Peters, as well as the poet Stefan George) and the major works (*Frederick II*, *Laudes Regiae*, *The King's Two Bodies*). This quadruple dimension (places, times, people, works) contributes to the author adequately contextualising the three great dimensions to Kantorowicz that I referred to at the beginning of this review: the historian, the intellectual and the citizen. I might add that those three spheres of Kantorowicz's public dimension are sufficiently balanced, in Lerner's account, with snippets of his private life, without it ever falling into distorting sensationalism or superficial frivolity. The portrait that emerges from the book is of an intellectual who lived his life intensely and passionately, confirming the idea that the better the historian understands the life into which he is inserted, the better his account of the life of the past and the more interesting for his contemporaries, however remote he may be.

Certainly, academic readers might regret that he does not delve deeper into Kantorowicz's purely historiographic legacy, and likewise readers with a broader thematic outlook might have wanted a less dense treatment in Lerner's writing, so as to go more directly to the heart of Kantorowicz's intellectual itinerary. But all writing is choice, and I personally think that Lerner has found a good way, this being the first exhaustive biography of Kantorowicz, to aspire to a global approach to his distinguished subject, providing balance in the coverage of every single phase of his life with the sober language of historical chronicle. Without any doubt, his pioneering task will bear fruit in the form of a greater interest in this brilliant and influential scholar, and subsequent biographical approaches can explore any specific feature of his work in depth, in a more concrete chronology of his life, or in some other aspect of his multi-faceted personality. Kantorowicz represents that intellectual *type* formed in central Europe during the interwar period, which in my view stands on one of the summits of civilisation. At a time when dark clouds loom for the preservation of European heritage, and that of the west more generally, a biographical rehabilitation as impassioned and enthralling as that offered by Robert E. Lerner of Ernst A. Kantorowicz is the best tribute that could be given to this unforgettable historian, and to his unforgettable era.

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JAUME AURELL

***Cultural Studies 1983: A Theoretical History.* By Stuart Hall, edited with an introduction by Jennifer Daryl Slack and Lawrence Grossberg. Duke University Press. 2016. xiv + 218pp. \$23.95.**

This book called to mind that moment when, on page 481 of Tony Judt's magisterial *Postwar*, the record, so to speak, screeched to a stop. While hoping that *Cultural Studies 1983* might conjure wished-for memories I never had about Stuart Hall's legendary lectures at the 1983 'Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture' teaching institute and conference at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, I was instead brought back to a real recollection of the page on which I once had to stop reading, at least for a while, Judt's otherwise engaging history of the European continent. Why? Because it is on page 481, amid a discussion of the intellectual decline that supposedly defined the 1970s, that Judt puts forward Hall as an exemplar of cultural criticism's irrelevance, of an embarrassing Marxism recycled, of that decade's 'narcissistic obscurantism'. Reading *Cultural Studies 1983* vividly reminded me of how badly page 481 missed the mark, and of why Hall remains so relevant, despite what sociologist Ben Carrington has called 'a certain resistance to the type of sociological work that Stuart Hall does' (Ben Carrington interview with Roderick Ferguson, <<http://kutpodcasts.org/stuart-hall/roderick-ferguson-ep-6>>, accessed 10 April 2017).

Edited by Jennifer Daryl Slack and Lawrence Grossberg, Hall's lectures provide a unique retrospective window on an event later characterised by Mrinalini Sinha as having 'the very palpable feeling of excitement and anticipation as a prelude to an intellectual breakthrough of sorts: new ways of talking about the past as well as of theorizing our present' ('Crooked Lines and Zigzags: From the Neo-colonial to the Colonial', in Antoinette Burton and Dane Kennedy, (eds), *How Empire Shaped Us* (2016), p. 133). In this sense, *Cultural Studies 1983* performs two important tasks: it recreates a sense of the spark that kindled a moment long remembered in Cultural Studies and related fields; more importantly, it offers access into an incredibly rich body of thought that has as much to teach today as it did three and a half decades ago.

In Hall's opening lecture, we see how the field emerged – and, thanks to Richard Hoggart, found institutional expression – in response to the concrete political problem of thinking through class conflict under the relatively affluent terms of order that had taken shape by the 1960s. The next two lectures delve more deeply into the relation between culture and structure in the work of Raymond Williams, E. P. Thompson, Emile Durkheim and Claude Lévi-Strauss. As familiar today as they would have been to the audiences who listened to these lectures in person, these figures are reanimated through Hall's engagement with their insights, limitations and relationship to one another. And all of this is in some ways mere prelude to the rest of the book, where Hall turns directly to the subject of culture under capitalism over four consecutive lectures, before concluding with some reflections on race and resistance.

Karl Marx, Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci become the main characters in the latter two-thirds of the book, with readers treated to a balanced appraisal of all three. Because Hall's brilliantly detailed treatment of this trinity is one of the most compelling reasons why this book comes so highly recommended, to attempt to summarise Hall's arguments is to risk diluting them. Let me say

briefly, if admittedly superficially, then, that Hall allows for the power of Marx's base-superstructure metaphor as a means of expressing the nature of social determination, of designating the relationship between levels within a given social formation, and of giving shape to the configuration of social totalities. At the same time, Hall argues that while this influential metaphor works as abstraction, it gains less and less traction the closer one gets to an actual social formation in all its context, where non-economic factors reveal their autonomy and influence. For Hall, Althusser privileged abstraction in Marx's argument while also creating an opening within Marxist theory that enabled a more complex understanding of the relationship between classes and ideas, as well as between the production of ideology and the situated practices that give rise to particular forms of knowledge. Althusser of course lived after Gramsci, but Hall focuses last on the Italian theorist as a nod to his pre-eminence. This makes sense, especially in retrospect, given how clear it now is that the times of Gramsci's encounter with Mussolini's fascism and of Hall's experience of Thatcherism represent momentous occasions of both political defeat and nuanced theoretical introspection in the history of the twentieth-century European left. Gramsci inspires Hall, in his penultimate lecture, not only to make his well-known formulation about the difficult work entailed in achieving hegemony (p. 172), but also to give hegemony a definition that still remains unmatched:

Hegemony refers to the way in which those elements that rule politically and dominate ideologically (in the rule of a particular State) do so by having the capacity to mobilise popular forces in support; by mobilising, colonising, incorporating, grasping, circumventing, or containing those elements necessary to pull into and hold to itself the support of sections of the popular classes. Hegemony entails the formation of a bloc, not the appearance of a class. (pp. 169–70)

These words convey something of the clarity of Hall's ideas and of the drama of his language, while they provide a useful encapsulation of one of the keywords of our times. As effective are Hall's remarks about race, expressed through a turn to his own position as colonial and postcolonial subject to develop his notion of articulation (p. 146), or through a restatement of his now famous formulation about how consciousness of class relations is created through lived racial categories (p. 203).

Has the relation of race to economic exploitation and other forms of oppression become less important since 1983? The question is obviously rhetorical. One question that does continue to need an answer, though, is that which asks after the tools we need to contest the violent injustices that organise colonial heteropatriarchy, racial capitalism and the potential destruction of the planet's living environment.

Geoff Eley has said of Stuart Hall that 'When he lectured, he brought light into the room' ('Stuart Hall, 1923–2014', *History Workshop Journal*, 79 (2015), p. 318). Wish as we might, we cannot go back to Urbana-Champaign in 1983 to witness one of those occasions. But now, despite the 'certain resistance' that can still be found to Hall's ideas, thanks to *Cultural Studies 1983* and Duke University Press's 'Stuart Hall: Selected Writings' series, we have a new trove of proven tools when perhaps we need them most.

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JOHN MUNRO

Medieval

***Leo Strauss and the Recovery of Medieval Political Philosophy.* By Joshua Parens.** Boydell. 2016. xv + 191pp. £50.00.

Joshua Parens's *Leo Strauss and the Recovery of Medieval Political Philosophy* is the first book in a new series ('Rochester Studies in Medieval Political Thought') which aims at the rediscovery of medieval political philosophy. It must be said that its purpose is not only to learn *about* medieval political philosophy, but also *from* it. It is to this extent that we can speak of 'recovery', as the very title of this volume says. And it is not by chance that Parens's work focuses on a philosopher who has decisively contributed to the rediscovery and recovery of medieval political philosophy in the twentieth century: Leo Strauss. The German philosopher, who became (in)famous mostly thanks to his rediscovery of the forgotten art of exoteric writing, attributed his familiarisation with the problem of the relation between politics and philosophy to his study of Jewish and Islamic philosophy of the Middle Ages – namely, Maimonides and his source, Alfarabi. Parens's analysis verges, accordingly, on Strauss's writing dedicated to these two thinkers and highlights their invaluable importance for the proper understanding of the theologico-political problem – that is, the tension between the philosophers and the authoritative opinions of the city (p. 5; for a deeper insight see p. 97). One of the many merits of this book is a clear and articulated reconstruction of the development of Strauss's comprehension of the way these philosophers communicated their political and philosophical teachings and, therefore, his comprehension of the true meaning of their purely political understanding of what is traditionally held to be part of theology in the strict sense – that is, prophecy and the doctrine of particular providence (part III). However, leaving aside for a moment such useful historical explorations, I would like to concentrate on the most interesting theoretical aspects of Parens's work (parts I, II, IV).

First, it explains the peculiar Platonism of these medieval authors. As paradoxical as it may seem to readers who are not acquainted with Strauss's work, Alfarabi and Maimonides are not Platonic on account of any metaphysical teaching (be it the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, of the ideas, or of the transcendent good); rather, they are Platonic *political* philosophers. That is, the Platonic legacy which they revive in a world conquered by monotheistic revealed religions is the philosophical framework that makes possible a full rational justification and comprehension of the aims and purpose of divine law.

Second, it shows how, thanks to Platonic political philosophy, we are able to transcend the Christian-Scholastic paradigm which, as Parens clearly argues, prevents a full grasp of the complexity of the relation between thought and society and, as a consequence, undermines involuntarily the very order which it should enlighten. The stark Scholastic distinction between theory and practice, that is, between metaphysics and political science, bears on a theologically oriented, yet falsifying, reading of Aristotle, according to which theory and practice are essentially harmonised, and, above all, the first leads the second. A metaphysically backed up set of revealed dogmas would be able, as the Scholastic paradigm goes, to illuminate and rule the lower realm of human things in an almost deductive fashion. We are, therefore, given a precious survey of the difficulties which the Scholastic paradigm must face. The assumed continuity between theory and practice, which would be ultimately guaranteed by the

revealed character of the law given by God, obscures the true nature of disorder, thought along the lines of Christian Neoplatonism to be rooted in flesh, that is, matter. On the contrary, the foremost source of political disorder is the conflicting opinions of human beings concerning the first things and the true nature of justice. Therefore, the presence of 'vipers' or 'weed' (i.e. potential philosophers or sophists), even in the virtuous city, contradicts the assumed orderly character of the whole, where the higher is wrongly supposed to rule the lower.

On the contrary, the political Platonism of these medieval authors shows us how practice and theory relate to one another not deductively, but dialectically, so that the limits of our knowledge of the 'things aloft' force us to concentrate on what is next to us, in order to guide our lives collectively and individually. In other words, we must understand political affairs according to their own articulation. Theory, on the other hand, must protect the almost autonomous sphere of practice, where prudence rules, from dangerous political teachings introduced by perplexed or bad men. What to many interpreters appears to be Alfarabi's metaphysical foundation of good practice is nothing but the prudent account of the theologico-political opinions of the inhabitants of the virtuous city, that is, an account which covertly criticises those opinions and, at the same time, inculcates a cautious defence of the philosophical way of life in the terms required by the city. Therefore, far from being the last word of the philosopher on things political, such an account serves as a starting point to the philosophical inquiry into the nature of all things. In fact, the Platonic figure of the philosopher-king, far from being the final solution to the problem of human collective life, epitomises the insolubility of an eternal predicament. A society free of contradictions is impossible; disorder is an essential part of political life. But this is not just a conclusion related to the domain of practical philosophy. Parens clearly shows how Strauss had to overcome his own prejudice against what he initially held merely to be the exoteric part of philosophy. For insight into the nature of human things is knowledge proper, even if merely knowledge of a part of the whole. But this part of the whole, the city, is 'the part of the whole that reveals most directly the nature of the whole', in which order and disorder cohabit (p. 118). As knowledge of the most revealing part of the whole, and, at the same time, as knowledge of the things which are first for us, political philosophy as intended by those Platonic thinkers of the Middle Ages deserves the title of first philosophy.

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MARCO MENON

***Cod and Herring: The Archaeology and History of Medieval Sea Fishing.* Edited by James H. Barrett and David C. Orton. Oxbow Books. 2016. ix + 272pp. £48.00.**

This is a treasure trove of a volume. It sets out to explore the changing human exploitation of sea fish between AD 500 and AD 1500, seeking to establish 'chronology, causes and consequences' of marine fishing in the northern waters of Europe, that is in and around the North and Baltic Seas. In so doing the various essays not only utilise 'archaeoichthyological, archaeological, isotopic and historical data' (p. 129) but also information that can be gleaned from evidence of fishing infrastructure (such as at Borgund in western Norway) and even paintings – there is an interesting critique of Beuckelaer's 1569 work of

a fish market in Antwerp which foregrounds a fine display of cod but which, it is argued, unfairly relegates herring to a subsidiary position (the painting is helpfully illustrated in colour as Fig. 14.1).

The nineteen essays are divided into two main sections ('Perspectives from History and Settlement Archaeology' and 'Perspectives from Zooarchaeology and Stable Isotope Analysis'), bookended by introductory and concluding chapters from James Barrett. It is testimony to the authors and to the editors that both sections are equally readable, notwithstanding the occasionally challenging figures in the second section for those who find the presentation of scientific data intimidating. This readability should encourage even the most timid to explore the data; there is much here to learn, as evidenced by van Neer and Ervynck's reassessment of provisioning in Gent (Ghent) where variations in fishbone assemblages are interpreted within the differing socio-economic contexts of the early *portus* and the ecclesiastical area around the monastic site of Sint-Pieter (pp. 161–2).

This Flemish evidence is, however presented with a caveat concerning methodology, one brought out even more strongly by consideration of the archaeological fishbone finds from Baltic Sea locations. Lõngas sets out clearly the difficulties of not comparing like with like when seeking to understand the development of marine fish consumption. A number of excavations in Tallinn, for example, recovered fishbone by hand collection only, leading to an inevitable bias against smaller bones such as those associated with herring. Sieving at Vabaduse Square, Tallinn in 2008–9 resulted in more than a third of the assemblage being herring bone, which 'illuminates the possible significance of a small-sized taxon that is under-represented in the hand-collected material from Tallinn' elsewhere (p. 114). Indeed, the importance of standardised methodologies, with accurate presentation of these methodologies in reports ('sieving' must be carefully characterised as some excavators sieve to 1 mm, others to 4 mm; the results will inevitably differ), is a constant theme that can be drawn from the essays.

Barrett's introduction provides succinct help to any zooarchaeological neophytes, setting out five main approaches to assessing the trade in medieval fish. These are biogeography (noting in particular species located outside their natural range), butchery patterning (notably the absence of cranial bones indicating the probability of butchery elsewhere), fish length estimates (which can imply specialization in provision), stable isotope analysis and ancient DNA analysis. Stable isotope analysis is now providing much new data, as is evident from most of the zooarchaeological essays, although it is anticipated that ancient DNA work will be similarly important as costs reduce.

Readers of *History* however, will most probably be drawn to the section of broadly documentary-based essays in the first instance. It is unlikely that they will be disappointed. The opening two papers, by Poul Holm on 'Commercial Sea Fisheries in the Baltic Region c. AD 1000–1600' and Maryanne Kowaleski discussing 'The Early Documentary Evidence for the Commercialisation of the Sea Fisheries in Medieval Britain', are both full of useful and often surprising information. Holm's discussion of the quantities of herring being consumed in late fourteenth-century Lübeck, for instance, cites up to 70,000 barrels of herring going to the city *per annum*, with some 900 herring in each barrel. Similarly, for Domesday East Anglia, Kowaleski references James Campbell's calculations of likely consumption in late eleventh-century England – an annual total of 'at

least 3,298,000 herring' (p. 29). These seem like massive totals but, as in so much of the data presented in this volume, context is all – Nedkvitne's discussion of 'The Development of the Norwegian Long-distance Stockfish Trade' concludes that 'catches in the Middle Ages made only small inroads into the vast stocks of Arctic cod'. Indeed more recent industrial fishing has been between 12 and 28 times larger, 'a difference so considerable that one can claim with certainty that medieval fishermen were nowhere near to overfishing the Norwegian cod stock' (p. 57). The same seems to hold for herring despite the fact that late fourteenth-century catches from the Øresund fishery exceeded those taken in 1900. Holm notes that the decline of the medieval herring fishery is obscure, but that it is possible to 'rule out the assumption of some historians that the demise of the Scanian fishery was caused by a changed migration pattern' (p. 17).

The mechanics behind the trade in fish is also explored. The 'Scanian' method was that of 'gilling' herring, whereby the gills were removed by a knife twisted behind the head immediately prior to salting which would be undertaken 'while the blood was still running', thereby enabling penetration of the salt into the soft tissues of the fish. Export was in salt brine in barrels. Gutting increased the longevity of salted fish and was probably introduced in the thirteenth century. Drying fish was another option (although initial salting was also needed), as was smoking of fish; documentary references to smoke-houses can be found in the mid-thirteenth century.

The politics of medieval sea fishing is examined in a particularly interesting chapter by Vésteinsson concerning Iceland where he identifies the paradox that twentieth-century Icelandic historians 'had a very ambivalent attitude towards the history of the fishing industry', given that that industry generates nearly 50 per cent of Iceland's modern export income (p. 71). He summarises a change in the country's historiography, away from a nationalist view which predicated much interpretation on the impact of external and colonial forces (notably Norway and subsequently Denmark) to one whereby the lack of development in the late medieval Icelandic fishing industry can be characterised as a result of the policies of local landowners. Conservative approaches maintained stable prices of fish and ensured a population dependent upon a farming economy, and thus one capable of greater control than that of sea fishing.

Many of the essays are concerned with evidence from assemblages recovered on sites with urban populations and with the socio-economic implications that can thereby be drawn for evidence of trade and consumption. In contrast Rachel Reynolds provides a contribution which focuses upon elite sites in south-eastern England, examining the provision of fish early in the date range of the volume, from the Middle and Late Saxon periods. She compares fish remains from the settlements of Bishopstone and Lyminge with those recovered from urban *wic* sites, finding 'richer and more diverse assemblages of sea-fish at the former'. She notes that cod and other marine species were transported whole to these elite locations, that some cod were very large, implying 'labour intensive offshore fishing and associated elite investment', and concludes therefore that 'it is important to study the origins of sea-fish consumption not just from an economic point-of-view but also from a social one' (pp. 218–19).

This rich volume concludes with a comprehensive overview essay by James Barrett. Within it he addresses eight key questions: was the growth of early medieval sea fishing a correlate of state formation and urbanisation? Were

sea fisheries developed in response to social drivers, such as Christian fasting practices, elite demand and/or the cultural food ways of migrant communities? Was there an unprecedented sea-fishing revolution at the turn of the first–second millennia AD? Did sea fishing expand as a result of human impacts on freshwater ecosystems? Could marine fisheries of the High Middle Ages have overfished formerly superabundant species, such as cod and herring? When did the long-range trade of high-bulk and low-value staples really begin? When did such trade expand to a pan-European scale? And to what degree did demand for sea-fish influence the increasingly ‘global’ destinations of late medieval mariners? Each of these questions is addressed, both by this essay and by the other essays in the book, in some cases magisterially and perhaps conclusively, in others the need for further research being noted.

Barrett is at pains to stress that the research set out is only a ‘preliminary’ statement. Notwithstanding, it provides both a magnificent dataset and a range of interpretative arguments which inspire admiration and provoke thought. The editors and authors are to be congratulated, as is the Leverhulme Trust, which provided much of the financial backing of the research. The Preface makes the point that the ‘book is also based upon work from the COST Action Oceans Past Platform, supported by COST (European Cooperation in Science and Technology)’ of the EU Framework Programme Horizon 2020, a timely reminder that our marine resources, their past exploitation and future patterns of consumption are transnational issues requiring a truly European approach as here adopted by historians, archaeologists and scientists.

University of East Anglia

BRIAN AYERS

***Perceptions of Femininity in Early Irish Society.* By Helen Oxenham.** Boydell. 2016. xii + 216pp. £60.00.

This book, which surveys an extraordinarily wide range of material, is an invaluable, much-needed and very welcome contribution to the study of gender in early Irish history. The sheer scope of the material analysed, and the author’s careful statements on the limitations and restriction of her standpoint, will make this book required reading for any further researchers in the field of women and gender in early Ireland.

The author clearly states that her purpose is to conduct a study of the ways in which an elite group of Irish, ecclesiastically trained men represented femininity between the fifth and the ninth centuries. The explicit limitation (of both femininity and perceptions) is to be welcomed and introduces much-needed qualifications into analyses of the extant materials to date. However, the question whether women were ever involved in compiling these early manuscripts must surely be left open to further debate.

The research documents a highly stratified society with gender being a significant, if derivative, marker of status. The book argues that while femininity and masculinity were clearly delineated (the norm being the free, arms-bearing man), within both categories further delineations must be made since separate rules applied to virgins, widows and married women (p. 43). It is argued that

while women certainly enjoyed a lower status, they did so not as a group, since the deepest divisions related to social gradations. Effectively, women were imbricated in a male status hierarchy.

To that end, the book surveys a wealth of early Irish legal, hagiographical, pseudo-historical and saga material. This is both a strength and a weakness. For instance, on the question of abortion, while the explicitly ecclesiastical texts largely follow the injunctions of the Early Fathers, such as Augustine and Jerome, the legal texts offer a more nuanced view. Furthermore, in the hagiographical material, several saints perform abortions to guard the safety of an unfortunate woman who might otherwise be killed, while the saga material (such as that describing the birth of the renowned Irish proto-typical hero, Cúchulainn) takes an explicitly pragmatic and even propagandist view in which abortion (or a convenient miscarriage) is used to guard paternal lineage.

A similar difficulty arises when it comes to the question of slaves. In the pseudo-historical text *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (Book of the Invasions or the Gatherings), Partholon's wife – a fairly powerful woman who is said to have pronounced the first judgments in Ireland – forced a male slave to sleep with her. One can either take this as evidence of a social practice or as one of the many subjugation narratives in early Irish literature designed to ridicule or otherwise deride an earlier matri-centred social order, trace hauntings of which appear throughout the literature. Furthermore, while that text appears to critique the fate of the male slave, in many other instances, if a high-status woman's honour is defiled through rape, this merits the payment of seven slave women, *cumala*, who actually comprise units of currency, and their fate goes unremarked.

An extraordinary silence exists in early Irish literature (and scholarship) regarding the origin of such slaves. Were they acquired from raids conducted outside Ireland, or were they the consequences of the many internal feuds arising from changing modes of subsistence and production, which effectively subjugated indigenous populations, putting (as the Bible exhorts) men to the sword and taking women and children captive?

Further trace hauntings of ongoing tensions between social orders exist in such tracts as those enumerating a man without land or one who follows the buttocks of his wife over a border and whose honour derives from their wives who are responsible for their economic well-being.

A similar concern arises with regard to sacramental functions. The author correctly assumes that religious social status derived from the authority to perform sacramental functions, and that women were eventually entirely denied that authority. However, it is not clear when exactly those proscriptions were successfully applied in Ireland. Some documents (such as the *Lives of Saint Brigit*) may suggest that the (male?) authors might protest too much and, at the very least, questions should be raised about the high status accorded to the abbesses of Kildare (which prevailed until the twelfth century), which included their intriguing status as women who turn back the streams of war.

According to the expert on this matter, Gary Macy, from a universal perspective, the sacraments were only closely defined from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) was the first definitively to restrict the celebration of the Eucharist to validly ordained male priests. Abbesses certainly heard confessions. Before that time, local customs prevailed. Entirely relying on the evidence from the extant manuscripts might be akin to relying on

contemporary Vatican documents (and their wishful thinking) for evidence of contemporary sexual practices. Mary Schaefer's recent work on women holding pastoral office might also bear further examination in this context.

The book makes no attempt to analyse material culture or any remaining evidence of early Irish living traditions to be found in extant rituals or artefacts. Given some intriguing references this is unfortunate. For instance, she points out that embroiderers had a higher honour price than queens, equivalent to that of kings. Since some reliquaries record evidence that Saint Brigit's artefacts included her embroidery tools, one would love to have heard more. Given the wealth of written material under consideration such omission is understandable; nevertheless, the inclusion of material artefacts alongside the written texts might throw invaluable further light on the issues raised.

However, these concerns and comments are in no way intended to undermine the extraordinary achievement of this book. Rather the questions raised are intended to encourage further work on such valuable (and unique) primary Irish material and its potential for early medieval research. This book is an invaluable resource and will take its place among both the classics of Early Irish Studies and the international field of gender and women's history.

Trinity College, Dublin

MARY CONDREN

Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England, 1000–1250: Theory and Reality. By Craig M. Nakashian. Boydell. 2016. ix + 294pp. £60.00.

In October 1319, an English army met with an invading Scottish force at Myton-on-Swale, Yorkshire. Leading the English forces (comprising both clerics and laymen) was William Melton, archbishop of York – a man who was blessed with neither military experience nor, as soon became clear, beginner's luck. The English army was routed: Melton beat a hasty retreat, and so many English clerics died that his army was nicknamed 'the chapter of Myton'. Contemporary objections to Melton's adventure were, it seems, twofold. Many professional warriors felt that priestly forays onto the battlefield were likely to end in disastrous defeat. But there was also a wider sense of unease about the military activities of the clergy: even if clerics could triumph on the battlefield, should they be there in the first place?

In *Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England*, Craig Nakashian untangles the cultural debate surrounding clerical military activity, focusing on England between 1000 and 1250. His book is divided into two sections, the first of which covers theoretical approaches. Chapter 1 ('Clerics and War in the First Millennium') traces Christianity's fraught relationship with violence, particularly its struggle to balance the ideal of pacifism against the case for just war. By the eleventh century, there was clearly a heightened sense of unease about warrior clerics, but no consensus on the propriety (or otherwise) of their actions. Chapter 2 ('Papal Centralization and Canonical Prescriptions') describes the hardening of attitudes to the warrior cleric by the reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Gratian, for example, argued that clerics should use tears and words as their only weapons. Nevertheless, it remained acceptable to exhort secular allies to use violence for the good of the Church, and to fight in

self-defence. The picture was further complicated by the Crusades: it was widely expected that clerics would direct these campaigns, but should they be active participants? Chapter 3 ('The Epic Archetype') highlights popular literary figures such as Turpin ('the prototypical crusading archbishop') and Adhémar of Le Puy. Literary portrayals of such men meshed together their military and ecclesiastical roles, and their battle-going only enhanced their reputations.

In the second half of the book, Nakashian presents a set of case studies which illuminate both the military roles played by medieval English clerics, and the impact of these activities on their reputations. Chapter 4 ('The Norman Conquest') considers three prelates who fought at Hastings. Contrary to modern expectations, none of these men was condemned for his actions; one was later considered as a potential saint. In late eleventh-century England, it seems, military activity was not considered inherently wrong for a cleric. Chapter 5 ('Negotiating a New Anglo-Norman Reality') surveys the careers of Lanfranc and Anselm of Canterbury, and Wulfstan of Worcester. All three were heavily involved in the military affairs of the realm, and were praised by contemporaries for their strategic successes. Gaudry of Laon, in contrast, was widely condemned: one critic even attributed his murder to his preference for the lance over the mitre. For Nakashian, the key difference between Gaudry and his English counterparts was his personal conduct: whilst they were conventional clerics who manfully defended the kingdom during wartime, he consistently played the knight.

Chapter 6 explores the roles played by Thurstan of York and Henry of Winchester during 'The Civil War between Stephen and Matilda'. Thurstan led the English resistance against the Scots in 1138, and was lauded as the defender of his king and his flock. Henry, a key military strategist of the civil war era, was a more controversial figure. What exercised his critics was not his military role, but his greed, his treachery and the scale of the destruction he wrought – including the burning and pillaging of his cathedral city. However, his reputation soon recovered, and he ended his days as an elder statesman of the English Church.

The final pair of chapters ('Royal Servants' and 'Crusaders for King and Christ') focuses on Angevin bishops. Chapter 7 opens with Thomas Becket, whose military activities as chancellor were recounted as evidence that 'his saintliness was seen in all his endeavours'. Geoffrey Plantagenet, illegitimate son of Henry II, combined devoted royal service with high ecclesiastical office. His preference for worldly pursuits (including fighting) over his archiepiscopal duties earned him a papal rebuke, albeit one focused on his ecclesiastical shortcomings rather than his extracurricular activities. Chapter 8 considers a further quartet of militarily active bishops. Baldwin of Canterbury and Hubert Walter fought in the Third Crusade. Philip of Dreux killed several men at Bouvines – prompting claims that he had accidentally found a mace in his hands, and used it to turn the battle in France's favour. Peter des Roches's military skill was exploited not only by successive English monarchs, but also by Gregory IX. As Nakashian observes, 'the utility of prowess in warfare was a very difficult weapon to cast aside, even for the Vicar of Christ'. Consequently, it is unsurprising that (as noted in a brief conclusion), clerical military activity remained common (and controversial) until at least the fifteenth century.

In recent decades, historians have paid much attention to the sexual behaviour of medieval clerics; rather less has been written about the military activities of the same group. Even if, as Nakashian's findings suggest, this historiographical trend

mirrors the priorities of contemporary reformers, his book presents a compelling case for the inclusion of violence in future studies of the medieval clergy. Inevitably, the case study format raises questions about the representativeness of these individuals: were the bishops considered here typical of the clergy as a whole, or even of the medieval English episcopate? It would be helpful to have a clearer distinction between various forms of military activity, and especially between planning, negotiating and actual bloodshed – if only to indicate how far medieval clerics observed the letter of the canon law, whilst blatantly flouting its spirit. Overall, however, this is an engaging volume which makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the medieval clergy and the attitudes (both idealistic and pragmatic) which shaped them.

Birkbeck, University of London

KATHERINE HARVEY

***Seals in Medieval London 1050–1300: A Catalogue.* By John A. McEwan.** London Record Society. Boydell. 2016. xvi + 192pp. £50.00.

As anyone who has worked on medieval charters can testify, the wax seals with which such documents are authenticated represent an underexploited yet a highly perishable resource. Crucial to our study of heraldry, prosopography, religious and social symbolism and many other aspects of the medieval past, they are all too vulnerable to accident or careless handling. What today is clearly legible can within seconds crumble to dust or confusion. Catalogues and drawings are often inaccurate. Terminology remains undefined, taxonomy still rudimentary. The scholarly community therefore owes an enormous debt of gratitude to John McEwan for compiling this catalogue of seals employed in and around London before c.1300. Its greatest glory resides in the photographs: 2,000 of them, covering more than 1,400 individual seals, preserving for all time an image of what remained to be seen when McEwan and his digital camera came to call. Reproduced here as roughly 2 inch squares, the photographs require a magnifying lens to be properly appreciated, and even then might have been distributed in CD form as well as in hard copy. But we should not carp. The vast majority of McEwan's seals have never previously been noticed let alone illustrated. McEwan shows what can be done with digital technology, a basic knowledge of Latin, and a willingness to act where previous scholars have offered little save bewildered regret. His catalogue should immediately be adopted as a model for other, similar collections. Local and cathedral archives should take particular note, since it is often in such repositories that the greatest, yet the most vulnerable treasures still reside. At the same time, McEwan offers lessons, negative as well as positive. Leaving aside quibbles over the ordering of materials or the transcription of Latin legends (where much can in fact be recovered or improved), there are issues of principle that in future need to be addressed. Only a pedant would fault the editor for including certain London collections (St Bartholomew's, London Metropolitan Archives, and parts of St Paul's and the Ancient Deeds series in The National Archives) at the expense of others (most notably Westminster Abbey and the British Library). However, his decision to offer descriptions of the images/motifs of the seals 'in a consistent and neutral fashion' errs too far on the side of caution. Citing Edwin Panofsky's distinction

between the 'primary' and 'secondary' meanings of medieval images, McEwan prefers generic to any more specific descriptions. What others might describe as an 'equestrian warrior with helmet, shield and sword, riding from left to right', he describes merely as 'riding man in armour'. So far so cautious. But what are we to make of a 'full-length seated man' (no. 169), which is in fact two seated men, a bishop and St Paul, displayed here on a seal of crucial political significance: that of the mayor of London c.1277? When is a 'man' (no. 132) actually the Virgin Mary with nimbus and elaborate headdress, or a 'full-length human' (no. 544, the seal of Laurence of Leicester) actually St Laurence with his gridiron? Why describe as 'half-length human' (no. 134) a figure with wings, clearly the archangel of the Annunciation (and for other such winged 'humans' see nos 570, 599, both classical gemstones)? Where a description notes merely 'beast body' (no. 227), we would surely prefer identification of Romulus and Remus suckled in the Lupercal. Where we are alerted to an 'item of apparel' (no. 233, clearly a glove) or 'a limb' (no. 310, clearly a hand), or a 'tool' (no. 668, clearly a barber's comb; no. 250, obviously a bell, and cf. no. 398 described as a 'bust'), surely both primary and secondary meanings should be expounded. The 'container' shown on the seal of James le Mazerer (no. 390) is just as certainly a mazer as the 'bird' of Juliana wife of Joseph (no. 1304) is a heron/stork with serpent/eel, cup and fleur de lys. In all of these instances, 'primary' meanings supply only a small part of the story. So too do descriptions that ignore clear iconographical prompts. The seal of Lesnes Abbey, for example (no. 110), has a 'full-length standing man in liturgical apparel'. In reality, this is St Thomas of Canterbury, flanked by two impressive pike-fish, symbolic of the Lucy family, the abbey's founders, yet in his lifetime hardly Becket's most reliable supporters. Heraldry is not expounded at all, but noted throughout merely as 'shield'. There are indexes of primary 'motifs', of manuscripts and of names, but not of seals organised according to legend (prose or verse), date or shape. This despite the appearance of some truly remarkable lozenge-shaped (nos 775, 862), triangular (no. 1288), square (no. 971) or scutiform (no. 1011) seals. A way might have been found to signal miscutting of letters and other faults in epigraphy: reversed capital 'N's, excess minims and so forth. It would be useful to know where the seal is not that of the granter of a particular charter. Specialists will also want to know of such things as Latin hexameters, double-rimmed legends (nos 61, 148, 893) or classical intaglios (a rich haul), none of which can be recovered here save by a laborious image-by-image search. McEwan has supplied both a magnificent resource and a spur to future effort. Rather than allow the best to become enemy to the good, we should salute his achievement and urge others to profit from it.

University of East Anglia

NICHOLAS VINCENT

***The Silk Industries of Medieval Paris: Artisanal Migration, Technological Innovation and Gendered Experience.* By Sharon Farmer.** University of Pennsylvania Press. 2017. ix + 354pp. £45.50.

The silk industries of medieval Paris were not particularly well known in the Middle Ages, nor have they been much discussed in modern historical scholarship. While Paris was the most populated city of western medieval Europe

and a high-profile centre of trade and consumption, the Parisian silk industries were always overshadowed by the dazzling Italian silk production centres in places such as Lucca, Florence and Venice. Therefore, a thorough analysis of these industries was required in order to describe the emergence of Parisian silk cloth production at the end of the thirteenth century, as well as to assess its trajectory in the following hundred years before its decline in the first half of the fifteenth century. As direct sources – be they extant textiles or written sources from the traders and producers – are few, other relevant sources, such as the Parisian tax assessments around the year 1300, become all the more important. Sharon Farmer explains why it is important to study the silk industries of medieval Paris, discussing arguments and ideas that are not only inspiring for aficionados of Parisian silk, but also for social and economic historians of the late Middle Ages.

Farmer's book provides a wealth of information on the silk manufacturing process. Raw silk fibre arrived in Paris from the south coast of the Caspian Sea and other distant regions. It was carried via Italy by Italian merchants to various locations north of the Alps, such as Cologne and Paris. Once there, the manufacturing process began with the twisting of several strands of raw fibre into durable yarns and moved on to the more delicate procedures, such as dyeing, before the yarn finally reached the weaving looms. The final products ranged from narrow ware and head coverings to entire cloths of considerable size and quality. While Farmer's insight into the complexity of transforming raw silk into silk cloth is interesting, what makes this book unique is not the manufacturing process itself, but its context within late medieval Paris.

Paris's silk industries were founded upon the economic power and social ambitions of the city's wealthy inhabitants. In the first chapter, Farmer portrays Paris as a consumption hub that was significantly shaped by aristocratic immigrants. The French royal family, with its multiple social, political and family links to distant regions (particularly to Italy and Spain), attracted noble families and their entourages to the city. With these nobles, fashion and money poured into the French capital. Imported silk cloth and *soie de Paris* was purchased mainly by these elite families. As diverse as the clients of the silk industries of Paris were, so too were the people involved in the business itself. Chapter 3 focuses on these immigrant mercers and silk workers. A considerable number of both the wealthy entrepreneurs and the skilled workers came to Paris from Mediterranean regions, especially from Italy. Remarkably, the tax assessments from around the year 1300 enable researchers to determine the number of male and female individuals involved in the silk industries, as well as to track down the residences of these individuals in Paris. Like people of other trades, silk mercers and workers lived near each other in some districts, especially around the rue de Lombard. The next chapters (4 and 5) are of particular interest. Firstly, they show the prominent role women played on almost all levels of the silk industry. Women had their own guilds, which specialised in such tasks as twisting, spinning and weaving. Additionally, female mercers who traded in various qualities of silk were also active in the industry. According to the tax assessments, these skilled female workers and entrepreneurs were on an equal footing with their male colleagues in terms of taxes and income. Although guilds with predominantly female workers were more restricted than male guilds, the status of female silk mercers and artisans in Paris was astonishingly high

compared to females in other trades or to those in the silk industries in Italy. The importance of the female guilds is also illustrated by the contacts between female Parisian silk workers and Jewish and Lombard moneylenders, which are described in the fifth and final chapter of the book.

The sources of this rich and innovative study are provided in five appendices which list different social and local groups and their appearance in the Parisian tax assessments. These groups include Mediterranean immigrants, mercers (arranged by neighbourhood), silk weavers, throwsters and *ouvriers de soie*. These appendices illustrate Sharon Farmer's research journey, beginning with her examination of the sources and culminating in her economic and socio-historical findings. Following this path is informative and interesting, as, from the rough compilation of names and numbers available, the author weaves a delicate web of social and economic relationships throughout Europe.

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THOMAS ERTL

***The Principality of Antioch and its Frontiers in the Twelfth Century.* By Andrew D. Buck.** Boydell. 2017. xii + 284pp. £60.00.

The principality of Antioch was the first Latin state to be established in the loose conglomeration known collectively as Outremer, the preferred term of modern historians for what were once known as the 'Crusader States'. In his monograph, Andrew Buck aims to explore and explain the principality's remarkable tenacity in the face of military and political adversity: how did this small state, on the edge of Latin Christendom, survive the geopolitical contraction, succession crises and military adversity that it faced in the twelfth century?

The scope of the book is tightly contained, focusing on the years 1130–93 for reasons both historical and historiographical: with the death of Bohemond II in 1130, the foundation period of the principality can be said to be complete; and, by choosing this date, Buck avoids overlap with Thomas Asbridge's *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (2000). The terminus is taken to represent a turning point in the principality's history, when Bohemond III was taken captive; from this point, says Buck, a separate treatment is required. The content is similarly controlled: although undoubtedly of interest to historians of the crusading movement, this is a book about Outremer, and the crusader expeditions of the twelfth century feature only when they impinge directly on the Antiochene context. For example, the tumultuous events of the Third Crusade, which had such significant ramifications for the Kingdom of Jerusalem, make only a passing appearance in this book, since Antiochene involvement in the military and diplomatic action of that expedition was very limited.

Chapter 1 provides a useful geopolitical orientation focused on the changing borders of the state. Buck takes a topographical approach, focusing on the fortunes of key 'pressure points' such as Harim, which watched over the main road to Antioch through the Jabal Talat hills, and changed hands many times in the period under study. This section is well supported by detailed maps, although a focused sketch of the geography and terrain of the region might

have fully exploited the topographical angle and an outline of the foundation period of the principality could have proven useful for the uninitiated, even though this falls with the purview of Asbridge's work. Chapter 2 turns to a detailed chronology of the rulers of the principality, while chapters 3–5 also treat its internal mechanisms of power and society: central governance, military service, lordship and intercultural relations. A key issue is Buck's deconstruction of princely authority in the state, and herein lies a major contribution to the historiography of Antioch. This was no top-down 'feudal' state, with the prince in ultimate control; indeed, Buck challenges the traditional historiography of Claude Cahen in this regard. Instead, he explores the many checks on the power of the prince and constructs an understanding of the workings of the state which weighs fairly the interplay of key players including the officers of state, the local noble families and the Latin Church, all underpinned by particularly Antiochene implementations of administration, inheritance patterns and patterns of warfare. Chapters 6–7 turn outwards, exploring Antioch's relations with Byzantium and the other Latin states of Outremer. Buck paints a particularly nuanced picture of relations between Antioch and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, wherein the Antiochenes were prepared to accept a certain level of military assistance but were intolerant of political meddling. The answer to the question of Antioch's endurance in the twelfth century is revealed in the sheer flexibility of the state: able to adapt militarily and politically in response to changing threats and opportunities from outside its borders, and to internal pressures such as the succession crisis of 1149.

A recurrent theme in the book is that of the frontier: both the frontiers of Antioch and the principality as a frontier state. These are explored in various ways; the survival of the state despite the contraction of its borders is set up in chapter 1 and permeates the following chapters. How precarious the fortunes of a medieval frontier state on the edge of Latin Christendom could be is seen in the alarming regularity with which Antioch lost its rulers to captivity or death in battle, the tendency of its aristocracy not to travel, the relationship between ruler and subjects, and the unusual patterns of succession and military service seen in the principality. Comparisons are drawn with other regions, the Welsh Marches and Iberia featuring prominently. Here, direct engagement with the frontier as a theoretical concept could push Buck's interpretation further: while the comparative aspect is highly revealing and situates Antioch in a pan-European context (particularly important since Outremer is often viewed as somewhat peripheral to the rest of medieval Christendom), there are differences of magnitude and type to be drawn out between Antioch, Iberia, England and Wales. For instance, since the term frontier often carries connotations of expansion, the Antiochene context is intriguing: a bulwark of Frankish authority on the edge of Latin Christendom, experiencing the retreat of that confessional and political frontier. Beyond these comparisons, Buck's most explicit signal to the theme of frontier is in the material of chapter 5 ('A Frontier Society? The Nature of Intercultural Relations'). The borders of Antioch represented the frontier of Latin Christendom only on a map, since the population included many confessions and denominations, and the boundaries of the Latin patriarchate of Antioch were not a match for those of the political state. Buck's answer to the rhetorical question posed is that the 'messy [and] complicated' (p. 188) nature of intercultural relations within the principality arise from its being a frontier

society, thus conveying an interpretation of Antioch as a soft frontier, where interchange was as important as maintaining its borders.

In conclusion, this book is a valuable addition to the body of work on Outremer, and does important work in focusing attention on Antioch in its own right and not as an adjunct to the other Frankish states in the Latin East. Buck's revision of the traditional historiography is thoughtfully done and based on solid use of the source base. This book will find a ready audience amongst students and researchers of the eastern Mediterranean and frontier societies as well as of the Crusades and the political culture of the central Middle Ages.

University of Leeds

JOANNA PHILLIPS

***Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258–1267.* Edited by Adrian Jobson.** Boydell. 2016. xiii + 284pp. £60.00.

This welcome collection of essays demonstrates the vitality of current research on the tumultuous years from 1258, when reform led to civil war and the death of Simon de Montfort. A wide-ranging overview of the historiography of the period by Christopher Tilley shows how interest in these years has waxed and waned since the seventeenth century. The past thirty years have been particularly productive, thanks to scholars such as David Carpenter and John Maddicott. In contrast to some other periods, controversy has been limited; where there has been disagreement, it has been polite and productive.

The essays in this book advance understanding of both national and local affairs. David Carpenter shows how little information about the reform process of 1258 was made public; anxious not to reveal the way in which Henry III was being coerced, the reformers played their cards cautiously, not revealing their full radicalism. Reform was made to look consensual. In 1261 the king recovered power. H. W. Ridgeway examines Henry's success, suggesting that the key lay in relationships at the highest level, within the royal family and between the earls, and arguing that support for reform in the shires was limited. The sympathy of historians normally lies with reformers, but Nick Barratt shows that in this period they did little to tackle the management of royal finances. Structural weaknesses were not addressed. Royal household expenditure was not cut back significantly, and no permanent new sources of revenue were found. The role of women in politics can be difficult to tease out, but Louise J. Wilkinson presents a persuasive picture. She demonstrates the way in which noblewomen resented Henry III's methods of rule, and convincingly works out the role played by some, notably Maud, widow of Richard earl of Gloucester, during the political turmoil of the mid-1260s. Sophie Ambler looks at the bishops who supported the Montfortian cause, of whom the most notable was Walter de Cantilupe of Hereford. She suggests that Montfort's personal charisma drew them to his cause, and shows how they helped to publicise it. The settlement of England after the defeat of de Montfort posed immense problems. Benjamin L. Wild provides a complex analysis of the way in which the 1267 Dictum of Kenilworth reflected Henry III's concepts of kingship, arguing that although it was inspired by papal, imperial and Capetian theories, it was an expression of the king's own views. He stresses the importance for the king of royal ceremonial and rhetoric, though he also suggests

that this had limited success in influencing his subjects. Lars Kjær examines the way in which the period is treated by two chroniclers, one pro-baronial, one royalist. The Dunstable Annals and Thomas Wykes show how contemporaries interpreted the complex events of this period. Where Dunstable saw the reformers as re-establishing the right order of government, Wykes used his chronicle to advocate strong kingship.

The workings of the reform movement at a local level provide the book with a major theme. Tony Moore examines its impact on local administration, an important factor in winning the support of lesser landholders. Such men are studied by Mario Fernandez, in a detailed examination of the role of Warwickshire knights. While idealism had its part to play in determining their attitude, the loyalties formed by locality, and links to local magnates, were crucial. He shows that indebtedness was not a significant element driving men to oppose the crown. The Berkshire assize roll for 1267 enables Peter Coss to analyse the role of retainers and the sub-retinues that made them up. The roll casts light on the formation of the rebel garrison at Windsor, and also demonstrates the degree of robbery and intimidation that characterised the period. Urban issues are the subject of two papers. Detailed study of the careers of individual aldermen and others in John A. McEwan's essay brings out the complexity of London politics, while Andrew H. Hershey shows how the justiciar's court aided the lesser men of Grimsby in their struggle with the local oligarchs. Fergus Oates takes a regional approach, looking at the civil war of 1264–5 in the north, and analysing the complex political relationships of the northern magnates. His study demonstrates the continued military importance of the major castles of the region, a significant royalist asset. The maritime aspects of the struggles have been neglected by historians in the past, perhaps because there were no major battles at sea. However, Adrian Jobson's essay provides a valuable corrective, showing that there was a concern on all sides to ensure that the coasts were properly defended. Control of the Cinque Ports was especially important.

This is a very welcome book. It both opens up neglected topics, and provides fresh analysis of others. It brings out the importance of local and regional studies, and provides valuable new perspectives on a wide range of topics, from royal finance to the political significance of noble women. The editor is to be congratulated on a fine volume.

Durham University

MICHAEL PRESTWICH

***Scotland's Second War of Independence, 1332–1357.* By Iain A. MacInnes.** Boydell Press. 2016. xiii + 275pp. £60.00.

The title of Iain MacInnes's book is perhaps a bit of a misnomer. In the first place, it might equally have been called *Scotland's Second Civil War*, for as MacInnes rightly emphasises, this was in large part a conflict between rival Scottish factions (even more so than the 'First War of Independence' of 1296 to 1328). But more to the point, the book is much more tightly focused than its title suggests; what MacInnes actually provides is a detailed examination of how the 'Bruce Scots' (as he terms the pro-David Bruce faction) conducted their wars against Edward Balliol and the English. His analysis offers a decidedly

upbeat reassessment; he argues that – the catastrophic battlefield defeats of Dupplin Moor, Halidon Hill and Neville's Cross notwithstanding – the Bruce Scots' war effort was 'a well-organised and more often than not, efficient operation' (p. 239).

The book's historiographical introduction is followed by a chapter-long overview of the course of Anglo-Scottish warfare in the period, where MacInnes's maximalist view of the military effectiveness of the Bruce Scots is set out. Next comes a chapter on the Scottish organisation of war (including a brief section on naval forces, an aspect of Anglo-Scottish warfare which has been rather neglected). Here, MacInnes is somewhat hampered by a lack of evidence. Scottish government was decentralised and un-bureaucratic – characteristics which the state of civil war served to heighten; consequently, very few records relating to the organisation of war were ever produced, let alone still survive. For historians of the English armies which fought against the Bruce Scots, the bureaucracy of fourteenth-century English government has left ample records for the detailed analysis of individual English retinues; by contrast, as MacInnes ruefully points out, virtually the entirety of the evidence for Scottish war retinues in this period amounts to a mere handful of incidental references, also in English records. It would be nice to know how the Scottish army which marched to defeat at Neville's Cross in 1346 differed from that which had won Bannockburn thirty-two years before; but sadly, the evidence is just too scanty to provide a clear picture. Nevertheless, MacInnes does a meticulous job of teasing out such evidence as there is, without pushing beyond its limits. This enables him to sketch out how Scottish troops were raised, how they were equipped, and how they – or rather, a few of them – were paid. The broad thrust of his argument is that, like the English, Bruce and his magnate supporters relied on a core of increasingly 'professional' soldiers to man their armies.

Given that the lack of evidence precludes a detailed prosopographical analysis of Scottish armies, MacInnes opts to examine their leaders instead, offering a series of 'military biographies' of the leading Scottish magnates. If the result is slightly repetitive, this is a sensible and revealing approach given the vital role played by the nobility in organising the Bruce Scots' war effort, particularly as Bruce himself was absent for much of the period, either in exile or in captivity. There is a separate section on the Disinherited/Balliol leaders – a distinction that is arguably somewhat moot, given that they included men 'who were also at various times important figures in the Bruce camp' (p. 152), while indeed virtually all of the Bruce party leaders entered the English allegiance at some point in this period. Nevertheless, this does enable a more detailed examination of figures lower down the social scale (those who, in an English context, might be termed the gentry), for, by virtue of their allegiance, they feature in English records.

A chapter on the conduct of warfare comes next, including a detailed analysis of the use of deliberate devastation as a tactic by armies on both sides. Though this is a well-worn path, MacInnes adds nuance to the existing picture, demonstrating that ravaging was often carefully and specifically targeted, for very calculated and particular strategic and political effect. However, it might equally be argued that one of the driving forces behind raiding by the Bruce Scots, particularly into England in the early 1340s, was the emergence of a body of Scots who made their living by plunder. MacInnes also discusses the routinely brutal treatment of non-combatants, and the rather better treatment of prisoners

of war, concluding with the intriguing suggestion that far from deterring further military service, capture by the enemy 'may well have encouraged men to continue their wartime careers in an attempt to make good their debts' (p. 197). The final chapter, one of the most interesting parts of the book, follows on from this with an analysis of perceptions of warfare, with thoughtful discussion of concepts such as chivalry, bravery, honour and religion, and an illuminating examination of how the opposing combatants regarded each other.

In conclusion, MacInnes's assessment of the effectiveness of the Bruce party could be seen as a touch overgenerous – after all, it was a Scottish memorandum of 1364 that suggested 'we are so feeble in power and strength that we are quite unable to resist [the English] in battle'; and it was a Scottish chronicler, Andrew Wyntoun, who would comment that it was lucky for the Scots that Edward III invaded France instead of continuing his war in Scotland (see: 'A Question about the Succession, 1364', (ed. A. A. M. Duncan), in *Scottish History Society Miscellany XII*, Scottish History Society, 5th series vii (1994), p. 31; *The Original Chronicle of Andrew of Wyntoun*, ed. F. J. Amours, Scottish Text Society, 6 vols (1903–14), pp. vi, 90). But overall, this is an engaging, clearly written and vigorously argued work; and while some might take issue with some of the particular emphases of MacInnes's argument, the book is an invaluable and thought-provoking addition to the growing body of work on the Anglo-Scottish wars, providing an insightful perspective from the Scottish side, and covering a period which remains comparatively neglected. It will be of great interest to all scholars of late medieval warfare.

University of Southampton

ANDY KING

Early Modern

***The Politics of Counsel in England and Scotland, 1286–1707*. Edited by Jacqueline Rose.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xii + 303pp. £70.00.

'Counsel' was a much-discussed political concept in the late medieval and early modern periods. Rulers wanted good counsel, political rivals denounced bad counsel, and rebels insisted that their quarrel was not with the king, only with his evil counsellors. This book marks an important advance in understanding the topic of 'counsel'.

Counsel is defined as an activity, the giving of advice; it is distinct from a 'council' as an institution. Counsel could be given in institutional councils, but also in other contexts. And institutional councils, though they often offered counsel to monarchs, sometimes did other things too, notably the taking of corporate decisions. Several contributors to the present book inevitably find themselves discussing 'councils' as well as 'counsel', but this book is valuable in bringing out the distinction.

The book has been well planned, with thirteen substantive chapters and a very long and valuable introduction. There is extensive cross-referencing, and evidence of discussion among contributors at the workshops that preceded the book. The editor, Jacqueline Rose, contributes two chapters as well as the introduction; one-third of the text is her work. There are seven chapters on England, four on

Scotland, one on Anglo-Scottish union, and one on Virginia. There is most detail on the period from about 1420 to 1660.

Five chapters tackle particularly large and ambitious topics. Michael Brown and John Watts cover several centuries of counsel in late medieval Scotland and England respectively. Richard Rex surveys the reign of Henry VIII, focusing on the crucial 1530s (a decade also discussed by Watts). Susan Doran surveys the reign of Elizabeth I, in a wide-ranging chapter that can serve as an introduction to political processes in the reign. Alan MacDonald surveys Scotland between 1603 and 1638, in a masterly review of various debates on how Scotland was governed after the union of crowns. All these chapters carry a wealth of reference notes that well convey the state of current scholarship. The fifth of the ambitious chapters, one of those by Jacqueline Rose, tackles the seventeenth-century Anglo-Scottish union; this is more of a preliminary sketch than a full survey, but her discussion of the rarity of 'British' counsel and councils is still worthwhile.

The remaining chapters tend to be narrower in focus, thus enabling more detail to emerge on specific venues for counsel or types of counsel. Jeremy Catto discusses the earliest surviving written memoranda of counsel, for early fifteenth-century England. Written in businesslike vernacular, these memoranda echo the spoken word. Eliza Hartrich, in the same period, examines the giving of counsel locally in urban councils. These bodies are usually understood as executive institutions, but she shows that urban councils could also counsel the mayor. Claire Hawes focuses closely on a single political poem from fifteenth-century Scotland, 'The Harp', which, she argues plausibly, articulates criticism of James III. Unfortunately her readings are often forced and implausible; the phrase 'tak tent', for instance, simply means 'take heed', and has nothing to do with 'the act of rent collection' (p. 128). Paulina Kewes discusses representations of 'counsel' in early Elizabethan drama, arguing that plays often depicted instances of bad or failed counsel – salutary warnings to monarch and counsellors alike. Alexander Haskell visits the early Virginia colony, focusing on its institutional councils though also discussing 'counsel'. He argues that formal councils, both in London and in the colony, helped to provide stability and legitimacy in preserving the colonists' privileges. Roger Mason looks at political thought in Scotland before and during the Scottish Revolution, focusing on three writers – David Hume of Godscroft, William Drummond of Hawthornden and Sir James Balfour of Denmilne – who can be placed on a spectrum from radical (Hume) to conservative (Drummond), but who all drew on ideas of 'aristocratic conciliarism'. Thus this is more about the theory than the practice of counsel. Finally, Jacqueline Rose looks at royalist ideas of counsel during the English Revolution, using Sir Edward Hyde as a case study and arguing that he and his colleagues were influenced by the councillor's oath that they had taken.

This book thus gives political historians much to ponder. It is particularly thought-provoking to see counsel placed, as it often is here, in a broader context. One impression that it gives is that counsel, as a process, was adaptable, multifarious, omnipresent even – but, by the same token, hard to place in any historical scheme of linear development. Institutional councils certainly developed over time, from the much-discussed English privy council to the Board of Trade, but counsel could be offered in all these contexts and more. Rose does suggest one linear development at the end of the period, with the rise of 'lobbying', which 'became a way in which centre, localities and colonies related

to each other in the eighteenth-century state' (p. 29). Lobbying, considered as advice openly offered by interest groups, is thus seen as superseding the advice offered by counsellors. Perhaps this is because counsellors' advice is presumed to have been disinterested, or at least to have been presented as disinterested. Well, maybe. Counsel here may need to be placed in the context of the debate on the public sphere, which receives little attention in the book. Then there is the issue of propaganda – could this be related to counsel? Some contributors, notably Kewes, deal with topics akin to propaganda. Then, questions of interest groups can lead on to the issue of representation (a parliamentary rather than conciliar concept). It is one of the indirect achievements of this book to show that historians interested in any of these topics should pay attention to the role of counsel.

University of Edinburgh

JULIAN GOODARE

***Martial Law and English Laws, c.1500–1700.* By John M. Collins.** Cambridge University Press. 2016. xiv + 319pp. £64.99.

What exactly is 'martial law'? Not the least merit of this ambitious and expansive study is its demonstration that even the etymology cannot be taken for granted. Contrary to my assumption that 'martial' is simply derived from the Roman god of war (hence *lex martialis*), it may rather have referred originally to the laws and customs enforced by constables and marshals of the king's armies (pp. 13–17), or as they came to be known in the early sixteenth century, the laws of the marshal (p. 27). Hence Fluellen's cry in Act IV of Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1600), 'Let his necke answer for it, | If there be any marshals lawe in the World'. Indeed 'English clerks never used *lex martialis* in legal documents like commissions that delegated martial law to Crown servants' (pp. 31–2).

Surveying the development of doctrines, jurisdictions and procedures applied to or by military forces and the crown or executive in times of war and civil unrest, over two very long centuries, both within and beyond England's shores, Professor Collins aims to unsettle more than etymological presuppositions. He seeks to show that, far from denoting an extra-legal or lawless regime reflecting the arbitrary will of a sovereign or military commander, martial law was just one among many early modern English laws. In this regard he queries Matthew Hale's dictum that martial law was 'something indulged, rather than allowed, as a Law', and William Blackstone's approbatory comments thereon. For according to Collins, Hale actually classed martial law with other laws received in England (e.g. church and Roman civil law), as distinct from England's own common law, while Blackstone was simply mistaken in asserting that martial law was 'entirely arbitrary in its decisions' (pp. 3, 251–3). While Hale did hold that martial law should be confined to times of war, this qualification was consistent with the jurisdictional pluralism characteristic of the early modern state.

The case for martial law as genuine law, rather than the rejection or suspension of legality, is built up over seven substantive chapters. The first three cover the 'jurisprudence of terror' devised to discipline soldiers and punish rebels (very broadly defined) in England and English armies, garrisons and plantations. In this regard Ireland was particularly important; there proceedings

by commissioners empowered to exercise summary martial law were directed during the 1570s and later against vagrants, beggars, ‘anyone wearing Irish dress, who did not possess a passport, and who was travelling at night unaccompanied’ (p. 65). Yet even in Elizabethan London the privy council commissioned provosts with martial law powers to detain apprentices, vagrants and masterless men, who faced summary execution if they resisted arrest. From the 1580s onwards martial law codes and procedure in armies and garrisons became increasingly elaborate, with councils of war comprising five to twenty officers replacing a single marshal, judge advocate or court martial as the deliberative tribunal. By the late seventeenth century each English regiment seems to have retained a ‘solicitor’, whose duties purportedly included the provision of legal advice to its council of war, although it is admitted that ‘we know little about these regimental courts-martial’ (p. 110).

The remaining four chapters cover aspects of martial law in the seventeenth century and beyond, with particular attention to parliament’s role in both confining and expanding its exercise. While the Petition of Right famously barred martial law at times when the law courts were open and jury trials available, ‘[w]hat had been bound by parliament in 1628 became unbound by the parliaments of the 1640s and 1650s’ (p. 205). During the mid-century civil wars both sides considerably extended the use of martial law. The High Courts of Justice which operated under the Commonwealth and Protectorate derived some procedural features, including majority verdicts, from garrison courts martial, as also from specific enactments giving them jurisdiction over a newly defined range of treasons, with power to appropriate the property of those convicted. Despite a reaction in 1660 to this extension of martial law, it continued to be employed and on occasion abused by colonial governors and garrison commanders outside England, subject to monitoring and control by their metropolitan superiors. But the greatest boost to martial law came after the Glorious Revolution had tilted the constitutional balance in parliament’s favour, with the Mutiny Act (1689), which placed enlisted soldiers firmly under martial law, irrespective of the ‘Usuall Formes of Law’, and the Riot Act (1715), whereby government officials gained summary authority comparable to the powers exercised by the provost marshals of late Tudor London. So it was parliamentary actions in the post-1688 political framework that enabled martial law to be employed more extensively in the eighteenth than the seventeenth century.

This summary does little justice to a dense, exhaustively researched and tightly argued exposition, a fine work of scholarship which ranges far more widely in both chronological and geographical terms than its published title might suggest. Collins may not convince all legal historians that martial law was simply another one of England’s many laws, partly because he has little to say about the role of professional lawyers in its operation, as distinct from their criticisms of its abuses, while his claim that by the late seventeenth century courts martial followed ‘*fairly normal legal procedures*’ (p. 28; italics added) does seem to beg several questions. Yet his book is plainly destined to become the standard reference on a subject too often avoided or overlooked by previous scholars. It is therefore unfortunate that his English publishers have allowed some lax copy-editing – including US spellings – e.g. ‘capital offense’ (p. 143), and inappropriate scare quotes – ‘“leveller movement”’ (p. 173) – to disfigure Collins’s prose. On the other hand, the dust-jacket illustration from the Luttrell Psalter of the execution

of Thomas, earl of Lancaster in 1322, is both visually compelling and, despite its early date, entirely apposite, for reasons helpfully outlined in the author's prologue.

University of Adelaide

WILFRID PREST

***Merchants and Explorers: Roger Barlow, Sebastian Cabot, and Networks of Atlantic Exchange, 1500–1560.* By Heather Dalton.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xiii + 241pp, £50.00.

This book is a carefully researched examination of early English exploration and exchange in the Atlantic as viewed through the career of Roger Barlow (c.1483–1553), a figure whose importance in the development of England's early involvement in Atlantic exchange is explored in detail in this welcome and informative study.

Barlow, merchant and cosmographer, was associated early in his career with the Spanish trade and English merchants there, and later became connected with Bristol's trading community and with political, commercial and religious activities in South Wales. Among his other achievements, he accompanied Sebastian Cabot to South America on his 1526 voyage. Subsequently, he settled briefly in Bristol, where he arrived two decades before Cabot himself returned to England. There Barlow married into the family of a prominent overseas merchant and became directly active himself in the city's overseas trade, which at this period had centred on the Iberian Peninsula. Within a few years, however, he moved to Pembrokeshire, where he joined his brother William in leasing the dissolved commandery at Slebach of the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem. He remained in Wales for the remainder of his life, using Slebach as his base for activities in local office, including as a Justice of the Peace, without abandoning his trading connections and interests. In 1541, in keeping with his long-standing interest in cosmography, exploration and navigation, he presented Henry VIII with his *Brief Summe of Geographie*, mainly a translation of Martin Fernández de Enciso's *Suma de geographia* (1519). Along with it, however, he provided the king with up-to-date navigational tables, his own descriptions of America, a map, and an adaptation of the proposal to establish a trade route to the East Indies via a north-west passage that he had made earlier with Robert Thorne the younger of Bristol. For this work alone, he must be considered an important figure in the making of what Dalton calls 'networks of Atlantic exchange'.

Dalton details Barlow's extensive connections in the world of early Tudor England's affairs, starting with the English merchants in Spain, many of them Bristolians, and then moving to Bristol and finally to Wales. Among the most important of those relationships, especially after the completion of his voyage with Cabot, were with his siblings, John, William and Thomas. All three were important clergymen, the first two with close links to Anne Boleyn and Thomas Cromwell. All three also came under the influence of religious reform during the latter years of Henry VIII's reign. William rose the highest, becoming bishop of St Asaph in 1536 shortly before being transferred to St David's and from thence to Bath and Wells in 1548. At the accession of Mary I, he was committed to the Tower, recanted and fled to Emden. Soon after returning to England at the

accession of Elizabeth I, he became bishop of Chichester, a post he held until his death in 1568. John, who served in Anne Boleyn's household, rose eventually to be dean of Worcester. He was deprived in 1554. Thomas, who shared with Roger in the purchase of Slebach, was the youngest of the three. He eventually became a prebendary of St David's. While he too held reformist views, he continued in possession of his ecclesiastical posts until his death in 1558. A layman, Roger has left less evidence of his religious outlook. He died in 1553, just a month after Mary I's accession to the throne. Dalton says his 'will provides no clear evidence for his religious position'. Nevertheless, the fact that 'he simply bequeathed his soul to God and Jesus Christ and asked for his burial "without superstitious worldly pomp"' (p. 185) strongly suggests he joined his brothers in their reformist convictions. This conclusion opens some questions about whether or in what ways Roger's activities, not just as a merchant but as a cosmographer, might spring from his religious beliefs and aspirations or from the rivalries with Charles V and his empire generated in the context of the Reformation. However, this is not a subject about which Dalton's treatment of Barlow's life and connections offers much guidance.

Dalton's focus is on 'networks'. In keeping with this theme, she speaks several times of figures who 'liaised' with one another. As a verb, 'liaise' derives from 'liaison', not in common use in English until the early nineteenth century. Its meaning in context is ambiguous, since it can refer to an intimate personal relationship, including illicit intimacy between a man and a woman, but also to instrumental cooperation in practical affairs between two individuals or organisations who act in close communication with one another. A similar ambiguity arises in Dalton's frequent discussion of the 'networks' themselves. Sometimes she speaks of 'close-knit trading networks' (p. 25), which appear to refer to the multi-faceted 'bonds of cooperation' and 'trust', based on marriage and 'family structures' (p. 6), that helped create an 'entangled ... world' (p. 4) of 'community' (pp. 5, 39), 'spheres of interaction' (p. 5) and 'trading circles' (p. 150) in the Atlantic world. Elsewhere, however, she recognises the existence of 'a loose network of communication' spanning a portion of this large region (p. 103).

Participants in circles, spheres and communities, just like the members of particular families, recognise boundaries that distinguish them from outsiders. They often look inward to uphold and strengthen the links and bonds giving them stability. They also operate across multiple and overlapping realms, markets not always among them. However, in the concept of a 'trading network', in the sense implied, networks are interconnected groups or chains of affiliated persons or organisations pursuing their particular advantage or profit in a restricted realm through reciprocal material exchanges. The ties holding them together are functional, and sometimes unidimensional. They also are, or can be, open-ended, looking outward to add participants and expand into new markets. As such, according to network theorists, the ties holding them together are 'weak' and can quickly dissolve when they achieve their goal or otherwise no longer have a *raison d'être*. But, just for this reason, they also allow for the extension of interests, activities and methods into new domains (M. S. Granovetter, 'The strength of weak ties', *American Journal of Sociology*, 78/6 (1973), pp. 1360–80). In Dalton's treatment, the strong ties that sustained Barlow in his activities, within which he interacted with 'Sebastian Cabot and other merchant families' (p. 5), were with his immediate kin and 'close colleagues' like Robert Thorne the younger

and his brother Nicholas (p. 29). Hence, instead of relying primarily on open-ended forms of network, he moved within the orbit of allegiances, dependencies and trust built on family, friendship, patronage and business ties sustained over long periods. This model, already apparent in the English merchant community in Seville where Barlow got his beginning, dominated English trade relations with continental markets in the medieval and early modern periods and was followed for a time in the Atlantic before the very different trading conditions that emerged there reduced the utility of the traditional forms. Dalton's account does much to illuminate this feature of Barlow's long and successful career, without however offering much insight into the limitations that the model posed in coming to terms with new economic conditions that were already developing in the Atlantic world of his day.

In her 'Introduction', Dalton says the 'aim' of her 'book is to lift Roger Barlow from obscurity' (p. 4). She has done so admirably and all students of the early history of the Atlantic world will benefit from her labours.

Reed College

DAVID HARRIS SACKS

***How Shakespeare Put Politics on the Stage: Power and Succession in the History Plays.* By Peter Lake. Yale University Press. 2016. xv + 666pp. £25.00.**

Peter Lake's book is intended as a work of history not literary criticism. His declared intention is to use Shakespeare's history plays to reconstruct the 'political imaginary' of the Elizabethan *fin de siècle*, thereby examining what and how contemporaries thought about political issues such as succession, tyranny and resistance. This is of course not a novel project: Shakespeare has frequently been mined for similar purposes, but rarely if ever has a scholar written at such length (600 pages) and with so many ideas about how Shakespeare put politics on the stage.

In many ways, this book is a companion piece to the recently published *Bad Queen Bess?*. There Lake wrote about what he calls the 'secret histories', the alternative narratives about the *arcana imperii* (the mysteries of state) that members of Elizabeth's Protestant regime and its Catholic opponents devised to influence 'various publics'. Here Lake argues that, like the secret histories of pamphlet literature, Shakespeare's plays addressed 'the great what ifs and what next of his day' (p. 49) before audiences who were both socially and ideologically heterogeneous and who would therefore take home different readings of the drama. Shakespeare's 'serial multivocality' (which we also experience today), declares Lake, was a self-conscious decision that was 'intensely political'. The playwright was deliberately exploiting the nature of Elizabethan censorship, which allowed writers to get away with a great deal in publications and performance so long as they avoided 'direct allusion or derision'. History plays offered Shakespeare even greater opportunities for political comment without fear of punishment since they were supposedly about the past but could nonetheless be a vehicle for discussing sensitive contemporary political issues. His purpose, though, was not polemical but intellectual and commercial, the aim being both to explore the nature of politics and to maximise the appeal and reach of the plays.

After a long introduction in which he explains his methodology, adumbrates the Elizabethan uses of history, reruns issues covered in *Bad Queen Bess?* and discusses the nature of censorship, Lake turns to the history plays themselves, analysing them in chronological order and reading them alongside political pamphlets and other dramatic works within the context of the political circumstances of the day. In *Bad Queen Bess?* he shows how texts spoke to each other at specific moments of time, but here his argument is not that the different texts were reacting to each other; as he readily admits, there is no evidence that Shakespeare read any of the so-called secret histories. Lake's purpose, instead, is to show that the history plays raised similar issues and consequently reveal the same disenchantment and disaffection with the Elizabethan Protestant state. Historians have already stripped away the myth of Gloriana, and 'dissing' Elizabeth has been a popular scholarly sport for two decades or more, but Lake obviously believes there is still more to do.

Part of the reason for the length of the book is that Lake relates the plots of the plays and with extensive quotes. This can be tedious, and the book really only comes to life when he adds his own interpretations, which are fresh and insightful. However, they are also highly speculative. As Lake acknowledges in the case of *Titus Andronicus*, there is nothing in the play to compel some of his readings but neither is there anything to rule them out. The same is true of his thinking about other plays. Furthermore, leaving aside internal evidence, little is known about audiences' actual responses to the plays.

Nonetheless, Lake's own readings are stimulating. It is impossible to do justice to their richness, but I will take as examples his discussions of *Richard III* and *Julius Caesar*. After explaining how the former takes audiences into the world of *The Treatise of Treasons* and *Leicester's Commonwealth*, Lake shows how it also raises questions about the nature of Calvinist reprobation and even seems to conform to late Elizabethan anti-puritan satire. While everyone knows that the play has something to say about the succession, Lake suggests that the meaning was not fixed but dependent on who in the heterodox audience was watching it. Many contemporary Protestants might have interpreted the play's end as a warning against Catholics, especially those who were hispanophiles. Catholic spectators, on the other hand, would have understood the reference to traitors in the state to be the clique of Machiavels, then in power, and might even have associated the hunchbacked Richard with Robert Cecil, who was likewise disfigured with a hump. Still others might possibly have read into the play a critique of Elizabeth, whose failure to deal with the succession could well lead to 'bloody wars again'.

Lake begins by reading *Julius Caesar* against *Henry V*, as 'twinning meditations' on the possibilities and limitations of great men in shaping history at a time when the earl of Essex was campaigning in Ireland. For Lake, the Roman play does not just raise the issues related to tyranny, resistance and political action, but forces its audience and readership to question the whole Essexian project, its honour code and classical values. 'By coming to a sense of why men like Caesar and Brutus were doomed to fail', the 'most alert' playgoers might consider how the past could provide lessons for their present concerns and help them avoid the same mistakes.

Overall, Lake tells historians little that is new about the 1590s, since we are already familiar with the dark side of late Elizabethan political life, the

importance of the succession issue, and the thinking of the Essex circle. However, Lake's multiple perspectives on Shakespeare's plays are exciting. We shall never know if contemporary audiences experienced the history plays in any of the ways Lake suggests, but next time I plan to see one of them, I'll definitely read his book again.

University of Oxford

SUSAN DORAN

Royal Favouritism and the Governing Elite of the Spanish Monarchy, 1640–1665. By Alistair Malcolm. Oxford University Press. 2017. xiii + 305pp. £65.00.

Voices of Conscience: Royal Confessors and Political Counsel in Seventeenth-Century France and Spain. By Nicole Reinhardt. Oxford University Press. 2016. xviii + 419pp. £75.00.

Given the challenges that they faced, seventeenth-century Spanish and French monarchs were sorely in need of good advice. They did not have to look far to find it: from information gleaned in passing conversations, to the more formal conciliar gatherings around the king, to the advice provided by estates and other assemblies. Whether engaged in an intense and demanding personal rule, or governing through a minister-favourite, monarchs both needed to make effective decisions and to ensure that their consciences were fully satisfied of the rectitude of those determinations. If this might leave rulers in a potentially difficult position, morally speaking, their advisers were no better-off. As two important new books show, both royal confessors and minister-favourites played vital political roles, especially in seventeenth-century Spain, but could often suffer from the way in which changing expectations of good government undermined their contributions.

Nicole Reinhardt's comprehensive account of the theory and practice of counsel by royal confessors in seventeenth-century France and Spain charts the institutional and conceptual frameworks in which counsel of conscience took place, and how they altered as the royal conscience became 'privatized'. Her impressively wide-ranging book contrasts the external, institutionalised, Spanish system in which, at the start of the century, the royal confessor was integrated into polysynodial councils, with that of the French system in which counsel of the king's conscience was part of the *arcana* of a sacral monarchy. Although sharply distinct in practice – and at times rhetorically and polemically distanced from one another – there was sometimes, as Reinhardt shows, contact and exchange between the French and Spanish systems, especially in the early eighteenth century. (The more institutionalised and externalised Spanish framework also created an archival paper trail that permits closer inspection of the practices and content of counsel, which naturally means that some parts of the book focus more exclusively on Spain.)

Spanish confessors advised on ecclesiastical appointments. But they were far from confined to religious questions. The need to make just decisions affected war and taxation, especially given the increasing burden on the seventeenth-century state due to sustained warfare in multiple theatres. The idea of probabilism, made popular by the influential work of Martín de Azpilcueta (Navarro), initially provided a useful solution, in making it morally acceptable to follow a course

of action endorsed by at least one authority, even if this was the minority view. Yet this created its own tensions, as it seemingly endorsed almost any action. As Reinhardt convincingly demonstrates, Azpilcueta's apparently unsystematic treatise was in fact closely engaged with the concerns of Spanish politics. But Azpilcueta's refusal to enter royal service highlighted the almost unsustainably paradoxical position of the confessor. As a critic of royal sins, he had to stand apart from the court, and might be sidelined as one who lacked the competence to deal with questions of state. If he had the ability to engage in these affairs, he was at risk of being denounced as an aulicist, one corrupted by the court. This ambiguous position granted royal confessors great advantages as counsellors of conscience in c.1600; a century later, it seemed both impossible and undesirable.

Confessors competed with other counsellors. In France, the Sorbonne, *parlements* and the assembly of the clergy claimed to counsel the king's conscience. Another prominent group of advisers were the minister-favourites with whom, Reinhardt argues, confessors were more often in conflict than in agreement (albeit there was agreement at times). Given Richelieu's care in choosing the royal confessor, the opposition from Nicholas Caussin in 1637 to the policy of allying with Protestant powers and the exile of Marie de Medici came as a 'nasty surprise' (p. 318). As section IV of *Voices of Conscience* strikingly shows, the political languages and examples (prophetic, Stoic and ecclesiastical-historical) that could be used to justify giving counsel could also provide a way for men like the exiled Caussin and those consoling them, like the Carmelite José Andrés Capero Agramunt, writing to the disgraced confessor Tomás Carbonell, to think through their own downfall. Nevertheless, the fall of one confessor did not immediately invalidate the whole system. Only the combination of intellectual change, the entanglement of confessors with the factionalised and dysfunctional politics of Charles II's reign, and the association of Louis XIV's low-key confessor Père La Chaise with a laxist morality that allowed the sacral monarch to pursue his own love affairs, discredited counsels of public conscience by 1700. Conscience tilted towards a private self-reflective decision, rather than something that could be delegated to another individual or to an external process.

Reinhardt successfully uses royal confessors as a way of exploring wider intellectual and institutional change. She offers a clear account of the different conciliar systems in her two case studies and explains what was meant, for example, in avoiding *acceptio personarum* when making appointments. Along the way, there are discussions of reason of state, just war, the expulsion of the Moriscos and the reorganisation of government in early Bourbon Spain. All in all, this is an impressive and surely definitive survey of French and Spanish royal confessors in the period, from which scholars of other governments may learn much – while also sharpening their awareness of the importance of understanding the particularities of each system. The attention to both theory and practice is pleasing – a feature common to both works reviewed here.

Alistair Malcolm's fine study of the *valimiento* of Don Luis Méndez de Haro, the *valido* of the latter part of Philip IV's reign, both complements and contrasts with Reinhardt's, given his focus on secular councillors and networks. With kinship links to both Olivares and Lerma, Haro has received substantially less attention than his predecessors. Yet, as Malcolm's study shows, his career offers a revealing window onto the domestic and international functioning of the Spanish monarchy in the mid-seventeenth century.

While the broad narrative of Spain in the seventeenth century is one of decline, a concern present in the writings of contemporary reformers who agonised over its causes and remedies, Malcolm suggests important corrections and qualifications to this pessimistic picture. While the monarchy was under immense fiscal-military strain, its apparently sclerotic legalistic system of councils created room for non-violent aristocratic opposition. Councils' legal role, Malcolm suggests, limited the monarchy while also allowing the king to preside over settlements as an adjudicator, creating a loyal nobility. The financial gains for the aristocracy embedded in the tax system might have precluded fiscal reform, but they also prevented aristocratic and popular discontent coinciding. In contrast to other realms, most of mid-seventeenth-century Spain therefore enjoyed an 'enviable political stability' (p. 171). Haro both exploited this complicated system by dispatching his opponents to distant posts, and undermined it through the use of select *juntas* that made the Council of State a 'political wilderness' (p. 6). Philip IV had talent available to him; he needed to make sure that the *valido* did not stop him using it. But the ties of kinship, exchanges of books, art and antiquities, and a pragmatic willingness to heal differences all served to stop Haro's *valimiento* descending into factionalism.

How far was this due to Haro himself? Other officials and the king also played important roles, positive or negative. Philip IV, Malcolm argues, was no recluse – although he remained inscrutable and distant. According to this book, the court in Madrid was a peculiar mixture of access without intimacy – with state rooms fairly open to the aristocracy, but with only a small chance of actually having a discussion with the king. Philip recognised the problems of a minister-favourite, and yet early on he was hesitant and nervous, and his commitment to governing alone after 1643 did not always last (although it did mean that Haro's ascent was slow). In such circumstances, a lower-profile *valimiento* of the kind that Haro established was appropriate. He seems to have been an excellent courtier – urbane, discreet and affable – characteristics that served him well when negotiating with Mazarin in 1659. (Reinhardt (p. 29) calls him an 'enigmatically smooth operator'.) But Haro, not unlike Richelieu and Olivares, found that warfare was one way to maintain the need for a *valido*, and remained wary about peace negotiations in the 1650s, unless they would secure his monarch's honour – and vindicate his own policies. Significantly, Malcolm rereads contemporary literature on the *valido* as offering a critique of using minister-favourites (an abnegation of royal responsibility to govern in person) while often remaining quite sympathetic to individuals stuck in this difficult situation. Indeed, Malcolm rightly emphasises the 'congenitally unstable' (p. 5) position of the *valido*, who acted, without any official appointment, remit or oath, in an 'immensely privileged, but extremely precarious' (p. 23) position. Even if they failed to get on, one wonders whether favourites and confessors might not have felt some sort of affinity with each other.

Malcolm's impressive grasp of the details of the Spanish aristocracy and international politics of the 1640s and 1650s makes this an important book. Specialists will find vital details about appointments and appointees, a revealing account of the diplomatic moves of the 1650s, and much on the practical workings of Philip IV's monarchy. Malcolm's attention to the situation of the *valido* and the different ways this was discussed in Spain compared to France and England, alongside the account of the rise and fall (and wobbles along the way) of a specific

minister, also speaks to those interested in the politics of seventeenth-century Europe. Malcolm makes the wealth of names and connections the reader needs to grasp as comprehensible as possible, particularly through tables and family trees (albeit one wishes that Oxford University Press had printed some of the tables rather larger). His mastery of the source material is shown not only in the lengthy bibliography, but also in his remarks, for example, on the king's secretary Don Fernando Ruiz de Contreras penning his sovereign's annotations on documents in 'elegantly illegible handwriting' (p. 176).

In his introduction, Malcolm reflects on the dramatic changes in the availability of sources and scholarship on early modern Spain in recent decades. For those anglophone readers tempted to further exploration by the work of Elliott, Feros, Stradling and Thompson, both of these books provide excellent models by which to proceed. If seventeenth-century Spain itself was in decline, contemporary anglophone studies of it appear to be in a remarkably healthy state.

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***Accidents and Violent Death in Early Modern London 1650–1750.* By Craig Spence.** Boydell. 2016. xii + 277pp. £65.00.

Craig Spence's 2016 monograph, *Accidents and Violent Death in Early Modern London 1650–1750*, offers a much-needed, meticulously researched, critical study of accidents. Spence himself accurately highlights that many 'Historians have for the most part been remarkably slow to embrace the critical study of accidents, often dismissing them as lacking complexity, arising through randomness and short on archival presence' (p. 5). Though a few scholars have written simple descriptive accounts of accidents in the twentieth century, these often dwell on anecdotal references, aiming to add colour and texture to their own narrative descriptions. Spence's book thus stands out as a scholarly exploration that goes much further than merely providing colourful sketches that capture the reader's imagination, but instead compels the reader to think about the dramatic impact of accidents and violent death on society: for example, the way in which knowledge of the accident was disseminated and the influence of print culture on that process, and not just the inevitable emotional response often found in anecdotal accounts.

Early modern London is the focus of this critical study, and though the history of the metropolis has long been extensively deliberated on, few historians have attempted to deliver an engaging monograph solely focused on compiling a systematic review of accidents in their entirety. Spence rightly highlights Malcolm Gaskill's erudite study of *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (2000) as a 'suitable model that might be adapted to support a study of the accident' (p. 12). He notes that it is Gaskill's 'tripartite division' of archival sources that provides a potential framework for looking at early modern accidents (p. 12). Spence seems to have followed this structure and added much more.

He situates his study and the empirically dense evidence he has collated within a broader than previously attempted social and cultural review of early modern accidents. He evaluates the way accidents happened, how they were reported to the law, as well as the role of the searchers and the clerks, the fascinating printed *Bills of Mortality* and the cultural repercussions within society. He places all of

these findings within a framework that permits him to analyse successfully and assess the 'manner in which bureaucratic responses to such deaths transformed them from lived experience to mediated knowledge' (p. 17).

Spence leaves no stone unturned as he excavates the chronicled lives – and more importantly deaths – of those unfortunate victims affected by sudden death or accidents in early modern London. The questions Spence wishes to address are clearly outlined in the introduction, with a helpful chapter breakdown for all three parts of the book. He wishes to focus on the relationship between the accident and the city, the personal suffering and/or loss experienced, and how the knowledge of the incident was disseminated into the wider public. Also tackled are the sheer variety and type of accidents that were experienced and recorded, the medical and social response, and the implementation of preventative measures, alongside an evaluation of the cultural construction and assimilation of accident event narratives into society.

The fascinating final chapter of this book discusses and identifies the significant transformation of accident narratives and imaginations at this time, which positively encouraged and contributed to the reactionary portrayal of 'the metropolis as a chaotically disordered environment' (p. 19). What Spence is particularly good at is situating the archival records and facts and figures into a contextualised setting: that is to say that he offers a broad and varied description of how accident and sudden death affected society as a whole. He also assesses the various geographical patterns that emerge through the collection of data from the *Bills of Mortality*. This is then appropriated and used to illustrate the many geographically significant observations he has made.

The strengths of this monograph are easy to measure: it is a densely presented study that has at the heart of it an original and scholarly assessment of how an early modern metropolis, London, dealt with and reacted to accidents and sudden violent death. It also begins to illustrate how risk and accident are inextricably linked, and that, by the mid-eighteenth century, one revolutionary London reader writing under the name of 'D.R.', in the January edition of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, had begun to acknowledge the importance of gauging a critical understanding of accidents, and identifying the specific set of hazards and circumstances pertaining to their occurrence, rather than just accepting them as a natural part of London life (p. 245). This aforementioned reader even acknowledged the importance of taking measures whereby one could reduce the potential risks by adjusting one's surroundings, as well suggesting that new technology could be introduced, studied and honed to lessen the potential exposure to risk for those most susceptible.

In short, Spence provides thought-provoking and pioneering scholarship in a more complex than previously anticipated field of study.

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DANNIELLE SHAW

Bayle, Jurieu, and the 'Dictionnaire Historique et Critique'. By Mara van der Lugt. Oxford University Press. 2016. xv + 319pp. £65.00.

Pierre Bayle is a notoriously difficult author, partly because he is one of the most subtle philosophers of the seventeenth century, whose sharpness of mind was recognised by all – even by those whose doctrines he dissected (Malebranche,

Leibniz) – to the extent that Locke was disappointed at Bayle's lack of reaction to the publication of his *Essay*. Bayle's tactic in his analyses is usually an argument *ad hominem*: he adopts the principles of the author in question and explains the absurd or contradictory consequences that the author ought to have anticipated. It is very hard to pinpoint his own position, and he often appears to be content to suggest that none of the philosophical systems to hand can satisfactorily solve a certain number of well-known dilemmas. This is not to say that he was a Pyrrhonian sceptic, since there are logical and philosophical principles which he emphatically declares to be self-evident: to go against elementary logical principles, to declare that the part is larger than the whole, to reject the law of non-contradiction is to abandon reason to a 'dreadful chaos' and to 'the most frightful Pyrrhonism imaginable'. It is therefore significant that the philosophical problems Bayle most often evokes are not specifically philosophical dilemmas, but – beyond the question of the definition of time and space (art. 'Zénon d'Elée') – problems of reconciling philosophical analysis with the articles of the Christian faith.

Another obvious aspect of the difficulty in reading Bayle is the sheer mass of his writings: some 8,000 folio pages in double column, pages often invaded by long and crucial notes in minute print. He is thus an author who is often neglected in university courses, not only because of the idiosyncratic labyrinth of his analyses, but also because most of his works are too long to be digested in the time available. The problem is all the more complex when it comes to following Bayle's philosophical career, comparing one work with another, seeking to grasp the coherence of his successive positions. That is nonetheless, to my mind, a vital aspect of the historian's task if we are to regard Bayle as a philosopher and not simply as a writer guided by momentary polemical whim.

Both these difficulties inherent in Bayle's writings are broached by Mara van der Lugt in her analysis of Bayle's method in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*. She states explicitly the two premises which guide her research: 'first, that the *Dictionnaire* can be rightly understood only when placed within the immediate context of its production in the 1690s; second, that it is only through an appreciation of the mechanics of the work as a whole, and of the role played by its structural and stylistic particularities, that we can attain an appropriate interpretation of its parts' (p. 68). The second premise demands a close look at modifications and additions made in the second edition of 1702 and at those first published only after Bayle's death, in 1720. After an introductory chapter on the layout of the page in the *Dictionary* and the function of cross-references between the articles, she gives a number of useful examples of 'clusters' of articles treating a given question: the 'Manichaeian web' is particularly illuminating, in so far as we see (with useful diagrams) the development of Bayle's argument, not only in the well-known articles 'Manichéens' and 'Pauliciens', but in a cluster of fourteen articles in the first edition and more than thirty-two articles in the second. To apply such a detailed approach to all the problems raised by Bayle in the *Dictionary* is obviously impossible, and Mara van der Lugt chooses accordingly to study in detail the following themes: the tensions between the Republic of Letters and the State; religious fanaticism and toleration; the conflict between faith and reason; the problem of evil.

The ideals of the Republic of Letters are well known and Bayle gives excellent expression to them in his article 'Caius', rem. D: it is an 'extremely free State'

in which is recognised only 'the sovereignty of truth and reason'. Mara van der Lugt first follows the political and intellectual conflict between Bayle and Jurieu in the 1690s and analyses its traces in the *Dictionary* specifically with regard to the question of calumny and the limits of free speech. Constantly accused by Bayle of calumny and defamation, Jurieu becomes the target of sarcasm in the 'clusters' 'Bèze' – 'Sixte IV' and 'Colomiès' – 'Tavernier' – 'Magni' – 'Thomas' – as well as in the *Digression concernant les libelles diffamatoires* developed into a *Dissertation* which was published in both editions of the *Dictionary*. Bayle's unresolved dilemma is where to draw the line: how to prove calumny, how to punish it and how to exclude it without unduly restricting the freedom of speech which is the hallmark of the Republic of Letters.

The role of Jurieu in Bayle's conception and composition of the different clusters is obvious also in his treatment of fanaticism ('Comenius' – 'Drabicius' – 'Kotterus' – 'Mahomet' – 'Arius' – 'Augustin' and, on the Jesuits, 'Loyola' – 'Mariana' – 'Saintes' – 'Guignard'), which develops into a threefold debate on religious war, tolerance and the role of reason with regard to faith. On this latter question, Mara van der Lugt suggests that the problem of the existence of evil in a world created by an omnipotent, wise, just and benevolent Creator is a touchstone. Bayle demonstrates that there is no rational solution to the problem of evil that can save Christian doctrine ('Rapin' – 'Nihusius' – 'Rufin'), and the question is pursued in the second edition, concluding in a pious but frustrating apologetics.

It is impossible to do justice here to Mara van der Lugt's subtle and detailed analysis of these complex questions as treated in the labyrinthine clusters of Bayle's articles. Her work is certainly a major contribution to our understanding of how the *Dictionary* works and how it should be read, even if the 'ambiguities' which she designates as such do seem to me less ambiguous than she suggests.

My preliminary remarks raise two questions – one of interpretation, one of methodology – with which I would like to conclude. The *Dictionary* can be interpreted only if we situate it within Bayle's entire career and if we are prepared to compare his statements in that work with those in his earlier and later works. Chronology is all-important, as Mara van der Lugt stresses, but her time scale is reduced to the 1690s, with very few references to works outside that period. Hence her insistence on the major role of Jurieu in the polemics and dialectics of the *Dictionary* articles. To my mind, this time scale prevents us from grasping the broader coherence, in relation to which the *Dictionary* is a parenthesis (and the *Entretiens de Maxime et Théiste* another). Mara van der Lugt accepts, in conclusion, the ambiguity of Bayle's positions in the *Dictionary* and suggests that he 'is under no obligation to be coherent' (p. 249), but, if we are to take Bayle's thought seriously, that ambiguity or incoherence requires explanation: if we can explain when and how he contradicts himself, we may suggest reasons why he did so. But the full scope of the contradictions and ambiguities can only be grasped if the *Dictionary* is seen within a wider timescale.

In the interpretation presented in this book of Bayle's position on tolerance, his doctrine is misrepresented – to my mind – in so far as it is suggested that Bayle's notion of tolerance extends to all actions motivated by sincere belief: no account is taken of the distinction drawn in the *Commentaire philosophique* between rational moral principles (which are, according to Bayle, self-evident to all attentive minds and which by definition exclude persecution) and the

'particular' (or 'speculative') articles of Christian doctrine in which people believe by education, interest, passion, habit and 'zeal'. Tolerance is very wide as to belief in 'speculative' articles, but it is excluded when it comes to offences against moral principles: hence the case of the sincere fanatical persecutor is resolved by his condemnation on moral grounds (as well as by the requirements of social order).

Coming to the second question, the *Dictionary* is a full-scale attack on rationalist theology, as is demonstrated in the philosophical articles on the existence of evil ('Manichéens', 'Pauliciens' and the larger clusters mentioned above), but also on animal-machines ('Rorarius'), Providence ('Epicure'), thinking matter ('Dicéarque', 'Spinoza'), free will ('Chrysippe'), Creation ('Epicure'), reason and faith ('Pyrrhon'), and Mara van der Lugt's thesis is an excellent contribution to our understanding of this aspect of the *Dictionary*. The *philosophe de Rotterdam* eloquently espouses Jurieu's position on the relation of reason to faith: he declares that the Christian doctrine is totally irrational and demonstrates that rational argument leads to atheism. The question of faith is thus removed from the field of philosophical argument and placed on the psychological level of sincerity. On that plane, Bayle was perfectly safe ('*Dieu seul sonde les reins et les cœurs*') and he had a guarantor of his doctrine: Jurieu.

But Bayle's 'ambiguities' in the *Dictionary* must be compared with his insistence on moral rationalism in *earlier and later* works. His position varies only on the relation of reason to faith in the field of ethics. In the *Commentaire philosophique* (1686), Bayle declares that the Christian religion can be regarded as divine revelation only in so far as it is in harmony with rational or 'natural' moral principles; in the *Continuation des Pensées diverses* and the *Réponse aux questions d'un Provincial*, he emphatically re-espouses that same moral rationalism, thus declaring himself *opposed to* the moral irrationalism of the Christian doctrine designated and dissected in the *Dictionary* (art. 'Pyrrhon', rem. B). After 1688 (the 'Glorious Revolution'), Bayle constantly puts forward the irrational nature of Christian doctrine in its entirety – not only in 'speculative' articles or mysteries, but also in the crucial field of moral principles. Thus we can discern his overall intention by way of comparison with the *Pensées diverses* (1682–3). Astrology, he demonstrated in that work, is a ridiculous superstition *because* it is irrational; in the *Dictionary*, Bayle demonstrates at length that the Christian doctrine is also totally irrational: the reader is invited to draw the conclusion. The 'ambiguities' of Bayle's *Dictionary*, placed in a wider intellectual context, may serve to indicate a covert intention: by means of his momentary defence of fideism in the *Dictionary*, Bayle finally succeeded in countering Jurieu's violent accusations. He was thus able, in his last works, to defend moral rationalism, to denounce religious fanaticism, demonstrating that Christian faith is irrational and that reason leads to atheism without undergoing the fate inflicted on Adriaan Koerbagh.

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ANTONY MCKENNA

***The Irish Enlightenment.* By Michael Brown.** Harvard University Press. 2016. 625pp. £25.00.

Eighteenth-century Ireland, according to Gerald O'Brien in his 1995 assessment, appeared to have the trappings of Enlightenment but none of its essence. Protestant Dublin society was replete with informal clubs,

learned societies, professional bodies and institutions. However, the Protestant Ascendancy governing class was 'clearly weak' in the key Enlightenment characteristics of rationality, toleration, humanitarianism and utilitarianism. Whilst some Enlightenment figures were identifiable, these were isolated and Enlightenment ideas appeared not to have penetrated the Ascendancy culture which excluded and discriminated against the Catholic majority (see Gerard O'Brien, 'Scotland, Ireland, and the antithesis of Enlightenment', in S. J. Connolly, R. A. Huston and R. J. Morris (eds), *Conflict, Identity and Economic Development: Ireland and Scotland, 1600–1939* (Preston, 1995), p. 125). Institutionally, Ireland had just one fairly moribund university whilst Scotland had five, and these drew students and teachers away from Ireland. Not one fellow of Trinity College Dublin published anything between 1722 and 1753. In a somewhat similar analysis David Berman argued that Ireland manifested a predominantly conservative Counter-Enlightenment without having had, and before the event of, a positive Enlightenment in Europe (see David Berman, 'The Irish Counter-Enlightenment', in Richard Kearney (ed.), *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions* (Dublin, 1989), pp. 119–40). This was hardly the whole picture. Thomas Duddy's *A History of Irish Thought* (2002) included studies of Protestant Irish Enlightenment-era figures such as William Molyneux, Robert Boyle, John Toland, George Berkeley, Jonathan Swift, Francis Hutcheson, Edmund Burke and James Usher. In his 1995 essay O'Brien predicted efforts by future historians to recover or, as he put it, 'discover' an Irish Enlightenment on the pretext that certain features of eighteenth-century Irish society had been overlooked or not recognised. Two decades later Michael Brown's monumental 625-page *The Irish Enlightenment* attempts to do just that.

The twin ambition of *The Irish Enlightenment* 'is to reconstruct the role Irish thinkers, writers, and actors (of all sorts) played in the Enlightenment project and to delineate an explicitly Irish Enlightenment, thereby situating the country's intellectual heritage within the broader context of British, European, and Atlantic history'. In demarcating Ireland's Enlightenment from what preceded it, Brown mostly cleaves to a definition set out in Immanuel Kant's 1784 essay *What is Enlightenment?*. Kant defined this as man's emergence from self-imposed immaturity, from the inability, or lack of resolve, to use one's own understanding without guidance from another. In Ireland, as elsewhere, the antithesis of Enlightenment thought was scholastic authority in all its varieties. Catholic Scholastics drew on the authority of Aristotle. Anglicans like the Bishop of Armagh, James Usher, calculated the date of creation as 4004 BC, by drawing on the authority of the Bible. The emerging Presbyterian Church system found its orthodoxy in a form of Calvinist Scholasticism, where biblical learning combined with interpretations of this by Church elders. In each variant, authoritative truths drawing on the highest God-given authority were parsed. Such modes of thinking survived the Enlightenment and combined with Counter-Enlightenment critiques that identified modern thought with anticlericalism, liberalism, atheism, amorality and republicanism.

Brown's focus is upon three main elements of Enlightenment thought – empiricism, rationalism and freethinking – as this developed across Ireland's religious, social and political domains. Giving many examples, he examines how Enlightenment perspectives and arguments emerged in opposition to dominant pre-Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment ones. His protagonists

include Presbyterian Dissenters and Catholics as well as supporters of the Established Church. Brown examines the shifting intellectual character of the three dominant faiths across the decades following William of Orange's defeat of the Catholic King James. Anglicans employed empirical arguments to justify their constitutional status as the Established Church. Presbyterians drew on rationalism to argue that religious tolerance be exercised towards them. Catholics retained a deep commitment to Scholastic methods, and remained suspicious of Enlightenment ideas. Yet, some Catholics also drew on rationalism and other Enlightenment concepts in making the case for the removal of Penal Laws that discriminated against them. Enlightenment thought, Brown argues, found expression across the mostly Protestant public sphere of churches, libraries and the theatre, and within what he describes as a counter-culture that crossed confessional divides, in coffee houses, taverns and bookshops.

As similarly put by Ian McBride in his 2009 history of eighteenth-century Ireland, the core Enlightenment precepts – 'the optimistic belief in human improbability, the elevation of human reason above traditional assumptions, and the defence of individual judgement against the censorship of church and state' – were valued no less in Ireland than elsewhere. MacBride observes that the creation of a mass reading public and therefore an audience for Enlightenment ideas was 'not the achievement of enlighteners, but of the clergymen whose activities they often mocked'. By the late eighteenth century more than 70 per cent of men in Ulster, more than 65 per cent in Leinster, 48 per cent in Munster and 37 per cent in Connaught were estimated to be literate (see Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin, 2009), p. 51).

Brown divides the Irish Enlightenment into three phases or domains: a religious Enlightenment that found expression from the late seventeenth century, a 1730–80-or-so 'social Enlightenment' phase (when religious sectarianism was at a low ebb) and a subsequent political Enlightenment phase that ended with the 1798 Rebellion. He cites three exemplary books. John Toland's *Christianity not Mysteriorious* (1695) attacked both Anglican and Roman Catholic clerical authority, or as Toland put it, priestcraft, arguing that there was no source of understanding of the Gospels beyond the human mind. *Christianity not Mysteriorious* fed a theological controversy about the relationship between faith and reason that found expression during the first half of the eighteenth century. The Anglican Bishop of Cloyne George Berkeley's *The Querist* (1735–7) addressed the core question of Ireland's social Enlightenment: how might economic development be studied and achieved? The Capuchin Friar Arthur O'Leary's *Essay on Toleration, or Plea for Liberty of Conscience* (1780) argued against anti-Catholic legislation on pragmatic grounds of political utility rather than by evoking Scholastic authority. He argued that the power of the courts extended only to outward crimes that disturbed the temporal peace of society 'but not to the hidden judgements of God, nor to the interior dispositions of the mind, nor to the disbelief of divine truths'.

Taken together, Brown argues, 'the books by Toland, Berkeley and O'Leary ask us to reimagine Irish cultural life in the eighteenth century'; 'They propose that a commitment to a life of the mind was shared across the confessional divides which marked out the religious politics of the period'; 'They also supply an initial outline of Enlightenment politics, indicating a way to re-narrate the country's history removed from the tropes of sectarian blood feuds and

ancient hatreds.' According to Brown, the religious Enlightenment germinated the idea that confessional difference was less important in social relations than shared interests and ambitions. This understanding laid the groundwork for the post-1730 expression of Enlightenment ideas, debates and enthusiasm by a 'counter-culture' minority of Ireland's ruling Protestant minority. Ireland's social Enlightenment became squeezed out of the public sphere by the re-emergence of political conflict driven by religious sectarianism, but not before the brief flowering of Ireland's pre-1798 Rebellion 'political Enlightenment'.

Brown suggests that what he calls Ireland's Enlightenment came to be written out of Irish history because the eighteenth century came to be viewed through the prism of nationalism – a nineteenth-century idea. He argues that the issue at stake for Ireland's eighteenth-century literati was not who was Irish or not, but who was Enlightened: who could be trusted to engage impartially in the conversation about the common good, and who could be excluded on the basis of their religious convictions? Brown identifies these conversations – about who should be enfranchised and allowed to hold public office or not – as the main expression of Enlightenment thought and argument in the Irish case. He tracks the rise and fall of this debate: 'as the community moved from the religious conflict at the end of the seventeenth century; as a vision of cross-confessional society became a practical, if limited, reality; as the question of inclusion of Catholics and dissenters in an explicitly Anglican state fractured and eventually destroyed the possibility of sustaining a civilised discussion'. The net result of this fracture, Brown declares, with considerable understatement, was 'the civil unrest of 1798', a rebellion that resulted in thousands of deaths, ended self-government by the Protestant Ascendancy and brought about the absorption of Ireland into the United Kingdom.

Ireland's social Enlightenment emerged during a period of relative calm between the great sectarian war of the 1690s and the 1798 Rebellion during which there existed a degree of religious tolerance. Brown places considerable emphasis on shared ideals of civility, whether expressed in theological pamphlets focused on the moral improvement of individuals or economic ones preoccupied with the improvement of social conditions. These presumed that rational debate about social issues was possible. Examples given include George Rye's 1730 pamphlet, *Considerations on Agriculture*, which examined why County Cork had experienced famine despite the good quality of the land. Rye argued that the diffusion of better agricultural techniques offered the best hope of securing the future of farmers who had little control over price or market conditions. Empirical observations, efforts to corroborate or disprove statements by others, and describing experiments to improve crop yield exemplified a scientific methodology. Likewise, Kildare landowner Samuel Pierson's 1725 and 1728 pamphlets on tillage farming used terms such as 'experiment', 'observing', 'observed', 'measuring' and 'experience' in describing attempts to increase crop yields. Another pamphleteer, George Edmond Howard, proposed apprenticeship schemes for training farmers and the establishment of model farms at public expense where research on scientific farming techniques could be undertaken. He envisaged a society in which farmers, like doctors, would keep up with the latest techniques.

One enduring legacy of such debates was an audience for writings about the condition of Ireland by nineteenth-century political economists and acceptance

amongst both Protestant and Catholic elites of prescriptions for improvement of Ireland set out by liberal economists who visited Ireland. These in turn came to be vilified as expressions of colonial ideology by romantic nationalists of the kind who became prominent from the 1840s (see John Mitchel, *The Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps)* (Dublin, 2005; originally published in 1873)). Brown identifies no high-profile conflict between proponents of Enlightenment ideas and opponents of these during the eighteenth century. Yet intellectual conflicts between the Irish Enlightenment and its enemies became a feature of subsequent historical writings about this period.

Most of *The Irish Enlightenment* is focused on Protestant Ireland. However, Brown includes considerable focus on Catholics who embraced or made use of Enlightenment ideas and locates these in relation to the majority of their co-religionists who did not. His examination of the intellectual life of Gaelic society, of its court poets and priests, covers the same ground as, and refers to, Daniel Corkery's seminal *The Hidden Ireland: A Study of Gaelic Munster in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin, 1970; originally published 1924). A Gaelic Catholic culture survived the Penal Laws. The number of Catholic clerics rose from around 1,000 in 1704 to about 2,000 by the mid-century. These were trained in Irish Colleges across Catholic Europe on the Continent. North Munster and South Ulster sustained a culture of bardic scholarship. Priests and poets engaged in cultural and intellectual conservation, 'sustaining what was left rather than creating new'. Corkery's idealisation of this pre-Enlightenment Gaelic world proved influential amongst cultural nationalists and Catholic anti-liberals in the Irish Free State after independence. It was held up as a decolonisation ideal. The rhetoric of the time proposed turning back the clock on the Reformation, to achieve a Catholic Restoration, as well as a cultural decolonisation (a Gaelic Restoration) – or both. In this context, cultural nationalists and Catholic conservatives found a retrospective common cause against the foreign ideas that, from their various perspectives, had subordinated the Irish people to an imported modernity (see Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland*).

Against this, Brown's emphasis is on the spread of Enlightenment ideas amongst educated Catholics. His exemplars include Cornelius Nary, a priest who in making utilitarian arguments for Catholic rights appropriated elements of the Enlightenment project. In many ways Nary was a typical Scholastic, a product of the church culture of deference to ancient authority. Yet by temperament he was an empiricist 'whose polemical endeavours evinced a realist streak'. He was the likely author of the anonymous *Case of the Roman Catholics of Ireland* (1724), which argued that the legitimacy of the state was undermined by the Penal Code. In limiting Catholic landholding, Nary argued, 'all encouragement for natural industry is taken away from them'. Nary, according to Brown, 'mounted a pragmatic, empirically contrived defence of his community' that highlighted its utility to the Protestant regime.

At least a few educated Catholics dived headlong into the Enlightenment. Bernard O'Connor, who was born in Kerry in 1666, studied Medicine at Reims, where he may have encountered the work of Descartes. He became court physician in 1694 to John III, king of Poland, but was exiled following a contretemps when he publically rejected Scholasticism and discounted claims about miracles. He argued that doctors were better qualified than priests to say what might or might not be a miracle because of their understanding of the limits

of natural phenomena. Connor (he dropped the 'O') moved to London where he wrote a two-volume history of Poland that focused on its constitutional structure, geography and economy. He became a member of the Royal Society. As a lecturer in anatomy at Oxford, he was committed to empirical observation and practical experimentation.

Brown examines how Catholic thought came to be sympathetic towards some Enlightenment ideas. Jansenism, like Presbyterianism, was grounded in a belief in original sin, and whilst it opposed the core Enlightenment tenet that humanity must be the starting point for philosophical reflection, the Jansenist sensibility was that God had withdrawn from direct action in the universe, allowing history to unfold according to natural laws. Jansenists rejected the papal claim to be a conduit of truth, viewing the papacy only as a necessarily practical authority in a chaotic and sinful world, whilst Jansenist writings on politics emphasised the role of parliaments and church councils as bulwarks against absolutism. The emphasis on explaining authority in terms of the workings of human society was shared by Enlightenment thinkers.

The third phase of Ireland's Enlightenment in Brown's schema was a political phase. Republican ideas found adherents in the aftermath of the American and French revolutions. For example, New Light Presbyterians were drawn by Enlightenment rationalism to progressive politics, including the idea of Catholic emancipation. Belfast Presbyterians founded the United Irishmen in 1791 and drew radical and utopian conclusions about inalienable rights and universal laws. The United Irishmen, through the writings of Wolfe Tone, asserted the rights of man in a way that has remained attractive to non-sectarian advocates of Irish republicanism.

Brown sees the Rebellion of 1798 'as the consequence, as well as the cause, of the destruction of the Irish Enlightenment'. He argues that 'in a very simple sense the Irish Enlightenment failed, not because there was no Enlightenment, but rather because there was no agreed community of the Irish'. Or as he also puts it, the question 'Who is Enlightened?' gave way to the toxic sectarian query 'Who is Irish?'. According to Brown the 1790s saw 'a spectacular failure of nerve'. Protestant civil society polarised into opposing republican and Loyalist camps. Ascendancy politics became dominated by Loyalist sectarianism. Enlightenment aspirations for a political culture derived from civility were crushed by Loyalist antipathy towards the Catholic majority and the unwillingness of most of the Protestant Ascendancy to extend rights to Catholics. The years before the 1798 Rebellion witnessed a renewed repression of Catholics aimed at provoking reactions that would justify their ongoing exclusion from the public sphere.

The modern theorist who appears to have most influenced Brown's thesis of an Irish Enlightenment is Jürgen Habermas, whose writings on communicative reason depict rationality as the product of successful communication. Brown portrays Ireland's post-1730 social Enlightenment as a putative sphere of communicative action in which civility and reason prevailed, if only in some discrete spaces, such as in the vicinity of Dublin's printers, bookshops and coffee houses, in correspondence between experimenters and improvers and between the authors of pamphlets and their audiences. The green shoots of rationalism and civility that are central to Brown's thesis appear to have been a minority pursuit, and all too easily trampled underfoot. Ireland lacked the stability that might have fostered an age of reason. As the twentieth-century philosopher

Maurice Merleau-Ponty put it, human society is *not* a community of reasonable minds; it can only be understood as such in privileged countries where social and economic equilibrium has prevailed for some time (see Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Donald A. Landes (London, 2012), p. 20). Eighteenth-century Ireland did not enjoy such good fortune.

University College Dublin

BRYAN FANNING

Late Modern

***The Sovereign and the Pirate: Ordering Maritime Subjects in India's Western Littoral.* By Lakshmi Subramanian.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xiv + 258pp. £29.99.

Subramanian's new book is an insightful and valuable contribution to the field of pirate studies. Her past writings are extensive and she has touched on many aspects of maritime history, especially in the western Indian Ocean. Her previous contribution to this field – a book chapter in 2007 – was perceptive but brief. A monograph is therefore welcome, particularly since the recent vibrant work on Indian Ocean piracy has largely been restricted to chapters and journal articles. The literature has also been focused on the Konkan and Malabar coasts. Here, Subramanian takes us northward, to the coastlines of Kathiawad, Cutch and Sind. In this region, shipping under the East India Company's protection was increasingly subject to predatory attacks from the late eighteenth century onwards. This book examines the company's attempts to suppress such maritime violence between 1790 and 1820.

The book assumes a level of familiarity with the subject matter. The introduction, for example, serves more to pose a series of methodological and theoretical questions than to set the scene. There is no outline of the book's content, or of the structure of individual chapters. Various features that would have made it more accessible – such as illustrations, maps of Cutch, Sind and the wider Arabian Sea region, and a glossary of terms – are absent. It is therefore unlikely to attract a wide readership. In terms of the field of Indian Ocean piracy, however, it makes a substantial contribution. Subramanian is keenly aware of the recent literature on piracy, and her book constitutes a response to and a testing of modern theories through a detailed regional study. Her findings muddy the waters significantly. The ways in which coastal polities framed their piratical actions did not constitute the 'legal pluralism' described by Lauren Benton. Their reaction to company aggression, meanwhile, led to 'elements of resistance', but this does not 'correspond to the idea of maritime radicalism' put forward in the 2013 'Mutiny and Maritime Radicalism' edition of the *International Review of Social History*. Easy comparisons with Atlantic piracy are also rejected.

Instead, Subramanian frames the piracy of this region within a littoral not a high seas context. In her words, 'northern piracy was about littoral politics'. Her use of the littoral as a framing device is inspired by M. N. Pearson, and it is very effective. More significant than questions of maritime jurisdiction were the connections between coastal communities and mainland powers. Extended

sections, therefore, consider developments in Cutch and Kathiawad, providing a rich context to predation. The East India Company's wars on piracy, too, are considered in relation to their wider interventions in the region. Running through the narrative is an awareness of a general displacement of coastal society northwards, as the colonial regime forced subaltern groups to retreat to marginal locations and resort to predation.

This work, therefore, is an examination of the 'maritime subjects' themselves, and not just the 'ordering' undertaken by the company. Nevertheless, Subramanian has a lot to say about company discourse on piracy. One of the central figures is Alexander Walker, the resident of Baroda between 1803 and 1810. Walker's negotiations with Okha polities involved the acquisition of detailed information about the region, which Subramanian interprets as an 'ethnography' or 'sociology' of piracy. Implementing Ann Laura Stoler's methods of reading along the archival grain, Subramanian garners information on predatory groups while at the same time analysing representations of piracy. The book is a vivid reflection of the archive itself, the limitations of which are made clear throughout.

In terms of narrative the book is not entirely satisfying: it ends in the 1810s with no real sense of conclusion and Subramanian's epilogue does not completely unite the variegated threads of her analysis. As a *work* of history, however, it is captivating: Subramanian does not compromise in exposing the complexities of the archive and the historian's task in interpreting it. As she herself states, this book 'does not pretend to have clear answers'. But it does have clear questions, reams of them in fact: for whole paragraphs in the preface and introduction, a whole page in the first chapter, and repeatedly thereafter, Subramanian poses questions to herself and the reader. In so doing, she widens the possibilities of the field and lights the way for future studies of piracy.

Queen Mary, University of London

TIMOTHY RIDING

***Soldiers as Workers: Class, Employment, Conflict and the Nineteenth-Century Military.* By Nick Mansfield.** Liverpool University Press. 2016. xiv + 238pp. £75.00.

Nick Mansfield's study of common soldiers in the British army from the French Revolutionary Wars to the First World War argues that they remained in uniform what they had been in civil society, members of the working class. Mansfield is a labour historian who has previously written about English farm workers and who brings to his research insights gained from labour history. At first sight this approach seems highly promising. The British army maintained a structure where social divisions counted. The officers were largely the product of the public schools and the upper classes of society, confident in their belief that their social origins provided the qualities needed for leadership roles. And though the ranks may not have been filled with the most downtrodden – Wellington's notorious 'scum of the earth' – they did come from the world of work, often of skilled artisanal work. This is particularly true of the infantry regiments, which are Mansfield's principal concern in this book. They were increasingly recruited in towns, the product, he claims, of the working class of industrial Britain.

Mansfield's central thesis is that soldiers – like the farm workers of his earlier study – were deeply patriotic while also retaining a clear sense of their working-class identity. He sees soldiers primarily in class terms, and argues that their behaviour in uniform owed most to values they acquired before joining the army, as members of working-class communities. They were, he contends, workers first, who often continued to practise their trades in the army, and soldiers only second. Their responses to orders, to discipline and to the many perceived injustices of army life he attributes to their working-class roots. Insolence, disobedience, drunkenness and looting are explained in class terms, with parallels in the workplaces of industrial England. So are more extreme reactions to army life, like mutiny, desertion and suicide, responses that are customarily seen as acts of desperation in the face of poor living conditions, savage discipline, and a preternaturally high death rate both in battle and from disease.

Of course it is undeniable that the social structure of the army bore an increasing resemblance to the class divisions in civil society, especially as work was moved into factories and craft skills were increasingly devalued. But can the common soldier be equated with the 'working class' and with a 'working-class consciousness' quite to the degree that Mansfield implies? For much of the century that class was still in the process of formation, even in England; in the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars it is hard to see it as a 'working-class army' in any modern sense of the term, more especially since the government deliberately recruited heavily in rural areas like Ireland and the Scottish Highlands. Besides, the working population was characterised by its own internal tensions; it could not be expected to respond as a single bloc, united by a consciousness of class, in this way. Class for Mansfield is at the root of everything. In his conclusion he insists that it 'is *the* key tool for an analysis of the British army in nineteenth-century society'. He points to the tensions that developed between officers and men, between those in authority and those subject to it. He contrasts their living and working conditions. He quotes excerpts from soldiers' memoirs that are suggestive of class resentment, though – as is so often the case with memoirs – they are thinly spread and may or may not be representative. And he shows how soldiers were used by the army to perform hard manual tasks – *workers'* tasks – in peacetime. All of this feeds into his argument that soldiers were, in their eyes and the eyes of others, workers. But does it wholly convince?

His insistence on the primacy of class in forming soldiers' attitudes necessarily downplays a more immediate experience for these men, that of the army itself, where they were faced with new and unfamiliar pressures, with periods of interminable boredom, perilous overseas postings and forms of stress that were peculiar to army life. They became familiar with long periods of absence from their families, with a constant fear of death, injury and disfigurement, the mental strain and trauma of battle, the arbitrary nature of military punishments, and the fear of capture and torture at the hands of others. These were experiences born of war that had few direct parallels in civilian life, and they surely played their part in soldiers' decisions to desert or mutiny or self-mutilate. Suicide, demoralisation, mental collapse – what the French called *nostalgie* or *mal du pays* – were just as common in other armies during the Napoleonic Wars, even conscript armies. Of course, all armies drew a majority of infantrymen from the lower classes of

society, often, as in Austria and Russia, from peasants and serfs; but they could not have a working-class consciousness of the kind which the author attributes to the British. Did peasant armies not show many of the same reflexes? French armies, whether composed of professionals or militiamen, citizen-soldiers or conscripts, all recorded high rates of desertion, all suffered from *mal du pays*, all suffered for their military service. Class can explain so much, but without some element of transnational comparison and a deeper analysis of military culture, Mansfield's thesis will never seem fully persuasive.

University of York

ALAN FORREST

***The Origins of Primitive Methodism.* By Sandy Calder.** Boydell. 2016. xvii + 293pp. £75.00.

Fifty years ago E. P. Thompson warned that 'Too much writing on Methodism commences with the assumption that we all know what Methodism was.' Half a century later, it is perhaps nearer the truth to say that very few people now have much knowledge of this once hugely popular social and religious movement. Ill-founded assumptions about its appeal and nature continue, however, to mislead many of those whose studies take them on a detour into this neglected backwater of history. Primitive Methodism, a branch of the movement that emerged in Staffordshire during the Napoleonic Wars and spread rapidly along the east coast, the Welsh border and through south central England, has particularly been loaded with mythology. These were the 'good guys' of Methodism, authentically working class, democratic, proto-feminist, the pioneers of trade unionism and vanguard of the Labour movement. As Robert Wearmouth, himself a Primitive Methodist, wrote: 'When no other example of collective endeavour presented itself to the working classes, Methodism became a parent and pattern for their democratic exercises.'

Sandy Calder begins his study of Primitive Methodism by looking at the way in which this narrative has built up over the past two centuries. The documentary records of Primitive Methodism are fragmentary and historians have relied heavily on accounts of the movement's origins written half a century later – Thomas Church's *Gospel Victories* (1851) and John Petty's *History of the Primitive Methodist Connexion* (1860) – both of which were themselves heavily dependent on a storyline developed by the first editor of the denomination's magazine, Hugh Bourne. This is the Evangelical version of Primitive Methodist history, in which penniless preachers, harassed by mobs and magistrates, laboured against all human odds to win converts and build chapels with divine assistance. Transmitted through the work of Wearmouth in the 1950s, this tradition needed only modest adaptation to become part of a Marxist narrative in the works of Thompson and Hobsbawm, and more recently a feminist one in Deborah Valenze's *Prophetic Sons and Daughters* (1985).

The bulk of the book then works through the surviving primary evidence – Bourne's manuscript diaries, contemporary references to Primitive Methodism in local newspapers, baptismal registers, trust documents and the returns of the 1851 census of worship. Calder finds little evidence of persecution and rather more of magistrates acting to protect the rights of the new denomination; a constituency

that broadly reflected the localities in which the Primitive Methodists operated and which mirrored that of 'middle class' Wesleyan Methodism; women preachers used in very defined circumstances and from the 1830s principally as fundraisers; and a ministry whose entrepreneurship in spiritual matters was often matched in their business dealings. One, William Dinnick (1840–1901), four of whose brothers were also Primitive Methodist ministers, managed to accumulate an estate valued at £15,806, and a full third of Calder's sample left sums that put them among the richest 20 per cent of the population. The link between Primitive Methodism and trade unionism is questioned, with Calder pointing out that the Primitive Methodists had been well established in East Anglia for half a century before the formation of agricultural trade unions and arguing that, *pace* Nigel Scotland's *Methodism and the Revolt of the Field* (1981), unions emerged in response to ideas and developments that affected society generally, including Methodists, rather than as a result of Methodism itself. Even the humble simplicity of Primitive Methodist chapels is brought under the microscope, with Calder maintaining that they generally matched the design and cost of Wesleyan chapels at the time they were built but came to appear simpler by comparison when the Wesleyans renewed a large proportion of their properties at the beginning of the twentieth century.

This brings us to Calder's narrative of the decline of Primitive Methodism: the story of a community who became the victims of their own mythology. Calder argues that the strength of the heroic myths of hunger and persecution among the first generation had a powerful impact on the way in which later generations of Primitive Methodists chose to present themselves: playing down any material success among members and emphasising conversions among the humble and poor. This image made recruitment from the middle and aspiring classes progressively harder and hampered the denomination's continued expansion. Although membership continued to increase until the turn of the twentieth century, the wider community of attenders was in decline from the 1860s. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century the full panoply of denominational institutions was added to the financial burden of shrinking congregations with the result that by the time of the First World War financial difficulties were mounting. Union with other branches of Methodism in 1932 was an admission that the game was up.

This book throws down an important challenge to some of the uncritically accepted assumptions which have smothered the study of Methodism for too long. There are eccentricities: does the prevalence of having three windows grouped together in the façade of Primitive Methodist chapels really indicate a peculiar devotion to the doctrine of the Trinity? There are weaknesses: some of the statistical samples are too small to provide definitive answers. Sometimes the structure of the book feels a little loose and lacking in clarity. However, there is undoubtedly much to think about here and much to provoke fresh lines of historical enquiry. Perhaps the days of assuming we all know what Methodism was really are coming to an end and we can look forward, at last, to some healthy debate and productive argument.

Madingley Hall, Cambridge

JONATHAN RODELL

The Conspiracy of Free Trade: The Anglo-American Struggle over Empire and Economic Globalisation, 1846–1896. By Marc William Palen. Cambridge University Press. 2016. xxxviii + 295pp. £64.99.

Free trade in the United States has too often been designated an ‘executive policy’ adopted by the State Department in the wake of the Second World War, and thereafter only lukewarmly embraced by the American people, who, as the 2016 presidential campaign has shown, are readily recruited to support ideas of economic nationalism. Such protectionist ideas dominated American politics and policies in the period dealt with in Palen’s impressive monograph, for, after an initial liberalising response (the Walker tariff of 1846) to Britain’s repeal of the Corn Laws, the United States turned firmly towards protection with the Morrill tariff of 1861, consolidated later by the McKinley tariff of 1890, and confirmed by McKinley’s return to power in 1896 (foreshadowing the Dingley tariff of 1897). Even so, Palen’s great achievement is to show the vitality of an American ‘Cobdenite’ free trade tradition, quite distinct from an earlier Jeffersonianism, and inspired by the British free trade model of 1846, rooted in the academy, supported by notable publicists such as David Ames Wells, and diffused through a plethora of propagandists’ bodies. These American free traders also had close links with the Cobden Club, set up in honour of its eponymous hero in 1866, and thereafter the global epicentre for waves of free trade propaganda. The recipients of such ‘Cobdenite’ ideas were readily constructed as the tools of alien powers, spending ‘British gold’ to influence American elections and amounting to a ‘conspiracy’ against the American people, again, in recent times, not an unfamiliar account of how foreign powers seek to interfere in American elections. Palen rightly casts doubt on the effectiveness of such a conspiracy (the Cobden Club lacked much gold), but he carefully shows the large degree to which certain presidential administrations, notably those of Cleveland, were open to Cobdenite ideas, through their personnel, many of them long active in Cobdenite pressure groups such as the American Free Trade League. He also clearly shows the degree to which this proved counter-productive, not only inducing widespread anglophobia (as seen in previous studies such as Crapol’s) but also in stimulating the formation of anti-Cobden clubs and newly powerful protectionist bodies. Here, then, Palen persuasively argues, was a neglected ideological battle which dominated post-bellum politics in the United States and indeed divided opinion globally between those inspired by Cobden and those who were the heirs of Friedrich List, pursuing tariff-driven infant industries and later world markets by restrictive reciprocity and imperial expansion. Having established this clear polarisation, he also effectively challenges the view of a consensus on the expansion of an American empire, arguing that the American Cobdenites provided a powerful anti-imperial lobby, true to the values of their British mentor. He also underpins the global dimension to this debate by demonstrating how parts of the British empire came to question their own adherence to free trade, in part at least attracted to the powerful American Listian model propagated by McKinley and his supporters. By 1896, the world was poised (as perhaps it is in 2017) between conflicting visions of the future, an ideal of global free trade or a revived economic nationalism foreshadowing rising tariffs and uncertain attitudes to foreign markets.

All this is clearly, perhaps too clearly, argued. The book’s weakness lies in its over-enthusiastic readiness to impose its own ideological terms of Cobdenite and

Listian on all the actors it describes, some of whom at least held more qualified views to tariffs and their global implications. Nevertheless, it brings into proper light a genuine ideological rift across the nineteenth-century world, which is replete with contemporary parallels and implications. It pays full attention to a wide array for primary materials, including the graphic ones used to illustrate the book. Overall this book is powerfully conceived, vigorously written, and is genuinely revisionist in its conclusions with regard to our understanding of American domestic politics and of global political economy in the later nineteenth century and beyond.

University of East Anglia

ANTHONY HOWE

***Is Spain Different? A Comparative Look at the 19th and 20th Centuries.* Edited by Nigel Townson.** Sussex Academic Press. 2015. viii + 189pp. £49.95.

This is comparative history at its best. For generations modern Spain's conflictive history was viewed either as *sui generis* or as an outlier to more successful European state-building in Britain, France, the Low Countries and Scandinavia. Spain's apparently patchy historical modernisation and lack of 'progress' were found wanting compared with northern Europe. Since the 1990s such Euro-Whiggishness has been revised, albeit with mixed success, by a 'normalization' trend in the Spanish historiography. But this collection of essays, written by distinguished Hispanists in Spain and the United States and ably edited by Nigel Townson, is perhaps the most intelligent normalising study to date, for it avoids the tendency of several studies over the past twenty-five years to accept a 'European paradigm' at face value. Instead Townson's edition shows that neither 'core Europe' nor national exceptionalism is sufficient for explaining Modern Spain. 'Core Europe' was less progressive than is often believed. For seventy years Britain's aristocracy retained more nominal power and influence, the French repression of the Paris Commune was bloodier than any nineteenth-century Spanish counter-insurgency, and between 1812 and the First World War Spain was the continental European country with the longest experience of constitutional rule. In rehabilitating Spain's normality the authors do not retreat into national exceptionalism. Rather they achieve two significant objectives. First, they show that the European 'model', contrary to what even many Spanish elites have believed, is multiple, not singular. Second, they show that the constellation comprising the most comparable national histories runs not over the Pyrenees towards the North Sea, but from the Atlantic to the Aegean. Spanish development was fairly consistent with a southern European model: rather better than Portugal and Greece, rather worse than Italy.

This comparative study is sustained throughout eight concise and thematic chapters, which also follow a broad chronology. After Nigel Townson's original revision of the hermetic European model in 'A Land Apart?' we progress to José Álvarez Junco's erudite analysis of nineteenth-century Spanish nation-building in 'The Debate over the Nation'. María Cruz Romero's chapter, 'The Civil Wars of the Nineteenth Century: An Exceptional Path?', concedes an unrivalled Spanish propensity for formal civil war, and yet qualifies Spain's anti-pluralism with reference to French authoritarianism and to legitimist movements in France, Italy and Portugal which mirrored the ideological if not insurrectionary

tenacity of Carlism. Townson's 'Anticlericalism and Secularization: A European Exception?' shows how throughout the nineteenth century Spanish clericalism was not exceptionally powerful when compared with the longevity of the religious question in Italy and France; the real divergence grew in the twentieth century as both liberal and social Catholic currents stayed weak in Spain. Edward Malefakis's 'The Second Republic: A Noble Failure?' reaffirms the ambitious rupture attending secularisation and social reforms in the 1930s, contrasting the groundswell of support for Spain's Second Republic (1931–9) with the more time-serving and single-class republics in central and eastern interwar Europe. Michael Seidman's 'The Spanish Civil War? A Unique Conflict?' is important for reaffirming the endogenous origins and course of Spain's most infamous confrontation, contrasting the revolutionary republic's defeat with the counter-revolutionary victories of the Weimar and Finnish republics that were forged out of the Great War, and separating (correctly, in my view) Spain's trauma from the onset of the Second World War. Nigel Townson's '“Spain is Different?” The Franco Dictatorship' argues that Franco's regime was not so exceptional given that most of Europe had jettisoned democracy by 1939. Also, until the mid-1970s 'democracy' in Europe, whether in its unstable variety in Italy and France, or in its people's variety in eastern Europe, continued to be viewed with some caution by Spaniards more broadly and not just by those connected to the Franco regime. Finally, Pamela Radcliffe's 'The Transition: A Global Model?' usefully brings Spanish history up to date with her analysis of how Spain rejoined the club of European democracies whilst still retaining some unique characteristics and traumas.

All in all, this is a remarkable edited collection: broad, ambitious and displaying flashes of originality and fresh insights throughout. It benefits from the scholarship of experts possessing several decades of research. Criticisms include an underwriting of diachronic comparisons within Spain itself and a tendency in parts (though much less than in other normalising studies) to accept legal and institutional modernity in Spain as a shorthand for 'real' modernity. The philosopher Miguel de Unamuno judged cultivated Spaniards to be similar to their peers across the rest of Europe, but that there was 'an enormous difference between the Spanish social body and that of any other European country' (Julián Marías, *España ante la historia y ante sí misma (1898–1936)* (Madrid, 1996), p. 30). But in general, this is an exceptional book, which works conceptually, methodologically and historiographically, and it is an excellent resource for students.

University of Kent

MARK LAWRENCE

***Stiff Upper Lip: Secrets, Crimes and the Schooling of a Ruling Class.* By Alex Renton.** Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 2017. xvi + 398pp. £16.99.

Alex Renton was educated at a Sussex prep school, Eton and Brighton College. He became involved in the issue of child sexual abuse in 2013, when he was shocked that twenty former pupils of his prep school began a civil case over horrific sexual attacks on boys by former teachers at his school. An article he published in *The Observer* was followed by extensive correspondence with adults

who saw themselves as victims in their youth, there and elsewhere. This book is the result, a serious work of history besides one of sociology. Renton does not provide references in the book but his bibliography shows the quality and range of his research; his references instead appear page by page on his website Stiffupperlip.com. Respected monographs in the field like *Boys Together* by John Chandos and *The English Vice* by Ian Gibson are used carefully by Renton. Royston Lambert's *The Hothouse Society* in 1968 is used critically, in a way that shows how valuable this book was, as an account based on a great deal of interviewing at a time when serious public debate on the issue of the rights and wrongs of boarding education did not exist. Lambert went on to be head of Dartington Hall.

But the crucial material, which makes Renton's book compelling, is his statement of the case that the English have long been handing children over to the care of strangers far too young. The early modern and Victorian origins of this practice which Renton repeats are an established story which has its gory aspects. What makes Renton's book unquestionably important is his assessment and use of the work of two brilliant psychotherapists to whom he pays tribute, Nick Duffell and Joy Schaverien, experts in treating adult 'boarding school syndrome'. For them the 'breaking of attachment that happens at the door of the boarding school' is unique to Britain and 'provably damaging'. Renton calculates that around 17,000 men and women emerged from British boarding schools each year from the 1940s till the 1980s, so there are around a million people alive today who have had experience of British boarding education.

Although Renton is relentless in pursuing his case, this is never simply a matter of saying loss of attachment was bound to and always will harm a child: a multitude of factors can determine whether it did and does so or not, many of them hidden in the mysteries of personal temperament and individual upbringing. What makes the book so persuasive overall is the enormous gallery of interesting characters it presents, a gallery of boarding school survivors.

Some of them are cloyingly arresting, like the Cliftonian Cuthbert Worsley, who went at once, under disguise of astonishing brilliance in the 1920s at cricket, from there to Wellington to teach, where he began the process of discovering his gay identity. Others are historical figures familiar to us, whose interior emotional life may never be entirely explicated, like Vita Sackville West's husband Harold Nicolson or C. S. Lewis, people whose schooldays leave us deeply puzzled. Others again are moderns like Peter Cook, who devoted himself, after being bullied at prep and public school, to 'savaging pompous and hypocritical authority'. Would we have Roald Dahl, or John Cleese or Stephen Fry, asks Alex Renton, picking on a popular argument, 'if they had not been unhappy boarders'? By turns horrific or deeply moving, this book is full of the anatomy of a boarding school kind of humour and laughter.

Renton's chapters are short and pithy, packed with detail. Take 'The protective shell', which explores coping strategies. Peter Cook described one of his defence mechanisms as 'trying to make people laugh so that they wouldn't hit me. I would make fun of other people and therefore make the person who was about to bully me laugh instead.' Rebellion could take many forms, summarised by the climax of the film *If*, when the rebel band machine gun visiting dignitaries emerging from the school chapel. David Cornwell, the writer John le Carré, described the miseries of his prep school. His biographer Adam Sisman sees the making there of

the spy storywriter, relating his blighted youth to scepticism about establishments and institutions.

In a chapter called 'Don't let's make a fuss', Renton places his focus on tales of bottling up, exemplified by Horace Vachel's 1905 Harrow novel *The Hill*, where a boy notes the inadvisability of expressing a feeling, even when it was as simple as being keen on cricket. L. P. Hartley, long before he wrote that classic account of the class system *The Go Between*, pondered coping with conflicting codes of behaviour at Harrow, 'the fierce struggle for success' and 'the necessity of appearing unmoved'. Hartley wrote in that piece that the phlegmatic Englishman had, it seemed, 'lost the power of expressing emotion: he has repressed his feelings so often there are none left to express'. Harold Nicolson believed Englishmen stopped weeping about 1850, though he once saw Winston Churchill do so.

By the 1970s, Renton reckons, upper- and middle-class parents began to hug and kiss their children in public again as child development theory caught on and full boarding began to decline. As recently as the 1960s, Royston Lambert was told by a thirteen-year-old boy 'try not to speak with a treble voice ... do not cry at all'. In the 1920s, E. M. Forster wrote in an essay 'the Englishman is afraid to feel ... he has been taught at his public school that feeling is bad form'.

Much has changed, concedes Renton, in a final chapter. With a vast increase in school fees, they can be more selective about the staff they employ. The paedophiles have largely been weeded out; the cult of child protection is established. Most public schools have in-house counselling services. But Renton does not suggest that fundamentally, in terms of cultural values, boarding schools are finished. Simon Raven wrote in 1986 that 'what we as public school men found moving or amusing was often to others false, irrelevant or cruel'. If training in keeping that upper lip stiff is a little less insistent, the Englishman's famous sangfroid is still celebrated worldwide. Exploring it, Renton has shocked us but also entertained us enormously.

Moreton-in-Marsh

ANTHONY FLETCHER

***The Month that Changed the World: July 1914 and WWI.* By Gordon Martel.** Oxford University Press. 2014. xxiii + 484pp. £22.99.

The centenary of the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 saw a plethora of books published about all aspects of the conflict, from the war's origins to life on the Home Front. Several books aimed to reinvestigate and explain the causes of the conflict, but Gordon Martel forsook this approach, believing the causes to be 'too deeply rooted in the European past'. Instead he undertook to write a book for general readers, using a detective's approach to the diplomatic crisis which arose between the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 1914 and the outbreak of war in early August. Using contemporary diplomatic, political and military records he guides readers day by day, and sometimes even hour by hour, through the unfolding crisis in July and the 'days of decision' in early August when a series of decisions were made which led to the declaration of an apocalyptic European war. The final section of the book, 'Making Sense of the Madness', concerns the modern historiographical debate on the origins of the war.

Previous assassinations and flash points during the early twentieth century had not led to war, so why did this event become a catalyst for a major conflict? Europe had been relatively quiet since Napoleonic times, and in the rest of the world wars seemed to be 'fewer, shorter, less bloody and further away from Europe'. Martel stresses the human dimension, the decisions and choices made every day in July by individuals, each of whom had their own agenda. He stresses that after the assassination there was no great desire for war, and it took a month for the Austrians to issue their ultimatum to Serbia. Germany was initially keen to keep the dispute between the two as localised as possible, and neither France nor Britain thought they needed to be involved other than as possible mediators in the dispute. Britain even considered mediating alongside Germany in the hope of improving Anglo-German relations 'for all times'. The Austrians bombarded Belgrade but stopped short of any other measures, and could have been satisfied with Serbian humiliation. A European war was by no means certain. Martel explains the vastly complex network system which functioned between states that allowed for constant diplomatic exchanges and initiatives, and the importance of the personal relationships between, for example, the Kaiser and the Tsar. As late as 1 August, Russia and Austria were still in negotiations for a peaceful solution, but finally the mobilisation of troops made war inevitable. The Russians saw this mobilisation as a pre-emptive move, but the Austrians and Germans viewed it as aggressive. No side could afford to back down and appear weak.

While Martel's impressive scholarship is shown in the details of the frantic diplomatic interventions which are the main strength of the book, it is often the small personal stories which give the human feel to the text. Sir Edward Grey, British foreign minister, took himself off for a fly-fishing weekend at the end of July, assuming nothing much would happen in his absence. Kaiser Wilhelm was harangued by his brother and nephews, who wanted Germany to mobilise if Russia did the same, over a family dinner in Potsdam on the same weekend. The Grand Duchess of Luxembourg protested directly to the Kaiser when the Germans crossed the frontier into her country on 2 August, only to be told that the army was there to protect the railways against an attack by the French.

As well as examining the events of the month following the assassination, Martel raises some interesting points about the British decision to participate in the conflict only after several other countries had already declared war on one another. In particular he considers why Britain felt compelled to respond to the invasion of Belgium, a country about which it seemed to care little, particularly as Britain had been at the forefront of the campaign against Belgian atrocities in the Congo. Equally the Belgians had not originally sought support from Britain, considering it an unreliable ally. Even on the day before the war began, Britain's position on the violation of Belgian neutrality was unclear. However, Grey and the cabinet were persuaded that Belgium would be just the first country to come under German control unless war was declared, and Germany's failure to reply to the British ultimatum on Belgian neutrality forced their hand. In the end diplomacy, which had appeared to be the solution to the crisis over the assassination, failed spectacularly.

The detective approach taken in the book works well with regard to the unfolding story, where no one was aware what the outcome of negotiations would be and the picture at any one time appeared shifting and full of conflicting evidence. The major characters are portrayed as individual human beings with

their own anxieties and concerns while the crisis unfolded, rather than having fixed ideas as the negotiations twisted and turned. For the non-specialist a helpful list of all the main personalities is presented, particularly useful in relation to the vast numbers of diplomats and ambassadors involved in the events of July and early August. In spite of saying that military sources were consulted, Martel appears to make little use of these in the text, emphasising diplomatic rather than military interventions, perhaps in line with his insistence on the role of direct human agency in handling the conflict. Also the index is infuriatingly organised, with, for example, no direct reference to individual countries. To locate the reference the reader needs to find the entry under a particular diplomat, which is time-consuming. However, overall the book is highly readable with a clear and lively narrative, and Martel allows the events to speak for themselves rather than constantly analysing what was happening. His final section raises the question of whether or not the outcome of the assassination crisis might have been different if individuals had adopted more flexible attitudes or made alternative decisions, something which is ultimately unknowable. In the end, though, this book reminds us of the importance of human agency, as well as long-term trends and short-term gains, in the decision to lead the world into one of its most terrible wars.

University of East Anglia

ALISON JAY

***A Vision of Europe: Franco-German Relations during the Great Depression, 1929–1932.* By Conan Fischer.** Oxford University Press. 2017. xii + 206pp. £60.00.

Germany's Weimar Republic is a perennially popular topic for students and scholars alike. A mainstay of university and school curricula on both sides of the Atlantic and the subject of innumerable monographs, essay collections and scholarly articles, almost every aspect of the brief life of the republic has been pored over repeatedly in the eighty-four years since its demise. Yet there are still aspects of Weimar's story that remain under-represented in the literature on the topic. While the domestic politics of the republic, and more recently its culture and society, have received the most attention from historians, Germany's relations with the wider world have received comparatively little attention, in the anglophone literature at least.

Most studies of the Weimar foreign policy tend to focus, naturally enough, on the question of Germany's efforts to revise or escape from the strictures imposed upon it by the Treaty of Versailles and on the man who served as Germany's foreign minister for almost half of the republic's fifteen-year life span, Gustav Stresemann. The unprecedented period of détente between Germany and her traditional enemy France in the mid-1920s is often linked inextricably to the person and personality of Stresemann, and his untimely death in 1929 is seen as the turning point in Franco-German relations and Weimar foreign policy more broadly. However, in his new book on the Franco-German relationship during the last years of the Weimar Republic, Conan Fischer ably and convincingly argues that the traditional focus on Stresemann and the downplaying of the achievements of his successors have obscured the continuing commitment to rapprochement and cooperation that existed in both countries, even as the Great Depression propelled the Weimar Republic towards its terminal crisis. In so doing

he presents a more optimistic version of Weimar foreign policy which grants to it a full measure of historical contingency and refutes more deterministic interpretations of German politics and international relations during the interwar period.

Fischer traces the origins of Franco-German (economic) cooperation to the period before the First World War and demonstrates that even during a period normally characterised by mutual antagonism and mounting tension between the Great European Powers, there were individuals and groups who recognised that cooperation and collaboration offered a better prospect than confrontation and conflict. As Fischer points out, even during the Great War there were isolated individuals such as Walter Rathenau and the former French prime minister Joseph Caillaux who kept the flame of Franco-German cooperation alive – in marked contrast to the later architects of the Locarno agreements, Stresemann and Aristide Briand, who were both convinced annexationists. French diplomats had suggested the formation of a common economic policy with Germany as early as March 1919, but the Germans preferred to put their trust in the United States in the hope of more lenient peace terms. Subsequent attempts at an amicable settlement of the reparations issue in the early 1920s foundered in the face of domestic opposition and external pressures, until the Ruhr Crisis of 1923–4 demonstrated the limits of confrontation to both countries and ushered in a period of *détente* that resulted in the Locarno treaties. The ‘Locarno era’ allowed not only for the successful negotiation of a bilateral trade treaty, but also created favourable circumstances in which an ongoing dialogue concerning a mutually acceptable peaceful solution to the big issues that dominated Franco-German (and even wider European) relations in this period could be conducted. At the same time, a range of cross-border cultural and intellectual contacts instrumental in the ‘cultural disarmament’ of both nations proved vital to the continuing development of good relations.

If the commitment to *détente* was supported broadly enough to survive after Stresemann’s death, the outlook of key individuals was nevertheless important to the smooth running of Franco-German relations. Briand was a constant presence until his death in 1932, while the two dominant personalities (Stresemann’s immediate successor as foreign minister Julius Curtius and incoming Chancellor Heinrich Brüning, neither of whom has generally received a favourable write-up from historians) in German foreign policy between 1930 and 1932 were just as convinced as Stresemann that they had more to gain through negotiation and cooperation than through confrontation. Successful visits by Brüning to Paris in July 1931 and by French premier Pierre Laval to Berlin in September (the first senior French politician to visit the German capital since 1878) further cemented relations and laid the foundation for what was to prove the high-water mark of Franco-German reconciliation and collaboration: the agreement in the autumn of 1931 to establish a Joint Committee dedicated to paving the way to the integration of the economies of France and Germany. This was seen as the best route to achieving an eventual settlement to the political differences that had bedevilled the Franco-German relationship since before the First World War, and also as the first step on the road towards a wider European free-trade area. It is tantalising to consider how this would have developed had the work of the Committee not almost immediately been overtaken by events. France’s decision to impose unilateral tariffs on German goods, the death of Briand, the

fall of the administrations of both Laval and Brüning, and the souring effect on relations caused by the publication of sections of Stresemann's memoirs meant that by the middle of 1932 the political landscape had changed dramatically and Franco-German relations reached an impasse.

The first two chapters deal with the development of Franco-German cooperation between the 1910s and Stresemann's death in 1929 and, therefore, strictly speaking fall outside the chronological scope of the book, though this is not a failing. A working knowledge of the sometimes tortuous route that Franco-German relations took in the period before 1929 is necessary to understand fully the main focus of Fischer's thesis, and the author handles this complex story with aplomb. The remaining four chapters give a detailed, roughly chronological, account of the development of Franco-German relations until the 'breakdown' occasioned by Weimar Germany's final political crisis and Hitler's installation as Chancellor in January 1933. Fischer does an excellent job of rescuing from the obscurity and disdain of posterity the 'good men' – German ambassador to Paris Leopold von Hoesch, Curtius and Brüning amongst them – whose 'personal commitment to the cause of reconciliation and peace' (p. 186) for a brief moment seemed about to augur a better and brighter future for France and Germany. He draws extensively on both the French and German archives to tell his story, and while these documents have been used by historians before, by placing them 'side by side', as it were, Fischer is able to reveal a much less pessimistic version of the Franco-German relationship than conventional wisdom allows for. At the same time, he shows an impressive command of the secondary literature in three languages on Weimar, interwar France and international relations more broadly. This enables him to present a persuasive and, to many anglophone readers at least, unfamiliar story that does much to correct some of our preconceived ideas about Franco-German relations between Stresemann's death and the collapse of Weimar democracy.

University of Warwick

COLIN STORER

***Scorched Earth: Stalin's Reign of Terror.* By Jörg Baberowski, translated by Steven Gilbert, Ivo Komljen and Samantha Jeanne Taber. Yale University Press. 2016. x + 500pp. £25.00.**

In this book, a translation of *Verbrannte Erde: Stalins Herrschaft der Gewalt* (2012), Professor Jörg Baberowski of Humboldt University in Berlin examines the exceptional lethality of the Bolshevik regime. Some twenty years after the revolution, the Soviet Union was no workers' paradise. Millions of peasants had died in a man-made famine. Hundreds of thousands had been sent to the labour camps of the gulag, and the better part of a million more were being subjected to summary execution, their bodies hastily dumped in mass graves. The violence reached a peak of ferocity in the 'Great Terror' of 1936–8, but was employed throughout the war and in its aftermath.

The author places the blame squarely at the feet of Joseph Stalin. This is quite sensible in itself. The opening of the archives, and particularly the Stalin archive (RGASPI 558/11), has left scholars in no doubt that the pattern and virulence of political violence was substantially within the dictator's control. According

to Baberowski's reading of this material, Stalin was 'malevolent', 'criminal', 'a psychopath' driven by twin lusts: a 'lust for murder' and a 'lust for power'. This is not without precedent in the historiography, but from Isaac Deutscher's 1949 biography of Stalin to Oleg Khlevniuk's *Master of the House* (2009) authors from this broad school have made a more serious and sustained effort to explain how such a malign figure could gather extraordinary power within the Soviet state, and how a psychopath was able to orchestrate such hideous brutality affecting the lives of tens of millions. Baberowski devotes some attention to political violence under the last tsars, in the First World War and the civil war. Somewhat more provocatively, he is not inclined to think that the Bolsheviks ever had any serious, positive programme. So, for example, he asserts that in *State and Revolution*, the Bolshevik leader's treatise on the communist future, Lenin (an 'armchair criminal') was 'spinning fantasies' in which he did not, in all probability, believe (p. 49).

Baberowski's version of Stalin's rise to power is taken pretty much from Trotsky. Stalin, we are told, was an intellectual mediocrity and political opportunist, who used the ideas of the party's right 'wing' to defeat the left and then took the ideas of the left to defeat the right. He promoted careerist bureaucrats in place of the 'old fighters' because the new men could be manipulated. He then sustained a state of emergency which allowed him to divide one group against another, to 'atomize society' (here borrowing from Hannah Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism* (1949), p. 177) in order to 'give free rein to his lust for destruction' and wage war against his own people.

The book might have been more satisfying if Baberowski had engaged more thoroughly with findings in the recent literature. Ever since the mid-1970s, historians (cf. Robert Tucker) have accepted that Stalin had a policy platform that gathered political support. The work of Erik Van Ree and others has shown that Stalin was not a mere opportunist, but rather a sophisticated Marxist thinker. The work of Sarah Davies, Jeff Rossman and others has shown that society was far from atomised. Gabor Rittersporn, Wendy Goldman, Arch Getty, William Chase and others have shown that the sense of 'emergency' was broadly shared. People did not engage in the maelstrom of violence only to save their own skin, but also because of the perception that the revolution was in danger. They sought, however misguidedly, to help identify its enemies. David Brandenberger has shown that the population did not find much of the Stalin regime's propaganda convincing. Their lives were pretty miserable, but the scale of construction, of economic growth, was undeniable and visible to all. Stalin was a monster, but his grotesquely violent regime built an economic and military superpower with unprecedented speed. The pace of construction won the regime some enthusiastic supporters, but it also generated terrible tensions in state and society. The scale and ferocity of political violence cannot be understood without some exploration of these tensions and what set them off.

Baberowski asserts here that Stalin both stoked the tensions and set them off. The violence was destructive and in no way constructive, or justifiable, hence he concludes that Stalin was a psychopath, incapable of empathy, and driven by bloodlust. But that is surely too simple. Bolsheviks were violent and ruthless people for certain. Stalin was far from alone among them in thinking that they were pioneers in the early phase of a long struggle to build a new and better kind of society. Bolsheviks were students of revolution who thought that previous

efforts had failed because the revolutionaries had consistently failed to anticipate the strength of the counter-revolution. They were determined not to make the same mistake, and extraordinary violence was justified because at stake was a future free of exploitation, not just for the working people of the Soviet Union, but for the working masses of the entire world. If this makes Stalin a psychopath, we must treat Bolshevism as a form of mental illness.

While this book does not quite rise to the challenge of explaining the causes of Soviet political violence under Stalin, it remains a very powerful study of its effects. Terror tore apart the lives of millions in the course of Stalin's twenty-five years in power. Baberowski has collected an impressive range of material illustrating the horrific human experience of Stalinist political violence, from the red terror of the civil war through collectivisation, mass operations, the Second World War and after. As we try to understand the causes of this phenomenon, we must never lose sight of its terrible effects. This book serves as a salutary reminder.

University of Leeds

JAMES HARRIS

***Democratization of Intelligence.* Edited by Peter Gill and Michael M. Andregg.** Routledge. 2015. x + 155pp. \$160.00.

This anthology provides a comparative analysis of intelligence agencies beyond the usual research that focuses on North America and western Europe. It explores the difficulty of establishing democratic governance in intelligence agencies, the regions discussed including eastern Europe, Latin America and South Asia. The authors probe how the legacies of history in former communist countries, authoritarian military governments and democratic countries with political violence have shaped intelligence agencies. Originally published as a special issue of *Intelligence and National Security*, these chapters explore a broad range of countries from India to Brazil to Romania. Unfortunately, the book contains no new chapters or substantive changes from the original journal publication, but is nonetheless a good comparative volume that highlights the different problems faced in intelligence agencies that either have a short history of democracy or have a legacy of political violence that has challenged democratic institutions.

The first half of the book has chapters that take comparative approaches to understand east-central Europe, Latin America and South Asia. The anthology's editors, Michael M. Andregg and Peter Gill, begin with an introduction about comparing the democratization of intelligence, writing 'that intelligence is, in some sense, the last frontier for attempts to democratise previously authoritarian governmental structure and processes' (p. 2). Examining intelligence agencies' democratisation process from authoritarian structures in a comparative framework offers ideas for future improvement and reform. One lesson the editors found with the chapters 'is that the formal establishment of oversight can give a false sense of security and permit continuing inefficiencies and corruption to exist for a long time until, almost certainly, a major legitimacy crisis erupts' (p. 9). Marina Caparini explores intelligence structures by comparing agencies in east-central Europe and the Balkans and how factors such as external assistance, the media and armed conflict encouraged or constrained

reforms. She finds that the fact that 'Western Balkan states are going through a process already experienced by the East Central European states suggests that multilateral actors' had 'the opportunity to develop more effective and coherent approaches in support of intelligence and internal security reform' (p. 34). Moving beyond Europe, Marco Cepik and Christiano Ambros analyse the factors that shape institutional crises in intelligence by comparing events in Brazil, Colombia, South Africa and India. The authors conclude that the four cases show that 'the transformational burst generated by the crisis was difficult to turn into substantial changes' and 'the more common result regarding intelligence systems seems to be a high rate of crisis recurrence' (p. 63). Next, Eduardo E. Estévez focuses on Latin America by looking at how history shapes intelligence in Argentina, Peru and Ecuador, and what drives change. The legacy of authoritarian governments in these countries shows that democratisation does not 'necessarily occur immediately after restoration of democracy', but it is significant for political figures to acknowledge human rights violations to reform intelligence services (p. 92).

The remainder of the book uses single-country studies to examine intelligence reform. Joanisval Brito Gonçalves discusses Brazil's intelligence services and its intelligence community's relationship with decision-makers. He argues that most 'parliamentarians knew nothing about intelligence' so there 'was the absence of an effective mechanism of intelligence oversight' until 2009 legislative reforms provided more accountability (p. 111). Turning to international efforts in intelligence reform with Bosnia and Herzegovina, Helge Lurås analyses both the centralisation and democratisation of the country's intelligence and security services. While the Intelligence-Security Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina has had strong leadership since its creation in 2004, he writes that intelligence democratisation is not the country's greatest concern, which ranks below maintaining a unified state. In the final chapter, Florina Cristiana Matei reviews post-communist Romania before and after the country joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union. Romanian intelligence underwent key legislative reforms based on the priorities of the government. She finds that 'NATO and the EU were the major drivers of intelligence reform', but after joining 'effectiveness became the main focus' where oversight 'has plummeted' (p. 147).

Democratization of Intelligence offers a unique view of intelligence organisations by shedding light on some lesser-known agencies from around the world. As the editors explain, often books about intelligence address North American or western European issues even though every country has a multitude of intelligence-gathering agencies. This book provides a solid comparative approach with chapters about differences between intelligence agencies around the world and single-country analysis of nations not usually studied by academics. However, for a book drawn from a special issue of *Intelligence and National Security*, new chapters could have been added to make this publication more enticing than reading the journal online. This short but useful anthology is recommended for scholars of intelligence who want to learn more about the struggles facing intelligence agencies in relatively recent democratic countries or nations with democracies that have communal or political violence.

Stony Brook University

RYAN SHAFFER

The Americas

***Colonial America and the Earl of Halifax, 1748–1761.* By Andrew D. M. Beaumont.** Oxford University Press. 2014. ix + 248pp. £60.00.

Managerialist measures and approaches have become harrowingly familiar to those working in Higher Education in recent decades – they are the new gargoyles of our universities, increasingly built into our structures and operations. The heartless quest for more efficiency typically involves more centralisation and less variation, measuring impact and understanding performance in terms of economic benefits, introducing new communications platforms to improve information capture, and above all, arranging more bureaucratic meetings and introducing new roles and personnel to implement these aims. It is with some professional difficulty, therefore, that one warms to the grand imperial architecture devised by George Montagu Dunk, the earl of Halifax, for the American colonies – described in admiring detail in Andrew Beaumont's rich history of colonial politics and metropolitan administration in the mid-eighteenth century.

Beaumont's Halifax falls somewhere between the grandiose ascription of 'Father of the Colonies', listed on his marble memorial pedestal in the north transept of Westminster Abbey, and a rather grubby manager of a modern multinational corporation, a comparative framework that the author plays with intermittently and that offers some explanatory mileage but brings some problems of conflation. Based on a close reading of the Board of Trade's journal minutes and tracking extensive correspondence circuits between Halifax, his professional network (including governors and administrators) and their colonial partners, the approach could have offered a dry snapshot of the intimate workings of imperial patronage. Yet, in the process of providing a welcome corrective to the absent-minded neglect with which Halifax and his Board have sometimes been treated by scholars, Beaumont achieves much more: an anatomy of imperial reformism. By deconstructing and reconnecting what he calls 'Halifax's system' (p. 6) for colonial governance, the study sheds empirical light on the motivations and limitations of metropolitan power. It also gives more definition to the direction of travel in Anglo-American relations before their derailing in the 1760s by the fallout of global conflict and changes in personnel and policy.

After an introduction which briefly places Halifax and his busy period as the president of the Board of Trade within a scholarly context, making the key point that few political historians have really invested time in the awkward period between Sir Robert Walpole's 'salutary neglect' of the colonies and William Pitt and George Grenville's later ruinous attentions, Beaumont begins with a delightfully textured account of Halifax's upbringing and worldview, culminating in his appointment as first commissioner of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations in October 1748 (then aged thirty-two). Fully enmeshed in elite networks – courtesy of dynastic pedigree and an education at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge – Halifax had benefited from the patronage of the duke of Bedford to secure a role in imperial administration. Here, Halifax cashed in both on his social capital and on his intellectual assets, using the latter to identify inadequacies in Anglo-American governance and the former to help address and resolve them, always with one eye on the long game and the commercial benefits of Atlantic empire – be they personal or collective.

The central chapters explore the energetic means by which Halifax exploited the unrealised potential inherent in the largely passive government agency he took over. Though there is not scope here to do justice to the many aspects explored and innovations pursued, there is a neat historiographical alignment of some of the various insights offered by Jack Greene, Ian Steele, Ed Cashin and Fred Anderson (among others) on the subjects of policy integration and attempted cohesion. Beaumont offers particularly strong and original contributions in relation to the Albany Congress and its significance, on Nova Scotia as a new model colony and an 'imperial protectorate' (p. 64), and on the interlocking of professional sensibilities among a host of placemen or 'clients' of Halifax, chosen for talent, loyalty and ideological adherence to Halifax's far-reaching efficiency objectives and imperialist ethos – including the likes of John and Thomas Pownall, Robert Dinwiddie and Henry Ellis. Beaumont's study is well grounded, deft, and also salted with perceptive and wry observations that reflect his fulsome immersion in the personal nature of politics in the era: no chance is missed to celebrate repartee or to locate ulterior motives, which makes for an entertaining and evocative read.

Beaumont's study dances in the capacious shadow of the American Revolution, which he touches on in the final two pages, albeit the titular bookend is 1761, the date when Halifax resigned from the Board of Trade (having been eclipsed by William Pitt). But the book's contribution to the origins of the American Revolution debate will stand for longer, for in Halifax's frustrated schemes we can find a leap forward in ideas not about American independence but about imperial interdependence. Quite how much the particular reformism embraced by Halifax owed to his Machiavellian temperament rather than wider cultural influences remains open to question, as does Beaumont's gentle intimation that Halifax's 'incremental improvement' (p. 214) of the workings of colonial governance and his Board's co-optive approach might have stood a better chance of retaining colonial allegiances than the forceful and short-term measures pursued under ministries in the 1760s (including the Stamp Act, which Halifax unwisely supported). But either way, Halifax's efforts to shore up imperial positions and his phalanx of position-holders in America were a necessary – if not a sufficient – precondition for the more radical impositions and the political resistance that followed. And in one final respect, then, Halifax's flattened story, wonderfully revived by Beaumont, echoes in the contemporary education sector: the departure of senior managers before the full impact of their reforms can be measured and any blame attached.

University of Kent

BEN MARSH

1777: *Tipping Point at Saratoga*. By Dean Snow. Oxford University Press. 2016. xii + 440pp. £22.99.

1777: Tipping Point at Saratoga is a micro-history of the thirty-three-day campaign that resulted in the capitulation of John Burgoyne's army to the improvised forces of Horatio Gates. Dean Snow's narrative is a faithful and meticulous chronicle, ably interweaving a rich tapestry of first-hand accounts with detailed descriptions of the battle's geography, planning and execution. What

follows is a panoramic of the issues, personalities and events that culminated in the great American victory of the early Revolution.

Central to the purpose of any narrative history is its capacity to entertain. Throughout, Snow make use of diary entries and journals, as well as unpublished military documents, to untangle the skein of proceedings in linear daily – sometime hourly – timelines. This approach makes for a dynamic and intimate rendering of the many threads that comprise the bigger story of Saratoga, which few could deny was anything but engaging. In this regard, a singular strength of the book is the author's willingness to highlight the realities of the people behind the headlines – the usually anonymous as well as the famous. Amid the typical cast of Benedict Arnold, Simon Fraser, Daniel Morgan, and so on, priority is afforded to a whole host of lesser-known characters who combine to colour the tableau of the campaign. Of particular interest is the story of the McGuire brothers. Driven by the demands of poverty, the siblings had unknowingly found themselves on opposite sides of the battle. On the banks of Fish Kill, though, they were happily reunited, with friends on both sides cheering their fraternal embrace. Snow understands that the history of war is comprised not only of grand, set-piece military operations (although he certainly does not ignore this aspect) but also the experiences – commonplace and extraordinary – of those involved. Snow's grand cast, shown in turns to be cautious and daring, tragic and joyful, mundane and dramatic, encompass the human backdrop against which his account of Saratoga is set.

Beyond the matter of entertainment, the task of narrative history is to inform its readers, one hopes, with fresh historical interpretation. One is thus left asking a question of Snow's work: namely, does the author present anything new or of special analytical significance? Take, for example, Theodore Corbett's *No Turning Point: The Saratoga Campaign in Perspective* (2012). For all its faults, Corbett's work attempts to challenge the perpetual emphasis on Saratoga as the decisive confrontation between British and American forces that tilted the balance of the war irreversibly in favour of republicanism. By refocusing the reader's attention on the regional conflict that surrounded Saratoga, Corbett argues that Burgoyne's surrender was no turning point at all but simply a part of a wider regional conflict that reverberated for almost a decade. Snow's work, in turn, offers no such interpretative nuance. His work is simply a localised history that, in truth, does not offer anything not covered by Richard M. Ketchum twenty years ago. As such, the author struggles to justify the title 'Tipping Point'. Snow's text stops dead with Burgoyne's signing of the convention treaty, offering only a brief foray into the post-Saratoga careers of a few selected characters. There is no attempt, it seems, to place the campaign in its wider context with regard to, say, its effect on British support, the genesis of Clinton's southern strategy, or the opening of opportunities for the American diplomatic corps in France. A complete understanding of the significance of Saratoga requires some consideration of these factors that are conspicuous by their absence in Snow's book.

For professional historians, then, the value of Snow's *Tipping Point* is limited. The reader will discover a vast amount of detail – sometimes extraneous – presented in a very readable style. By way of genuine scholarly innovation, though, this volume offers little beyond what has already been long established by the existing historiography. As a work of popular, narrative history, this book

appears nonetheless to have fulfilled its primary purpose: namely, to entertain enthusiasts of America's revolutionary era and spark further research.

University of Kent

JACK TRACEY

Embracing Dissent: Political Violence and Party Development in the United States.

By Jeffrey S. Selinger. University of Pennsylvania Press. 2016. 264pp. £36.00.

In his new book, Jeffrey S. Selinger, an associate professor of government at Bowdoin College, traces the development of political party opposition from the early days of the republic through the turn of the twentieth century. He pays close attention to the usual suspects – Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and James Madison – as well as those overlooked nowadays, such as Martin Van Buren.

Selinger begins in the 1780s with an examination of the ways in which American politicians, particularly Madison, sought to maintain social stability and, in doing so, created a Constitution that ‘made national parties a reality’ (p. 52). These early parties emerged in a context ‘that emphasized consensus building and incremental change’, which was not a surprise given the volatility of the post-Revolutionary Confederation government (pp. 52–3). He next considers the first party system of Federalists versus Republicans, which ‘was unique in American history because it pitted in opposition two parties that each aspired “to end all parties”’ (p. 55). A system ‘with parties peaceably alternating in power’ was antithetical to American thinking at the time, and the influence of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars on American politics only exacerbated this party tension (p. 57). Even the first successful transition in power from one party to the other in 1800 failed to tamp down the partisan rancour, the New England secessionist movements of 1804 and 1814–15 serving as the two most obvious examples of this discord.

The second party system of the Jacksonian/antebellum era, often hailed as the emergence of the legitimate two-party contests that still exist today, was not quite as democratic as contemporaries and even some scholars have labelled it. Selinger notes that the two major parties of the Jacksonian period (Democrats and Whigs) were formed to allow partisanship, but at the exclusion of the institution of slavery as part of the political discourse. He also rightly credits Van Buren with playing the critical role in forming this new two-party system. The New Yorker did so in part to downplay sectional divisiveness, but he also envisioned a more transparent, egalitarian political world. Van Buren introduced new processes in national politics, such as the presidential nominating convention, that helped to democratise American politics at the national level.

Of course, the artificial exclusion of slavery from national politics did not hold, as both Democrats and Whigs discovered. Slavery played a central role in the disintegration of the Whigs and their replacement by the Republicans, who focused on placing debate about slavery's growth at the centre of the party's political existence. This failure to perpetuate the Jacksonian party system led to a civil war. This military conflict produced another change, as Lincoln's embrace of emancipation as a war goal marked a major shift in party thinking. As Selinger puts it, ‘for the first time in American history, a party leader in a position of high

responsibility embraced a sectionalist mandate for a major political party on the most divisive question of the day' (p. 111). This turning away from the nationalist partisan position outlined from the beginnings of the constitutional republic 'left an institutional legacy that altered the trajectory of party development' (p. 133). It removed the possibility of nationwide violence as a satisfactory solution to political problems, although it did not solve the problem of organised bloodshed in the name of party on the local and state levels, as demonstrated by the actions that white supremacists took both during and after Reconstruction.

The end of the Civil War allowed for a reimagining of American political parties. Partisanship came to be seen as 'a rather ordinary, competitive process' that could 'serve as an important outlet for political expression' (p. 138). The internal focus of political parties that Selinger sees in the Jacksonian, antebellum and Civil War eras once again turned outward to consider foreign threats, while still paying attention to domestic concerns, such as class conflict. As in the pre-Civil War period, partisanship had its limits, as demonstrated by the implementation of legislation in the 1910s that echoed the restrictions placed on immigrants and free speech during the 1790s. In that way, not much had changed in the nation's first 120 years of existence.

Selinger concludes that the United States is strong enough now to endure 'a wider and less inhibited debate' (p. 178). Given the many ways in which Donald Trump's administration has exposed Americans' overreliance on tradition and custom to sustain their nation's political existence, one could argue that Selinger may have been too optimistic. Nevertheless, his book 'provide[s] some much-needed perspective on the significance and consequences of today's polarized political landscape', and it is an important read for those wanting to understand the United States and its politics today (p. 27).

Cumberland University

MARK R. CHEATHEM

***Irish Nationalists in America: The Politics of Exile, 1798–1998.* By David Brundage.** Oxford University Press. 2016. viii + 288pp. £22.99.

Irish American nationalism, David Brundage maintains, was never 'just a matter of guns, meetings or petitions; it was also an ongoing work of political imagination' (p. 92). In this history of Irish American nationalism from its beginnings to the late 1990s, he communicates two centuries of intertwined Irish, British and American history in a coherent and readable account. The multiple generations of men and women who criss-crossed the Atlantic differed from each other in terms of ideologies, class and locations of departure and settlement, but nationalism was constantly being reimagined in each era and repeatedly rejuvenated by these new waves of political exiles. This transnational perspective is fundamental to the book's analysis as currents of nationalism ebbed and flowed across the wide Atlantic in both directions.

The impact on Ireland of nationalist movements in the United States (US) was most evident in terms of material aid. Funds collected in the US became the lifeblood of the Irish Parliamentary Party in Westminster during Parnell's leadership in the 1880s as MPs were not paid a salary until 1911. John Redmond was known as the 'dollar dictator' in the British press because of his reliance

on American money in the early twentieth century, and the Sinn Féin ‘three tenors tour’ of the late 1990s netted \$300,000 for the organisation. But money was not the only stimulus. The synthesis of Irish and American republicanism is a recurring theme from the earliest days of transatlantic relations, and links to organised labour, and even socialism, developed. In the 1960s, the non-violent Northern civil rights movement was modelled on the African American civil rights movement, creating what Brundage calls ‘parallels between two “closed societies”’ (p. 195), even down to the fact that Catholics squatting in the tin huts of a deserted Second World War US navy base at Springtown carried placards which read ‘Springtown – Derry’s Little Rock’, referencing the Arkansas governor’s school lockout of black students. Placing Northern Ireland on the American foreign policy agenda in the 1970s took it out of the realm of a British ‘domestic’ problem and ultimately enabled the continuing peace process.

Brundage also shines a light on the influence of Irish nationalists on US political and social developments. He makes the point that despite their small numbers, the radical Irish exiles of the 1798–1829 period were especially influential, particularly on Jefferson’s Republican party because of their political experience and editorship of newspapers. In 1919, Irish American lobbying influenced political rejection of US involvement in the nascent League of Nations, and in 1989, close connections with Irish American activists ensured David Dinkins’s election as the first black mayor of New York.

But Irish American nationalists were not always united in the causes they embraced. This was particularly true of slavery. The United Irish exiles, determined to replace religious labels with the common name of Irishmen, split into pro- and anti-slavery factions. Daniel O’Connell supported abolition and split his followers in America. In the aftermath of emancipation, race became a divisive issue among Irish nationalists both in the US and in Ireland. Patrick Ford, editor of the New York-published *Irish World*, called Irish Americans and African Americans brothers as they were both ‘defrauded working men’, but hailed the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Irish Americans’ hostile attitudes to black civil rights in the 1960s were generally regarded with horror by Northern civil rights activists such as Bernadette Devlin and Michael Farrell.

The anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist thrust of diaspora Irish nationalism was sometimes clouded by Anglophobia. At times, however, its broader object was realised. In 1920 when the Women Pickets, a group formed to campaign for self-determination for small nations, supported Terence McSwiney’s hunger strike in Cork by staging a daily vigil at the British Consulate in New York, they also got Irish longshoremen at Chelsea Pier to boycott the British ship *Baltic* as a symbol of British imperialism. Chelsea’s African American longshoremen supported the boycott, and Marcus Garvey urged black longshoremen not to unload British ships. These young, immigrant Irish dockers were supportive of radical nationalism and militant action. In direct contrast with more established Irish Americans, they linked with black workers who, under Garvey, became nationalist and anti-colonialist. Shaped by Irish nationalism at home, young immigrants such as Mike Quill became leaders of the new unions or big city politicians like Paul O’Dwyer and Tip O’Neill.

Yet, the period after 1920 saw a decline in the US of traditional nationalist organisations and a greater surge of Irish immigrants to Britain. Interestingly, Brundage points out that after the Second World War, post war prosperity among

Irish Americans was 'a balm for Irish America's fanatic heart' (p. 186), and cites the example of Tom Hayden 'growing up unconscious' about Irish nationalism until black activism and anti-Vietnam activism brought him to the support of Irish nationalists in Northern Ireland after 1966.

Women's political activism was also influenced by American mores. Only in America did women act as fundraisers and attendees at local meetings in O'Connell's organisation. Redmond's Irish Parliamentary Party at Westminster played a crucial role in preventing parliamentary action on votes for women in Britain whereas a central plank in the women's suffrage demonstration in New York in 1912 was the extension of votes for women in the Home Rule Bill. And the first Irish nationalist organisation to be led mainly by women was the Irish Progressive League, a left-wing socialist and pacifist group founded in New York in 1917.

Industry and technology transformed the nature of transatlantic connections. Steamships and telegraph cables beneath the north Atlantic made communication faster. Chicago's iron moulders presented the Fenians with a McCormick reaper to carry in the Fenian Fair procession of 1864. The new Free State broadcast W. T. Cosgrave's first St Patrick's Day message to the diaspora on radio in 1926, while in 1968 the televised beatings of civil rights marchers in Northern Ireland singing 'we shall overcome' made a powerful ideological transatlantic link.

This beautifully and concisely written book marks key phases in Irish American history, and Brundage navigates his way through the maze of organisations in a clear and focused manner. As Matilda Tone once did for her husband, this public act of publishing and remembering history puts different eras in context so that all of the histories fall into place and make sense.

Mary Immaculate College, Limerick

ÚNA NÍ BHROIMÉIL

***The Religion of Democracy: Seven Liberals and the American Moral Tradition.* By Amy Kittelstrom. Penguin. 2016. xx + 432pp. \$20.00.**

Kittelstrom's book seeks to discuss the influences which contributed to the modern conception of universal human rights; specifically, the liberal Christian influences which came out of New England in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To this end, Kittelstrom focuses on the evolution of the idea of the 'religion of democracy' by discussing the lives and works of seven liberal New Englanders: John Adams, Mary Moody Emerson, William Ellery Channing, William James, Thomas Davidson, William MacKintire Salter and Jane Addams. Through detailed discussion of these individuals, Kittelstrom traces how the concept of universal morality, which suggested that all humans were moral agents granted the sacred gifts of reason and conscience, became closely tied with US democracy.

Kittelstrom argues that the American Reformation, arising from a debate between 'liberal' Christians, who believed that piety therefore required humility and open-mindedness, and those who originally subscribed to Calvinism and believed that the United States was a 'Christian nation' founded in evangelical Protestantism, produced a strong liberal intellectual culture in which piety was defined by humility, integrity and an openness of thought. This liberal movement

did not believe in the inherent sinfulness of humanity and, as a result of its belief that humans were capable of rejecting sin, it made space for the pluralistic idea that humans of any class, race or gender could increase their moral agency through development of their minds. Although a valid discussion of this is made in relation to issues of class and gender, aside from claiming that this belief helped to 'make racism a social sin', Kittelstrom does not discuss the dichotomy between this attitude and the long-standing issues of racism so inherent in US culture. Indeed, of the seven liberals whom Kittelstrom chooses to discuss, it is only Jane Addams who seems to make any discussion of issues of race at all.

In her preface to the book, Kittelstrom addresses the criticism that the book does not include the intellectual contribution of other religious minorities in the United States by stating that the book does include Catholics and Jews. It is true, the book does discuss the engagement between liberal Protestants, Catholics and Jews as well as the Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim texts read by some of the individuals discussed and the contribution these made to the development of their thinking; however, part of the difficulty with Kittelstrom's method of discussing the evolution of a debate through the ideas and lived connections of specific individuals is that it inherently ignores a large part of the lived experience of the nation as a whole. Although there is some allusion to the ethnic and religious diversity of the United States, there is little in the book to counter or debate the homogeneous narrative of the intellectual conversation between liberal New Englanders.

Although it provides a fascinating discussion of the evolution of liberal Christian thinking, the book's focus on the role of liberal Christian New Englanders in the evolution of the modern conception of human rights comes at the expense of broader engagement with the dialogue concerning the history of human rights. Instead of seeking to contribute to the debate on human rights or the intellectual development of international democracy, the book describes a part of the intellectual debate that contributed to the development of the uniquely American form of moral democracy of the early twentieth century. This is not to suggest that the book does not make an important contribution; an understanding of the roots of the US commitment to individualism, democracy and personal progression couched in the language of moralism is vital to a meaningful discussion of US domestic and foreign policy in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In many ways, the rhetoric and mythology surrounding the United States and its conception of itself are almost as important to an understanding of how its politicians and electorate behave as its lived history; however, the book could have done more to discuss how these intellectual ideas, which undoubtedly form part of the rhetoric and mythology the United States built around itself, argue with the reality of the divisions and lived experience of the United States as a nation outside the liberal New England enclave.

King's College London

MARA SANKEY

***The Transnational Significance of the American Civil War.* Edited by Jörg Nagler, Don H. Doyle and Marcus Gräser. Palgrave Macmillan. 2016. xiii + 253 pp. £66.99.**

This volume consists of essays that were originally presented as papers at conferences in Jena, Germany, in 2011, and Washington, DC, in 2012. The

contributions vary in quality, and some are shorter and less detailed than others; but they are usefully organised into themes and they all offer important insights – not only into contemporary and subsequent thinking about the Civil War, primarily its extra-American dimensions, but also into the techniques of transnational history itself. In these ways the volume can be judged a success. It also represents an impressive gathering of scholars at different stages in their careers, based in England, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Austria and the United States. Unfortunately, the translation work needed on some of the essays (or perhaps it is the proofreading) occasionally falls short.

The editors' introduction poses questions about the global impact of the war and its role in shaping economic interdependencies, governmental changes and theories of nationalism. Mention is also made of mass communication, military tactics and the British Empire, as the editors point to the interconnectedness of events and the need to 'avoid a US-centric view'. They emphasise that people *at the time* realised that the war would have significant effects around the world. This introduction sets the scene by describing the 'electric chain' of 'action and retroaction'.

The first theme for the essays is 'Liberalism, Citizenship, and International Law'. Robert Bonner's piece on 'free seas' explores the changing treatment of piracy, slave trading and neutral rights. There are interesting remarks about the tensions within the evolving maritime code, between personal freedom and security of property, for instance. Paul Quigley shows that the movement of people across borders and oceans promoted a concept of citizenship as individual choice, which had ramifications for military service and national loyalties. Expatriation and naturalisation had to be settled collectively. US leaders pushed for 'volitional citizenship' because this suited their interests and wartime experience. In a discussion of political reform and participatory government in Britain and America, Leslie Butler indicates the centrality of education, which, it was assumed, had to be improved in line with the expansion of the electorate. Abraham Lincoln was a model owing to his belief that the authority of government rested upon an informed public.

Under the heading 'Transnational Political Economy and Finance', Brian Schoen explores pre-war 'economic culture'. Britain's dependence on Southern cotton was a given, as were secessionist expectations about the leverage it would give them; but Northerners were determined to frustrate the pro-cotton and pro-slavery agenda and destroy 'aristocratic tyranny'. Different readings of the Morrill Tariff of 1861 reflected British, Southern and Northern hopes and fears. Jay Sexton describes the external financial dealings of North and South, their British and European creditors, and international money markets and America's place therein. The USA developed financial links with the wider world but also relied heavily on a *national* financial system that became remarkably strong, funding government, promoting growth and supporting US power externally.

In the section on 'Transnational Discourses on Freedom and Radicalism', Mischa Honeck clarifies the circumstances between the European revolutions of 1848 and the end of the American war that allowed for a merging of abolitionism and nationalism. Antislavery commitment strengthened ethnic bonds and national identities, adding to common experiences of unrest and uprooting within the transatlantic region. Honeck's essay is a fascinating examination of 'ethno-nationalist attempts to make discursive sense of the

unsettling and transformative experiences of revolution, war, and emancipation'. Andrew Zimmerman highlights Africa's role in a transatlantic region divided into 'slave' and 'free' areas. He shows how the use of political and economic power affected people in these areas, how the 'African diaspora' binds together the histories of Africa, America and Europe, and how 'fugitive slaves became powerful actors in interstate politics'.

The fourth theme is 'Nation Building and Social Revolutions: The American Civil War and Italy'. Essays by Tiziano Bonazzi and Enrico Dal Lago deal with the 'crisis in nationalism' – specifically, how Americans and Italians struggled to combine distinctive elements together in their respective nations. These were experiments in 'nation-building in the Euro-American world'. Loyalty and unity were challenged by rebels. Rebellion meant non-acceptance of government authority and blood had to be shed to obtain acceptance.

Under the fifth heading, 'Race and Nationalism in Latin America and the Caribbean during the American Civil War Era', Andre Fleche explains that Southerners saw in Mexican instability the evils of multiracialism and expected French control over Mexico (that is, white European government) to bring change for the better. In his analysis of US–Caribbean interaction, Nicholas Guyatt traces the development of ideas about how and when slavery might be ended, the prospects for free blacks, the possibility that the Caribbean would eventually become exclusively black, and the nature of future US expansionism. For many contemporaries, the proposal to remove blacks from the American South, perhaps to Cuba or the Dominican Republic, had abiding appeal. Zach Sell suggests that the experience of Southern planters affected the economy of British Honduras. Along with the need to adapt to emancipation and create a post-slavery pattern of authority came a resolution that non-white culture should not be allowed to prevent more efficient cultivation.

In recent times there has been growing enthusiasm for transnational history and for internationalisation of the American Civil War in particular. This volume of essays continues the trend. But, as the editors admit in their introduction, the transnational approach, while helpful, is limited. It casts new light, but *by itself* it cannot explain the war and its causes and consequences. Even so, further research placing America in a global context will be most welcome; and as more is learned about how and why events in America affected the outside world, scholars might also try harder to determine the influence that events in that world had in America.

Appalachian State University

MICHAEL J. TURNER

A Refugee from his Race: Albion W. Tourgée and his Fight against White Supremacy. By Carolyn L. Karcher. University of North Carolina Press. 2016. xviii + 444pp. \$34.95.

Albion Winegar Tourgée was the most radical white supporter of African American civil rights in the United States during the late nineteenth century. He was also the embodiment of the fragile racial promise of the North's victory in the Civil War. A veteran of First Bull Run and Perryville, he was radicalised by his wartime encounters with the enslaved, the rebel South's most visibly loyal population. After 1865 he played a full and often chastening part – as a judge

in North Carolina – in trying to remake the defeated Confederacy as a biracial democracy in which African Americans enjoyed equal rights under the law. This important book takes up Tourgée's story after the failure of Reconstruction, the publication in 1879 of his bestselling novel *A Fool's Errand* (which castigated white southerners and his fellow Republicans for that failure), and his removal to upstate New York from whence he recommenced his increasingly sobering struggle to salvage the emancipatory fruits of Union victory in an era of gathering white supremacy.

Karcher's detailed analysis of the final phase of her subject's career complements two fine biographies by Otto H. Olsen (1965) and Mark Elliott (2006). It does so by providing a sharp, thematically organised assessment of distinct but overlapping aspects of Tourgée's dogged civil rights campaign. These include a little-known novel, *Pactolus Prime* (1890), numerous 'Bystander' columns in the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, attempts to create a new interracial civil rights organisation called the National Citizens' Rights Association (NCRA), concerted efforts to combat the increasingly ubiquitous crime of lynching, and close personal involvement in the legal campaign against Louisiana's Separate Car Law which culminated in the US Supreme Court's infamous *Plessy* decision of 1896.

Karcher's empathetic yet critical reading of Tourgée's writings and correspondence yields several dividends. Perhaps the most striking of these is the New Yorker's ability to forge effective working relationships with many black activists during a period when relations between whites and African Americans were reaching their nadir. Although Tourgée sometimes berated blacks for not appreciating his help, he seldom patronised them and had great respect for the courage of the individuals with whom he corresponded. They included men such as Louis A. Martinet, head of the New Orleans Citizens' Committee which provided essential local support for the *Plessy* defence, and Harry C. Smith, editor of the *Cleveland Gazette* who played a leading role in securing passage of an anti-lynching bill in Ohio in 1896, and women such as Ida B. Wells whose two visits to Britain raised domestic and international awareness of the abomination of lynching. For their part most African Americans regarded Tourgée as a genuine friend of the race and recognised the truth of his dictum that 'The hope of the oppressor lies in the submissiveness of the oppressed' (p. 114).

A second dividend is the evidence that Tourgée's equal rights struggle was supported by significant numbers of his fellow white northerners. Most modern scholars disparage the latter for their complicity in the development of a racially segregated society. They have good reason to do so. Northerners did little or nothing to stop lynching in the South, to prevent the disfranchisement of southern blacks, or to impede the juggernaut of segregation. However, Karcher demonstrates convincingly that her subject was not quite the 'refugee from his race' that his critics wanted to believe. In fact 80 per cent of the NCRA's 250,000 members were white northerners, many of them angry Union veterans who had a pellucid understanding of the extent to which their hard-won triumph was endangered by the oppression of loyal blacks and the concomitant return to power of southern whites. When a dispirited Tourgée denounced the *Plessy* decision in March 1897, he did so on behalf of many of his former comrades. 'Our soldiers transformed the slave-republic, as they thought, into one of equal right

dependent on citizenship,' he wrote, 'The Supreme Court has re-transformed it into a caste-republic' (p. 290).

The book's third dividend lies in its uncovering of Tourgée's enthusiastic backing for US imperialism in the late nineteenth century. The New Yorker's sterling commitment to black equality did not translate into outrage at his country's treatment of putatively inferior Cubans and Filipinos. Unlike African Americans (with whom he had frequent interaction), neither Cubans nor Filipinos had fought to save the Union in the 1860s. After *Plessy*, he could take heart only from the reunited republic's spectacular rise to great power status – only that and a consul's salary which was the gift of a Republican party that had finally abandoned its Civil War-era commitment to equal justice. Tourgée's campaigns may have ended in failure but, as Carolyn Karcher concludes at the end of this richly textured study, his stalwart commitment to interracial struggle holds lessons for readers interested in the American present as well as the American past.

University of Sussex

ROBERT COOK

***His Father's Son: The Life of General Ted Roosevelt, Jr.* By Tim Brady.** New American Library, Penguin. 2017. viii + 342pp. £21.98.

Theodore 'Ted' Roosevelt Jr. lived a remarkable life, and it should come as no surprise that several biographers have gravitated to his story. The heroic account of his leadership on Utah beach in Normandy during the D-Day invasion almost certainly led to Ted's untimely death a few days after the Allies captured the beachhead, a tale best immortalised in Darryl Zanuck's 1962 film *The Longest Day*. It also earned him the Medal of Honor – posthumously. This episode aside, Ted served as a New York state senator, governor general of Puerto Rico and the Philippines, assistant secretary of the Navy, co-founded the American Legion, and earned commendations in the First World War before achieving legendary status in the second.

These achievements aside, Ted's father, the 26th president of the United States and larger-than-life character, often consumes the foreground of his son's biographies. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, TR's eldest daughter, said her father wanted 'to be the bride at every wedding, the corpse at every funeral, and the baby at every christening'. We can add protagonist to every biography to that list. Without question, Ted's father contributed in no small measure to his son's success. Being the namesake of the most popular president since Abraham Lincoln opened many doors, but Ted's greatest successes came after his father passed away. And yet, biographers insist on casting Ted as a simulacrum of his father. Tim Brady wants to change that and draw Ted 'out of the shadow of his father', an admirable pursuit confused by the title of his book: *His Father's Son*.

Brady repeats some of the same narrative as former biographers. *His Father's Son* focuses intensely on Theodore the elder until page 121 (about halfway through the book) when the patriarch of Oyster Bay dies. Brady curiously opens his book with a tired retelling of TR's 1898 charge up San Juan Heights in Cuba, an introduction that offers no discernible insight into Ted's life. After TR's death in 1919, Brady profiles Ted's career as a diplomat and politician through

clipped research drawn almost exclusively from a synthesis of secondary sources and the Ted and Eleanor Roosevelt papers at the Library of Congress (Ted's wife Eleanor Butler Roosevelt should not be confused with his cousin Eleanor who married Franklin Delano Roosevelt). Brady and his researcher bypassed the Roosevelt Collection at Harvard's Houghton Library, which includes family papers capable of shedding light on Ted's youth and adolescence, a period of time that gets little attention from the author. Additionally, Brady could have used the extensive correspondence of Ted's sister Ethel, the papers of aunts Corrine and Bye, and his brothers Archie and Kermit. Instead Brady extrapolates Ted from his family's affairs, and given the incessant focus on Ted's father in past scholarship, I can understand why the author took this approach. But it is an impossible task. Ted relied ceaselessly on his eldest sister and mother for political advice. His younger brothers gave him the mental stamina and courage in battle, and his wider network of relations offered guidance throughout his life. Without his family, Ted becomes a hollow portrait, devoid of context and *modus vivendi*.

These criticisms aside, Brady's portrait of Ted from 1919 to 1944 is rich and detailed in ways that previous biographies are not. Relying on newspaper coverage, *His Father's Son* delves into the brief anti-communist Red Scare of the 1920s and contextualises the American Legion's foundations as a bipartisan club of veterans dedicated to Ted's idea of civic Americanism. Although Brady draws much of his research from the Peter Collier and David Horowitz book *The Roosevelts: An American Saga*, he does fill in gaps. For example, Ted's decision to gravitate back to New York after the Teapot Dome affair, a scandal that soiled his reputation, is well outlined. Likewise so is Ted's campaign against Democratic Governor Al Smith. Brady's expertise and interest in military history shines through in the final few chapters, and here Ted's experience in the Second World War is richly researched, and the best of Ted's papers is deployed. Perhaps fittingly, it is Ted's relationship with his own sons who served in the war that is the most endearing part of the book.

Despite the problems with Brady's book, its lack of research in parts and the overreliance on a few secondary sources published some time ago, this is one of the best biographies of Ted. Brady's journalistic approach lends itself to a book of this kind. Well written with complex descriptions of place and people, it gives the reader an overview of Ted's incredible life. For those of us waiting for the thick description that delves into the depths of Ted's thoughts and pairs it with a rich contextual analysis, Brady's book disappoints.

University of Roehampton

MICHAEL CULLINANE

***The Good Occupation: American Soldiers and the Hazards of Peace.* By Susan L. Carruthers.** Harvard University Press. 2016. 286pp. £22.95.

In *Citizen Soldiers*, his popular history of the US Army in the Second World War, Stephen Ambrose quotes one of his oral history interviewees on what it meant to be an American soldier in 1945: 'In the spring of 1945, around the world, the sight of a twelve-man squad of teenage boys, armed and in uniform, brought terror to people's hearts... But there was an exception: a squad of GIs, a sight that brought the biggest smiles you ever saw to people's lips, and joy to their hearts' (pp. 485–6). According to Ambrose, 'America had sent the best of her

young men around the world, not to conquer but to liberate, not to terrorize, but to help. This was the greatest moment in our history.'

While Ambrose's work and the 'greatest generation' narrative more broadly have had an enormous influence on popular perceptions of the war, they have had less purchase on the scholarship of the war, as historians have long since complicated claims of a 'good war' in either Europe or the Pacific. Scholars such as John Dower, Peter Schrijvers, Paul Fussell, Mary Louise Roberts and Miriam Gebhardt have demonstrated that GIs' encounters with local populations were not always about 'candy, cigarettes, C-rations and freedom', and have shown just how brutal the war was, for both soldiers and civilians.

With *The Good Occupation*, Susan L. Carruthers adds to this scholarship by examining how American soldiers managed the transition from wartime to occupation in both Europe and Asia. She demonstrates that, just like the 'good war', the myth of the 'good occupation' is too simplistic. Carruthers demonstrates that American soldiers behaved as occupiers always do: they raped, they looted, and had generally fraught relations with local populations. Many of them even adopted many of the racial prejudices of their former foes, with Jewish and Korean refugees in particular singled out as racialised Others. American soldiers were also often unwilling occupiers; there were widespread GI protests throughout 1945 at the slow pace of demobilisation, and the military authorities had to expend significant efforts to make occupation duty palatable to them, including, eventually, domesticating the occupation by shipping wives and families to join them.

This is not a history of high-level policy. Readers will not find an analysis of the various inter-allied negotiations on the future of Germany or of the US plans to democratise Japan. Carruthers is interested in occupation as an 'embodied experience' and she certainly succeeds in foregrounding the quotidian aspects of occupation for the reader. Drawing on a rich set of sources, including letters, diaries and memoirs from American, German and Japanese perspectives, she is at her best when she is illuminating the inner lives of American soldiers overseas. Carruthers has a sharp eye for poignant and ironic details, and we are presented with characters such as the African American college professor turned soldier, gazing upon German roads clogged with refugees and thinking this must have been how 'Southerners must have sought their homes at the close of the Civil War' (p. 62), or the Jewish Displaced Persons Camp administrator, at pains to disguise his Jewishness lest he be thought of as overly sympathetic to his charges or as a soft touch.

The book successfully captures the diversity of the American experience of occupation. Carruthers notes that 'members of America's "After-Armies" were variously, and sometimes simultaneously guards, police, judges, teachers, aid workers, athletes, actors, tourists, and students' (p. 241). Yet, while this insight into the intimate thoughts and feelings of American occupiers sheds light on their general attitudes towards life in post-war Europe and Asia and is very welcome, we learn less about their day jobs. The actual practice of military governance disappears after the first few chapters, and one is left to wonder how ordinary GIs went about the task of military government, and how they felt about policies such as the denazification of Germany or the democratisation of Japan. The focus on everyday life means that these important issues, central to the task of occupation, barely feature.

The book is also marred by a number of careless errors, chief among them the assertion that General George C. Marshall served as Secretary of War, a post he never held (he was Chief of Staff of the US Army during the war). There are also references to non-existent awards and ranks such as 'the purple cross' and Marine Corps 'cadets' and references to the 'Foreign Legion' where presumably the author meant to refer to the American Legion. Cumulatively, these mistakes are quite frustrating, and they tarnish what is otherwise an exceptionally well-written book.

One of Carruthers's objectives is to demonstrate how the occupation was 'made good' by analysing cultural portrayals of the experience such as John Hersey's *A Bell for Adano* and the Broadway play (and later film) *The Teahouse of the August Moon*. Ultimately, she succeeds in demonstrating that, despite attempts to present a rosy picture of the experience, military governance certainly did not feel particularly 'good' to either the occupiers or the occupied. In doing so, she adds substantially to our understanding of the American experience and provides a necessary caution to those who may still wish to celebrate American military interventions overseas uncritically.

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***Liking Ike: Eisenhower, Advertising, and the Rise of Celebrity Politics.* By David Haven Blake.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xiv + 281pp. £22.99.

As Americans have elected their first *reality star* president, we can expect more research that focuses on the intersection between politics, media and celebrity culture. Professor David Haven Blake has chosen to look back in time, to the Eisenhower years. Rather than focusing on the usual suspects of celebrity politics, e.g. John F. Kennedy or Ronald Reagan, Blake has chosen to focus on an earlier period of glamour-induced politics, when still-used practices for Washington's relationship with Hollywood and Madison Avenue were established. The mid-1950s saw both the rise of television as the primary medium of news and entertainment for the American public and the transformation of politicians from civil servants to celebrities in their own right. In the literature on politics and the entertainment industry, Eisenhower tends to be overlooked for the simple reason that his grandfatherly image in our twenty-first-century eyes seems inherently unglamorous. Yet, Haven argues convincingly that it was indeed Eisenhower and his staff who were the first systematically and deliberately to employ celebrities in campaigns and to reframe political life to the American public in a way that emphasised images and glamour rather than policy detail. Previous presidents had used visual images and Hollywood star power, but Eisenhower was the first to explore its potential fully. He was in fact a natural choice to be the country's first television president as he came to the White House by a campaign based not on political experience, but on his national fame as military commander. 'Ike' was the perfect material from which advertising executives could make a national celebrity.

At the centre of the book, we get a thorough historical account of the use of media and celebrity power in the Eisenhower administration, particularly in his 1956 re-election campaign. Here Blake relies on extensive archival research

to build a solid historical argument. The story is told from the perspective of both the White House and the various agencies that promoted the president. However, several chapters of the book use the Eisenhower years as a starting point to delve into other aspects of celebrity politics. Indirectly we are provided with a general history of the relationship between media, advertising, celebrities and the presidency. Individual chapters are dedicated to the celebrity appeal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan and Eisenhower's opponent, Adlai Stevenson – unlike today, the Republicans of the 1950s outdid their liberal colleagues in celebrity appeal and Hollywood connections. Blake also delves into the response to celebrity politics by politicians, intellectuals and artists of the age. The significant changes to the role of president and presidential candidates brought on debates about the intended and unintended implications for the democratic process. Blake's research here is more interdisciplinary as he includes film and media studies, and this provides the reader with an extensive understanding of the significance of celebrity culture in this crucial decade. This excellent book is an important contribution to the study of politics and culture in the United States.

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