

Reviews and Short Notices

General

From Herodotus to H-Net: The Story of Historiography. By Jeremy D. Popkin. Oxford University Press. 2016. xv + 251pp. £16.99.

One of the side-effects of the explosion in historical sub-disciplines since the 1960s has been a renewed interest in historical methods and practice. No longer accepting that the task of a historian is simply to go to the archives, find material and write an account of 'how it really was' (*wie es eigentlich gewesen*), historians now daily grapple with issues around the creation, selection, meaning and interpretation of evidence. A further consequence of this development has been that today no British undergraduate course is seen as complete if it does not include at least one course covering historiographical debates and methods. No surprise then that there has been a proliferation of books aimed at helping tutors and undergraduates alike to steer their way through what Popkin terms the 'glorious confusion' of new historical approaches. Sometimes taking the Elton/Carr debate at their starting point, sometimes grappling with the implications of the 'cultural turn', there is now a bewildering array of books aimed at getting students to move beyond thinking of the writing of history as simply putting facts down in the right order. Less common are works which try to set out what John Burrow called 'a history of histories'. These move from Herodotus, the problematic founding father of the discipline, through the historians of Antiquity, and via Ranke and the professionalization of history, to the present. In the process they often explore what unites the idea and practice of history over two and a half millennia, and how different periods and individual historians shaped it in distinctive ways. Yet despite the resources now available for those teaching in this field, the topic remains commonly unpopular with, and often frustratingly impenetrable to, students who yearn for the simplicity of narrative accounts of the past.

Consequently those venturing into this terrain risk both simply adding yet another book to the pile and failing to illuminate their chosen field in the process. Popkin's work, however, sidesteps these pitfalls, and instead constructs a lucid and approachable account of how history has changed over time, while also engaging seriously with the question of what it means to be a historian in the contemporary world. As readers we benefit from two strengths which Popkin brings to his writing: having taught historiography for over three decades he keeps at the front of his mind the needs of students; and secondly every page crackles with his deep enthusiasm for history as a way into understanding our world. This book is no mere tick box exercise which dutifully covers chronological ground

and historiographical debates. Rather, it is the product of a genuine desire to convey the importance of understanding the process of constructing history and the impact that the writing of history can have outside universities. At its core, Popkin sees developing an awareness of the importance of historiography as the difference between people who are ‘consumers of historical knowledge’ and ‘those who have the skills to produce that knowledge’ (p. 6). Seeing critical engagement with source material and the work of other historians as central to the profession’s identity, he is not one of those who believe that the spawning of multiple historical viewpoints has caused a crisis in history. Rather than lamenting that it is no longer possible to ‘construct generally acceptable narratives of the past’ (p. 11), he instead makes the case for seeing diversity as richness, arguing that ‘historiographical disagreements help keep the discipline alive’ (p. 8).

Arranged with the student in mind, the book is constructed with admirable simplicity. ‘What is historiography?’ is a compelling introduction to the topic, demonstrating its importance to students by discussing how critical approaches to history can inform politically charged issues such as the Holocaust and nationalism. Then, setting out some of the multiple ways in which historians can look at the past, the second half of the chapter becomes a ‘short field guide to the varieties of history’, sketching out in quick succession the key features of the core fields of political, social, economic and cultural history. The core of the book (chapters 2–7) then takes the reader, as the title promises, from Herodotus to H-Net, considering the ways in which different historians in the past shaped the discipline, and how their work was informed and directed by the period in which they wrote. On the way we have welcome, if brief, forays into the work of Chinese and Islamic historians alongside more familiar accounts of European and American historians. Although no chapter works through each topic in depth, all the historians covered are usefully situated in their historical context and Popkin successfully draws out their contributions to the field. If the material is weighted more heavily towards the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, then this is little more than a reflection of the unprecedented explosion in scholarship over this time. As Popkin observes, this was itself a product of the rapid and profound changes brought by modernity, most notably the extension of universal education in the west, the expansion of the university sector, and the opening of the academy to individuals and groups previously largely excluded from it.

Popkin’s broader concern across the book, that of the student as ‘apprentice’ and the learning of historiography as ‘a form of initiation into the world of historians’ (p. x), feeds into his final chapter. This scopes out the protracted path to becoming an academic historian within the American university structure, a process which he likens to the stages of a video game. While some of the issues he raises resonate with those of us working within the British academy – notably the struggle to obtain a permanent post – its US-focus means that it is the earlier chapters which will really interest British readers. Overall this is a small book which deserves to reach a large audience. Its opening chapter should be read by any new student of history, while its clear organization, approachable style and closing ‘suggestions for further reading’ will gladden the heart of any colleague charged with the daunting task of teaching historiography.

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BECKY TAYLOR

Medieval

***Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World.* Edited by James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibbon.** Maney Publishing. 2015. xii + 396pp. £85.00.

***Medieval Archaeology in Scandinavia and Beyond: History, Trends and Tomorrow.* Edited by Mette Svart Kristiansen, Else Roesdahl and James Graham-Campbell.** Aarhus University Press. 2015. 406pp. £40.00.

Both of these welcome volumes are collections of papers arising from conferences. However, *Maritime Societies* has also taken the opportunity to ensure that ‘important missing niches’ were filled with invited papers, although only that on the ‘niche’ (!) of Dorestad is identified. In contrast, *Medieval Archaeology in Scandinavia and Beyond*, a collection of papers to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Department of Medieval and Renaissance Archaeology at the University of Aarhus, restricts itself to the conference papers themselves, commendably managing to contain all but three of the twenty-two papers presented despite a relatively short time-lag to publication.

Between them, the two volumes provide a total of forty-three papers by a range of scholars working in northern Europe. Kristiansen *et al.* have edited a book divided into three sections: Denmark; Sweden, Norway, Finland and North Atlantic Lands; and Elsewhere in Europe. With regard to the book’s title, the various contributions focus most frequently upon the history of medieval archaeology as a discipline with the emphasis upon ‘trends’ and ‘tomorrow’ less obvious (with exceptions: Neil Price in particular provides a magisterial overview of ‘Viking archaeology in the 21st century’).

Barrett and Gibbon do not subdivide the papers of their volume. Their short preface is followed by Barrett’s very useful introductory chapter in which, *inter alia*, he highlights the paradox of how ‘a phenomenon as widespread as the Scandinavian diaspora, with some elements of astounding homogeneity ... concurrently entail a diversity of extremely local expressions of distinctive, sometimes hybrid, identities’ (p. 4). The volume then explores this issue and many others across a geographical expanse that extends to the Russian rivers in the east, Orkney in the north, the Western Isles and Ireland in the west, and as far south as East Anglia (in a chapter on steatite vessels by Sindbæk).

Scandinavia and the influence in particular of Viking Scandinavia are obviously central topics for both books. The development of the practice of Scandinavian archaeology is therefore important and the volume edited by Kristiansen *et al.* provides very useful insights. The significance for the non-Scandinavian reader of the chapters here is that they chart the varied political and organizational histories leading to the establishment of medieval archaeology in Scandinavia as a recognized discipline both in practice and as an academic subject. It is difficult to criticize an apparent lack of hinterland context to urban archaeology when one discovers that, in Norway for instance, rural archaeology is the responsibility of university museums while its urban partner resides under the umbrella of the NIKU, the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research. Similarly the difficulties clearly inherent in securing medieval archaeology as a recognized academic discipline in its own right are instructive. Opposition was often from fellow archaeologists, prehistorians and classicists – ‘Doesn’t belong to my chair!’ was the response from the chair of archaeology in the University

of Helsinki in the early 1970s when faced with the suggestion of an MA thesis examining finds from a medieval bishop's castle (p. 189).

Early examples of cooperation rather than opposition are provided by Ingvild Øye from Norway who notes that the important work of Herteig in Bergen and Blindheim in Kaupang was provided by two practitioners trained in prehistoric archaeology (p. 178). However, a problem common to all the Scandinavian countries (and elsewhere) was clearly the lack of an agreed theoretical underpinning for what constituted medieval archaeology. At Aarhus for example, where Olaf Olsen gained one of the earliest chairs in medieval archaeology in Europe, he was unsuccessful in his preference for defining his discipline as 'historical archaeology' so as to be able to explore post-medieval archaeology as well (p. 53). It is only in recent years that consideration of such temporal linkages and greater interdisciplinarity have become the norm.

A conference and its volume celebrating an anniversary will necessarily need to provide a review of development since the early 1970s. For Aarhus this task is undertaken with chapters by Olsen himself and his successor as professor (after an interregnum when Danish universities downgraded professorial posts), Else Roesdahl. These retrospectives are balanced by a prospectus for development by Mette Svart Kristiansen, although she too is only concerned with Aarhus. While more wide-ranging assessments of provision for medieval archaeology in Denmark are given by Andersen on the role of the national museum and by Madsen on professionalization of the discipline through the museum network, both with useful summaries of work accomplished, there is little here on future aspirations. Such an approach is best left to Price, who summarizes important projects where advances in both research and methodologies are transforming understandings (examples include work at Jelling, Gamla Uppsala, Tissø, Hedeby, Birka and Kaupang, as well as work on Viking Age trade-routes and commodities). He also explores theoretical concepts such as that of 'diaspora'.

Examples of innovative approaches can be found in some of the case studies such as Arge's excellent chapter exploring the development of Faroese medieval archaeology through its input to a key research area, that of the development of Christianity in the islands. His contribution draws upon an awareness of a commendable range of influences in order to discuss archaeological observations and is also good on the impact of research, illustrating how conservation management of the various monuments at the key location of Kirkjubøur is now undertaken holistically, rather than site-by-site in order to better understand and interpret the context. In Iceland, traditional periodization is challenged by Vésteinsson's assessment of the archaeological evidence while, in Greenland, Arneborg illustrates how archaeology is making significant contributions to the key research area of extinction of Norse settlements in the fifteenth century.

These various case studies are complemented by chapters in Barrett and Gibbon. An obvious example is the interesting assessment of archaeological work at Bornais on South Uist in the Hebrides by Niall Sharples and others. Analysis of the result here leads to the open-minded conclusion that an earlier contention by Sharples and Parker Pearson that the bulk of the indigenous population

'adapted their way of life to the new social and political regime' of the Vikings was over-stated. Rather, new economic data supports arguments that there was a 'chronological disruption' and that the capacity of Norse farmers to exploit the island landscape was under-estimated (p. 255).

Remaining within island culture, Griffiths explores Orcadian identity, concluding that Hiberno-Norse influence here worked to separate settlers from the Norwegian homeland and helped to develop a distinctive Orcadian culture. Naum examines the material culture and landscape of Bornholm, providing an interesting and different perspective which argues for a separate but outward-looking insular identity in contrast to traditional historical frameworks which emphasize political and economic connections with the mainland. She uses evidence from a range of sources including burials, ceramics, standardized weights and the numerous tenth- and eleventh-century hoards found on Bornholm, contrasting the latter with hoards from Scania, Zealand, Fyn and Jutland. The material suggests Viking Age inhabitants exploiting roles as trading middlemen, growing wealthy in consequence, a conclusion shared by Carlsson in his summary account of the astonishing 700 or more gold and silver hoards from Gotland. He too sees a distinctive identity for Gotlanders, but it would have been useful for his chapter to have gone beyond the evidence of artefacts and explored other data.

A trio of chapters stand out in the middle of this collection. Dries Tys explores early water management in the Netherlands and discusses the probable political engagement of the counts of Flanders together with the economic and environmental consequences of organized land reclamation; Pieterjan Dekkers examines the relationship of early central places and landing sites leading to the establishment of urban sites in Northumbria (essentially defined here as between the Tyne and the Humber); and Dagfinn Skre uses archaeological material from c.700 to 1000 to provide a critique of Karl Polanyi's economic theories with regard to past societies. However, these are not alone in attracting attention: Gitte Hansen reviews the development of Bergen in a cogent contribution; Ingrid Gustin explores trade and the associated need for trust in the eastern Baltic; and Marika Mägi, as well as exploring trade linked to social systems in places such as Estonia and Latvia, also highlights the difficulties under which archaeologists of the former Soviet bloc have had to labour until the very recent past – as late as the early 1990s, contour maps were restricted to the military, clearly impeding landscape investigation.

Both the volumes under review are to be congratulated for the wealth of chapters provided. Both also benefit from an index, two in the case of *Medieval Archaeology in Scandinavia and Beyond* – a general index and one for people and places. Finally both books are attractively packaged with eye-catching covers. The celebratory volume for Aarhus bears a jolly image of dancing from a medieval wall-painting in Ørslev church, Denmark. This is lovely but it is outdone by *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World* where the cover image is Maggi Hambling's painting *Wall of Water XIII*. Her startling image of the sea complements the written assessments of early societies which were made possible by communication across the sea.

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BRIAN AYERS

***William the Conqueror.* By David Bates.** Yale University Press. 2016. xiv + 596pp. £30.00.

This new title in the 'English Monarchs Series' is a successor both to David Douglas's *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact upon England*, first published in 1964, and to Bates's earlier biography of William (1989). It is based on new editions of texts, and on the author's research in the intervening period, not least his edition of the written acts of William I (1998). It reflects the way his views have been influenced by recent work on early medieval rulership and the exercise of power in a society based on ideas of honour and shame, anger and mercy, as well as a mass of secondary literature on every conceivable aspect of the Conqueror's life and career. The result is a portrait that is richly detailed and nuanced in interpretation.

Writing William's biography is always going to be peculiarly challenging. Bates has tried to be even-handed, summarizing a mass of scholarly debate whilst remaining engaged with the circumstances of an individual life. The early chapters, on William's parents, his birth and early years, are particularly interesting. He explores contemporary ideas about marriage, concubinage and inheritance, arguing that the relationship between Duke Robert and Herleva was both important and enduring, and that the young William, though illegitimate, was from an early age seen as a possible heir to Normandy.

So far as Edward the Confessor's plans for the succession to the English throne are concerned, Bates argues that William clearly did believe he had been chosen as Edward's successor in 1051, and did visit England in that year, an event mentioned only in the D version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. He points to the lack of hard evidence for the timing of William's marriage to Matilda of Flanders, suggesting that it may have taken place in the last months of 1052, rather later than has sometimes been supposed. One of the great virtues of the book is an excellent treatment of William's campaigns before 1066, his interventions in Maine and Brittany, and his last campaign, in the French Vexin. His acts of aggression were played out in different theatres, but throughout a determination to have his rights recognized was displayed. Aggression was always justified in his own mind. From certain perspectives it could be seen as crucial to the maintenance of his authority as a war leader.

The use of violence and warfare was thus a central theme of William's life. Here Bates contextualizes William's actions in early eleventh-century warrior society where honour demanded vengeance, and the exercise of justice the punishment of wrongdoers. Yet even if one can regard William as the violent product of a violent age, the death and destruction which followed the invasion of 1066, and, above all, the 'harrying of the north' were on an exceptional scale, as Bates points out. Whether, however, we should regard this as 'state-sponsored violence', a term used several times, rather than the actions of an individual, is more debatable. William's treatment of those who opposed him was rancorous and ruthless by any standard.

From 1066 the terrain is perhaps more familiar. Bates tends to downplay the idea of a limited takeover of England, which only became more thoroughgoing as English nobles and churchmen opposed the Conqueror. Instead the author sees that from the start those who had fought against William were likely to be classed as traitors, and to lose their lands. The author's mastery of the charter material is deployed to amplify the sometimes meagre chronicle information

about where William was at any particular moment, and what he was doing. Bates is particularly convincing in dealing with the problems posed by cross-Channel rule during years when William's successes were in jeopardy, and might indeed have been reversed.

William's differences with his eldest son Robert were not resolved at the time of his death, and were to bedevil the lives of his sons. William's final illness was unusual in its lengthy duration, giving the great men of his realms (but not, significantly, Robert) time to arrive at his bedside. The magnates were evidently very concerned about the prospect of England and Normandy under separate rulers, but failed to persuade the dying king to appoint Robert as his sole heir. This, as so many episodes in William's life, is open to different interpretations: either the king was perpetuating a problem he had created or simply accepted that a contest between Robert and William Rufus was going to happen anyway.

One possible criticism of this biography, therefore, is that at times it might be regarded as too even-handed. Moreover, even in a very substantial biography some important topics such as the relationships created in England after 1066 between the king and the great men, both churchmen and lay magnates, critical to the success of the Conquest and determining land law, are not given much space. Although 'feudal revolution' (in Normandy) is mentioned in the index, there is no entry for 'feudalism'. In England after 1066 the author is inclined to see more elements of continuity than change, 'variants on a theme, not a new species' (p. 502). Quite so, but the scale of expropriation of English landholders and a more clearly defined relationship between allegiance, tenure and service was clearly something new.

In the Epilogue Bates pulls together what may be discerned about his subject's personality and character. He foregrounds military leadership and political intelligence, the importance of William's strong bond with his wife, the nature of his piety ('propitiatory and ethical', p. 522), and his ability to command the support of key members of the Norman aristocracy. The point about his sexual continence before marriage is well made. The few anecdotes we have of his sense of humour, if true, indicate a somewhat crude jocularity, verging on the cruel, seen in the nickname, 'prawn legs', he gave his eldest son. More perhaps could have been said about his passion for hunting and hawking, the greed which led to corpulence in later life, and the acquisitiveness which led to charges of avarice. Nevertheless, this is a very considerable achievement, moving historical debate forward and, not least in importance, the publisher is to be thanked for a very reasonable price.

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JUDITH GREEN

***Medieval Chivalry.* By Richard W. Kaeuper.** Cambridge University Press. 2016. xv + 428pp. £19.99.

Professor Kaeuper has a well-established reputation as an authority on medieval chivalry. Few can match him for familiarity with the literary sources for the subject, chief among these the romances and the *chansons de geste*, in which the ideals of chivalric conduct are laid bare. Professor Kaeuper's works have ranged across chivalry and violence, the complex interplay between chivalric piety and the teaching of the Church, and the relationship between chivalry and the

'civilizing process'. The publication of this volume in the 'Cambridge Medieval Textbooks' series will therefore arouse high expectations.

As a synoptic survey of the practical and ideological manifestations of chivalry, the book does not disappoint. Its coverage is well-informed, subtle and comprehensive. After a brisk opening section examining the core chivalric beliefs as evidenced by the writings or biographies of five chivalric knights, it moves briskly onto a chronological survey of the rise and evolution of chivalry between *c.* 1000 and *c.* 1500, and then onto a series of thematic chapters offering helpful discussions of chivalry and war, the relationship between chivalry and the institutions of government, the dialogue between chivalry and religious ideals, and the emotional world of chivalry as revealed in knightly behaviour. Professor Kaeuper's approach is to emphasize the tensions and conflicting forces within chivalry. He argues that the individualism inherent in chivalric conduct was at odds with the development of state power in the very period when the influence of chivalric values was at its peak; and he detects an ambivalence between the chivalric emphasis on courtesy and respect for women and the parallel honour-based emphasis on violence and self-help, which could both disguise courtesy and constitute a threat to the vulnerable. He suggests that the framework which medieval society created for chivalry necessarily rested on social and emotional foundations which incorporated both paradox and contradiction. At the same time, however, he argues that these seemingly contradictory forces, so far from limiting the power and spread of chivalry, actually 'animated a construct as complex as any Gothic vault, which also relied on constant pressures or tensions among [its] component parts'.

The strengths of Professor Kaeuper's book are many. It is thoughtful, and it is based on a wide scrutiny of the sources. There can be little doubt that it will both provoke and encourage discussion. As Professor Kaeuper owns to his readers, if it provokes such discussion, then it will have achieved its aims. Its undoubted strengths, however, are bought at a certain price. A notable omission from the book is any attempt to consider what, if anything, may be understood by the term 'the decline of chivalry'. Professor Kaeuper tackles this subject only tangentially, showing how in the late Middle Ages chivalry was absorbed by the state, its ethic of errantry redefined by civilian writers as one of military service to the crown in the name of the common good. He does not accord any consideration to the late medieval barbarization of chivalry, that is, to the way in which the respect which knights had once shown for one another gave way to a regime of killing and executions. A further difficulty is that in his keenness to provoke disagreement and open up debate, he repeatedly sets up straw men for demolition. Time and again, he asks the reader to ponder some 'popular and romantic vision' of chivalry which, he says, continues to shape opinion today, when the vision involved – that of, for example, high-minded knights treating war as some sporting affair – is one to which no serious student of the topic would ever now subscribe.

A more substantial problem with the book is the evident uncertainty about what exactly the readership is that it is addressing. There are really two books struggling to get out here – one, the textbook which Professor Kaeuper signed up to write and which is implied by the series title – and the other, an academic monograph which engages with current scholarly debates about the nature of chivalry and its relationship to civil society. In much of the book both the writing

and the content are too dense to work successfully in a study commissioned as a textbook and intended principally for a student audience. The problem is found at its worst in the long chronological section, in which Professor Kaeuper runs the risk of getting lost amidst the very fogs which he says envelop so much of the subject he is discussing. A distinct lack of clarity is, however, found in some other chapters, notably in that on emotions. The book bears many of the hallmarks of a marriage between two very different types of partner, the two destined never quite to get along. If the problem of incompatibility had been sorted out in the first place, a clearer and more accessible book could have resulted.

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NIGEL SAUL

***Frederick Barbarossa: The Prince and the Myth.* By John B. Freed.** Yale University Press. 2016. xxxiv + 676pp. £30.00.

Writing an academic book about a national myth can be a very difficult task, writing an academic book about another people's national myth is easier and more difficult at the same time. It is easier because the author can easily avoid the pitfalls of the national background, and it is more difficult because the national myth might be close to unintelligible from the outside. Expectations must be unusually high regarding a book on Frederick Barbarossa, still the second-best known Holy Roman Emperor after Charlemagne in Germany, even after national myths were readjusted after 1945 and again after 1990. The author must depict the emperor's life within the framework of the results of German research, familiarizing the English-speaking audience with the sources and circumstances on the one hand and their reflection in German research on the other hand. Meanwhile the author must discuss the myth-making that shaped the research. All these combined make writing a biography of Frederick a daunting task, even if the sources were not as unbalanced as they are. All in all, Freed delivers a solid work that presents a medieval German ruler within the context of his world and which reflects the afterlife of Frederick thoroughly, but there are also – one could say almost necessarily – some flaws.

The first chapters are to be recommended for everybody interested in German medieval history, since they give a general overview and an introduction to the research and recent interpretations. Freed introduces the Reich at the time of Frederick's election, firmly locating Frederick within the context of the higher nobility. He had not been groomed to be king and Freed rightly points out that Frederick was driven in many ways by the ideals of the nobility. Freed's understanding of the German nobility of that time renders insights into Frederick's actions that are well thought through. He describes the problem of the sources for Frederick's reign, which flow much better up to 1162 (as is best manifested in the case of the *Gesta Friderici* of Otto of Freising), and sets out the background of German research that has been influenced for decades by the interpretation of the events in the light of a rivalry between the two families of the Welfs and the Staufen – a notion that has been discredited by the influential analysis of Werner Hechberger. Usually Freed works from a deep familiarity with modern German-language research and if he occasionally does not take into consideration some of the newest twists of academic

discourse, this does not detract from the weight of his knowledge of German literature.

Freed has decided on a chronological approach, presenting Frederick's deeds as they happened with occasional visits to certain important related fields like the relationship between pope and emperor, as they are important to an understanding of Frederick's problems. Many of the situations and agendas Freed explains are well known to a German academic audience, but usually explanations of the background and descriptions of events are well balanced and help to enlighten his intended English-speaking audience. Yet, within the context of Frederick Barbarossa's Italian campaigns, Freed's background knowledge, especially regarding the North Italian cities, is not as thorough as it is for the Reich. It is also in the context of the Italian campaigns before 1165 that Freed seems to get trapped in the web of Otto of Freising's and Rahewin's *Gesta Friderici*. While he cautions against the use of Otto in his introduction, he makes excessive use of the *Gesta Friderici* for the description of the siege of Milan to the extent that the reader is overawed by military details. That he is sometimes insufficiently attentive to the sources' quality is not only a problem for the time covered by the *Gesta Friderici*. After 1165, when the sources are much thinner, Freed repeatedly falls back on late sources like Burchard of Ursberg, usually considered much too late a commentator to give us much of an insight into Frederick's time.

As for the last decade of Frederick's reign, the fall of Henry the Lion and its aftermath, Freed tends to support the opinion that has been put forward by Odilo Engels that the fall of Henry the Lion cannot be interpreted as a sign of a still strong central rule of the emperor, but is to be explained by the princes' ambitions. Recently Knut Görlich argued that Frederick was universally accepted as king and emperor and managed to push for the succession he wanted. Freed does not take note of Görlich's conclusion. In the light of the whole reign it is striking that although the relative peace and quiet in Germany at that time might be explained by Frederick's frequent absences in Italy, Frederick was more present in the 1180s than in the decades before that and still his rule was not challenged. The fact that Frederick was thought to be 'one of them' by most of the princes might be considered as one of the most important contributing factors to the unusual level of acceptance of the emperor within Germany. Frederick outlived excommunication, pestilence, a crushing defeat against the Italian opposition and the defiance of one of the mightiest princes of the realm and ended up as the unquestioned leader of the German host on the third crusade.

To complete the facets of Frederick, Freed also ponders the subject of Frederick's myth, a subject worthy of a book of its own. To gain insight into the reasons for the long endurance and the revival of the image of the emperor, especially in the nineteenth century, Freed has to draw on German modern history. His outsider's view on this phenomenon certainly makes for an interesting read for a German and explains the *Nachleben* to an audience in a comprehensible way that will hopefully convince some readers that Frederick Barbarossa and the Reich in the twelfth century are subjects well worth researching.

Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn ALHEYDIS PLASSMANN

***Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300–c.1500.* Edited by Christopher Fletcher, Jean-Philippe Genet and John Watts.** Cambridge University Press. 2015. x + 382pp. £74.99.

This is a book that seeks to address a historiographical problem through a series of deeply informed comparative essays. It has bold and wide-ranging aspirations, both geographically and thematically, and its approach is innovative and engaging. The product of a long-running research project sponsored by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, it offers an analysis of the ways in which England and France were governed in the later Middle Ages. The editors argue that in place of national histories much greater attention should be paid to the ‘the French and English political space’ (p. 2) as a whole. To address this, eight of the twelve chapters are co-authored by specialists in either English or French history. Their subjects range from institutional matters such as courts, political representation and petitioning; to government officers, secular and ecclesiastic; lawyers, and those who comprised the political community, both noble and otherwise.

In addition to new insights, the volume provides a survey of current thinking and offers an instructive overview of historiographical trends as they have applied to a wide range of governmental and political issues. It is most interesting and works most effectively when direct comparisons between England and France are drawn throughout an essay as in chapter 4 (‘Officers and Officers’ by Christine Carpenter and Olivier Mattéoni) and chapter 9 (‘The Masses’ by Vincent Challet and Ian Forrest). In some instances, a consideration of circumstances and structures in England comes after one concerned with French matters followed by a brief concluding section. While useful, this approach does not always illuminate as clearly as those in which our attention regularly moves across national boundaries (such as they were). Of course, in those instances where direct parallels are simply not possible to explore, much is revealed about differences between national structures and societies.

In the introductory essay, Jean-Philippe Genet states that the authors were less concerned with theoretical models and more with the evidence of political exchange produced in each country. The differing character and volume of such evidence is, as one might expect, a subject of considerable discussion throughout the book. Despite this caveat, the authors do not shrink from engaging with and using terms and concepts that have been the subject of considerable debate. Feudalism, both bastardized and ‘legitimate’, features prominently, while discussion of the differing evolutionary paths France and England took towards ‘statehood’ provides something of a leitmotif for the book.

The approach to the volume is refreshing, but does raise a number of questions. The reader is left wondering whether an Anglo-French focus is itself artificial and restricted. Should we, instead, be thinking in terms of a political geography shaped not only by relations across the Channel/La Manche but also by the North and Irish Seas and the Atlantic seaboard? Furthermore, given the influence of the (no longer) ‘New British History’, where does Scotland fit in this paradigm? Despite this, the book is a very fine example of comparative history and the questions which it raises should provide just as much of a spur for further research as those which it answers.

Harlaxton College

DAVID GREEN

Edward II: The Terrors of Kingship. By Christopher Given-Wilson. Penguin Monarchs. Allen Lane. 2016. xv + 127pp. £12.99.

Edward III: A Heroic Failure. By Jonathan Sumption. Penguin Monarchs. Allen Lane. 2016. vii + 115pp. £12.99.

As Chris Given-Wilson says in the introduction to his fine new study of Edward II, there was a tendency in the Middle Ages for strong kings to alternate with weak ones. This was certainly the case in the fourteenth century, when the strong Edward I was succeeded by the weak Edward II, who was in turn succeeded by the strong Edward III. In these two miniature studies, commissioned for the 'Penguin Monarchs' series and conveniently published around the same time, we are afforded a useful opportunity to reflect on what we actually mean by 'strong' and 'weak' as descriptors of English kingship in the late Middle Ages.

In Chris Given-Wilson's view, Edward II was not so much 'weak' in a conventional sense as stubborn, inconstant and untrustworthy, continually making promises that he had no intention of keeping. Although at times indolent and submissive, he was also capable of bursts of energy in pursuit of such goals as the acquisition of wealth and the destruction of his baronial opponents. Politically, he invited criticism through his unyielding attachment to unworthy favourites, notoriously in his early years Piers Gaveston and later the Younger Despenser. The king's weaknesses and his personal idiosyncrasies, whether sexual or otherwise, made for political disaster. For nearly two decades, English life was torn apart by an unceasing struggle between a dogged and inflexible king and a baronial opposition led by a magnate scarcely less dogged, persistent and unpleasant than the king himself, his cousin, Thomas, earl of Lancaster. As Given-Wilson observes, the grimly inventive repertory of punishments meted out by first one side and then the other to their hapless opponents turned the reign into an age of visceral hatreds and almost unparalleled savagery within the ruling class. The wonder is not so much why Edward II was deposed as how he managed to survive for so long.

Stability in English political life was to be restored by the next king, Edward's son and heir, Edward III, someone conventionally seen as a strong king. As Jonathan Sumption shows in his own study, 'strength' in this Edward's case meant principally the reassertion of traditional kingly values, the pursuit of chivalric war abroad and the forging of ties of companionship with the higher nobility. In five deftly crafted chapters Sumption traces Edward's career through his reopening of the Scottish war in the 1330s, his ill-fated intervention in the Low Countries between 1338 and 1340, his leadership of the triumphant French campaign of 1346–7, which brought the great victories of Crécy and Calais, and his sponsorship of the campaigns of 1355–6 that were to bring his son, the Black Prince, his own victory at Poitiers. The rewards of 'strong' kingship, however, as Sumption shows, were to be disappointingly short-lived. Edward's misfortune, surprising in such an unhealthy age, was to live for too long. Within a period of just five years, towards the inglorious end of his reign, all the king's once proud conquests were whittled away by the French. Sumption's is thus a remarkably qualified view of Edward's achievement: hence the book's subtitle, 'a heroic failure'. In Sumption's opinion, the fiscal demands which Edward made of his subjects were too heavy, and his ambitions in France doomed to inevitable failure because of the superior size and taxable capacity of the French state. Sumption pays little or no attention to Edward's achievements within England itself, chief

among these the soothing of the tensions of his father's reign, the establishment of a durable political consensus, and the founding of a governmental administration under an able group of ministers. Implicitly for him, as for Edward himself, what happened within England was of secondary importance to what happened without. The king's priority, not surprisingly for a medieval monarch, was to uphold the rights of his crown and to do so, where necessary, by resort to arms. Sumption is probably right to take the line that he does. He might have qualified it, however, by adding that Edward's impressive legacy was to establish a paradigm of chivalric kingship that was to last until the end of the Middle Ages. It was in Edward's image that most late medieval kings were to model themselves. Only towards the end of the fifteenth century did a rival paradigm emerge under humanist influence, which stressed aristocratic service to the prince as a civil and political vocation.

These are two highly compelling and eminently readable books, which offer excellent introductions to the reigns they cover. Both are the work of authors whose names are more usually associated with lengthier and weightier tomes, in Given-Wilson's case with his recent massive biography of Henry IV and in Sumption's with his acclaimed multi-volume history of the Hundred Years War. Both books show the value of compression, the Penguin format obliging the author to distil the essence of a subject in a hundred pages, and so to consider what really mattered in a king's reign. In this series, less can often mean more.

Royal Holloway, University of London

NIGEL SAUL

***Henry of Lancaster's Expedition to Aquitaine, 1345–46: Military Service and Professionalism in the Hundred Years' War.* By Nicholas A. Gribit. Boydell. 2016. xv + 373pp. £30.00.**

The military community of late medieval England, and the wider English realm, have been a productive area for recent research. Nicholas Gribit's approach to the 'neglected campaign' of Henry, 1st duke of Lancaster to Aquitaine in 1345–6 is clearly structured and covers a great deal of material in a concise fashion. This includes the army itself, the background of the expedition, the events of the campaigns, as well as details of the soldiers who served and how their careers and patterns of service can be traced.

The book is methodologically preceded by other recent works including Andrew Ayton's seminal *Knights and Warhorses* (1999) and the comprehensive *The Soldier in Later Medieval England* (2013), by Adrian Bell, Anne Curry, Andy King and David Simpkin, which predominately drew its evidence from the Arts and Humanities Research Council project of the same name. An even closer precedent is Adrian Bell's *War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century* (2004), which provides in-depth analysis of two linked campaigns, those of the earl of Arundel in 1387 and 1388, and their historical context. The subject matter, focusing on the activities of Lancaster in Aquitaine, also lends itself towards comparison with the only detailed biography of Henry, Kenneth Fowler's *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster 1310–1361* (1969), although it should be noted that Gribit's work is not biographical and provides fresh insight into the relationships that existed between Lancaster and his men.

This book builds upon this body of work and is a detailed attempt to contribute towards our understanding of Lancaster's army, the expedition, and the men who

served within it. The work makes good use of a wide range of sources selected from both chronicle and documentary materials. This approach produces a well-balanced evidentiary base and the blend of narrative and statistical evidence enhances the strength of both aspects.

The first part of the book, chapters 1–4, considers the army itself, its structure, and both the political and economic background to the expedition. The complexities faced by Lancaster and his administrators in merely recruiting the army, let alone transporting it and fielding it as an effective force, are considered. The ability of the somewhat tangled medieval English bureaucracy to adapt to changing circumstances with a degree of flexibility is noted; as is the importance of Lancaster himself, particularly through his close relationship with the king, in the construction and deployment of the expeditionary army.

The next two chapters form the second section of the book and consider the events of the campaign itself, incorporating the evidence provided by an unpublished chronicle that the author uses to provide fresh insight into the affairs of 1346. The expedition has remained somewhat overshadowed by Edward III's success at Crécy. This book contributes towards rectifying this imbalance as Gribit's narrative and analysis of the campaigns highlights the direct impact that Lancaster's activities in the duchy had on the battlefield in northern France. This contextual analysis highlights the importance of this work for understanding Anglo-French relations, military or otherwise, in this period. The background to the expeditions also increases the impact of this part of the book.

The final portion of the book, encompassing three chapters, focuses on the men who comprised the army. The military careers and patterns of service of these men are considered in depth, and this enables the author to make an original contribution towards the topic of English military professionalism during the period. It is perhaps this section, bolstered by the Catalogue of Lancaster's Retinue in Appendix B, which represents the most compelling area of Gribit's work. The discussion of the professionalization of the soldiers who fought in this period is insightful and is well supported by the evidence presented.

There are some areas where the book appears to have subtle weaknesses, notably in its treatment of the Welsh soldiery that served in Lancaster's army. An example of this is the distinction between northern and southern Welshmen in terms of equipment and recruitment, which could perhaps be expanded upon further. Additionally, the discussion that the pay received by infantry was only a 'subsistence allowance' could have been more developed. The per annum income of £3–£4 could be greater than that gained from 'civilian' employment and an examination of soldiers' motivations for service, including financial, could have added greater depth to the book (see *The Soldier in Later Medieval England*, p. 153).

These points are relatively minor, however, and do not detract from the overall thread of the book, nor from the highlights of its content. The three strands of the book are drawn together effectively, and some general reflections on the campaigns and Lancaster's role within the English military successes of the opening phase of the Hundred Years War are measured and well made. Gribit's work expands a rapidly burgeoning area of historiography, and has produced an insightful text for historians of late medieval military history.

University of Reading

SAM GIBBS

The Logic of Political Conflict in Medieval Cities: Italy and the Southern Low Countries, 1370–1440. By Patrick Lantschner. Oxford University Press. 2015. xii + 275pp. £65.00.

Comparative history is often pledged as a goal to be achieved, but despite this vow it is seldom realized. This book, however, can claim to offer its reader a thorough and convincing example of true comparative history in a field which is greatly in need of it: urban history. Patrick Lantschner analyses, in the published version of his Oxford PhD, how political conflicts within medieval cities, among cities and between cities and ‘states’ have developed in the context of the two most urbanized parts of the western medieval world: northern and central Italy on the one hand, the southern Low Countries (roughly speaking present-day Belgium and parts of northern France) on the other hand. His ambitions bypass greatly the mere level of description or even of comparative analysis, since the conflict management in urban political systems he studied is to be integrated into two major narratives of European (late medieval) history: the state-building process which took place over the period of the fourteenth–early sixteenth century and the uniqueness, in the sense of Max Weber’s still influential views, of the European city compared, of course, to cities outside Europe. With this broader ambition in mind the book consists of two parts. The first more theoretical part starts from the crucial notion of ‘polycentricity’, interpreted as ‘multiple political centres, the powers and levels of authority of which varied greatly, while their precise configuration was rarely fixed. The polycentric political order formed the backdrop of many forms of political conflict, and its associated discourses, practices, and action groups’ (pp. 6–7). Strategies of legitimation, modes of conflict and type of action groups are the three focus points of an equal number of chapters. They describe not a system in a functionalist mode (see the important remarks on pp. 92–3) but a mechanism that governed the politics in different ‘types’ of cities, which can be deduced from a multitude of forms of political conflicts and revolts. In the second part of the book three ‘models’ are presented which illustrate the extreme cases at both the ends of the spectrum and a model representing a medium-range model of conflicts. Each of them is exemplified by two cities (one Italian city, and one city of the southern Low Countries). Bologna and Liège were characterized by a high level of volatility, an almost constant formation and transformation of political coalitions, resulting in an equally high frequency of urban warfare. At the other end of the spectrum were Verona and Lille, two cities with a very restricted system of conflict leaving room for protest but almost never for warfare, as both cities were embedded in the framework of two highly assertive state constructions, respectively the Venetian and Burgundian states. In the middle are two cities, Florence and Tournai, in which political conflicts resulted, to a large extent, in constitutional bargaining through a multitude of assemblies and commissions and in the appropriation of judicial procedures, such as exile. Throughout the book, Lantschner describes, with a much-appreciated sense for detail, both the facts revealing the many conflicts which were at hand, and the underlying theories, political ideas and ideologies, which results in a most readable book. The size of the literature put to use, apart from a most impressive list of both edited and unpublished archival sources, is overwhelming, as are the linguistic capacities of the author. Of course not all cities in both parts of Europe under scrutiny could be analysed and the selection of the six cities is by definition subject to discussion. Size matters, the

more so in urban history: the number of city dwellers involved may have had a direct consequence on the mobilizing power of urban institutions that were so often at the heart of urban political movements (guilds for example). It is therefore surprising that so little is done with the number of inhabitants, which of course was subject to change. Since the comparisons are made between two cities, the coupling of Florence and Tournai seems to be the strangest: an independent city-state which had turned into the capital city of a territorial state on the one hand, compared with a modest city (in a most optimistic account representing one third of the number of inhabitants of Florence), an ecclesiastical French enclave amidst principalities in the hands of the ambitious Burgundian dynasty on the other hand. Lantschner himself concedes that of the three pairs of cities compared in this book, the Florence–Tournai coupling is the most problematic (p. 132). The selection of the six cities (p. 14) is rather elusive when it comes to justifying this choice: the fact that the cities in the Flemish-speaking parts of the county of Flanders are ‘more extensively studied’ is not very convincing as an explanation of why Ghent or Bruges has not been compared with Florence. This said, the way the case of Tournai is dealt with is exemplary, though for the purpose of the book another choice might have been more welcome.

Lantschner is of course perfectly aware (p. 93) that all political systems he describes had their origin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that the scope of his book did not permit room to dig into the ‘prehistory’ of late medieval urban polities. Nevertheless, of the six cities he studies, five are episcopal sees – Lille being the only exception – which may be a coincidence, but, given the nature of anti-episcopal politics in the growth of the communal movement in European medieval history, this aspect might have been developed in a more complete way. For, as it stands, the reader has to make do with piecemeal information mostly concerning the effects of the Schism of the Catholic Church, which coincides to a large extent with the period he studied (c.1370–1440) (see pp. 75–6, 99, 102, 125–8, 163). This aspect is tackled mainly when he deals with Liège, but Tournai and its bishopric also offer interesting aspects, since urban movements (in Ghent for instance) even went so far as to elect their own bishop of Tournai against the French king’s (and Burgundian duke’s) favourites. And while we are at it: the royal French commission (in which the procurator general Jean Dauvet was at work, not Jean Damet, p. 161) sent to Tournai in 1452 in order to deal with the political organization in Tournai, issued at the same time a severe condemnation of the city of Ghent, which was engaged in open warfare against the duke of Burgundy! It is just one of the many extremely useful details I have noted down when reading this most stimulating book for which we should feel grateful to its author.

Universiteit Gent

MARC BOONE

***The Politics of Culture in Quattrocento Europe: René of Anjou in Italy.* By Oren Margolis. Oxford University Press. 2016. xii + 222pp. £60.00.**

In 1494 King Charles VIII of France led an army of around 30,000 men through the Italian peninsula in order to assert his hereditary Angevin claim to the kingdom of Naples, then under Aragonese rule, and also (as he proclaimed) to provide a base for a projected crusade against the Holy Land. The young French king enjoyed considerable military success and like many invaders and visitors since then thoroughly enjoyed the pleasures of Italy, including its women. Some

Italians with longstanding French (or Guelph) sympathies welcomed the arrival of the French; others deplored the invasion for disrupting the relatively stable political arrangements established at Lodi in 1454. However, as Oren Margolis points out in this short but dense and closely argued book, the French descent into Italy of 1494 was ‘a return to the old days’ (p. 182) of the middle decades of the century when René of Anjou attempted to reclaim the Neapolitan throne from the Aragonese with the support of the French king and Francesco Sforza, the former Venetian *condottiere* turned lord of Milan. René, hamstrung by financial difficulties and wrong-footed by the shifting sands of Italian politics, ultimately failed to achieve his goal. However, at the heart of this book is an attempt to show how this story of political failure and the more familiar and rather romanticized story of René’s cultural success can illuminate each other and provide a unifying frame for the tangled politics of fifteenth-century Italy. In the first respect, this book succeeds quite well, but in the second it raises more questions than it answers.

Margolis argues that René was forced by his relative poverty and by the transnational nature of his territorial claims to assert his place as a political actor in Italy by means of cultural politics, or what might now be called ‘soft power’. Margolis reconstructs in detail the networks of politicians, humanists and artists who were employed by René to further his diplomatic efforts. René’s chivalric *Ordre du Croissant* (Order of the Crescent) was one loose network that brought his scattered vassals and adherents together, at least on vellum. Margolis asserts that the manuscripts of poetry and classical translation produced by members of the order, or by their networks, carried both cultural and diplomatic agency for the ‘hyper-literate’ elite (pp. 16–19), and helped to energize René’s allies in Italy. This agency was sometimes embodied in the text itself, in the ‘Guelph’ imagery of Hannibal and Scipio Africanus for example and in the classical Latin of humanism, or in the arrangement of text and images such as the crescent symbol and motto of the *Ordre du Croissant*. In addition, Margolis argues that some manuscripts, such as the texts produced by the humanist Janus Pannonius, were ‘important not for their content, but for their agency’ (p. 71). In other words, the creation and transmission of these luxury items, regardless of their contents, asserted and even strengthened diplomatic networks essential to René’s political survival by signalling connections and allegiances.

At its best Margolis’s book demonstrates careful and sensitive textual scholarship. Margolis shows how the work of Pannonius, or the manuscripts produced at the behest of René’s ‘Venetian man on the ground’ (p. 115) Jacopo Antonio Marcello, might be read for political meaning and placed in the context of the diplomatic communicatory practices recently evaluated by Isabella Lazzarini in her book *Communication and Conflict: Italian Diplomacy in the Early Renaissance, 1350–1520* (2015). This book also contributes to recent work by Brian Maxson and others by which they seek to provide a ‘history of intellectuals’ (p. 192), which places humanists firmly back into their social world rather than a history of ideas. In this way, as Margolis amply demonstrates, individuals and topics considered marginal by previous scholars of humanism can be interpreted with a far broader and more sophisticated historical lens, one that avoids a crudely reductionist history in which humanists are entirely motivated by their search for patronage and their love of self-promotion.

The outlines of a connected Renaissance world emerge through the prism of René's 'politics of culture'. Margolis claims that it 'may even have been of decisive importance for Italian Renaissance art' (p. 145). He argues, more convincingly, that the patchwork of alliances and connections traced in his book 'was a big part of what made Italy in the early sixteenth century the battlefield of Europe' (p. 185). But what of the claim that René's military failure should not detract from the evidence of the persistent strength and even increased ideological coherence of his networks after the middle of the Quattrocento? Is it really the case that the Angevin 'message' of a 'looser, more mutable power structure, rooted in transpolity and transnational networks, and traditional but bendable alliances ... sanctioned by the myths in which each state was draped' had a ready audience in Italy, but one unable to overturn the strong Franco-Milanese alliance (p. 184)? This raises some interesting and profound questions about the pre-modern state. Certainly, René's composite or regional state, as it might be termed, had much in common with France and Milan: the Visconti and Valois were also obliged to make bilateral agreements with local powers and established factions to consolidate their control, and Jacopo Antonio Marcello, with his extensive experience in Venice's *terraferma* (mainland) empire, would have been acutely aware of the strength of local factions there and the loose and flexible governance draped in myth exercised by the metropole. Moreover, René's Anjou bears useful comparison with Burgundy, another loose, transnational composite state struggling to survive in the shadow of France during the fifteenth century and endowed with chivalric trappings such as the prestigious Order of the Golden Fleece. A comparative study of these states might have helped to revise the traditional view of René's political failure set out by Margolis in his Introduction. Such a study might also have strengthened the case in favour of René's cultural politics as typical and central elements of fifteenth-century politics, and might have established more effectively the importance of his chivalric order as a feudal network. Indeed, Margolis's Anjou appears much more like the 'theatre-state' of Clifford Geertz's Bali in which power served pomp than the Burgundian state to which the term has been more freely, and mistakenly, applied.

Margolis's book offers a sometimes illuminating glimpse of politics and diplomacy in the fifteenth century and does point the way towards a productive and dynamic way of studying Italian history. However, it is perhaps most successful in its restoration of René as a figure of political significance and interest. In this sense it is not unfair to suggest that the book as 'message' and 'messenger' (p. 137) to a modern 'hyper-literate' readership (largely academics) represents the ultimate triumph of René's networking skills, even if it must be regarded as a failure for his cultural politics.

University of Edinburgh

STEPHEN BOWD

Early Modern

***Henry VII's New Men and the Making of Tudor England.* By Steven Gunn. Oxford University Press. 2016. xxii + 393pp. £60.00.**

Steven Gunn, long acknowledged as one of the leading historians of early Tudor England, has been working on this book for a long time, indeed seven years longer than Henry VII's twenty-four-year reign. It has thus been long in the

making, though Gunn has published widely since its conception. The approach Gunn takes with his study of the new men is thematic. Chapters on council, court and parliament, justice, finance, war and diplomacy form the section on service, emphasizing throughout the versatility of the new men. Further sections of the book concentrate on the power of the new men, their accumulation and exploitation of office, particularly within towns and as manorial stewards, and on their use of their rapidly acquired wealth. The final section investigates the challenges they faced with the accession of Henry VIII in 1509 and then the immense changes of the 1520s and 1530s. An extremely comprehensive bibliography and an excellent index complete the scholarly apparatus.

One of the many values of the book is that it takes us wider than the notorious Empson and Dudley, who dominated Henry VII's last years and were made the scapegoats for the excesses of his regime by Henry VIII, and the more powerful but more circumspect Reginald Bray (d. 1503), into the wider circle of administrators, lawyers, courtiers, diplomats and soldiers who rose through the ranks to prominence under Henry VII, and in some cases remained prominent in the reign of his son. Curiously, however, no definition or categorization of new men is given in the book. Obscure birth is not a criterion: while some were of low birth (as their critics alleged), others were not. Sir Henry Marney was from a long-established Essex knightly family, while Sir Edward Poyning was the grandson of a peer. Gunn implies that their influence with the king, and a versatile (political, judicial and/or financial) role at the centre rather than primarily in the regions defined the new men, but if these are the criteria there are some odd omissions – Giles Daubeney, raised to the peerage in 1485 and chamberlain of the royal household from 1495, was hugely influential at the court of Henry VII in a way he was not at the court of Edward IV. Yet Daubeney is not included as a 'new man'. Nor are any of the churchmen who might, and did, come from the lower echelons of society, as did some of the new men, but might, as Cardinal Morton did, reach the highest ranks of the administration and hold great influence with the king. Such courtier-bishops were, of course, common to all late medieval and early modern regimes; their omission from the discussion, entirely justifiable in terms of space and method, nonetheless rather accentuates the differences between the regimes of Henry VII and Henry VIII and those of previous kings.

Gunn certainly does not paint these new men of Tudor England as angels in comparison with the rumbustious old nobility, and he takes an even-handed approach. While they enforced the law as commissioners and justices of the peace, they broke it in an impressive variety of ways as well. The chapter on the new men's accumulation of wealth, however, stresses not illegal extortion and dubious back-handers, though there are some examples of these, but a whole variety of legal methods of enrichment. Gunn also emphasizes that, while many became rich, none was so rich as to outshine all contemporaries (only another new man, Thomas Wolsey, managed that, through a different route). The new men used much of this cash to purchase landed estates, through fair and occasionally foul means. Only Edmund Dudley appears to have gone beyond the socially and legally acceptable again and again, though we know more about his underhand and nefarious dealings on his and the king's behalf because he confessed them while imprisoned in the Tower awaiting execution in 1509. Predictably, in an age of both conspicuous consumption and ostentatious display, the new men,

seeking to illustrate their arrival in society, spent heavily on expensive cloth, plate, fittings and other luxury items, and they also built comfortable and high-status residences.

The sheer scale of Gunn's erudition and research is immense, aided by the book's long gestation, which has allowed the accumulation of evidence and documentation on an astonishing and exhaustive scale. Sixty-six national, local and private archives are noted in the bibliography, which runs to thirty-three pages. Every point is evidenced by multiple examples demonstrating the activities of the new men; the footnotes will be a gold mine for future scholars. This does lead to a dense text, but it also means this work will not easily be superseded.

There are places where one might wish for further analysis, comparison and discussion. For example, what struck this reviewer is the very conventional ways in which the new men served the king and exploited their position. For all the occasional novelty of, say, serving on the council learned in the law, or leading royal tenants to war rather than primarily as lords of their own tenants, the new men served the king far more frequently on commissions of the peace, or in long-established offices in the royal household, or as MPs and tax commissioners, alongside county gentry, peers, churchmen and royal justices. In other words, their power was accumulated in large part, and exercised on the whole, in quite traditional ways. The methods by which the new men increased their wealth – royal grants, purchases of royal wards, profit of both royal and private office, pensions, marriage to an heiress or widow – were in many cases traditional and none of them unique to the new men. The thirteenth earl of Oxford accumulated wealth through every single one of these methods during the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII.

While there is explicit comparison with other social groups and with other periods, this is generally brief; the summary of similarities and differences between the new men and other groups, for example on pp. 152 and 167, suggests the value of more extended comparisons. Relations with noblemen, both lay and ecclesiastical, were of particular interest to contemporaries, and these are described succinctly and positively, though the section ends with the implication that the new men could turn and 'strip them of their power and wealth in the king's interest or their own' (p. 194), when such actions were surely only possible with the king's implicit or explicit approval. Gunn, while noting briefly (pp. 320–1) other examples of new men under earlier kings, perhaps underplays the similarities of some of them, such as James Fiennes, second son of a Sussex knight, who rose to the peerage and to be Lord Treasurer of England under Henry VI. A more extended comparison might also have been drawn with the rise of groups of new men under Edward IV, in whose reign originated so many of the innovations that Henry VII built upon.

Nonetheless, this is the definitive piece of research on the new men in early Tudor England, and it has significantly advanced our knowledge. Gunn makes the case in the conclusion that the new men were central to the making of Tudor England, and this study will allow a far more sophisticated synthesis in the future of the interplay and interaction of all the various groups in the Tudor polity.

University of Winchester

JAMES ROSS

***Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England.* By Olivia Weisser.** Yale University Press. 2015. ix + 281pp. £60.00.

Olivia Weisser's *Ill Composed: Sickness, Gender, and Belief in Early Modern England* seeks, in the author's words, to 'recover illness from the perspectives of patients' and to 'reveal how the multiple influences shaping patients' perceptions were mediated by a[n] ... often overlooked factor: gender' (p. 2). While I might not necessarily agree that gender has been overlooked in the history of medicine, Weisser does a good job of recovering patient perspectives, exhaustively gathering accounts from as wide a field as the constraints of this type of research will allow. These include oft-cited works such as those of Samuel Pepys and Sarah Cowper alongside snippets of writing from merchants and their wives, clergymen and gentlewomen. This marks a departure from the usual focus on physician-authored texts, though the material is, unavoidably, still skewed towards the moneyed and literate classes.

The strength of this formula is that it allows early modern patients to speak for themselves, as far as possible. The individual stories Weisser relates are sometimes surprising and often affecting, and they are, deservedly, quoted at length. They are embedded in contextual information about the humoral model, the early modern medical marketplace, and gender roles. These sections are designed simply to frame the stories, being neither basic enough for the new student, nor comprehensive enough for the researcher.

Weisser argues in her Introduction that patient accounts show gender to have been a much stronger factor in responses to illness than we might imagine. This thesis, however, is applied more vigorously in some places than in others. The significance of gender is certainly evident in the book's analyses of care-giving and friendship, in which it is convincingly shown that women experienced sickness in interpersonal terms, to a greater extent than men. It is less clear in the sections on religious responses to infirmity, where the variety of religious convictions and bodily ailments under discussion makes meaningful comparison between the genders impossible.

These are not criticisms, however. This book is clearly the result of long and painstaking research, and to have managed to situate such diverse sources in relation to each other and to broader themes is impressive. The fact that Weisser has resisted the temptation to tidy up these accounts in order to support a more didactic argument is an example of academic honesty – stories such as these refuse to conform to a neat model of change over time.

Part monograph, part sourcebook, Weisser's work seems sure to find an audience among postgraduate students and academics. It is a rich source for teaching, and its comprehensive index means that undergraduate students would also be well advised to look here for material on, for example, the plague, magic in medicine, or encounters with death. The most useful part of the text for many readers will be the appendices, particularly 'Appendix A: Patient's Biographical Information'. More exhaustive biographical information for the 'big figures' can be found in other sources, but as a convenient directory of life-writing on the topic of health, this section of the book is invaluable. Finally, the book is engagingly written and aesthetically pleasing (though one wonders if some illustrations might have made a good addition). Almost entirely free from jargon, it is, if not a beach read, then at least a good book to take on the train.

University of Reading

ALANNA SKUSE

The Supernatural in Tudor and Stuart England. By Darren Oldridge. Routledge. 2016. x + 176pp. £21.99.

Darren Oldridge begins this excellent survey of supernatural belief by citing the spell he found in the papers of the Restoration courtier Elias Ashmole to make himself invisible. A modern reader might simply laugh at him for being excessively ambitious. Yet such magical experiments were a matter of very serious concern to contemporaries. Ashmole might have succeeded; ‘occult forces were widely assumed to be both potent and real ... Few doubted that the cosmos was penetrated with unseen powers, and the observable world was merely one part of a vast economy of the supernatural’ (p. ix). It is more than forty years since Keith Thomas pioneered the discovery of this mental world in *Religion and the Decline of Magic*. It was not long before commentators, swept by the scale of his undertaking, queried one aspect, his ‘decline of magic’ between 1700 and 1900. We now know, thanks to historians like Owen Davies, that anxieties about harmful magic persisted much longer than he first argued. But by and large Thomas’s account stands. Oldridge’s book may be seen as a timely reassessment, based on deep learning and a wider investigation of Protestant history.

The research effort is very impressive. About 130 early modern printed texts are in the huge bibliography. Oldridge masters the secondary literature. The reader is guided by thoughtful division of the argument, pointed by effective subheadings, which makes the whole story accessible. After analysis of the main patterns of divine intervention, we are given very substantial investigations of the Devil and demons, and ghosts and goblins, before we come to human interventions. Oldridge has an eye for colourful narratives, like the 1628 publication *Robin Goodfellow his Mad Merry Pranks*. But he also ensures that leading figures in the field, like Clive Holmes, Nathan Johnstone, Peter Marshall, James Sharpe and Alexandra Walsham, are much quoted.

There is sound logic to how Oldridge unfolds his story. The Introduction, ‘what is supernatural?’ and ‘thinking with spirits’, is crucial. Sixteenth-century English historians, he notes, ‘were comfortable with marvels’. He is happy largely to set aside whether people can truly interact with angels and demons, preferring Brad Gregory’s formulation ‘what did it mean to them?’. He wants us to understand beliefs within people’s own terms of reference. This requires him to explore deeply his ‘world of meaning’, that is a world largely untouched by what is called ‘scientific rationalism’. Robert Burton’s *Anatomy of Melancholy* is a main text. Supernatural events had to be explained in context: so Lady Margaret Hoby read a two-headed calf quite differently from the wounding of a man in a brawl, which was manifestly a sign from God since he was a notorious blasphemer.

Oldridge is emphatic that the temptation to assume there was a distancing ‘of educated opinion from the beliefs of ordinary people’ (p. 9) with the advent of scientific rationalism should be fought. He puts it more subtly: shared acceptance of a world of spirits was largely in his period undisturbed, ‘though different communities populated this world in various ways’. What happened was simplification. All entities not found in the Bible were removed, but there was intensification of anxiety as Protestantism became embedded. He sees two new core ideas here: the sufficiency of scripture and the absolute sovereignty of God. While fairies, ghosts and saints were expelled in this period, their lurking presence between 1500 and 1700 brings them a toll of entries in Oldridge’s index.

They did not disappear easily: the environment ‘overwhelmingly encouraged the acceptance of other worldly powers’. Walsham’s fundamental *The Reformation of the Landscape* (2011) explained how this worked. She and Oldridge tell the same story with largely different material.

Oldridge has to deal fully with God’s invisible hand, the paramount force in his cosmos. This takes him fifteen pages; ‘the adversary’ the Devil through temptation, possession and exorcism, takes him the next eighteen. This brings him to angels, the guardians of God’s children. He shows how faith in them stretched from the puritan wing of the Protestant community to the recusants. It cut too across political divisions. Their comforting presence provided a universal appeal. Henry Lawrence wrote about this reassurance in 1646: ‘they shall always bear us in their arms, that no evil shall befall us’.

Oldridge opens his account of ghosts and goblins by an account of the patients treated by the astrological physician Richard Napier. Main categories of them were ‘haunted by spirits’ and ‘haunted by fairies’. He sees fairies, elves and goblins as hovering ‘undisturbed at the margins of official religion during the seventeenth century, just as they lived in the woods, hills and marshes beyond human habitation’. Shakespeare’s fairy kingdoms of the *Dream* and the *Tempest* were chronologically adjacent both to Reginald Scot’s marvellous catalogue of monsters or bugs listed in 1584 in his *Discovery of Witchcraft* and to Napier’s casebooks of afflicted patients in Caroline Bedfordshire.

The Reformation, Oldridge argues, by and large, left these spirits alone. Thus Shakespeare’s mischievous Puck has much of the famed Robin Goodfellow, good at entering houses to steal, about him. John Aubrey went looking for fairies on the Wiltshire downs in the 1630s, hearing from his curate he had been pinched by a troop of them. Ronald Hutton reckons fairy mythology was more prominent between 1560 and 1640 ‘than at any time before or since’. Cunning men and bugs employed by witches to torment neighbours made occasional appearances in court records.

Oldridge sees good reason behind the longevity of the desire to harness occult forces in view of the insecurities of daily life. The temptation of charms was hard to eradicate. He ends by noting how much more plausible a clock-like cosmos became than mechanical explanations of the living world. He concludes by noting three major shifts in his period: the Protestant expulsion of non-biblical spirits, a new emphasis on the ‘unseen and interior manifestation of supernatural forces’, and the ultimate dominance of divine providence to explain the workings of the supernatural. Always closely argued, his book is a well-written and important synthesis of the state of play on his theme.

Moreton-in-Marsh

ANTHONY FLETCHER

***Archaic Style in English Literature, 1590–1674.* By Lucy Munro. Oxford University Press. 2013. xii + 308pp. £65.00.**

The work of intellectual history could be described as the disentangling of the present from the past; seeking to understand the ideas, arguments, speech of the past in their contemporary context, striving to detach it from modern assumption and prejudice. Lucy Munro’s book is an extended meditation on the difficulty of studying the languages of the past, directing itself to a further twist: seeking to isolate and understand where writers in the past have made

conscious use of archaism. They would have done so for special effect, but in so doing presumed that contemporary readers would understand that the language being used involved specific associations. Of course, archaism was built into early modern discourse, with constant and direct reference to Greek and Roman authors and passages from the Bible. There is, however, another and more subtle layer, in the use of archaic linguistic formulations that evoke past times and past usage, a language of allusion and implication that a modern reader can easily fail to recognize. As Munro herself describes it, talking of intergenerational references:

Archaism is produced by the interaction between these diachronic and synchronic networks; it is the product not only of a writer's ability to see a particular word, figure or mode as 'old', but also, crucially, their ability to judge in relation to what is 'new', and their desire to revive it and place it alongside those new forms. As such, it is produced by diachronic and synchronic relationships between and within generations, and is a literary expression of these interactions and tensions. (p. 139)

Seeking to understand these mechanisms, we gain an insight into what contemporaries thought distinguished 'new' from 'old', and how the 'old' could be recruited to reinvent the 'new'.

The book opens with the publication in 1590 of the first three books of Spenser's *Fairie Queene*, a work that employed not only archaic terms and spelling, where the opening lines of Canto I are written in a measure that was by then rarely used, old-fashioned inversions are deployed, and obsolete verbal forms introduced (p. 3). The effect of this on a contemporary reader would be destabilizing, unsure of where to place the work temporally, how to relate it to its contemporaries. But to identify this problem for the reader in 1590, the modern reader has to be aware that all these forms are indeed 'out of time' – that is their point. The end point of Munro's study is the publication of the twelve-book version of Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Shortly afterwards, in 1700, Dryden pronounced Chaucer's language 'obsolete', so that in order to understand Chaucer he would have to be translated into a modern English. Although of course, any such translation quickly became obsolete itself, its obsolescence in turn providing an insight into contemporary language use. Munro goes on to quote the idea that Chaucerisms in Spenser's poetry 'are thought by the ignorant to be *blemishes*, known by the learned to be *beauties* to his book; which notwithstanding had been more salable, if more conformed to our modern language' (p. 14).

In Chapter 1 Munro explores the resonances of Old English in early modern contexts through an examination of three examples of early modern usage, the function of this marker of difference in the composition of plays, literature and poetry. Study of, for example, the recurrence of an Old English phrase across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries provides a variety of sources for the collision of ancient and modern. Chapter 2 is devoted to the growing obsolescence of Chaucer's language – the inverse of which is of course the pace of change of contemporary idiom, and the need to tell the one from the other. There is also the problem of resistance, the idea that Chaucer was just no longer worth reading in any form (p. 73); or that the problem lay not in the text, but in the fact that the reader lacked knowledge of the language he or she spoke; while another

response was to annotate, modernize, translate. A 1598 edition of Chaucer came with a glossary of ‘The old and obscure words’ that Chaucer used, while the text itself was selectively modernized (p. 75). The deliberate use of archaic form is epitomized by a character in a play performed at Oxford University in 1635, William Cartwright’s *The Ordinary*; the antiquary Robert Moth talks in a patchwork of Chaucer. Here the imprecision in the dialogue prompts in Munro the question of whether this demonstrates Cartwright’s incomplete knowledge of Chaucer, or the reverse: a more complete knowledge on the part of the audience and hence a running joke (pp. 98, 100). Chapter 3 examines archaism in the Anglican establishment: the composition of the Book of Common Prayer and the guidelines for those working on the King James Bible. Here Catholics and Fifth Monarchists laid claim to an earlier and ‘purer’ form of language, while there was an Anglican push to legitimize official language through reference to older forms too. This is most evident in the King James Bible, where ‘new’ archaisms were introduced (pp. 107f.). Quoting the report to the Synod of Dort: ‘In the first place caution was given that an entirely new version was not to be furnished, but an old version, long received by the Church, to be purged from all blemishes and faults’ (p. 109). The Catholic New Testament published in Rheims in 1582 by contrast deliberately made use of Latinisms, opening it to the charge that it was not ‘truly English’ (p. 111).

Much more could be said, but Munro’s grasp of the contemporary literature, and her ability to reflect on the concatenating imagery of both language and syntax, marks this book out as an important contribution to our understanding of the historical usage of language, something that goes beyond the literary subjects of this work into the broader fields of language in politics and society.

Independent Scholar

KEITH TRIBE

***Spain: The Centre of the World 1519–1682.* By Robert Goodwin. Bloomsbury, 2015. xv + 587pp. £30.00.**

Readers of Robert Goodwin’s *Spain: The Centre of the World 1519–1682* are in for a swashbuckling ride. At nearly 600 pages and characterized by a distinctive, rather raffish written style, the book is a veritable treasure trove of all things early modern Spanish. Goodwin has amassed a formidable amount of information – much of it newly reinterpreted or freshly surmised from his own recent researches – and marshalled it into a hefty yet, in many senses, eminently readable volume: an impressive feat and a testament to his command of (and obvious passion for) Peninsular Spanish history. Seeking to recover the real ‘people at the heart of that history’ (p. 4), the book is primarily formulated for the non-specialist – Goodwin begins, in best Cervantine style, by addressing the ‘idle reader’ (p. 2) – but all interested parties will find something to intrigue. His enthusiasm extends to a vast array of topics – prisons and printing practices, military manoeuvres and market economics – discussed with equal gusto; analysis of everything from literature to the psychology of art and illusion is similarly assured. At the same time, however, though much of the detail and – to a certain extent – the narrative is new, the underlying paradigms are not. Instead, the book is, for the most part, cheerfully uninflected by postcolonial politics and the major recent advances in Iberian and Atlantic (and Pacific) world studies. It could have been a marvellous opportunity to open up new frameworks

and horizons to a wider audience; instead it is a tale of tropes perpetuated and familiar paradigms reinforced.

On the one hand, of course, the Hispanic world – and Peninsular Spain prominent within it – has long been the victim of an academic marginalization, even a Saidian-style ‘orientalization’, that has seen it largely written out of most dominant cultural accounts. A major new anglophone work which resists and corrects that, then, ought to be celebrated. On the other hand, however, the Hispanocentric paradigm – particularly one which takes the imperial foundations of that paradigm to be so self-evident – presents many problems. The reviewer, then, is in a bind: in the European context, it is valuable to push back against the long ascendancy of other histories over the Iberian; from a global perspective, however – and Goodwin’s book is, after all, about Spain in global perspective – it sits very much at odds with post- and decolonial agendas. To entitle a work ‘Spain: The Centre of the World’ just as the academy is attempting not merely to move away from Europe and the imperial metropole as centre but to de-centre altogether – to disrupt traditional geopolitical axes and decolonize – is bold indeed; to do so with apparently no glint of irony is remarkable. One waits in vain, however, for the monolithic premise to deconstruct: the introduction promises great ‘differences’ (p. 4) in the second half, but, in the event, Part II forges on in much the same tenor as Part I; if anything, it is only more escapist, as Goodwin now diverts into a series of increasingly extended reveries on literature, architecture and art (featuring all the usual, viz. ‘canonical’, suspects). That the same decade as the much-discussed *Don Quixote* could have seen writers in the Americas producing their own texts with, say, Mexico as centre – I am thinking here of Bernardo de Balbuena’s *Grandeza mexicana* (1604) – is simply not a version of reality for which Goodwin’s book allows. Spain remains not only ‘centre of global trade’ but very ‘fulcrum of the modern world’ (p. 344) to the last.

Allied to (post)colonialism is patriarchy. This time the problem is advertised before we even get to the text proper, with a note at the bottom of the Habsburg family tree in the opening leaves casually announcing: ‘Not all issue & spouses shown’. Instead we discover many of Spain’s best-known kings still spontaneously reproducing in that magical manner long accomplished in history textbooks – presumably by mitotic cell division, which would explain why the offspring is usually also male. It is unfortunate, then, that one does occasionally need to refer to some of these royal non-males in the text proper (e.g. pp. 41, 48, 191, 261, 475), where they materialize like so many decontextualized spectres. And, royal or otherwise, the book’s women are – almost without exception – all characterized for their physical attractiveness (invariably great). Hand-in-hand with patrilineality comes (il)legitimacy. Here the jaunty tone rapidly palls as we are treated to a seemingly endless succession of ‘bastards’: some ‘illiterate’ (p. 90), some ‘famous’ (p. 61), others – to use a favourite Goodwinian verb – ‘sired’ by the famous (pp. 22, 61). This swiftly begins to grate: John of Austria may have been born out of wedlock, but is it really necessary to call him a ‘swashbuckling bastard’ (p. 147) *et sim.* nearly every time? The same goes for fellow ‘bastard’ Margaret of Parma (p. 125), capable regent of the Netherlands though she may have been (pp. 61, 125). Indeed, in the first hundred pages alone, we find a ‘bastard’ and/or beauty on average once every five pages. It is unclear whether this is some sort of extended exercise in ventriloquizing perceived sixteenth- and seventeenth-century values or merely an ill-judged effort to engage the

modern reader. Other questionable images include dramatic innovation ‘raping and pillaging’ like an army (p. 209), Peruvian-born Inca Garcilaso de la Vega as a literary ‘conquistador’ (p. 242), and even an eleven-year-old child bride as a ‘truly mouthwatering’ ‘cake’ (p. 79).

After the first segment (‘The Age of Chivalry’) the initial onslaught does ease off somewhat, and the remainder of the volume proceeds on a generally more even keel. However, though Goodwin declares chivalry dead in the year 1536 – just 17 years and 88 pages into the book’s 163-year (587-page) span – the work as a whole never really ceases to operate within that sphere. From the moment of our interpellation as ‘idle’ readers – even from the moment of the epigraph – we are in the world of *Don Quixote*: Goodwin’s protagonists too are ‘dauntless’ (p. 46), ‘dashing’ (pp. 48, 192) and engaged in ‘derring-do’ (pp. 83, 198); many are themselves ‘quixotic’ (pp. 201, 402, 418, 457); and the women, as we know, are all suitably beautiful. Somewhat self-reflexively, one of Goodwin’s major theses in the book concerns what he perceives to be the increasing difficulty in seventeenth-century Spain in distinguishing the line between fiction and reality – a question itself thematized in *Don Quixote*. As readers of Goodwin’s book, we face many of the same uncertainties. (If this is intentional, it is brilliant.) His focus on the everyday life of the ‘Spaniard’ translates in practice into a love of the anecdotal, at times the downright apocryphal. While other scholars are criticized for their overly ‘fecund conjecture’ (p. 21), thought experiments are a recurring feature of Goodwin’s own mode, with the reader regularly invited to speculate on just how ‘alive’ the crew of the *Santa María* must have felt when they docked back at Spain (p. 7), how ‘proud’ Charles V when his wife declined to scream during childbirth (p. 71), how ‘pretty’ the (hypothetical) sight of ‘Cervantes, [El Inca] Garcilaso and Góngora breaking bread together, eating the little spicy, steamed snails so typical of the region’ (pp. 242–3; cf. 370). It is a style, of course, and some will like it. It does, however, have the collateral effect – presumably *unintended* – of rather destabilizing our sense of how to relate to what we read, unseating any easy notions of the nature of history and authority.

Meanwhile, on a different (albeit related) note, the high incidence of errors in the Spanish – including in the most familiar of names (‘Suárez’ is repeatedly ‘Súarez’, pp. 85–6, 238, 239 and index; ‘Borges’ becomes ‘Borgés’, p. 277 and index) – has its own hand in unsettling the reading experience. Most problems (of which a full list could be supplied upon request) are to do with accentuation, which may be attributed to copy-editing issues, but other forms of error (e.g. always ‘milliones’ for ‘millones’; ‘madre y hija’ instead of ‘madre e hija’) do make one wonder more generally. ‘Jan Van der Street’ (> Straet) and ‘*In Octu Oculi*’ (> *Ictu*) in the captions of the second set of colour inserts are also in need of correction. On the subject of pictures, it would also have been helpful to indicate – either in the main text, or perhaps with a list of figures – wherever images under discussion are included, as otherwise they risk going undiscovered until hundreds of pages later.

There are, of course, plenty of grounds on which one might wish nonetheless to make a case for Spain as centre, and many ways to do it. The irony, however, is that Goodwin’s relentless focus on Spain alone has the counterproductive effect of making the material under discussion seem often oddly parochial. For long stretches of time we completely lose sight of anything other than day-to-day life at the Spanish court or *chez* its greatest artists, which is supposed to be the point,

but in fact rather belies it. Indeed, the book is notable for its lack of all but the most cursory glances at what it is that Spain as 'centre' is being constructed and defined *against*. 'Remote' America is of relevance only in so far as it can be used to explain factors in the metropolis; the East Indies get shorter shrift still. Counterintuitively, a few more sustained glances at the 'margins' might have been quite helpful in shoring up the author's case for Spain as centre. The book is 600 pages long: there would have been room. The family tree could have stretched to a double-page spread, too.

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MAYA FEILE TOMES

Vodka Politics: Alcohol, Autocracy, and the Secret History of the Russian State. By Mark Lawrence Schrad. Oxford University Press. 2014. xvii + 492pp. £23.49.

Mark Schrad's *Vodka Politics* takes the reader on an exciting journey through almost 500 years of Russian history and traces the surprising history of the interconnections between alcohol and autocratic rule. Challenging 'natural' or 'genetic' explanations of the well-documented Russian propensity for alcohol, Schrad proposes that the country's vodka addiction is in fact the result of a long-standing autocratic political system. *Vodka Politics* describes how, starting from the mid-sixteenth century, the Russian government has used alcohol strategically to achieve its wider policy goals, namely, to extract financial resources from the population and 'to keep society in check: drunken, divided ... and unable to mount a challenge to its power' (p. 9).

Building on this innovative thesis, Schrad provides a re-evaluation of several key events in Russian political, diplomatic and military history by examining the role of alcohol and alcohol regulation in each of these realms. In this regard, particularly interesting are the chapters that deal with the role that short-lived prohibition regimes (1914–25 and 1985–90) played in causing the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 respectively. At the same time, *Vodka Politics* highlights important continuities in Russian alcohol policy across these revolutionary divides and offers a *longue durée* perspective on the role of vodka in Russian history. The book closes by providing several policy recommendations for contemporary Russian authorities and suggests that decentralization of governance and a wider societal engagement would contribute to both solving the dreaded 'liquor question' and improving the country's welfare situation more generally.

Schrad is a political scientist, and political scientists, of course, strive for parsimonious explanations. Historians, on the other hand, have a different style of argumentation and are perhaps notorious for their attention to all the details and complexities of political and societal change. It is thus not surprising that a historically oriented reader will be left with many questions after reading the book. One might ask, for example, whether Schrad differentiates successfully and systematically between vodka and other alcoholic drinks throughout the text. Similarly, readers would probably appreciate more information on how Russian drinking patterns have changed over time and in terms of age, gender or ethnicity. Also, how do the traditionally Muslim regions of the Russian empire and the Soviet Union fit into the picture described in *Vodka Politics*?

The historian's wish to have a more nuanced description, however, should not overshadow the importance of Schrad's book. *Vodka Politics* provides a fresh

perspective on both the history of alcohol and the history of governance in Russia and skilfully places it within a comparative and global context. The book is very well-written and makes for entertaining and almost addictive reading. At the same time, it is thoroughly researched and relies on an impressive range of primary and secondary sources covering a large chronological period. It is recommended to everyone interested in Russia/eastern Europe, alcohol and drugs policy, and the history of public health.

Van Leer Jerusalem Institute

PAVEL VASILYEV

***Covenanting Citizens: The Protestation Oath and Popular Political Culture in the English Revolution.* By John Walter.** Oxford University Press. 2016. x + 266pp. £65.00.

It was logical for John Walter to follow his impressive *Crowds and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* in 2006 with a study of the 1641 Protestation oath. He was the obvious historian to mount an outright challenge to the ‘discrete identities’ that historians have long clung to, as categories for high and popular politics in the seventeenth century. My book *A County Community in Peace and War*, about Sussex, in 1976, joined a then flourishing genre. Local history and national history still seemed to be in different worlds, so did high and popular politics. How that has changed!

Writing this book, Walter had hundreds of pondered monographs and articles on the period, published in the last forty years, before him, both the Yale Centre for Parliamentary History’s magnificent editions of parliamentary diaries, and the magisterial analysis by Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637–1642*. How different all that makes the story look! Walter writes about this event, the May 1641 swearing of the oath in parliament, and about a process, its subsequent debating, administering, taking and performing nationwide. Here the penetrating insights learned by lifelong archival work reach fruition. Here is a monograph which is absolutely fundamental for all of us still chasing the origins of the English Civil War, written in limpid prose through which shines his mastery of the discipline.

We begin with the parliamentary politics of May 1641. After thirty-six pages about 3 May, 4 May and 5 May at Westminster, sometimes taken hour by hour, we realize Walter has taken us through a mere three days, but days of such crisis, anxiety and drama, that, as MPs experienced them, must have felt much longer. For these were the days when John Pym boldly took the helm and, in the general terror of plots by the king, did not just lead the Commons and Lords into formulation of an oath, a vow, a covenant to defend themselves, but persuaded all but some twenty-five of the MPs eligible to subscribe.

This was an oath ‘to swear and mobilize the nation’, so collaboration between parliament and people became the crux. Essentially the book is about ‘popular political agency’; it is about debates ‘spilling into print and pulpit and onto the streets’. In a key statement, Walter sees the oath as confronting the nation with a ‘clash of opinions’ over people’s obligations. Overall, he insists, its introduction at Westminster was ‘an out of the ordinary event’, at the very core, in 1641 and 1642, of how civil war broke out and was fought across England.

The story requires of Walter minute and exact analysis of the words and actions of a whole people. Chronology is all here. So he usefully breaks up his

chapters with subheadings. Chapter 2 moves from May 1641 to the crisis of January 1642. He pauses then to investigate the massive impact of interpretative preaching about the oath in nine months, Henry Burton's crucial intervention in *The Protestation Protested* in June 1641 and how debating its increasingly contentious meaning developed.

Thousands of returns to swearing the oath nationwide, an extraordinary archival gift that Walter has fully grasped, show how the parliamentary leadership 'succeeded in having the Protestation sworn' by the nation in 1642 in just over three months. Early signing occurred in what Walter calls 'political hotspots spread throughout the country'. These were communities in the city of London and in three quarters of the English counties, which took the Protestation in 1641 before the failed royal coup. This crucial finding enables Walter to claim, with conviction, that it was the networks and activism of 1641 which enabled parliament to mobilize and fight the king in 1642.

Henceforth the analysis is very intricate, almost defying summary. In chapters 5 and 6, about taking and performing the Protestation, a national story informed by massive and unrelenting archival detail is told. Walter never lets up; his story is too huge and demanding. He is fascinating on the choices made in the localities of often symbolic dates for taking the oath and on the various procedures that were chosen to administer it. Such was the political alarm that no one took it lightly. A few communities did suppose the Protestation had originated with the king. But most understood that this was a defensive parliamentary document; many were happy to speak the language of mixed monarchy and most continued to represent parliament as acting for the king and parliament.

Walter's account of what actually happened, magisterial leadership in the counties, reading it out, passing it round, preaching about the significance of the occasion, inscribing names and marks, displaying the full document in the church as sometimes occurred, brings home his central argument about individual oath-taking and national covenanting. His book is about how an active citizenry came on to the public stage. After his triumphant, minutely observed, account of taking the oath village by village, he needs one more chapter. 'Performing the Protestation' is in effect about creating the parliamentary cause, which brings him back to his powerful title 'Covenanting Citizens'.

Walter tells us in important final paragraphs how the Protestation challenged patriarchy. Many young people, boys over 16 and girls, 'married as well unmarried, daughters as well as servants, took the Protestation'. For instance 4,220 women in Claro wapentake in the West Riding took it. Perhaps the activist JP Thomas Stockdale, who had promoted the idea of an oath of association, led local parliamentarians there in promoting wider subscription. If only we knew what any of these Yorkshire women, briefly part of the political nation, thought or felt about its meaning for them.

We are on surer ground with the massive county petitioning movement of 1642, when people's 'interest in the commonwealth' was made explicit and Cheapside Cross was pulled down by apprentices, who dared not leave it standing and become guilty of breach of their covenant. The king's attempted coup, the traditional last straw, suddenly looks less relevant. Ritual processions of petitioners in London now seem a predictable outcome, in January 1642, of Walter's whole story over eighteen months. Puritan preachers, we are told, then rode up and down at Edgehill in October, exhorting the soldiers about the cause

of religion and Christian liberties. This may be the most satisfying account, in a mere 266 pages, of how civil war broke out in England that has yet been written.
Moreton-in-Marsh ANTHONY FLETCHER

***The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland.* By Danielle McCormack. Irish Historical Monographs. Boydell, 2016. x + 197pp. £65.00.**

The Restoration is still one of the most – perhaps the most – neglected periods of early modern Irish history. Some valuable work has been done, especially in recent decades, but much more remains to be accomplished and an overall survey of the sort produced by Tim Harris for the British Isles as a whole and Ronald Hutton for England is yet to be written. The appearance of a work such as Danielle McCormack's *The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland*, a monograph based on a doctoral dissertation approved by the European University Institute in Florence, is therefore to be welcomed.

Dr McCormack's subject is the role of the New English (or post-1600) Protestant interest in Ireland in the first decade of the Restoration, especially in relation to the land settlement and, more generally, Irish Catholicism. She draws on a wide range of manuscript sources, both in Ireland and in England, as well as on a representative selection of relevant printed primary works and secondary literature.

Much of what she has to say is of interest, especially on figures such as the duke of Ormonde (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for most of the 1660s), Lord Orrery (formerly Lord Broghill and Lord President of Munster during the same period) and Sir Audley Mervyn (a leading lawyer and politician and one of the most prominent supporters of the Cromwellian land settlement). She is right to see Orrery as 'a principal advocate of the English Protestant interest in Ireland' (p. 33). She is correct also in her assessment of the 1663 Blood Plot as 'the zenith of the crisis in Ireland over the land settlement' (p. 151). Her case that Ormonde's arrival as Lord Lieutenant in 1662 marked the start of the crown's efforts to assert power in Ireland 'and to end its dependency on the men associated with the Interregnum regime' (p. 107) is also sound. There is much else to agree with in her work: for example, her stress on the importance of the apparent convergence of royal and Catholic interests and the corresponding Protestant reactionary response (p. 165). One can concur easily with her conclusion that the Irish restoration settlement 'was shaped as much by rhetorical flourish, discussion, the issue of threats and rumour-mongering as it was by greed and corruption of well-placed figures' (p. 167).

Alas, however, this book also has too many notable deficiencies and there is much about its approach that is questionable. It is far too simplistic to state that politics in Ireland during the Restoration 'were conducted along an axis of Protestant versus Catholic, English Protestant versus Irish Catholic' (p. 1). Not only does this remark ignore the Old English (that is of medieval or Anglo-Norman origin) element in Catholicism in early modern Ireland but also it fails to take account of the divisions, national as well as religious, among Protestants in Ireland. Ulster, the east of the province especially, had a strong Scots Presbyterian presence – one that was to be dominant, in demographic terms at least, in Antrim and Down well beyond the seventeenth century. The Ulster Scots were distinguished from their English neighbours (who were, after the Restoration,

mostly Anglican) not only by ecclesiastical polity but also by other circumstances such as speech or even costume. The common British identity of Scots and English Protestants which showed tentative signs of emerging in the early years of the reign of Charles I had gone by 1660. The efforts in the first decade of Charles II's reign to suppress Presbyterianism – whether by ejection of clergy from their livings or by their arrest and banishment from Ulster – go unmentioned by McCormack. Unmentioned also are the leading figures among the bishops of this period: John Bramhall of Armagh, Michael Boyle of Dublin, Jeremy Taylor of Down and Connor, and George Wild of Derry (the later two of whom were especially prominent in the suppression of the Presbyterians).

McCormack's failure to take the Presbyterians into consideration leads her to the strange conclusion that Quakers were the Protestant dissenting body which suffered the most in this period (p. 155). Her omission of Ulster means also that she fails to see how the province – so close at its north-east point to Scotland – fitted into the security fears of the Restoration regime; worries about links between Presbyterians in Ulster and their Covenanter brethren in Scotland or between the former group and the mutinous garrison in Carrickfergus in 1666 concerned even Orrery in far-distant Cork. Others worried over links between the Presbyterians and the Dutch enemy.

Her failure to take the established Church into proper account also means that she does not give sufficient space to that body's participation in land disputes. Although her bibliography includes the journals of the House of Lords, she does not observe the references in that source to land disputes between Taylor and gentry families in his diocese; in his dispute with Moses Hill, Sir Audley Mervyn took a prominent role against the bishop just as he had quarrelled previously over land with Bramhall. Despite her emphasis on fears regarding Edmund Ludlow, the regicide and sometime commander of the army in Ireland (p. 157), she fails to note the connections between the latter and Mervyn. A final major fault of this work is that while McCormack is aware that the Blood Plot fits into a wider context of opposition to the crown by figures from the Cromwellian period (p. 158), she does not expand on this point; and she ignores entirely Alan Marshall's work on the Blood Plot and intelligence and security under the Restoration. There are signs that this book was written in haste. Footnote references to pages 00 (pp. 33, 49) and index entries without page references (as for Ludlow) are hardly acceptable; and the author's sometimes clumsy prose style is also unhelpful.

The Stuart Restoration and the English in Ireland is not without value or merit; but its deficiencies mean that it represents a missed opportunity properly to assess the Restoration in Ireland.

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C. D. C. ARMSTRONG

***Let God Arise: The War and Rebellion of the Camisards.* By W. Gregory Monahan.** Oxford University Press. 2014. xii + 297pp. £78.00.

On 22 October 1685, Louis XIV, King of France and Navarre, signed the Edict of Fontainebleau revoking the Edict of Nantes that his grandfather King Henry IV had issued in an effort to end prolonged religious strife in France. Louis's decision had an immediate and devastating impact on the Protestant

communities in France and tens of thousands of the French Huguenots left the kingdom in their bid to escape the government persecution.

But for those who had stayed, this persecution only further tested the strength of their faith and made them determined to resist. By the turn of the eighteenth century, some French Protestant communities embraced a new generation of prophets who soon led their followers into a violent and persistent rebellion against the French crown.

W. Gregory Monahan's excellent book offers the first in-depth examination of the so called 'Camisard Revolt' that erupted in the Cévennes, a remote and mountainous region in southern France, and quickly spread to the bordering plains as far as the cities of Montpellier, Nîmes and Arles. The rebellion began under the leadership of Abraham Mazel, a new prophet who, in 1702, organized the first of several Camisard bands (after the 'cams' or white smocks they wore) acting with explicit orders from the Holy Spirit to destroy the Catholic Church. Over the next two years the revolt raged in southern France and although the worst of the fighting ended in 1704, the rebellion was not fully suppressed until six years later.

The revolt of the Camisards remains a very compelling story of a peasant uprising fighting for the restoration of freedom of religion, but it suffers from a common problem of having been shrouded by myths and tales over the last two hundred years. What makes Monahan's work unique is his ability to see through the existing morass and take on a complex event on which the surviving sources – be it correspondence of the royal ministers or contradictory memoirs, false accounts and recollections composed long after the events – are rather disparate. As a result, he has produced a clear and well-crafted account that adds greatly to the existing historiography on the French popular revolts. Monahan patiently and meticulously reconstructs accounts of the revolt, even though the surviving sources are often difficult to decipher. The author could have relied on the existing (and quite copious) French historiography, but, much to his credit, he chose a more challenging, and immensely more rewarding, path based on archival research.

The book is divided into thirteen chapters, plus a prologue and conclusion. The first chapters explore the socio-cultural individuality of the Cévennes region, whose residents converted to Calvinism in the sixteenth century and remained steadfastly committed to their faith even after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In the second half of the book the author traces the course of the rebellion and its ultimate suppression at the hands of Nicholas de Lamoignon de Basville, the harsh intendant of Languedoc, who never fully understood the nature of the rebellion. Monahan capably guides the reader through the period of Louis XIV's military campaigns (the infamous *dragonnades*) that sought to force the local population to convert to Catholicism, the formation of clandestine assemblies among the Protestants, the growing role of charismatic lay prophets who soon eclipsed Huguenot ministers, and the growing divide between the common people and the local Protestant nobility that was not affected by the same set of challenges. The author excels when pondering the question of the motivation behind the revolt. Drawing upon a wide range of sources (archival as well as existing French works), he convincingly shows that the rebellion was brought about by a host of issues that cannot be easily separated. The rebels did face fiscal and social challenges but, as the author notes, 'this was a social

revolt, not by design, but by default' (p. 258). Nor was this a political challenge to the royal authority, for the Camisards continued to assert their loyalty to Louis XIV throughout the rebellion and blamed their persecution on local officials. Monahan shows that the Camisard revolt was, above all, about religious dissent and freedom of conscience. The rebels 'still followed the orders of the Spirit, were prepared for martyrdom, and remained firm in their demands that the "liberties" once granted to them in the Edict of Nantes must be restored' (p. 142). But Monahan also rightly points out that this last French war of religion resulted from failures to communicate on multiple levels, be it between Protestants and Catholics, the Occitan dialect and French, or between prophetic and regal discourse.

This is an important study. It fills a considerable historiographical gap and will undoubtedly remain a standard English work on the subject for many years to come.

Louisiana State University in Shreveport ALEXANDER MIKABERIDZE

La Bisanzio dei Lumi: L'Impero bizantino nella cultura francese e italiana da Luigi XIV alla Rivoluzione. By Elisa Bianco. Peter Lang Publishing. 2015. 369pp. €83.00.

In this book, Elisa Bianco examines a subject traditionally neglected by historiography on the Age of Enlightenment. Whereas the last few decades have seen the publication of many studies on eighteenth-century European views of 'other' cultures and civilizations (including, among others, Mosaic Judaism, ancient Egypt, classical Greece, republican and imperial Rome, Islam, China and various Asian cultures), Enlightenment views of the Eastern Roman Empire have seldom attracted the attention of historians. Bianco's book aims to fill this gap in historiography on Enlightenment views of the past.

Elisa Bianco points out that, owing to Montesquieu's, Voltaire's and Gibbon's contemptuous opinions of Byzantine politics, society and culture, the eighteenth century is generally considered to have been characterized by widespread dislike for the Eastern Roman Empire. But this is only partly true. Although Gibbon defined Byzantine history as 'a tedious and uniform tale of weakness and misery' (p. 212), Enlightenment views of Byzantium were more complex and nuanced than may appear at a first glance. They were in fact rooted in a process of rediscovery of Byzantine history and culture in western Europe which had started in the Age of Renaissance, when a number of Greek texts from the Byzantine period attracted the interest of several Italian humanists, both before and after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453.

The first part of this book traces the origins and development of the scholarly interest in Byzantium among western scholars between the Renaissance and the late seventeenth century. In this section of her book, Bianco attaches great importance to the role of Venice, its elites and its intellectuals in the preservation and transmission of Byzantine texts to the rest of Europe in the Age of Renaissance. She then emphasizes the contributions of such historians as Hieronymus Wolf, Le Nain de Tillemont and Charles Du Cange, whose works, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, played a critical role in promoting interest in Byzantine culture among the educated elites and in popularizing the term 'Byzantine Empire', which is indeed a modern invention and was never

used during that empire's centuries of existence. Bianco stresses, in particular, the importance of Du Cange, who persuaded Colbert to support and fund the publication of the *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, a monumental collection of Byzantine sources which became well known in Enlightenment Europe. On the other hand, she also points out the crucial role of the seventeenth-century French historian and clergyman Louis Maimbourg in the origins of a 'black legend' of Byzantium, which Maimbourg depicted as a seditious and infidel enemy of Catholic Christianity – an enemy whose schism from the Catholic Church he compared to the Protestant Reformation.

As Bianco explains in the second part of her book, the binomial Byzantium–religion informed Enlightenment attitudes towards Byzantine culture in various respects and regarding, in particular, three controversial issues – iconoclasm, the east–west schism and the crusades. Bianco argues that the reception of Byzantine history among Enlightenment intellectuals was filtered through the ambiguous views expressed by such Catholic historians as Fleury, who described the Greek Orthodox Church as the custodian of genuine Christianity, and, on the other hand, Du Pin and Burigny, who saw the Orthodox Church as simply an 'alter ego' of the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, it is no accident that such important Enlightenment authors as Montesquieu, Voltaire and Gibbon, to name a few, considered the Byzantine empire as an emblematic example of political and social perversion, characterized by religious superstition, 'oriental despotism', corruption and the loss of the ancient Roman virtues. However, Enlightenment views of Byzantium were anything but univocal. As regards iconoclasm, Bianco notes that, whereas Maimbourg and other seventeenth-century Catholic historians had judged this practice as merely a forerunner of the Protestant hostility to religious images, Gibbon and other Enlightenment intellectuals praised the iconoclastic movement for preventing the further spread of the worship of images. And when examining the crusades, Voltaire and Charles Le Beau, author of the long-ignored *Histoire du Bas Empire*, portrayed the Byzantines as victims of medieval fanaticism. Nevertheless, it was especially the 'black legend' of Byzantium that spread in Enlightenment Europe, as is proven by the treatment of Byzantine history in eighteenth-century Italy. In this regard, Bianco concentrates on a prominent representative of the Catholic Enlightenment, historian Ludovico Muratori, who harshly criticized the Byzantine rule of various Italian regions in the early Middle Ages, and on the polymath Francesco Becattini who, when writing on the origins of the Ottoman empire, reasserted the French *philosophes'* negative stereotypes about Byzantium.

This book deserves to be closely read by anyone interested in Enlightenment historiography and in Enlightenment views of past civilizations. Elisa Bianco has uncovered a long-neglected topic and has reassessed many long-forgotten sources, including a number of manuscript sources. One of the main merits of this book is its consideration of Enlightenment views of Byzantium against their background in European culture from the Renaissance to the late seventeenth century, with a focus on the humanists' rediscovery of Byzantine texts, especially in Italy, and on the Catholic rethinking of Byzantine religion and culture, particularly in France. Thus, Bianco has read Enlightenment texts which deal with Byzantine culture not only in terms of the contemporary intellectual moment, which was strongly influenced by the Enlightenment's

complex relationship with religion, but also in terms of the chronological context, thus revaluing the roots and impact of Enlightenment views of Byzantium. This approach, which combines textual analysis and attention to historical contexts, has enabled Elisa Bianco to write a ground-breaking book on an original and important topic and, hence, to offer a significant contribution to the field of eighteenth-century studies.

American University in Bulgaria

DIEGO LUCCI

***The Jews, Instructions for Use: Four Eighteenth-Century Projects for the Emancipation of European Jews.* By Paolo L. Bernardini and Diego Lucci. Academic Studies Press. 2012. 214pp. \$69.00.**

This book ends on a sombre note, with the ‘final solution of the Jewish question’ and the preconditions for Auschwitz that had been partly created, so the authors maintain, by the ‘dark sides’ of the European Enlightenment (pp. 198, 199). Linking the rise of the nation-state in post-Westphalian Europe – a problematic term introduced by political scientists referring to the extremely complex, indeed irregularly enforced, settlement which concluded the Thirty Years War (1618–48) – to a process of secularization and the emergence of racial rather than religious characteristics of distinguishing between peoples, they highlight the role that the Enlightenment debate on Jewish emancipation played in the process whereby traditional manifestations of Christian antipathy toward Jews were replaced during the nineteenth century with predominantly politically motivated and racist forms of anti-Semitism (pp. 10, 24, 194). On this reading, the Enlightenment thus constitutes an intervening age between the pre-modern period, when Jew-hatred was based on stereotypical accusations revolving around the repulsive themes of deicide, blasphemy, diabolism, superstition, spiritual blindness, obstinacy, blood, magic and usurious financial practice, with the racial laws of the 1930s adopted at Nuremberg in Nazi Germany and then Fascist Italy. The merit of this approach is in highlighting how attitudes to Jews changed over time and pinpointing the crucial phase of transition. Its corollary, however, is to place an explanatory burden on certain aspects of the Enlightenment since these intellectual and cultural tendencies are said to have helped cause later tragic events.

The four disparate eighteenth-century case studies under discussion concern Jewish emancipatory projects by the Irish Deist John Toland, the Prussian state official and freemason Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, the Mantuan political economist Count d’Arco and the French churchman Henri Grégoire. All these authors were non-Jews unfamiliar with Jewish customs who could not read Hebrew, and of the four only Dohm had extensive dealings with prominent Jewish thinkers. Yet their proposals, though the products of different historical circumstances, are nonetheless linked by a common desire – perhaps unwittingly for Toland – to place Jews at the state’s disposal (the ‘instructions for use’ of this book’s title). This notion of ‘utility’ chimes with our classic understanding of the Enlightenment – in contrast to Jonathan Israel’s concept of a ‘Radical Enlightenment’ – as a pan-European movement with a French epicentre notable for promoting anticlerical, civilized and liberal values; as an identifiable moment when superstitious religious beliefs and customs (not just those held by Jews) were derided in the name of secularism, reason and human progress. Moreover,

following Zygmunt Bauman's concept of allo-Semitism in preference to the binary categories of anti- and philo-Semitism, Bernardini and Lucci stress another common factor, 'namely, the idea that the Jews are intrinsically *others*, radically different from the rest of humankind' (p. 18). Accordingly, in discrete chapters of different length they contextualize and then examine the arguments of Toland's *Reasons for Naturalizing the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland* (1714); Dohm's *Concerning the Amelioration of the Civil Status of the Jews* (1781, 2nd edn, 1783); D'Arco's *On the Influence of the Ghetto in the State* (1782); and Grégoire's *Essay on the Physical, Moral and Political Regeneration of the Jews* (1789). The latter three texts were written in the same decade that culminated in the French Revolution and discussion of them takes up half the book, while a further quarter is devoted to Toland's thought, which combines a synthesis of the existing scholarship with an extended and insightful account of his work.

The merit of Bernardini and Lucci's four case studies clearly lies in their comparative, transnational approach, which enables them to offer a broad-ranging, lively analysis of major trends in Jewish assimilation and its ambiguities. To take Toland first, he pleaded for Jewish naturalization at a time when Jews' legal status was still undefined (they had been expelled from England by Edward I in 1290 only to be tacitly readmitted in 1656). As the authors note, the inconclusive Whitehall conference of December 1655 was conducted against a backdrop of strong clerical, mercantile and popular hostility, but it also heightened millenarian speculation interlinked with attempts to discover the whereabouts of the lost tribes of Israel, as well as the rejuvenation of Hebrew studies and debates about granting religious toleration to Protestant nonconformists. Following Adam Sutcliffe, they suggest that 'Toland essentially ignored the specificity of Judaism and carried out a sort of secular mystification of Jewish history' (p. 66), and they conclude by justifying their contention that Toland's *Reasons* 'remains the most significant writing in favour of the Jews and of a regularization of their legal status in eighteenth-century England' (p. 87). Dohm's contribution to the eighteenth-century German debate on the emancipation of the Jews is situated within 'the juridical and political tradition that supported the Enlightenment efforts to reorganize and rationalize the administration of the state' (p. 90). Here the authors highlight his 'utilitarian and mercantilist tendencies' (p. 99), considering his viewpoint 'emblematic of a widespread perspective in late Enlightenment culture' (p. 104). This was the idea that traditional factors such as religion, ethnicity, social status, wealth, education and occupation were of limited value for successfully achieving Jewish emancipation. Rather, incorporation through citizenship, or the making of subjects in *ancien régime* monarchical states, was vital. The third essay, which offers a welcome inquiry for English-speaking readers, focuses on D'Arco's theory that 'the Jews' economic activities were dangerous to the state and society' (p. 139). Contemptuous of Jewish culture and achievements, D'Arco therefore advocated increased state control over Jewish communities so as to maximize their utility for the national economy; or at least nullify their perceived threat. Finally, the fourth chapter offers a fresh perspective on Grégoire's complex and much-discussed text by 'offering a thorough understanding of Grégoire's *diagnosis*, instead of his *prognosis*, on the degenerate condition of the Jews' (p. 182). Placing his work within the context of 'Enlightenment

racism', Bernardini and Lucci argue that Grégoire's essay 'reveals the essentially *totalitarian* ... ideology of the French Revolution', emphasizing its comparatively neglected political implications (pp. 185, 188).

If there is a downside, and it is a criticism to which the authors are sensitive, it is that this volume focuses on only four national contexts and indeed could have been expanded to include additional examples, for instance from the Netherlands. Yet this lacuna also presents a future opportunity. For this book is an important, penetrating and highly engaging contribution in the fields of both Jewish history and the study of political theory.

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ARIEL HESSAYON

***Heart Religion: Evangelical Piety in England and Ireland, 1690–1850.* Edited by John Coffey.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xiii + 232pp. £65.00.

This excellent collection of essays is the latest book to emerge from the one-day conferences of the Dr Williams's Centre for Dissenting Studies. It is aptly titled. Heart religion is here not merely a shorthand for evangelicalism but encapsulates the piety that revival engendered and the languages contemporaries used to describe it. The book's periodization, too, is carefully calibrated. For although David Bebbington's magisterial *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (1989) remains essential reading, many of the chapters assembled here follow recent work in re-examining the idea that the 1730s formed a spiritual watershed, as Bebbington argued. Together they argue that evangelical spirituality emerged gradually and piecemeal from the late seventeenth century onwards, as Pietism began to readjust the priorities of the 'hotter sort of Protestants'. If policing right doctrine had taken precedence hitherto, this period saw a new stress on right feeling and right living that qualified and sometimes overturned inherited emphases on confessional orthodoxy, liturgy and the authority of educated ministers. One consequence, John Coffey suggests in a fine introductory survey, was an avid search for devotional fuel. Writers and preachers stoked their audiences' affections with Puritan and Quaker 'practical divinity' from the British North Atlantic, and reformed theology and pietist hymnody from continental Europe, melding together Jansenist asceticism, Quietist mysticism and even Jesuit spiritual manuals with self-consciously 'modern' phenomena, such as the cult of sensibility and enlightened physiology. The result was a kaleidoscopic piety whose inbuilt tensions imbued it with dynamic but chaotic energy. This is an immensely fertile subject, and Coffey has assembled a glittering line-up of established scholars to examine it. Taking their cues from a variety of scholarly approaches – histories of emotions and the body; religious anthropology; work on gender, literature and devotion – they make a compelling case for the further study of evangelical spirituality as a phenomenon in its own right.

Many of the best-trodden spiritual pathways for anglophone Protestants were laid by Puritans, most notably *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which was endlessly republished in vast quantities. 'Heart religion' did not remove the signposts, but it did give the journey a more improvisatory feel. While it was easy to agree on the two themes of the Christian life – inward renewal and outward holiness – travellers on the road to the Celestial City ceaselessly debated the balance between them. John Wesley, Philip Doddridge and Henry Venn agonized over how to distinguish genuine 'holy affections' from enthusiasm, or the

truly Christian life from merely formal legalism, as Isabel Rivers fascinatingly shows (p. 139). Recent scholarship on evangelical origins has emphasized the enduring importance of reformed traditions in such questions: David Ceri Jones demonstrates how George Whitefield squared the ‘perennial dilemma of divine sovereignty and human responsibility’ (p. 106) with a ‘reformed religion of the heart’ that refracted his own experience through the writings of two Puritan moderate Calvinists, Matthew Henry and the New Englander Jonathan Edwards. There was no ‘comfortable Assurance of eternal Salvation’, Whitefield declared, ‘without the Belief of the Doctrine of Election, and Immutability of the free Love of God’ (p. 111). Andrew Holmes, likewise, sees the rise of heart religion in Presbyterian Ulster in the 1820s as a return to seventeenth-century confessional orthodoxy, questioning as he does so the applicability of Bebbington’s model and periodization to revival in the decaying Calvinistic strongholds of Ireland (and Scotland). Coffey’s chapter on communion hymns argues for both continuity and change, showing how the new piety drew deeply on Puritan ‘affectionate divinity’, while generating something new in the process. Calvinist Dissenters who might have looked askance at histrionic revivalism nevertheless provided ‘the soundtrack of the evangelical movement’ (p. 31), supplanting metrical psalms with hymns, whose evocations of sight, feeling, taste and smell and exultant Christ-centred bridal mysticism used the Lord’s Supper to nourish an intense sacramental piety. Tom Schwanda’s exploration of Thomas Cennick’s engagement with Moravian blood-and-wounds imagery (famously Freudianized by E. P. Thompson) underlines the literally visceral intensity of such devotion. While Coffey rightly warns against normalizing what was, after all, an intentionally angular creed, Phyllis Mack’s chapter on dreaming and emotion among Methodists and Quakers compellingly underlines how evangelicals appropriated contemporary ideas and cultural currents even as they subverted them. For men, dreams provided potentially useful empirical evidence regarding an individual’s spiritual state; for women, they could underpin a quasi-shamanic visionary authority. Daniel L. Brunner’s chapter on the Halle Pietist Anthony William Boehm hints at its subject’s importance in propagating English heart religion between the Restoration and the 1730s, but slightly disappointingly is content to conclude that Boehm accords with ‘Bebbington’s Quadrilateral’.

The focus of *Heart Religion* on the eighteenth century makes sense. Just as historians of early modern scholarship and thought are beginning to erode distinctions between ‘Renaissance’ or ‘Reformation’ and ‘Enlightenment’, so scholars of evangelicalism are coming to emphasize the productive and sometimes unacknowledged engagement of the ‘new’ piety with a spectrum of earlier traditions. Less clearly articulated in this book, however, is what happened to that spirit of venturesome experimentation in the nineteenth century. David Bebbington’s survey of Victorian nonconformist deathbeds is characteristically surefooted, but in many respects feels like it describes a different world, one in which weeping, hymn-singing and fervid prayer followed a by now well-developed script. It might have made more sense to conclude around the 1790s, by which time – as W. R. Ward proposed long ago – evangelicals were coming to distance themselves from mysticism, while also becoming more politically and intellectually conservative and concerned with influencing society: to the detriment, Ward thought, of their faith. As Joseph Stubenrauch has recently shown, evangelical language shifted significantly at around this time: while

'means' had for early evangelicals referred to ways of forming individual piety, it now became shorthand for any tool that might allow them to shape society and morality more broadly. Perhaps institutions now mattered more than charismatic leaders. Just occasionally, this reviewer could have wished for a more capacious definition of heart religion. While Patricia A. Ward makes clear that evangelicals and indeed Protestants were not the only European religious movement to look to the heart in this period 'as the seat of both the will and of the affections' (p. 51), there is little in this book that is entirely unexpected. That notwithstanding, this is a set of rich, satisfying essays that vividly evoke the beating heart of early evangelical piety.

Magdalene College, Cambridge

GARETH ATKINS

***Liberty or Death: The French Revolution.* By Peter McPhee.** Yale University Press. 2016. xiii + 468pp. £25.00.

Australia might appear an unlikely powerhouse for French history, but it has produced many specialists of late and Peter McPhee is foremost among them. He actually began his career researching the reception of the mid-nineteenth-century Second Republic in the Pyrénées-Orientales, before turning to the French Revolution of 1789. In transferring allegiances he retained a strong affiliation with the provinces, superbly demonstrated in *Living the French Revolution*, which also reflects a great passion for the ordinary person's experience of upheaval. I used to recommend his short history of the Revolution to undergraduates; now I shall do the same for *Liberty or Death* to anyone who wishes to pursue the subject in more depth. This splendid and accessible synthesis, lavishly illustrated with some striking visual images, will surely become the standard text in English. It takes full account of the formidable amount of publications that continue to pour off the presses, helpfully referenced in the endnotes, and succeeds in the daunting task of encompassing a host of issues in a comprehensible fashion. Thus the global ramifications of the Revolution that have attracted recent attention, like the problem of colonial slavery, are treated alongside the diversity of provincial reactions and individual responses which other scholars have unearthed. While quantitative measure is frequently given, analysis is accompanied by arresting anecdotes and insights drawn from some unfamiliar sources, like the patriotic schoolgirl Nanine Weis at La Rochelle, or the refractory *abbé* Nicolas-François Faligant from Rennes.

The book opens with a lively sketch of the *ancien régime*, which reveals the cracks in an apparently solid structure, before embarking on an incisive account of how the Revolution began and then rapidly escalated. No less than six chapters out of seventeen are devoted to the momentous period between 1792 and 1794, from the foundation of the First Republic to the fall of Robespierre, the subject of a recent biography by McPhee. As the dramatic title of this work (drawn from a contemporary slogan) suggests, the alternatives of liberty or death constitute its very core. It was a choice that few could avoid, and many paid with their lives as a result of decisions to either support or oppose the Revolution as it developed in a radical and violent manner that no one had anticipated in its earlier, heady days. Although McPhee is sympathetic to the revolutionaries' fundamental aspirations, he does not spare the reader's sensitivities as he examines the rising tide of violence that engulfed the country from 1792 onwards, mostly outside Paris,

with only a minority of its victims dispatched by the emblematic guillotine. McPhee seeks an explanation for this deadly turn of events in bitterly divisive, unforeseen circumstances, above all in religious schism and the outbreak of war, which multiplied enemies of the Revolution within and without. Fear and panic abounded in the political vacuum left by the collapse of monarchy, and the Terror emerged as a means of containing popular excesses and combating internal rebellion, but took its own terrible toll, not least in western France. Yet, at the same time, deputies in the ruling National Convention were combining idealism with retribution by espousing the rights to education, work and welfare.

The period after July 1794, post-Thermidor according to the revolutionary calendar, receives shorter shrift, but the republican experiment retained much of its vitality until the advent of Napoleon Bonaparte. This survey ends with the coup of Brumaire, in November 1799, which proved the prelude to the restoration of stability in France, but, ever mindful of the huge burden borne by soldiers and their families, McPhee reminds us that ‘dreams of imperial grandeur would cost French people far more than had the securing of their Revolution’ (p. 341). A work of such ambitious scope will inevitably be subject to particular scrutiny by colleagues in their areas of expertise, and this reviewer felt the electoral dimension might have been handled with greater precision. However, the crucial point is made that a system of indirect election was employed as a device to exclude the relatively broad male electorate from immediate influence above the local level. Even when eligibility requirements for the electoral colleges were briefly abolished, in 1792, second-degree electors were still overwhelmingly drawn from wealthier elements in town and countryside; money was indeed replacing birth as the key factor in society. Nonetheless, as McPhee emphasizes, this remarkable era of mass participation and sweeping change raised issues that still resonate in democratic politics today. Concluding with a wide-ranging balance sheet, which judiciously weighs up the overall impact of the revolutionary decade, he poses a series of pertinent questions, such as ‘Is the quest for equality inimical to liberty, or is a measure of social equality the precondition for genuine freedom?’ (p. 370). In this sense, the Revolution is far from over, and not the least of McPhee’s achievements is to show why it still matters.

Keele University

MALCOLM CROOK

Late Modern

***The Oxford Handbook of European History, 1914–1945.* Edited by Nicholas Doumanis.** Oxford University Press. 2016. x + 655pp. £95.00.

The era of the two world wars enjoys unwavering popularity in international historiography. At the same time, several innovative methodological approaches have recently led to new perspectives on the years between 1914 and 1945. The fact that Oxford University Press is now presenting us with a handbook that attempts to consolidate this research is certainly to be welcomed. Indeed, its vast thematic breadth is striking, taking into account questions of political violence, social and cultural change, as well as everyday experiences, while focusing in particular on the relationship between state and society. Hence, it is not possible to consider every one of its thirty-one chapters individually within the limits of this review.

Instead a number of key aspects will be systematically selected that seem essential for the critical evaluation of this handbook.

The first of these focal points concerns temporality and chronology. Strikingly, in accordance with recent research, several chapters question in particular the year 1945 as a caesura, as it does not represent a clean cut in many areas. Julia Moses, for example, in her treatment of the development of European social politics, conclusively shows that the latter should be reconsidered in terms of its temporality. She views the close connection between the 'social' and the 'nation' as its basic formative agent in the entire half of the twentieth century, which did not begin to fracture before 1950. Aviel Roshwald traces the roots and results of 'Europe's civil wars' between 1941 and 1949, arguing that the reintegration of many collaborationists after the Second World War put a delayed end to the internal struggles that burdened many European societies. However, what is the significance of these temporal shifts with regard to the periodization of this epoch in general? In his introduction, the editor convincingly stresses the fundamental importance of the two world wars and the contingency of the epoch that 'needs to be considered in its own terms' (p. 9).

Yet, empirically, the handbook is not always in accord with this conceptual line. In fact, its overall tone is notably somewhat negative. The majority of chapters trace perceptions of crises, whilst recent research increasingly interprets the interwar years as a field of experimentation and aims to fathom the latitude of contemporary actors, for example in the area of international politics. Contrary to the editor's intentions, it thus appears that the Second World War functions as an anchor in many of the chapters and that the era is thought about through the prism of this end point. Conan Fischer's contribution on 'Remaking Europe after the First World War' for example illustrates this: Fischer offers a critical interpretation of the Paris Peace Conference and efforts to promote liberal democracy in Europe after 1918/19, but he does so without referring to the myriad of secondary literature that is available. Instead of analysing the efforts, possibilities, successes and failures of international organizations such as the League of Nations or the International Labour Organization in trying to stabilize the continent, he simply offers a highly abbreviated description of the events that led to the collapse of the European democracies during the interbellum.

A second aspect concerns the spatial dimension. The editor's initial statement that 'this is not the place to define "Europe"' (p. 11) comes across as slightly perplexing, considering that this is an introduction to a handbook on 'European' history. It is doubtless essential to view Europe not as a closed vessel but rather, as Doumanis emphasizes, to broaden one's perspective by determining its global interrelations. David Ellwood for instance successfully does so with regard to transatlantic relations by illustrating that the era of the two world wars can be conceived as a decades-long shift of European–American power relations, which however was not yet recognized as such by contemporaries on both sides of the Atlantic. It was only with the onset of the Cold War that the United States finally proved willing to act 'as a European power' (p. 437). Yet, considering the handbook as a whole, a number of central questions remain unanswered: Where do the boundaries of Europe lie? Is the term 'Europe' determined by contemporaries and thus subject to historiographic deconstruction, or does it serve rather as an analytical category? And what – in view of the many global moments – constitutes the genuinely 'European' aspects

of the era of the two world wars? One example is to be found in Marco Duranti's chapter, which offers an interesting new focus regarding the genesis of European thinking during the interwar years by differentiating between romantic and technocratic internationalism – although the rigid dichotomy appears debatable in some cases, e.g. concerning European utopian Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, who was a (controversial) visionary and had a profound understanding of the influence of technological progress on transnationalization. What exactly European integration means in this context, however, and to what extent it was related to the more universally conceived human rights and the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (which constitutes an analytical anchor for the author, despite not being primarily European), remains unclear.

Third, while the handbook does offer a transnational history, as promised by the blurb, it is rather unfortunate that it only includes authors affiliated with Anglo-American and Australian universities, even more so as not all of the chapters meet the quality standards of a handbook in equal measure. This concerns in particular the lack of structure that marks some of the essays, limiting the reader's access to their contents, as well as the occasionally scanty footnotes. Thus, not all chapters provide an introduction to the state of research as substantial as David Priestland's discussion of different historiographical interpretations of the left-wing revolutions during, and immediately after, the First World War. According to Priestland, the cause for Europe's 'Red Years' (p. 94) between 1917 and 1923 lay in the crisis of pre-war hierarchies and the dissolution of multi-ethnic empires. An obvious example is Dagmar Herzog's chapter on 'European Sexualities in the Age of Total War'. Herzog, doubtless one of the leading experts in this field of research, not only reveals the range and ambivalence of sexual experiences in Europe between 1914 and 1945, which could be violent or consensual, but also illustrates that the 'terror of the Second World War was specifically aimed at destroying the sexuality of the victims' (p. 418). However, the chapter is merely an extract from Herzog's 2011 book *Sexuality in Europe* that was neither revised nor sufficiently structured, the subheadings of the monograph having even been removed for some reason. Regrettably, the research that has recently been conducted in this field (such as Maren Roeger's Fraenkel prize-winning monograph on sexual violence and intimacy in Poland during the Second World War) was not considered at all. Given the fact that, according to their website, the Oxford Handbooks are designed 'to discuss research and the latest thinking' and to 'review...key issues and major debates', one may wonder why the editorial board decided to include a chapter containing only four footnotes and no real references to existing literature.

Despite its shortcomings, however, the handbook impressively illustrates the connection between structural violence and societal development that marked the years between 1914 and 1945. Some of the authors do so in an exemplary manner: Stefan Goebel's excellent exploration of war societies between 1914 and 1918 illuminates the diversity of experiences in wartime Europe, ranging from violence against civilians and prisoners of war to shortages and coercion at the home front to improvements in the standard of living and civilian health. In a similar fashion, Christoph Mick shows that everyday experiences of Europeans in the Second World War differed depending on region, class and gender. Regarding the civilian populations in occupied areas, particularly Poland under German rule, he identifies a lack of essentials and manifold problems that atomized society, but

that could also lead to new networks of solidarity and mutual support among circles of friends and families. Shelley Baranowski convincingly argues that axis imperialism played a crucial role in the catastrophic and total destruction between 1939 and 1945. While Fascist nationalization in Italy struggled as a result of the country's early military defeats, Germany's and Japan's successes at the beginning of their war campaigns each led to a stronger 'fusion of nation and empire-building', and thus to a more determined 'fight to the death' (p. 492). Perhaps it is precisely this interconnection – which ultimately points to increasingly divergent expectations and experiences – that not only reveals the totality and extremity of this era, but also offers an explanatory approach, thus making this handbook a valuable research contribution.

University of Augsburg

FLORIAN GREINER

***Ireland's Exiled Children: America and the Easter Rising.* By Robert Schmuhl.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xvii + 210pp. £19.99/\$29.95.

The Proclamation of the Irish Republic, read and circulated in Dublin on the first day of the 1916 Easter Rising, dramatically asserted that the rebels had the support of Ireland's 'exiled children in America'. This phrase, the document's only reference to a nation other than Ireland, provides Robert Schmuhl with the title of this effective and engaging book. It also provides him with a way of thinking about four individuals who, he maintains, taken together offer a window on the range of American responses to the rebellion in Ireland. With each claiming a chapter to himself, they are the veteran Irish American nationalist John Devoy (the 'intrigue of exile'), the poet and journalist Joyce Kilmer (the 'romance of exile'), President Woodrow Wilson (the 'denial of exile') and the New York-born Irish rebel leader Éamon de Valera (the 'myth of exile').

The American connection to the Easter Rising provided an interesting topic of historical exploration in its recent centenary year and was marked by a number of public lectures and symposia, along with a notable volume of essays, Miriam Nyhan Grey (ed.), *Ireland's Allies: America and the 1916 Easter Rising* (2016), to which Schmuhl contributed an excellent chapter. A small group of Irish American republican activists helped plan the rebellion (though Schmuhl rightly emphasizes their supporting rather than leading role), and in its wake these activists built a mass support movement in the United States that contributed significantly to the winning of partial Irish independence in 1921. Other Americans watched the Rising unfold with more curiosity than enthusiasm, while still others saw in it only treason in a time of war. Without a doubt, the topic deserved a book-length treatment.

Such a book naturally could have taken a variety of forms. Schmuhl's decision to approach the subject through a series of biographical portraits made sense, compensating for a lack of comprehensiveness with a sharply defined focus and a good deal of narrative drive, both important to an author who clearly envisioned a 'general', rather than strictly academic, audience for his work. It must be said, however, that the individual portraits themselves vary a good deal in both length and quality. This reviewer found the two middle chapters to be the most successful. Although school children may still grow up reciting Joyce Kilmer's poem, 'Trees', his importance as a journalist is not widely known, and

his role in providing American readers with a generally sympathetic picture of the Easter Rising is persuasively conveyed. (Schmuhl even includes one of Kilmer's *New York Times Magazine* stories as a helpful appendix.) This chapter also displays Schmuhl's expertise as an insightful scholar of the American press's role in shaping public opinion and, even more interestingly, presents Kilmer (who had no actual Irish ancestors) as a romantic 'self-adopted' Irishman and convert to Catholicism.

The chapter on Wilson is a strong one as well. Here Schmuhl makes effective use of the multi-volume *Papers of Woodrow Wilson* (ed. Arthur S. Link, 1966–94), along with a number of political memoirs, to trace the president's tortuous relationship with Irish American nationalists from his 1912 election to the US Senate's 1920 rejection of the Versailles Treaty, an outcome to which they made a decisive contribution. Torn between his strong commitment to an Anglo-American alliance (and perhaps his own Ulster Presbyterian background) on the one hand, and his leadership of a Democratic Party within which Irish Catholics constituted an important ethnic bloc, Wilson tried unsuccessfully to finesse his political dilemma by seeming to promise US supporters of Irish independence more than he was ever actually willing to deliver.

Less effective are Schmuhl's first and final chapters on the two Irish nationalists (and eventual political adversaries) Devoy and de Valera. Devoy was a classic political exile and a central figure in the history of Irish American nationalism for over fifty years. Schmuhl tells his story well, but surprisingly never engages with Kerby Miller's delineation of an 'exile motif' in Irish American culture and politics, despite the obvious relevance of Miller's *Emigrants and Exiles* (1985) for an understanding of Devoy – and indeed for many of the issues that Schmuhl considers in his book. The chapter on de Valera devotes an inordinate amount of space to the question of whether his American birth saved him from execution after the rebels' surrender. More relevant to the theme of exile would have been a fuller exploration of de Valera's impressive political agitation in the United States in 1919–20. The fact that he was able to raise nearly 10 million dollars among Ireland's 'exiled children in America' for the Irish republican cause is important and could have been given more attention in this generally informative and engagingly written book.

University of California, Santa Cruz

DAVID BRUNDAGE

***Gender, Rhetoric and Regulation: Women's Work in the Civil Service and London County Council.* By Helen Glew. Manchester University Press. 2016. xv + 265pp. £70.00.**

Helen Glew's study of women workers in the Civil Service and London County Council is the latest in a range of insightful additions to the historiography on women's work during the first half of the twentieth century. While a lot of work has been published concerning the changing role of women in society, especially in wartime, Glew's study shows that we still have a lot to learn about the nature of women's paid work. Organized in seven thematic chapters, ranging from the marriage bar to equal pay, it highlights the obstacles faced by women, and their tenacity in overcoming these difficulties, together with their desire to campaign forcefully for the improvement of their terms and conditions of service. In so doing, Glew shows how the public service, especially the Post Office (as the largest

single employer of women during this period), eventually provided leadership to put the legal caveats in place for the revision and improvement of women's legal workplace rights by the middle of the twentieth century.

Glew's study is firmly located within the current historiography on these issues, and takes the findings further by situating the major problems affecting women's employment within a larger study of the public service – an aspect that has not yet been examined in detail by historians. Glew demonstrates how the occupational segregation regulations within the public service not only meant that men and women were subject to different contracts, jobs and pay, but that men and women were physically segregated in the workplace, and not permitted to interact with each other – a phenomenon that was firmly in place from the latter part of the nineteenth century (1870 – when women entered public service) until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. Glew's detailed study of the marriage bar is used to illustrate this point. In demonstrating that women were required to resign before marriage so as to dedicate their lives to becoming housewives, Glew shows how marriage was used as a way not only to strengthen the male 'breadwinner' model, but also as a means of keeping staffing costs low in the Civil Service. Women who resigned for marriage would be replaced by other (possibly younger) unmarried women who would enter on the lowest pay scale, and thus be used as a means of keeping staffing costs low. Women resigning for marriage would receive a marriage gratuity, which would, if fewer than five years of continuous service on a permanent contract had been completed, be given in lieu of a pension.

Glew's focus on the position of women in the interwar years is particularly insightful. She demonstrates that, unlike women in other areas of the labour market at the end of the First World War, women in the Civil Service were not dismissed en masse. In highlighting this aspect, Glew shows us that women not only formed a key component of the Civil Service after the war, but that many remained in the service because of procedural confusions surrounding the 1919 Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act, and the Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act (1919). This is attested by the fact that women were subject to identical Civil Service entrance examinations, but not provided with the same contracts as men, or afforded equal pay. Glew's suggestion that women were, in many cases, retained after the First World War to help the country save money has traction, since women would be employed on identical work to that of their male colleagues, but subjected to significant pay disparities. However, Glew shows that for women joining the Civil Service at the age of 18, they would receive identical pay to their male colleagues until their early twenties – a position that was driven by the assumption about their future lifestyle trajectory. In assuming that women would be resigning for marriage in their early twenties, policymakers believed that this short period of equal pay for women was seen as a step to encourage women to join the public service, but one that would not need to be maintained in the long term owing to the restrictions of the marriage bar. Those who did not marry by their early twenties would then be transferred to a different pay scale from their male colleagues, and would receive lower pay.

The difficulty for women in addressing these inequalities lay in the fact that trade unions were not always sympathetic to the plight of women, especially since most were male-dominated and primarily concerned with protecting male employment and 'rates for the job' in the face of challenging economic circumstances brought about by war and the post-war uncertainties. Glew shows

how this provided women with an opportunity to coalesce to protect their own interests – a move that saw the creation of women’s trade unions to take the fight for equal pay to parliament. Moreover, the support of both women and male MPs helped to bring this issue to the attention of lawmakers. Significantly, the campaign for equal pay in the interwar years gained the support of parliament, but not the government. The same was true during the Second World War, when Winston Churchill chose to make equal pay for women into a confidence issue for the government. Yet, despite fervent opposition, the idea of equal pay and inequalities in employment, especially rules such as the marriage bar, would be subject to reconsideration in the aftermath of the Second World War. The drive to achieve this was largely the result of the sterling work performed by women campaigning in the public service for these reforms. As Glew lucidly shows, it was the role of Post Office women in particular that played a vital role in these efforts, particularly since its large body of women workers provided a powerful voice for the efforts to redress the rampant inequalities affecting women in the public service.

The final chapter demonstrates clearly the complexities of the workplace regulations concerning women, and how policymakers tended to implement regulations along gendered lines. Glew surveys the difficulties brought about by the marriage bar concerning married women subjected to desertion, and women who, through the difficulties brought about by war, became breadwinners either through the death of their husbands, or through their disability. She shows the complex discussions occurring around these regulations, and the ways in which women struggled to convince officials in the public service that although they were legally married, their domestic situation had been complicated either because of tragedies brought about by the horrors of war, or because of a breakdown in their marriage, leaving the family without a male breadwinner. Glew shows that while there was some compassion demonstrated by officials in these cases, each situation would be treated on its own merits, and it was not until the end of the Second World War that substantial revisions to the marriage bar took place, leading to its eventual abolition in the early 1950s. The Post Office, yet again, was a leader in this campaign, and was the first to abolish the marriage bar in 1946.

This book is meticulously researched, bringing together a wide range of material from numerous archives. It is engaging and compelling, and will undoubtedly become required reading for students of twentieth-century British history, especially those examining the history of women and work in modern Britain.

Wuhan University

MARK J. CROWLEY

***Stalin’s Citizens: Everyday Politics in the Wake of Total War.* By Serhy Yekelchyk. Oxford University Press. 2014. xi + 270pp. £35.00.**

A huge number of the monographs on Stalinism have been published since the archival materials on the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist Party became available to researchers. In the first decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union, historians were especially keen to explore how the Stalinist political system worked and how many victims were engendered by the Stalinist repressions. During the last ten years or so, historians have turned their attention from the political issues and repression under Stalinism to the history of Soviet locality,

which has yielded fruitful research products. It also accompanies the shift of the perspectives from high politics to the politics of 'everyday life'. By investigating the experiences of the 'ordinary' Soviet citizens, the history of everyday Stalinism shows us how the Soviet citizens understood (or sometimes misunderstood), reacted to, and, in some particular cases, challenged Stalinism.

Serhy Yekelchuk's *Stalin's Citizens: Everyday Politics in the Wake of Total War* can thus be seen as a welcome addition to the historiography of everyday aspects of Stalinism. *Stalin's Citizens* focuses on the city of Kyiv from the wartime period of 1943 to the death of Stalin in 1953. Yekelchuk regards Kyiv as a particular case among the Soviet cities because the Soviet authority 'had to rebuild Stalinist political life from scratch' after more than two years of the Nazi occupation of the city (p. 8). However, Yekelchuk's monograph not only seeks to describe the Kyiv citizens' experiences of Stalinism during the reconstruction of Soviet control but also takes on a further challenge: it attempts to illuminate the interaction between society and state by paying significant attention to the citizens' participation in political sites, which the author sees as the 'very heart of the Stalinist concept of citizenship' (p. 2). Yekelchuk argues that everyday politics constituted a key function of Soviet politics for both state and citizens. On the one hand, the Soviet authorities expected it to work as an officially created public space through which Soviet identity and a sense of citizenship was re-instilled in Kyiv citizens. On the other hand, for the citizens, it became an arena through which to 'negotiate with, mock, resist the state' within the limit of Stalinist politics (p. 7). By examining the interplay between the Soviet authorities and the local citizens from this perspective, Yekelchuk also questions the contradictory explanations offered by contemporary observers and historians for the enthusiasm and enjoyment at the public events shown by the seemingly 'apolitical' Soviet masses. To date, it has often been explained that the Soviet citizens employed this double standard for their own security, or that the scenario occurred because all lived willingly or unwillingly *within* Stalinism. The latter argument was strongly promoted by Stephen Kotkin in his influential monograph *Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization* (1995) and reinforced by several historians, including, notably, Igal Halpin and Jochen Hellbeck. Yekelchuk's argument, however, is more nuanced, subtle and elaborate than that of the Kotkin's school. He shows us that the citizens in Kyiv exhibited allegiance to the state and, at the same time, attempted to make the most of political participation for their practical purposes. Overall, Yekelchuk's arguments convincingly deconstruct the 'all-lived-within-Stalinism' argument, being supported by meticulous references to central and local archival materials. Although readers may sometimes find Yekelchuk's account too descriptive, it is not difficult to follow the course of his arguments, and his meticulously researched description of Kyiv would surely captivate readers. By drawing heavily on valuable sources, he elucidates the 'different everyday spaces' of Soviet politics, including the election campaigns, educational seminars and fund-raising campaigns. The Soviet officials in Moscow were keen to remobilize the citizens by forcing them to participate in these official events. Nevertheless, Yekelchuk shows us how the state's attempt to make good Soviet citizens was, at times, far less successful than was proclaimed in the official press. This was not only because of citizens' lack of enthusiasm for the politics but also because of the lack of capable state agents who were supposed to bridge the gap between the centre and the locality. Time

and again, Yekelchik offers a close examination of serious predicaments that the Soviet propaganda machinery confronted at the end of and aftermath of the war. For example, even when people in Kyiv were interested in familiarizing themselves with a variety of new Soviet policies, the state officials were not able to establish a sound channel with the popular audience. Although Stalin's article became the must-read item for agitators and citizens alike, it was too difficult to understand even for the agitators, and the citizens were inevitably left with no appropriate understanding of the state policy (pp. 78–99).

Stalin's Citizens gives us a very vivid picture of the everyday political experiences of Kyiv citizens in the wake of the Second World War. To date, the political participation of Soviet citizens has been examined by some historians, including Karen Petrone, who casts a light on civic participation during the 1930s. Moreover, Alexei Yurchak's 2005 monograph, *Everything Was Forever, Until It Was No More: The Last Soviet Generation*, addresses the issue of the Soviet identity in the 1970s. Whereas Yekelchik criticizes Petrone's argument in passing (p. 236), reading these books along with Yekelchik's would help to contextualize Stalinism in Kyiv into a broader perspective of Soviet history. The pictures from the archives and contemporary press are appropriately placed and help readers to comprehend the citizens' experiences during the period. *Stalin's Citizens* adds a great deal to our understanding of the various ways in which Stalinism was experienced. It is highly recommended to undergraduate students and specialists alike.

Ryukoku University

JUNYA TAKIGUCHI

***Amnesiopolis: Modernity, Space, and Memory in East Germany.* By Eli Rubin.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xxii + 186pp. £50.00.

Rubin's title *Amnesiopolis* echoes Fritz Lang's expressionist science-fiction dystopia *Metropolis*. In a futuristic city in 2026, space is divided between the working class that lives in the underground and wealthy industrialists who reign in high-rise tower complexes. In a way, this film pinpointed the social question and the miserable living conditions of the working class.

Rubin's *Amnesiopolis* can be seen as a critical historical study on the 'revenge of the working class', to allude to Donna Harsch's book *Revenge of the Domestic: Women, the Family, and Communism in the German Democratic Republic*, published in 2007. From the late 1970s onwards, and for the first time since the creation of the GDR – supposedly a 'workers' and peasants' state' – in 1949, the working class had the opportunity to live in modern, comfortable, prefabricated housing settlements, such as Marzahn in East Berlin.

The history of the largest prefabricated East German housing project is more than a material history. It is a valuable, concrete site for observation that allows Rubin to offer a convincing social history of political domination in East Germany through a double lens: on the one hand through the lens of space and how space produces socio-cultural and political effects and, on the other hand, through the lens of everyday life and how the latter was shaped by this socialist space. That is why the subtitle of the book is as important as the main title as it contains three key concepts that perfectly summarize the intellectual project of this book: modernity, space and memory. A fourth one could be added because it runs through the entire study: experience.

For Rubin, the GDR is not a parenthesis in German history. It is part of European modern history, deeply rooted in the working class tradition and the heritage of the Republic of Weimar. It was obviously a dictatorship with Soviet structures but it was a modern one that wanted to erase certain traces of the German past. To accomplish the modern project of building a socialist society and to prove the superiority of its model, the GDR had launched, as early as the 1950s and 1960s, prestigious projects in East Berlin, such as the Stalin Allee or the Television Tower at Alexanderplatz. Marzahn represented a new kind of urban project: ultimately it had to bring a modern everyday life to a new generation of East German citizens. It was to a certain extent a *tabula rasa* experience, a project of radical rupture with the past. In Marzahn, not only would history be made but memories would be created from scratch as well.

Rubin's book is clearly a product of a double historiographical evolution. On the one hand, it relates to the spatial turn and to the heritage of Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja. On the other hand, this book is marked by the historiographical innovation of Alf Lüdtke and Thomas Lindenberg concerning a new social history of political domination (*Herrschaft*). In *Ammesiopolis*, space functions as a category to understand 'structures of power, domination and the transmission of ideology' (p. 5) because it produces a diffuse and even imperceptible everyday domination through social practices.

Prefabricated mass housing is of course no particularity of the GDR. It is even a global phenomenon, common not only to all socialist but also to western countries. However, Rubin argued that this transnational phenomenon is anchored in a national narrative. One can therefore ask to what extent a 'material rupture' (p. 6) in Marzahn differed from the experience of a French family that left Paris to live in a new city (*ville nouvelle*) like Evry or Melun-Senart.

Rubin focuses above all on space as a phenomenological experience. He pays a lot of attention to the new smells, the new material consequences (like the 'mud effect' at the arrival in the middle of the cranes), the new sense of space, the new neighbours (with a concentration of young adults with children) and finally, to the new everyday routines. He also looks at a new kind of shortage like, for example, the lack of local shops (bakeries).

In order to grasp space both as discourse and as experience, Rubin successfully combines two main types of sources that deal with everyday practices and perceptions on the one hand (*le perçu*), and with representations of space (*le conçu*) on the other. He uses the archives of the state institutions that imagined and realized the Marzahn project and bodies representative of the new socialist space like the German Architectural Academy, the Institute for City Building and Architecture, or agencies of the Party. He also reverts to the files of the East German secret police. The Stasi was indeed a central actor in the construction and the surveillance of this new area. At the same time, Rubin complements this top-down perspective with a bottom-up one with the help of memoirs and interviews with residents who lived in Marzahn in the 1970s and 1980s.

Rubin's book is divided into five chapters. The first one is both a plea to consider the GDR as an integral part of modern German history and an argument demonstrating how the GDR is in continuation with it. Rubin shows that Marzahn, as a 'manifestation of a utopian and modernist desire' (p. 7), is the East German response to a problem of *longue durée*, namely how to solve the problem of working-class slums in Berlin. In the second chapter, he analyses the

radicalness of the new housing project. In the two next chapters, he then focuses on the experiences of East German citizens who moved to Marzahn, especially those of the children. Marzahn was marked by a 'deluge of kids' (p. 105): it was the district with the highest proportion of children in the entire GDR (30 per cent of the residents were under 18). Children were a prerequisite for getting an apartment, which explains this special feature. In a generational perspective, Rubin shows how this radical urban project coincided with a new generation of East German citizens, actually the first that had no connection to the old world before 1945. Marzahn is an appropriate site for observing how the state interacted with its society and how it created structures at the grassroots level in order to develop and support a sense of community, for instance through a building's communal association (*Hausgemeinschaft*). But Marzahn was not only a social project; it was also a prime object of Stasi control and surveillance. The last chapter deals with this 'dark side' (p. 133) of Marzahn, namely the Stasi's involvement in the construction of the project and its highly professionalized surveillance policy. Young people were the main target, both as possible recruits and as a threat to the stability of the regime. The conclusion of the book is a clever analysis of the impact of 1989 on Berlin: whereas the inner city has become more and more attractive and is experiencing a process of gentrification, Marzahn has experienced a process of stigmatization and depopulation despite some political efforts.

To conclude, Eli Rubin has written one of the most intelligent and insightful books about the GDR. He offers a solidly documented and well-balanced study of political domination through a fine analysis of socio-spatial effects related to modernity.

Centre Marc Bloch, Berlin

EMMANUEL DROIT

Propaganda and Intelligence in the Cold War: The NATO Information Service. By Linda Risso. Routledge. 2014. xvii + 296pp. £29.99.

Linda Risso looks at the connections between intelligence and propaganda through a study of the NATO Information Service (NATIS) during the Cold War. Specifically, she examines efforts by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to promote its mission and circulate intelligence about communist activities in Europe. Risso argues that NATO is 'primarily' a political organization where national interests, motivations and contributions clashed and influenced other nations. Her sources range from interviews, meeting minutes, resolutions, reports and other documents in the NATO archives. Explaining that propaganda was not 'a one-way process', Risso describes how information was 'fed back into the intelligence field' as agencies 'opened up opportunities to the intelligence services for observation and infiltration', but this sometimes caused 'tension' between the agencies over specific priorities (p. 251).

The book is divided in two sections with the first exploring NATIS's chronological history until the 1991 dissolution of the Soviet Union. Risso starts by explaining how the establishment of NATO opened new intergovernmental forums, but initial information exchanges and cooperation were 'low and rather ineffective' due to fears about harming 'national sovereignty' (p. 27). The United States and Britain worked closely and provided material to NATO with its propaganda focusing on the positive aspects of western life during the 1940s.

NATIS's focus shifted in the 1950s after Joseph Stalin's death and the Korean War with the goal of developing a 'coherent' information campaign, but the information service lacked funding and the countries did not have the political will to promote NATO effectively in member states. During the 1960s, NATIS targeted 'opinion formers', such as journalists, parliamentarians and academics, at a time when the alliance appeared fragile. The Harmel Report (1967) was part of a new phase where NATO's 'political dimension had acquired importance and was more well-defined', and programmes were to be 'more cost-effective' and embrace 'new media' (p. 115). NATIS was revised during the 1970s and 1980s because 'the last decades of the Cold War posed new challenges to all those involved in pro-NATO information work, challenges that were thoroughly discussed and conceptualised but not necessarily effectively answered' (p. 123). The agency turned its attention towards young people, who were losing interest in NATO, and the growing peace and environmental movements, but also was focused on informing eastern Europeans about the changing world.

The second half of the book examines specific NATIS programmes and the dissemination of propaganda during the Cold War. NATIS had three concentrations to spread information, which were publications, public relations and special media, like films. Risso reviews the most notable NATIS publications, which targeted the general audience with details about NATO's origins and periodicals for academics, NATO staff and European parliamentarians. She finds that 'The actual publications produced by NATIS were carefully planned and they targeted different audiences', but 'a few people received most of the publications' and reports by the Committee on Information and Cultural Relations were often 'repetitive' (p. 169). In contrast, NATO films and travelling exhibitions had a different type of impact for the wider public, but delays in production hurt the distribution of films, which usually needed to be updated by the time of their release. However, NATIS's public relations section offered tours of NATO headquarters, gave fellowships and collaborated with groups for conferences. For example, there were scientific advisory groups to improve science education and a Committee on the Challenges of Modern Society devoted to solving environmental issues. Risso also surveys outside organizations, notably the Atlantic Treaty Association (ATA) and the North Atlantic Assembly (NAA), that were non-governmental bodies which engaged with the public to promote NATO. Writing that the organizations 'had an uneven presence in the NATO countries', she concludes that 'ATA and the NAA addressed individuals who were in some way already connected to the alliance and therefore contributed little to expanding NATO's support base' (p. 239).

Propaganda and Intelligence in the Cold War offers a unique view of information-sharing and public relations through an institutional history of a key post-war international organization's information service. The book concludes that 'The history of the NATO Information Service could be summarised as an ongoing struggle between the desire for a coherent alliance-wide propaganda campaign and the demands of the national governments to determine their own information policies' (p. 248). A well-sourced study on NATIS's history, the book has only brief discussions and analyses about intelligence. Risso explains that 'little is known about how' NATO 'promoted a coordinated intelligence effort and prevention of subversive activities among its members, as the papers of the Special Committee (AC/46) are still classified' (p. 11). However, the

book does show the connections and limitations of NATO's outreach to the public and 'opinion informers'; as she rightly points out, it usually included people who already had NATO links. Moreover, Risso repeatedly explains how challenging it was to measure the impact of NATIS's efforts due to both issues of reception theory and the difficulty in quantifying success. Yet, national elections and referendums can broadly point to the popularity of ideas through politicians' associations with NATO and national support for NATO-aligned political parties. Scholars of diplomatic history and the Cold War will find this monograph a welcome addition to our understanding of the complexities of international bodies distributing information and the limits that information had during the Cold War.

The ideas expressed are solely the author's opinions and do not represent the United States Department of State or any other agency.

United States Department of State

RYAN SHAFFER

***The Global Chancellor: Helmut Schmidt and the Reshaping of the International Order.* By Kristina Spohr.** Oxford University Press. 2016. xvi + 211pp. £35.00.

When the former West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt died in November 2015 the newspapers and TV channels widely appraised his role as an elder statesman and an esteemed interpreter of the times. As chancellor of a social-liberal coalition between 1974 and 1982 he never had such an undisputed role. Instead, he was the first and last chancellor to stumble over a constructive vote of no-confidence. He was replaced on 1 October 1982 by the conservative Helmut Kohl. The vote of no-confidence was mainly caused by differences between the coalition partners over the future course of economic policy, but Schmidt's chancellorship was also contested in his own social democratic party. Schmidt's commitment to NATO's dual track decision especially provoked internal opposition.

These quarrels in the coalition and Schmidt's party are not the focus of Kristina Spohr's monograph. Instead, Spohr mainly concentrates on Schmidt's significance for global politics. She depicts him as one of the most influential politicians of the time, one who helped to overcome the world economic turbulences of the 1970s and, in the long run, even the Cold War. From her point of view Schmidt's performance was underestimated by his contemporaries and by scholars because they gave more attention to domestic policies and neglected global politics. Therefore they overlooked his greatest achievement, the establishment of the FRG as an 'associate superpower' (p. 134) on the global stage.

Spohr unfolds her arguments in five chapters. In the first chapter, she analyses Schmidt's handling of the economic problems of the 1970s: the oil crisis, the monetary turbulences or the trend towards protectionism. Schmidt saw one reason for the economic difficulties in the failure of the international economic institutions and thus campaigned for summits with the economically most important countries. The heads of state should meet informally, without their entourage, and open-mindedly discuss the basic problems of the times. With his engagement Schmidt stood at the cradle of the G7 summits, which were also a vehicle for the rise of West Germany's influence on the international stage.

In the next chapter Spohr turns to defence policy. She portrays Schmidt as a 'defence intellectual' (p. 34), who had already started publishing about Western defence problems in the 1960s. His books found an international audience and paved the way for his appointment as defence minister in the first social-liberal government in 1969. In his office Schmidt reformed the Bundeswehr and developed initiatives on arms control and reduction. In line with his biographical background and experiences, Schmidt appraised the Ostpolitik, more than chancellor Willy Brandt, as a part of security policy – an approach he also followed when he finally became chancellor in May 1974.

The third chapter of the book is devoted to the problematic relationship with US President Jimmy Carter. The tensions between them were sharpened by the disaster of the neutron bomb. Schmidt put his political career on the line to work out a solution for the stationing of so-called Enhanced Radiation Weapons (ERW) in West Germany by the US government, only to learn that Carter withdrew his plans due to moral concerns. This failure of the ERW plans pushed another part of the deterrence system into the forefront: the so-called grey area between the strategic nuclear weapons and conventional forces.

This is the topic of the next chapter. Here the author traces Schmidt's role in constructing the dual track decision. Spohr highlights the meeting of Schmidt with French president Giscard d'Estaing, US president Jimmy Carter and the British prime minister James Callaghan in Guadeloupe in January 1979. Schmidt sat at the 'top table' (p. 94) with the representatives of three nuclear powers and discussed the two pillars of the dual track decision: the modernization of the intermediate-range nuclear weapons and the negotiations about arms control. It was a main concern of Schmidt to conceptualize the arms control aspect not just as a sort of fig leaf for the modernization of the weapons, but as a serious offer to the USSR.

The last chapter deals with the aggravation of the Cold War caused by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and NATO's dual track decision. Spohr portrays Schmidt as a sort of mediator who tried to help the USA and the USSR to understand each other. With the proclamation of martial law in Poland in December 1981 the role of intermediary became impossible. Instead Schmidt was accused by the US government of being too soft on the communist regimes. The internally and externally troublesome year of 1982 charged his balance sheet heavily when he was finally replaced by Helmut Kohl in October 1982.

In her final assessment, Spohr judges Schmidt very positively as a chancellor who 'reshaped the global order' (p. 133) in the 1970s and at the beginning of the 1980s. His main achievements lie in the international arena, where he put the emphasis on economic and defence policy. According to Spohr, Schmidt's pragmatic and substantiated attitude, based on a view of the world as interdependent, helped the FRG to become one of the most important players in world politics.

Spohr's well-researched and very readable book rightly brings out an important aspect of Schmidt's chancellorship, but her approach also produces some blind spots. Her description of Schmidt as 'global chancellor' is problematic. 'Global' here means mainly western powers like the USA and eastern powers like the USSR or China. So we learn nothing about Schmidt's view of the hotly debated north-south conflict in the 1970s, the discussions about

a New International Economic Order at UN level or his view of Africa. Instead, the book concentrates on Schmidt's negotiations and talks with the leaders of the great powers. This seems a little surprising, above all since Spohr emphasizes that Schmidt saw the world as interdependent. Would this not imply considering the position of smaller European and non-European countries? This goes hand in hand with a disregard of international organizations or diplomatic multilateral efforts. So, did Schmidt base his policy just on personal talks with the leading politicians? How did he judge the significance of the UN, the IMF, the EC or the CSCE in an interdependent world? Was his approach adequate for the problems to be solved or did it also have some shortcomings? With these questions in mind, the author's reappraisal of Schmidt's chancellorship would have turned out to be more critical. So Spohr's merits lie in the emphasis on an underestimated part of Schmidt's chancellorship, but if we want to weigh his performance as a 'global chancellor' we have to include more aspects than just great power politics.

Universität Duisburg-Essen

HENNING TÜRK

The Americas

The Forty Years that Created America: The Story of the Explorers, Promoters, Investors, and Settlers Who Founded the First English Colonies. By Edward M. Lamont. Rowman and Littlefield. 2014. viii + 287pp. £22.95.

This readable and well-researched volume explores the roots of the earliest English colonial settlements in North America. Edward Lamont is broadly most interested in the contributions that the colonies, later states, of Virginia and Maryland have made to the history of the USA, and specifically to the development of the special relationship between England and the USA. He traces the cultural, political, economic and social inheritance given to the colonies by the mother country between the 1580s and the 1680s. Lamont's other main focus is the lives of some of the key actors in this historical drama, particularly Captain John Smith whose presence in the New World, and his publications about it, were vital to the development of the nascent colonial enterprise.

Lamont's work follows a chronological pattern and is divided into short, accessible chapters. He begins with a very brief mention of early visitors to the Americas (Columbus, the Conquistadors and the Vikings) before moving on to a more detailed examination of French, Dutch and English ventures in North America. As his book's subtitle suggests, Lamont describes the motives and experiences of the explorers, promoters and investors in the early voyages not resulting in permanent settlement, before exploring in more depth the settlements of Jamestown, Plymouth and Massachusetts that did create lasting habitations.

This book's strength is that it tells the story of these voyages and settlements from both sides of the Atlantic; it is interested in the activities of promoters and writers in England as much as the men of action who did cross the Atlantic. However, there is little evidence here of engagement with the burgeoning field of Atlantic Studies; indeed the reader will find no acknowledgement of much recent historiography at all. The referencing system also makes the book challenging to read at times. Instead of referencing quotations from primary materials using either footnotes or endnotes, Lamont provides a descriptive bibliography for each

chapter at the end of the book, making it difficult to quickly trace the source of a particular extract or quotation.

The focus of this volume is, for the most part, on the white male story of the early colonial experience. Yes, Lamont mentions Pocahontas, Virginia Dare, and various other female or non-white participants. But the drivers of the narrative are always the male 'heroes': the governors, the military men, the aristocrats whose stories have been told numerous times before. Although native actors are present in the narrative, and the intricacies of early contact is presented in much detail, they are depicted as responding to the arrival of the Europeans, passive until forced into action, rather than as worthy of historical study in their own right. John Smith and his 'amazing tales of adventure' (p. 60) is an excellent example of this type of story-telling. Lamont makes Smith the centrepiece of much of his narrative, and details his life before America, his time in Virginia and his promotional activities afterwards in England with much enthusiasm. Smith is credited as a visionary innovator who foresaw a place where anyone 'could own his own property and advance and prosper as far as his merit and labour could take him' (p. 152).

The period up to 1625 is the main focus of this book and is covered in admirable depth, but the author always retains an entertaining and accessible narrative style. The last few chapters, concerning John Winthrop's arrival in 1630 and King Phillip's War in 1674–5, seem rushed in comparison, and they are followed by a chronological reversal to take in the 1622 Virginia Massacre. In my view, the tensions of the mid to late seventeenth century warranted more attention.

The narrative sometimes exhibits a sense of American exceptionalism and the inevitability of the present. Looking the wrong way down the telescope, here, for example, when describing the Mayflower Compact and local representative government in Virginia, Lamont writes: 'the introduction of local representative government in the English colonies was a historic first step on the path to winning their independence many years later' (p. 176). In his concluding remarks he suggests that 'these two colonies and later states produced most of the leaders that inspired America's successful struggle for independence and the formation and workings of our constitutional government. It can truly be said that the founding of Jamestown and Plymouth gave birth to America' (p. 252) – a statement that would be disputed by other 'Americans' throughout the Atlantic region, and which I challenge on the grounds that the success and durability of the colonies was hardly a given during the period with which this book is concerned.

Loughborough University

CATHERINE ARMSTRONG

***Roaring Metropolis: Businessmen's Campaign for a Civic Welfare State.* By Daniel Amsterdam.** University of Pennsylvania Press. 2016. 230pp. \$45.00/£29.50.

In 1924, advertising executive Bruce Barton quoted President Calvin Coolidge as saying that the 'man who builds a factory builds a temple; the man who works there, worships there'. Coolidge's purported statement epitomizes the 1920s' reputation as a decade of business-driven, laissez-faire policy and suggests businessmen prioritized growing private industry, not public institutions. Regarding businessmen and politics, historians such as Robert Wiebe chronicled regional divisions and splits over national policy among large and small business interests, even as they sought a more organized and orderly economy and

society. Daniel Amsterdam, by looking to local, rather than national, politics, discovers a coherent business class that supported an expansive civic welfare state, if not the social welfare programmes of the later New Deal. Correcting conventional narratives that have business leaders only resisting state growth and public spending, Amsterdam highlights how business leaders called for state and municipal interventions and investment to build public services, decentralized cities and amenities, and promote economic development. Such policies were not redistributive, nor did they address or reduce poverty and inequality, but they did ‘foster social and political stability as well as economic growth’ (p. 1). This was not the corporate liberalism that emerged out of the New Deal, but what was good for residents of Detroit, Philadelphia or Atlanta was good for business.

Neither were the business leaders herein the small government advocates or free marketeers that drove the conservative response to New Deal social welfare spending. These businessmen, building on the goals of urban reformers and boosters, sought to prepare citizens for work and democracy and grow the local economy, and in doing so they pushed spending at the municipal level by 50 per cent in some places (p. 1). In constructing a framework for a business-led quest for civic improvement, Amsterdam looked to cities that ‘typified ... political regimes prevalent in urban America’ and would thus reflect a common preference for state intervention irrespective of municipal governance or local political circumstance. The cities he chose – the machine-run Philadelphia, reformed Detroit and Atlanta, with widespread disenfranchisement – provide a useful range of circumstances for analysing the expansion of civic welfare experiments (pp. 11–12).

Before the end of the First World War, business leaders made a few inroads in reshaping municipal policy and services, aiming to have cities like Detroit run efficiently, like a business, and to be beautiful and offer services to complement expanding benefits for workers (p. 22). Finding that they lacked sufficient political influence in all cities, business leaders had to either reform city politics or work with existing dominant structures and groups. In Detroit, businessmen pushed for citywide elections that favoured the wealthy, who advertised for allied candidates, and for streamlined municipal departments with appointed managers (p. 26). In Philadelphia, businessmen resorted to exploiting divisions among the city’s political machine amidst early signs of economic decline. Atlanta’s business elites focused primarily on growing the city’s business sector and avoiding racial conflict and downplaying moral concerns arising from urbanization. In such studies, the minutiae of municipal politicking often threaten to obscure the broader argument, but Amsterdam deftly navigates these details to reveal the common quest for expanded municipal services that could be considered a common quest for a civic welfare state.

Such analysis has not emerged in historical scholarship because of business leaders’ mixed successes. In Detroit’s business-dominated city council (p. 53), a diverse immigrant population and a dependent black working class offered no significant challenge to elite rule. Generally worded referenda (p. 54) gave managers significant latitude in programme implementation, following elites’ preferences. Expanding debt prompted challenges, but this was not the fiscal conservatism of later decades. In Philadelphia, economic decline and poor living conditions limited businessmen’s options (p. 84). Unable to re-engineer city

governance, a business-machine alliance secured funding for swamp reclamation to address overcrowding and promote residential decentralization (p. 99). Yet, improving educational facilities, utility service, and expanding government came with continued corruption and only token overtures to black and female activists. In Atlanta, the ballot initiative process that required a high turnout among all registered voters limited bond funding for city improvements. Keeping taxes low to lure business demanded a civic welfare state 'on the cheap' (p. 143). When the depression struck and federal support for municipal services failed, and as cities' risk for default grew, employers cut costs and benefit programmes. In Detroit, business leaders attempted to register the unemployed, provide assistance, shelter and jobs, but strained municipal budgets led to default, and Philadelphia and Atlanta implemented austerity measures and stopped existing public works projects.

Amsterdam pushes scholars to consider a closer relationship between businessmen's civic welfare state and the social welfare state: the Great Society focused on education, training and empowerment rather than the distribution of jobs and wealth – targeting the 'culture of poverty' without economic redistribution. The civic welfare state, in its emphasis on preparing residents for work and democracy, embedded a 'new paternalism' in American statecraft (p. 177). Yet Amsterdam is both limited and empowered by his subject, a familiar problem for local and regional studies that seek to decentralize the process of policy-making from Washington DC. Amsterdam provides an important rejoinder to narratives regarding businessmen's political activism at national level, which tend to pigeonhole business-led politics as fiscally conservative and free market oriented. But his claim that the American social welfare state shares goals of the earlier civic welfare state, in that they both addressed 'problematic populations' not with economic redistribution but with education and expanded amenities, is constrained by local subjects. Did local politicians in diverse metropolitan areas of Detroit, Philadelphia and Atlanta share enough of a common vision to have long-lasting influence on national policy? Amsterdam uses his subject cities' diversity effectively, but links to later policy remain for other scholars to uncover. Nevertheless, the identification of this shared vision is significant, and serves as an important reminder to historians not to resort to simple caricatures of the *laissez-faire*, anti-regulatory, anti-tax business sector even in the golden age of business of the 1920s.

Fitchburg State University

KATHERINE JEWELL

***The New Deal: A Global History.* By Kiran Klaus Patel. Princeton University Press. 2016. xii + 435pp. £24.95.**

The New Deal is by no means an under-researched part of American history, and the publication of another good-sized volume on the issue begs the question what it can contribute to the vast body of existing scholarship. The answer is in the title: Kieran Klaus Patel depicts the New Deal not primarily as a national story, but as profoundly connected to transnational circulations of knowledge and practices. Despite interwar isolationism, the war had tightened international links and a sense of the world's interconnectedness. Indeed, Patel maintains that the New Deal really couldn't have happened without the layers of experience and expertise that had built up transnationally since the Progressive era. Although

much about the New Deal remained incoherent and contradictory – and Patel is keenly aware of this – the lively international exchanges during the interwar years provided policy blueprints ready to be pulled out of the drawer when the disaster of the Great Depression offered a moment of opportunity for a new kind of politics.

The short first chapter re-examines the Great Depression as a global event. This is followed by four substantive chapters that, using both comparative and transnational approaches, situate the New Deal in the context of developments in Europe, Latin America and Asia. Chapter 2 shows that, while rhetorically grounded in nationalism and exceptionalism, a thick layer of transnational connections, particularly in the field of social insurance, agricultural policies, public works programmes, dam-building and regional planning, shaped New Deal policies early on and helped create new global ties. Shifting towards international relations, chapter 3 explores how banking policies, disarmament efforts, the recognition of the Soviet Union, and the Good Neighbor policy in Latin America reoriented the USA towards global politics. It also highlights the role of the New Deal in creating the infrastructure for future superpower status. Returning to domestic issues, chapter 4 examines the transnational context of the ‘second New Deal’ and its landmark agencies and policies, ranging from the Resettlement Administration to public housing schemes. Finally, chapter 5 explores the role of the Second World War in both embedding and defanging the New Deal. As Roosevelt’s ‘Dr New Deal’ gave way to ‘Dr Win-the-War’, government–business partnerships and the military-industrial complex became ever more ubiquitous. These wartime networks helped forge the post-war policy consensus around the politics of economic growth largely bereft of the more redistributive and egalitarian impulses of the 1930s.

Patel uses a number of key themes to structure his narrative gently without being overbearing. These themes are not new to students of the New Deal, but Patel offers new perspectives on all of them. They also provide him with an opportunity to expose the ambiguities and discrepancies of the New Deal, and to explore its contortions in the shark-infested waters of mid-century American and international politics.

Among these themes are, first, the notion that the New Deal was rooted in an ‘insulationist’ outlook but created the ‘institutional scaffolding for building global hegemony’ (p. 4). Here Patel analyses in particular the efforts to internationalize the New Deal both during and after the war. These include the Atlantic Charter, Henry Wallace’s push for fair wages and safe working conditions in Latin America, and the post-war reconstruction of Japan and Germany that turned these countries into social laboratories for New Deal policies already marginalized domestically. Many new dealers, including Eleanor Roosevelt, moved from welfare state-building to shaping post-war globalism by staffing the nascent international agencies. At the same time, however, foreign policy and security concerns replaced the progressive transnational information flows, and the growing fear of totalitarianism limited the political discourse in the USA. In an illustrative look at globalizing the TVA, Patel shows how the agency first changed from a symbol of regional planning to a security site, and then came to embody the technocratic politics of productivity that sidelined concerns with community-building and economic rights.

A third theme is the quandary of 'high modernity', particularly its faith in experts and planning. Though frequently combining expertise with concern for the poorest, expert-driven policies often resulted in displacement, eviction and environmental degradation. What is more, Patel maintains that biopolitical notions of ethnic homogeneity underlay many New Deal measures. These helped turn the language of race into a global vernacular (p. 23). When Puerto Rico was turned into a testing ground for New Deal policies, for example, eugenics became the dominant paradigm in public health on the archipelago (p. 164).

Fourth, Patel sees 'security' as the core tenet of the New Deal. This not only included old-age pensions and labour standards, however. It also meant the expansion of the FBI and the rise of the surveillance state (p. 254). Even though crime rates in the 1930s fell continuously, a more centralized and professionalized police force complemented relief and welfare policies (p. 237). Likewise, the use of tabulating machines for Social Security records turned out to be a handy tool for monitoring and targeting the Japanese American population.

Finally, Patel is not only interested in government, but also in governance. In his view, the New Deal was ultimately a kind of 'state-dominated progressivism' (p. 291). Although the federal government clearly grew at the expense of local and state power, government spending relative to GDP remained limited. Tenacious belief in balanced budgets and fiscal austerity circumscribed Keynesian interventionism (p. 243). Likewise, Patel underscores the continuing role of non-state actors. Philanthropic entities, businesses, missionary agencies and international bodies, including the Rockefeller Foundation and the International Labor Organization, provided the personnel structures, expertise and knowledge base for many social policies.

This is an ambitious book that offers a balanced and thoughtful critique of the New Deal on the basis of a perceptive analysis of its international dimensions. At the same time, it offers a comprehensive historical synthesis that is useful for both general audiences and specialists. The book is thoroughly researched and incorporates forays into the history of foreign policy, race and ethnicity, consumer society, and arts and culture. Characteristic of scholarship at its best, Patel pairs remarkable insights into specific historical developments with a new conceptual understanding of the New Deal.

Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz

AXEL R. SCHÄFER

***The Great Exception: The New Deal and the Limits of American Politics.* By Jefferson Cowie. Princeton University Press. 2016. 273pp. \$27.95/£19.95.**

Bernie Sanders, the self-described socialist senator from Vermont, mounted a surprising challenge to Hillary Clinton in the 2016 Democratic primaries, but fell short of winning the nomination. Sanders's failure to unite the Democratic Party, let alone the nation, around New Deal-esque social democratic ideas highlighted two keys to Franklin D. Roosevelt's reforms: the coalition it rested on and the New Deal as an exception in American history. These are the issues historian Jefferson Cowie tackles in his new book *The Great Exception*. The New Deal is often understood as so transformative as to constitute a new, static order. Yet,

as Cowie forcefully argues, it was ‘too brief and too anomalous an episode in American history to be the norm’ (p. 183).

People familiar with Cowie’s earlier work, *Capital Moves: RCA’s Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (2001) and *Stayin’ Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (2010) will find *The Great Exception* both familiar and foreign. The strong voice, compelling writing and sharp analysis of Cowie’s previous books is also present in his newest work. But where his two earlier books are examples of exceptional labour history structured around extensive original archival work and innovative source material, *The Great Exception* is not primarily built on new archival research but on a new argument. The argument is the titular renegotiation of the New Deal as the anomaly of American history, rather than the traditionally understood restructuring of politics, society and culture. Developed from a joint article with Nick Salvatore (‘The long exception: rethinking the New Deal in American history’, *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 74 (2008), pp. 3–32), the idea of the New Deal as the great exception is laid out convincingly with a historical perspective.

To understand the New Deal as an exception, Cowie challenges the reader to appreciate the unique circumstances from which the hodgepodge of legislation given the moniker emerged. The New Deal was not simply economic; the legislation was not just the result of the economic crash, it was political. By moving the New Deal out of the realm of economic fluctuations and instead focusing on the political context, the unique circumstances stand out more clearly. The Great Depression was, of course, the main cause of the political reforms driven by FDR. However, while it certainly is the most devastating example, economic depressions or recessions are a common feature in American history. Instead, it was the political context that made the reaction to the Great Depression unique. Race and ethnic identity was a constant hindrance for broad working-class organizing throughout history. Due to severe restrictions on immigration in the 1920s, however, the Great Depression coincided with ‘an illusion of homogeneity that surpassed any seen in generations’ (p. 81). Similarly, religious strife receded in the 1920s, especially with the retreat of fundamentalism from political life following the Scopes Trial, giving way for a unity previously unseen. At the same time, the New Deal was built on Jim Crow. The reforms were possible only by accepting the ideology of white supremacy in the South. Both race and religion re-emerged in the 1960s and 1970s, however, to become the death knell of the New Deal order. The inherent contradictions of the New Deal coalition could not withstand the tumult of the Civil Rights Movement and the identity politics of the New Left, nor the growing strength of the conservative forces opposed to it.

The New Deal should not be seen as a continuation of the Progressive Era reforms that preceded it. In fact, Cowie argues that the reforms of Roosevelt might never have come to pass without fear. The political climate following the stock market crash of 1929 and the years of relative inaction by the Hoover administration instilled the people with a sense of emergency that Cowie calls ‘[t]he most extraordinary element in the creation of the new liberalism’ (p. 97). The sense of emergency is why Roosevelt was able to push through such extensive yet ‘chaotic’ remedies to the crisis. Both the limitations and the success of the legislation are important for understanding the New Deal as a great exception. While far-reaching and powerful, ‘the New Deal never fully

transformed American political culture' (p. 123). It pushed the interests of labour and the working-class within the structures of the American capitalist order, without overthrowing the existing system. The successes, however, guaranteed that future economic crises, including the Great Recession of 2008, would not reach the same level of peril as the Great Depression. In post-war America, programmes like Social Security made sure the same dire sense of emergency would never return en masse, thus dashing hopes for a new New Deal.

The Great Exception is a compelling new narrative of the New Deal within a broader historical frame, from the Gilded Age to Obama's presidency. The titular argument of the book is an engaging one, which provides a new understanding and historiographical overview to the long debate of the role of the New Deal in American history. It is also an appealing history of the push and pull between business and workers in the capitalist arena of American politics in the long twentieth century. It is bound to become a staple for teaching and understanding modern political, and especially working-class, history.

Åbo Akademi University

OSCAR WINBERG

***Days of Rage: America's Radical Underground, the FBI, and the Forgotten Age of Revolutionary Violence.* By Bryan Burrough. Penguin. 2016. xx + 585pp. £21.99/\$18.00.**

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) of the early 1960s fell victim to the rapid growth of the anti-war movement of the latter 1960s. By 1969, the 'older' members of the student radical group barely recognized their organization, and fewer still felt welcome, sensing that the thousands of students protesting the war under the SDS banner had no use for, nor any understanding of, the group's original intent as outlined in Tom Hayden's 1962 Port Huron Statement. Desperate for relevance and deluded in their belief that they alone could be the vanguard of the coming revolution, a small cohort of radicals, which included Bill Ayers, Mark Rudd and Bernadine Dohrn, broke away from SDS to form the Weather Underground Organization – the Weathermen. Before long, their first bombs had exploded and the Weathermen went *to* ground. Other violent radical groups followed the Weathermen's lead, forming small break-away cells, hiding out, blowing things up.

The ten years that followed made up the 'days of rage' that *Vanity Fair* writer Bryan Burrough explores in his latest book, in which he traces with journalistic tenacity the ignoble stories of the Weathermen, the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña, the Black Liberation Army, the notorious Symbionese Liberation Army of Patty Hearst fame, and other radical revolutionary organizations. While historians of the period and those affected by the thousands of bombings would take issue that this 'age' is 'forgotten' as noted in Burrough's title, he nonetheless is spot-on that Americans have indeed let this period of destruction by detonation recede from memory, just as Americans have forgotten the hundreds of anarchist bombings of the 1920s. It seems that in the United States, terrorism apparently did not exist before 9/11. Through thorough research in various archives, mining secondary works and interviewing an impressive list of people on both sides of the hunt (including Cathy Wilkerson), Burrough tells an undeniably exciting story. Be it premature

detonations, near misses with the law, or the perils and risks of living on the run, Burrough intertwines all with the human side of the chased and those doing the chasing.

Burrough's conclusion that these movements failed is not a revelation. Be they Weathermen or the United Freedom Front, Burrough is right that these underground guerrilla fighters of the vanguard, as they often styled themselves, became misguided cults convinced of their cause but way off the mark when it came to whether America was ready for their revolution. One can look at these young radicals as injudicious spoiled middle-class brats or ill-advised inner-city hoodlums who destroyed millions of dollars in property and, whether intended or not, sadly killed several for a revolution that was dubious at best. Or, one can consider them as sincere in cause but tragically overzealous in method, who nonetheless influenced succeeding generations of student radicals. Burrough seems to take a middle path, allowing empathy to bomber and bombed alike, as well as giving due note to those who tried to track the 'Mark Rudds' down and bring them to justice, while pulling no punches in his critique. In the end, these 'revolutionaries' convinced no one to follow their 'revolution'. They were grossly ineffective – they simply were not very good at what they were trying to do.

Burrough is most useful, however, in detailing law enforcement efforts to capture the bombers and break up these radical groups. Here is where his journalistic approach prevails, as he weaves a crime-caper-like story to explain these extensive, complex investigations that often took years finally to make a catch. This is where scholars can benefit from Burrough's research and interviews, if not his approach.

As with Burrough's other books, particularly *Public Enemies* and *The Big Rich*, the writing is smooth and engaging, and the research diligent. *Days of Rage* is a page-turner. While not ground-breaking by any means, Burrough has pulled together the stories of these disparate groups under the umbrella of revolutionary violence, a method of revolution that none of these groups invented despite acting as though they had. There are several volumes that examine these groups individually, but few that offer such a comprehensive view. Anyone interested in the 1960s and 1970s will find *Days of Rage* worth their time.

Georgia Southern University

WILLIAM THOMAS ALLISON

***Stand by Me: The Forgotten History of Gay Liberation.* By Jim Downs.** Basic Books. 2016. vii + 261pp. \$27.99.

On 12 June 2016, gunman Omar Mateen killed forty-nine people and injured fifty-one more at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando – the worst massacre of gay men in United States history. In seeking to understand this attack, gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) writers turned to other episodes of violence against their communities. In *Stand by Me* (written before the Orlando shootings), historian Jim Downs traces the history of violence, drawing readers' attention to what was, before Orlando, the worst massacre of gay men – the fire at the UpStairs Lounge in New Orleans in 1973.

Through interlinking but independent chapters, Downs recounts a set of episodes that have been overlooked in the historiography of gay liberation. An important focus to this work is to remind scholars in the history of sexuality, as well as to inform a younger generation of LGBT people, that alongside the gains

of visibility which occurred during the 1970s, there also came increased violence. As Downs writes, ‘violence became the uninvited companion to gay liberation’ (p. 87). Whether it was the opening of a bookshop, a bar or a church, as gay men and lesbians created physical spaces during the 1970s they gained a level of visibility not previously experienced, and with this came violence against these spaces.

Downs next focuses on the emerging gay religious movement in the 1970s to highlight the fact that gay liberation was impacted by several fault-lines in society. Where oppression came from and how best to overturn the structures that oppressed sexual minorities were greatly debated throughout the decade. *Stand by Me*’s focus on religion brings light to the fact that some sexual minorities found community and acceptance within organized religions – and indeed established their own – while others found contempt and hatred.

Downs also prioritizes stories that move away from presenting the era as being one solely focused on sexual gratification. It is assumed that LGBT communities today look back to the 1970s as a decade of unbridled sexual pleasure, sandwiched between the oppression of the closet before the Stonewall riots and prior to the horror of the AIDS crisis in the 1980s. Downs instead highlights the work of the Metropolitan Community Church (MCC), organized for and by gay Christians, rather than bathhouses and bars. Here he places emphasis upon the importance of other spaces such as bookshops and magazines which fostered community spirit and discussion.

In another chapter, Downs traces the writing of a ‘classic’ text within the history of sexuality, Jonathan Ned Katz’s *Gay American History*. In continuing his focus on providing readers with a history of the liberation era detached from those seeking sexual gratification, this chapter highlights other ways in which gay men found one another in order to name, understand and counter the oppression they faced. Katz’s own remembrances challenge what we as scholars in the history of sexuality take for granted now: ‘members of the reading group came to understand that they were not sick, but oppressed. To make that distinction was “mind-blowing”, Katz recalled’ (p. 95).

In retracing the history of *The Body Politic*, a Toronto-based publication, Downs argues that the 1970s were a decade of uncertainty. Gay and lesbian communities needed to demonstrate that they existed, that they were oppressed, and to navigate arguments as to the way forward for liberation. Downs explains the closure of *The Body Politic*, demonstrating how the state reacted when sexual conservatism began to ease as well as how the movement struggled to deal with contentious arguments in the era.

Downs traces the publication of prison poetry as one example in which the creation of culture was also a political endeavour. Inmates who were gay often struggled to have a connection to the outside world due to the necessity of parole board rules that they be released only to family, who in some cases had shunned them. Picking up on his earlier focus upon the Metropolitan Community Church and other religious organizations, Downs highlights how these groups organized meetings, performances and prayer groups within prisons to give prisoners a connection. They also sought to transform the criminal justice system and provide legal resources to prisoners who had no other place to turn.

One of the defining images of gay life in the 1970s that remains strongly tied to remembrances of the era is that of the ‘clone look’: muscular white men,

shirtless or with open shirts, tight Levi's jeans and sometimes wearing leather. In the final chapter, Downs traces changing ideal body images during the 1970s to demonstrate how the clone became the prominent image for gay men. He highlights how the clone came to represent whiteness, noting that black and Latino men were excluded from the scene by this image. By the end of the decade attempts to change society and fight for unity were drowned out by separation. In place of critiques of capitalism in gay newspapers came 'flashy, glossy images of gay bodies' (p. 177). Thus Downs notes the shift in a radical movement at the start of the decade which sought to create community spaces such as churches, study groups and newspapers promoting inclusivity to a hyper-sexualized, masculine image which segregated itself from other oppressed groups.

Some of what is covered in this 'forgotten history' has been discussed elsewhere, for instance, the Metropolitan Community Church and the fire at the UpStairs Lounge have been previously explored by John Howard in *Men Like That* and James T. Sears in *Rebels, Rubyfruit, and Rhinestones*. Nevertheless, Downs's accessible writing style and smooth synthesis will highlight these episodes to new audiences who are perhaps usually turned off by an academic style. *Stand by Me* is therefore a useful volume in establishing the argument that gay men and lesbians were invested in a wholesale reimagining of society and culture during the 1970s, not simply a quest for sex.

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JOSHUA HOLLANDS

***Eisenhower's Guerrillas: The Jedburghs, the Maquis, and the Liberation of France.* By Benjamin F. Jones. Oxford University Press. 2016. xiii + 384pp. £19.99.**

In many ways *Eisenhower's Guerrillas* is the story of what could have been. A quasi-counterfactual account of the liberation of France, the book meditates on the question of what the Jedburghs – teams of guerrillas consisting of British, French and American officers who parachuted into Occupied France to arm and train the Résistance – might have achieved if there had been political agreement amongst the Allies about the future of France after occupation. To the Jedburghs' detriment, disagreements between Churchill and Roosevelt over the role of the controversial French provisional leader, General Charles de Gaulle, in the country's liberation meant that the French were rarely involved in the planning of these missions. The result was political and military chaos broken only by occasional victory.

The book's stated aim is to bring 'the Jedburghs and Maquis out of their obscurity and [link] them up with the main narrative of two truly great stories: the liberation of France, and guerrilla warfare in the twentieth century' (p. 12). This approach situates the Jedburgh campaign within the context of Britain's extensive experience of irregular warfare in the twentieth century, from the Arab Revolt to the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

Indeed, by the time the plans for the Jedburgh campaign were finalized, Britain had fought in more guerrilla or partisan wars than any other global power. It would now rely upon local resistance fighters within France to stage a nationwide insurgency consisting of acts of sabotage and infrastructural destruction to coincide with the Allied invasion of the European continent on D-Day. The book's most important contribution is here, in its fascinating exploration of the reasons why the 'first modern large-scale guerrilla campaign was ... conducted

alongside [a] conventional campaign' (p. 8). This merging of the histories of conventional and unconventional warfare, especially within the framework of the Second World War, is a novel contribution.

Jones's narrative is a compelling one, though his book is decidedly rooted in the old and rigidly masculine tradition of classical military history. It is unfortunate to see a neglect of the lenses of race, gender and class that have added much vigour to the field of military history in recent works by Maria Hoehn, Marilyn B. Young, Mary A. Renda, Aaron Belkin, and others. Some half-hearted nods to gender in the opening chapters of the book, in the form of references to 'men and women' of the armed forces, are either forgotten or abandoned by the time the narrative truly gets going, and questions of race make no appearance at all. Neither do we learn anything about civil society during this period, which strikes one as odd given the book's claim to form part of the literature on contemporary irregular warfare. Though guerrilla campaigns are by definition usually conducted amongst the people of the host nation, the civilians who lived through this insurgency are invisible and unimportant in Jones's story.

Moreover, though issues of sovereignty and political control in post-war France are hinted at throughout the book, especially in chapter 8 when Jones notes that the Maquis were 'shifting from being concerned about the Germans to being concerned about power after the war' (p. 224), the ways in which this power was eventually consolidated are not analysed any further. Given that the book's narrative does take us through the liberation of Paris to the end of September 1944, this is a missed opportunity.

The period from the end of July through to September 1944 was a critical one in the story of the French liberation, comprising the Allied breakout, the American rape wave (as documented by Mary Louise Roberts in her 2013 publication *What Soldiers Do*), the formation of local military governments, which often included former resistance fighters, and, of course, the *épurations sauvages*, the punishment of collaborators that included the violent and highly sexualized shaving of women's hair. It would be interesting to know whether the political chaos which hampered the Jedburgh missions, and which Jones convincingly shows was largely to blame for most of the guerrillas' failures, also contributed to a lack of accountability amongst the Résistance after the occupation and the normalization of violence against civilians. But rather than examining the consequences of Allied political and military disagreement in the civil domain, Jones chooses instead to focus on high politics and corridor diplomacy, featuring a cast composed entirely of upper-class male characters which, though interesting, has the hallmarks of a somewhat outdated approach to history.

Jones's project is well-researched and diligently put together, encompassing archives from the USA, Britain and France, and its breadth and scope are commendable. Traditional histories of the French resistance have tended to emphasize that its actions, though heroic, were often limited, and contingent on US and British support. In contrast, drawing on French-language sources that have often been neglected by English-speaking historians, such as those at the Bureau Central Renseignements d'Action (BCRA) and the headquarters of the Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur (FFI), Jones makes the argument that the French Resistance achieved all of its aims largely in *spite* of Britain and America.

Eisenhower's Guerrillas is nonetheless very much the product of a military veteran, steeped in the old traditions of military scholarship and resistant to new approaches concerning society, culture and analyses of gender. It is a story of high politics from the top down rather than the bottom up. Although scarcely removed from battlefield narratives of a generation ago, it still has much to offer as an operational history that provides fresh insights into a subject often considered 'complete' in the checklist of historical events. Jones here ultimately demonstrates that there are still new stories to tell about the Second World War.

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RUTH LAWLOR

***Jimmy Carter in Africa: Race and the Cold War.* By Nancy Mitchell.** Stanford University Press. 2016. xiv + 883pp. \$45.00/£33.00.

This is a monumental, impressive and thoroughly researched book that seeks to revise our understanding of Jimmy Carter's foreign policy by focusing on his response to the crises in the Horn of Africa and Rhodesia. Much like the historians who wanted to revise the Eisenhower and Kennedy presidency, Nancy Mitchell sets out to explain the gap between presidential ambition and policy outcomes by pointing to how aides and Congress prevented the president from implementing his vision. In Carter's case, however, the absence of an effective team was mainly his own fault. Carter had a distaste for building alliances with Congress members and did not bring top aides into the decision-making process (p. 444). More important, however, in Mitchell's estimation were the finely grained distinctions in Carter's thinking. Carter 'had a vision, but he lacked a clear ideology' (p. 654), he was inept but not 'indecisive' (p. 656), he had 'a very healthy ego' but he believed that 'actions' not 'himself' mattered (p. 658). Mitchell concludes that Carter was a hard-nosed Cold Warrior who left an impressive foreign policy record.

Nonetheless, readers will be hard-pressed to find a well-defined Carter Doctrine, and there are few references to how Mitchell's interpretation relates to the existing scholarship on Carter. This book rejects the orthodox argument that Carter was a dreamy star-eyed idealist, the revisionist argument that the competition between Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski fundamentally shaped foreign policy (see Donna Jackson, *Jimmy Carter and the Horn of Africa: Cold War Policy in Ethiopia and Somalia*, 2007) and the post-revisionist argument that Carter's management style and his refusal to make tough decisions doomed him to failure (see Scott Kaufman, *Plans Unraveled: The Foreign Policy of the Carter Administration*, 2008). Instead, Carter is depicted as a decisive but ineffective Cold Warrior who, in the end, was still successful. That final evaluation of success, however, is primarily based on the fact that 'Soviet incompetence' led the 'United States to the winning side of the ledger' (p. 688).

It remains unclear how Carter, intellectually and diplomatically, reconciled his commitment to human rights with his Cold War concerns. Rather, each chapter breaks down Carter's decisions into its consecutive parts. Carter's refusal to lift sanctions for Rhodesia after a government led by Abel Muzorewa came to power in 1979, in chapter 13, is a good example. Not lifting the sanctions would have 'the most immediate dramatic impact in Rhodesia' itself, a regional consideration. Rejecting the pro-American Muzorewa would have encouraged

the Patriotic Front not to seek Soviet and Cuban assistance, a Cold War consideration. Moreover, the Muzorewa government had not been elected via a genuine democratic voting process, a moral consideration. Determining the 'precise weight of all these considerations' Mitchell finds 'foolhardy'. Instead there is a constant emphasis on Carter's decisiveness (p. 574).

However, an analysis of how different strategic considerations relate to each other is at the core of understanding presidents' foreign policies. The fact that Carter himself 'stressed both the Cold War and moral dimensions' leaves readers with more questions than answers (p. 574). Mitchell reconciles Carter's commitment to human rights and the Cold War, implicitly, by arguing that he saw human rights as a weapon in the Cold War, believing that if he encouraged parties in Rhodesia to work out an agreement he could prevent Soviet and Cuban intervention. Nonetheless, the statement that for Carter ending the war in Rhodesia 'was a Cold War imperative, not a feel-good exercise' deserves to be explored more (p. 313).

Furthermore, we learn that the civil rights struggle played a dubious role in Carter's world-view. Using Carter's own explanation of his foreign policy, Mitchell argues that Carter felt 'indebted to African Americans' when formulating his Africa policy (pp. 671–4). At the same time the impact of the civil rights struggle was limited. The parallels Carter discerned between the developments in the US South and Rhodesia 'energized his commitment to pursue it' (p. 13). Mitchell's narrative, however, suggests that Carter responded primarily to the complexities of the African political situation in Rhodesia. After a detailed description of Carter's discussions with Julius Nyerere and the British, in which civil rights are not mentioned, Mitchell states that Carter was 'guided by his gut', which led the President to read reports on Rhodesia with the US South in mind, a claim which is not substantiated by a footnote (p. 314). The link between US foreign policy towards Africa and civil rights to which Carter refers in his interviews is ultimately – as Mitchell herself admits – difficult to establish (p. 14).

Taken together, these reflections point towards broader intellectual questions about the limits of presidential histories and the ways in which this type of scholarship can help us understand the complexities of the postcolonial world after 1945. How did Kenneth Kaunda's and Ian Smith's presentations of the postcolonial situation – not the Cold War – shape Carter's vision of the role the USA had to play in Africa? How did anti-Apartheid activism – not Civil Rights – influence decision-making? The transnational anti-Apartheid struggle was at its absolute high point under Carter. It recuperated the human rights rhetoric and tried to remake international norms. Those dynamics and actors, however, are not discussed while US NGOs are seen as 'marginal to the policymaking process', even though the State Department did encourage NGOs like TransAfrica to speak out (p. 463).

In short, this book squarely focuses on the United States and the White House. Historians who are interested in African history and postcolonial international history need to turn to other monographs. Mitchell sees Africa first and foremost as a case study to engage with long-running US debates about the Carter presidency and presidential legacies. This book does succeed in what it sets out to do. It provides a nuanced image of President Carter and compels historians to keep on asking questions. With an impressive list of twenty-eight interviews,

archival research in Europe, the United States and Africa, as well as compellingly written prose, *Jimmy Carter in Africa* is a reference work for anyone interested in the Carter presidency.

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FRANK GERITS

***The Rise of a Prairie Statesman: The Life and Times of George McGovern.* By Thomas J. Knock.** Princeton University Press. 2016. xii + 553pp. \$35.00/£24.95.

Gliding through the sky high above the north Atlantic late one June night in 1945, George McGovern thought about the world below him and the experiences behind him. He was flying his B-24 and its crew back home from Europe and the Second World War. He had been a decorated pilot, flying dozens of harrowing missions that earned him the respect of his peers and the Distinguished Flying Cross from the brass. Yet, despite the high altitude at which he flew, he also saw the destruction wrought by the war close up. Now he, like millions of fellow Americans around the globe, wondered about what to do next. Uncertain about his future, unsettled by his past, McGovern knew only one thing as he peered out across the endless expanse of ocean: he wanted to break the cycle that had caused two successive generations to fight bitter, global and total wars.

The scene captures a central theme of McGovern's life: his uncanny ability to extract quickly from a local problem a solution with global significance, only to tie the answer back to the matter at hand. It is also a glimpse into how the historian Thomas J. Knock's recent biography of the politician, *The Rise of a Prairie Statesman: The Life and Times of George McGovern* (2016), treats its subject.

For many, McGovern is known for his 1972 electoral rout – one of the worst in American history – to Richard Nixon. Readers looking for this flat picture, however, had best look elsewhere. Knock's account is richly textured, providing a detailed account of his subject's life and times, one that reconnects McGovern to the intellectual and political currents that shaped his Midwestern upbringing. Also, Knock's account does not even get to the historic defeat; it ends in 1968. (A second volume will take the story up to McGovern's death in 2012.)

By 1968, McGovern was known more for his political successes than his failures. The year witnessed an enthusiastic 'Draft McGovern' campaign sweep across Robert Kennedy's orphaned delegates after the candidate's assassination, proving to be enough of a movement to make McGovern a contender at the Democratic National Convention. Indeed, before coverage in Chicago became focused on the infamous protests and their crackdowns, the story occupying politicians that August was about the junior Senator from South Dakota, not Mayor Daley and his police force. While Nixon beat Humphrey that autumn, and down-ballot Republicans pummelled down-ballot Democrats, McGovern coasted to re-election in one of the reddest states in the union. How did he do it? According to Knock's account, the answer lies in his early life out on the Dakota plains.

McGovern was born on 19 July 1922 in the small town of Avon, South Dakota. He grew up in the nearby city of Mitchell during the Great Depression. There he attended college at Dakota Wesleyan University. Before matriculating into

Dakota Wesleyan, McGovern was a famed high school debater who travelled the state and bested opponents in forensic competitions. Rural South Dakota, Knock shows, was more than McGovern's home. It was his life.

History, too, was a large part of that life. McGovern attended Northwestern University after the war in order to earn a PhD in History. His interest in the subject had been driven by his high school debate coach and, Knock notes, amplified by his military service. In particular, McGovern's hope to help in some way with the post-war reconstruction animated his academic interests. His advisers helped to nurture this impulse. Under the tutelage of Arthur Link, a diplomatic and political historian, McGovern developed a nuanced understanding of American foreign relations. Although he wrote his dissertation on the Colorado Coalfield War of 1913–14, finishing it in 1953, McGovern would maintain a keen interest in diplomacy, reading new scholarship published on topics like US–Chinese relations in his spare time.

Throughout this time, McGovern was becoming a seasoned campaigner, working first on the insurgent Henry Wallace presidential campaign in 1948, and the establishment Adlai Stevenson campaign in 1952. Equally at ease talking about agricultural issues as he was debating foreign policy, McGovern proved to be a capable organizer. Stories of his political acumen abound in Knock's account, but one in particular sticks out. Driving across South Dakota during his uphill bid for Congress in 1956, McGovern would often pass farmers as they worked in their fields. Spotting the farmers, McGovern would park the car, walk over to their tractor, and talk to them. By the time election day came, McGovern's name had been spoken about over countless farmhouse kitchen tables, often as the young man who talked of 'the pursuit of peace and agriculture' and, more importantly, stopped to hear rural farmers' concerns (p. 163).

It is in tracing McGovern's intellectual and political development that Knock's account is at its best. Knock reconstructs more than a politician's world-view. He recovers an oft-overlooked strand of mid-century American liberalism, one that was particularly vibrant in the Midwest. McGovern's success rested on his ability to connect a progressive vision of American foreign policy to a profound depth of local economic knowledge. Agriculture was the lynchpin. 'The American farmer is the new internationalist', McGovern proclaimed as he advocated supporting the Food for Peace Initiative, a programme that directed farm surpluses abroad as foreign aid (p. 270). Decades before activists began urging their fellow citizens to 'think globally, act locally', McGovern was already modelling this belief.

Such beliefs provided fodder for what Knock calls McGovern's 'life-long lover's quarrel with his country' – his desire for America to live up to its democratic promise, both at home and abroad (p. 123). Such a feud would fuel McGovern's early dissents against the Vietnam War and, ultimately, propel him to such a position of prominence within the Democratic Party that a 'Draft McGovern' movement was all but inevitable at the party's raucous 1968 convention. And, most notably, such a vision inspired the farmers he spoke to in the fields. In 1956 he won in an upset, becoming the first Democrat to represent South Dakota in Congress in over twenty years, largely thanks to rural voters who steadfastly supported McGovern during his time in the House, and later elevated him to the Senate in 1962.

In examining the roots and consequences of this 'quarrel', there is little to fault Knock's account and much to recommend it. One area where he could have

gone into more depth, however, was McGovern's religion. The son of a Methodist pastor, McGovern grew up in an intensely religious atmosphere. Indeed, before he shipped off to Evanston to earn a PhD, McGovern moved to the city to train to become a pastor himself, studying theology at Garrett Theological Seminary. He combined tenets of the Social Gospel movement, which he had learned about by reading the works of Walter Rauschenbusch at Dakota Wesleyan, to craft sermons that challenged his congregation to think about the role they might play in bringing about social justice through their worship. These elements of McGovern's intellectual formation, though expertly examined early on in the book, taper off, leaving the reader to wonder what role they played in the politician's later life. Perhaps Knock will trace the religious influences on McGovern's political career in more depth in the subsequent volume.

The Rise of a Prairie Statesman cannot be judged as anything but a critical success. Knock has succeeded in rescuing both McGovern and his vision from the parodies to which each has long been subjected. In doing so, he provides the reader with a panoramic tour of mid-century American politics, one that is at once ambitious in scope and intimate in subject matter. As McGovern famously invited America to 'come home' during his 1972 presidential campaign, Knock provides an unparalleled picture of what kind of place Americans might have come home to under the senator's leadership.

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BRAD BARANOWSKI

***Veteran Narratives and the Collective Memory of the Vietnam War.* By John A. Wood.** Ohio University Press. 2016. vii + 194pp. \$29.95/£21.99.

'Veteran memoirs have undoubtedly influenced America's collective memory of the Vietnam conflict', begins John Wood, and 'narratives produced by "those who were there" have long held a special authority' (p. 3). However, Wood's new book challenges popular culture's tendency to uphold these narratives as conveying infallible truths. His work seeks to present 'a comprehensive analysis of the Vietnam narrative genre' (p. 5) by interrogating veterans' memoirs as a specific genre of primary source material. As such, he sets a very ambitious task for such a short work. To do so, Wood analyses fifty-eight of the best-selling Vietnam veteran memoirs, noting that only those achieving wide acclaim influence popular memory.

Wood first examines the demographics of the most successful memoirists. He notes that 'historians have placed little importance on the backgrounds of authors who provided such information' (p. 12). His analysis demonstrates that most memoirists were notably different from the average combat soldier in Vietnam. While they shared combat experiences with the typical 'grunt', memoirists were overwhelmingly middle class, male and white. Wood argues that 'readers may be misled about what types of Americans actually fought in Vietnam because authors normally have dissimilar backgrounds from average combat soldiers' (p. 13). This is a theme that runs through the book: the similarity in the demographics of the memoirists, specifically their relatively privileged positions and their 'adherence to the sexist and racist attitudes of the Vietnam era' (p. 73), offers a monolithic perspective of the war that obscures other, less represented realities.

In subsequent chapters, Wood uses other contemporary sources, historical scholarship and less popular memoirs written by veterans of colour and women to complicate popular narratives' interpretations of the Vietnam experience. He reframes the depiction of the Vietnamese as 'victimizers of US troops' or as nameless racial stereotypes and explores a more complex portrait of the motivations of Vietnamese civilians and combatants. Wood also analyses the multifaceted interactions between racial identity, domestic racial pride movements and ideas about patriotism to challenge popular memoirs' general silence on racial issues. Additionally, Wood explores how the foregrounding of the masculine culture of the military in memoirs masked the experience of women serving in the war. In specific regard to race, Wood writes, 'the problem is that prominent white perspectives are not counterbalanced with a satisfactory number of nonwhite counterparts' (p. 59). Again, we can see Wood's core argument: similarities in demographics do not provide the space for all perspectives to enter the collective memory.

This emphasis continues through an analysis of the aftermath of the war, which proved as important to author-veterans as their combat-zone experiences. Wood challenges the endurance of the 'spat upon soldier' narrative and explores the openness with which memoirists discuss the difficulty of readjusting to civilian life. However, the relative privilege of memoirists again clouds the reality of readjustment as 'readers primarily learned about how Vietnam veterans fared after the war from the women and women who were better equipped to succeed in civilian life than the typical combat veteran' (p. 93). Wood next explores the ideological and political content of veteran narratives, concluding that most memoirists viewed the war negatively but still expressed pride in their service. Further, larger publishers often overlooked memoirs with more explicitly political messages. Wood's final chapter places Vietnam veterans' narratives in conversation with themes from veterans' narratives of other twentieth-century conflicts. He notes that as the demographics of the memoirists remained similar, so too did the themes of narratives across multiple US conflicts. Finally, Wood comments that while historians are fortunate that so many recorded their memories, 'the full story of the veteran experience goes untold when the stories of working-class people, African Americans, enlisted men, and others are underrepresented' (p. 126).

Readers picking up *Veteran Narratives*, particularly non-specialist audiences, will find it an enjoyable read. Each chapter is clearly structured and concisely introduces the reader to relevant background information and key themes while setting the content of the memoirs against a more complex, representative depiction of the war. However, to fulfil its initial promises of a sweeping, comprehensive analysis of this genre and its contribution to collective memory, the work would benefit from a deeper interrogation of the external forces influencing why and what memoirists chose to write. While the author alludes to multiple influences, the reader is left craving a deeper understanding of 'why' beyond the particular demographics of the memoirists.

Most significantly, one is left wondering to what extent the most popular narratives simply confirmed an already growing collective memory of the war rather than playing a prominent role in creating it. Chapter 6 discusses the types of memoirs accepted for publication, but does not explore how the general

public might have shaped the sorts of narratives and messages that would bring publishers profits and prestige. Additionally, Wood discusses and problematizes the aim of memoirists to ‘tell it like it is’, but leaves unexplored the extent to which the desire to get published played a role in how and what they might have written. Further, public interest in veterans’ narratives occurred alongside conscious efforts of the Reagan administration and Hollywood to revitalize the collective memory of the Vietnam War. Indeed, Wood acknowledges that the battle over how the war would be remembered ‘perhaps reached its apex in the 1980s’ (p. 96). In a chicken-or-egg scenario, one is left wondering if this problematic collective memory is shaped primarily by these memoirs, or if the memoirs themselves are shaped by external forces. This work could have been improved by a deeper interrogation of these interactions. However, *Veteran Narratives* succeeds in reframing an enduring American popular memory of the Vietnam War. It would be an excellent and accessible introductory read for undergraduates and is highly recommended to those seeking to interrogate their own understanding of a particularly tumultuous period in American history.

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LAUREN MOTTLE